PROCEEDING

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOP ON GENDER

"WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRATISATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY ASIA"

27-28 April 2018 | Widya Graha Building LIPI Jakarta, Indonesia

Editor:
Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, Augustina Situmorang, Widjajanti M. Santoso

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Jakarta, Jum'at-Sabtu 27-28 April 2018
di Auditorium Utama LIPI, Lt.1 - Jakarta

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LIPI

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PROLOGUE

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This proceeding consists of papers in PANEL 1 "Women's Leaders, Democratization and Everyday Politics" as a result of the International Conference and Workshop on Gender (ICWG) "Women's Leadership and Democratization in the 21st Century Asia" , LIPI, Jakarta 27-28 April 2018. The aims of the panel is to provide rooms for paper which explores and presents story of women's leaders either in political position or in everyday lives, under new challenges of democratization in the 21st Century Asia. There are 8 papers in this proceeding from previously 12 papers that was presented in the two days conference. The four papers are not included in this proceeding because of some reasons such as it had been published elsewhere, as well as could not provide the revision needed.

Basically the paper in this proceeding can be grouped into two themes: first, the paper on women's leadership in "high politics" or formal politics especially in executive position as head of local government, as well as in everyday politics. Secondly, the paper explores participations and challenges of female politicians in legislative body across Asia.

There are three papers grouped under the first theme. The first paper by Normi B. Santos, *et.al* explores female politicians in Dasmariñas City in the Philippines focuses on demography aspect and roles. Santos' paper shows an interesting fact that that female politicians are still minority in *barangay* (the lower government unit in the Philippines) as there are only 13 out of 75 barangay captains were women with education level from high school to college, majority were married and in the last term of office (completion of 9 years).

The second paper by Endah Kusuma Wardhani explores a good initiation of Institute KAPAL Perempuan to set up "Sekolah Perempuan" (school for women) as an alternative education for poor and marginalized women in urban metropolitan city Jakarta in order to eradicate poverty. This interesting paper shows that "Sekolah Perempuan" succeeded in educating marginal women to understand and begin to implement the concept of gender equality in their own household and community, as well as, to articulate and convey their problems and expected solutions for their community.

The third paper by Maria Cherry R. C. Ndoen explores the women-headed household cases through assessing "female-headed Household empowerment program" by NGO of PEKKA. Ndoen's paper is really interesting in showing obstacles and the negative perception on on the term of "female-headed household", as well as by the Law on the position of women as head of a family in which PEKKA take persuasive measures in negotiating their intentions.

The paper within the first group addresses women's political obstacles and participation in the new democratization that has facilitated substantial changes in regional and village level. All papers were written by considering local context such as cultural element, as well as, gender relations of men and women in specific regions. Through these papers, we can see that women from middle classes have more strong individual capital such as education and networks, as well as, support from family (husband) in their political career. Whereas women from lower classes, whom often becomes leaders in everyday lives (such as female-headed household) faces more obstacles and struggle to out of poverty, though managed to show their agency.

The second group of papers explores participations and challenges of female politicians in legislative body across Asia especially Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines. It consists of five papers. The first paper by Trias Setiawati as guest presenter, explores biography of of Elyda Djazman (EJ) a prominent leader of 'Aisyiyah (women's wing of Muhammadiyah, Islamic reformism movement in Indonesia). Setiawati shows that EJ's leadership was influenced by genetic and ecological factors. There are no discrimination based on gender in case of EJ, though she experienced double workload burden as housewives and 'Aisyiyah leader.

The second paper by Luky Sandra Amalia analyses Islamic perspective of the Islamic and Muslim-based parties in Indonesia on women's leadership namely Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera,* PKS) and National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, PKB). Amalia founds that PKB is more open towards women's leadership than is PKS. PKB supports women to be leaders at any level, from president to legislators, while PKS only agrees women become local leaders and legislators, but disagrees for the presidential level.

The third paper by Haura Atthahara explains policy of political party PKS in the 2014 General Election in Indonesia, and the People's Justice Party in Malaysia in the 2013. Atthahara founds that in PKS the Islamic ideology embraced by PKS greatly influences how the elite parties take a major role in recruiting women's candidates for example women to be nominated as legislative members required to obtain permission from her husband. Whereas women's wing of Wanita Keadilan of PKR plays a major role in recruiting women legislative candidate.

The fourth paper by Hamdani *et.al*, analyses the role of Nyai Khairiyah, female *ulama* in forging intellectualism amid traditional Muslim community which is represented by Nyai Khoiriyah in the Pesantren of Seblak, East Java. Hamdani paper captures the pattern of leadership of Nyai Khoiriyah in managing religious education under the male-dominated circumstance and shows her contribution in advancement of traditional Muslim women to have access to education and enhancement of religious knowledge.

The fifth paper by Silvia Laurent Elvina Putri explores effects of "Ryōsaikenbo" (means "good and wise wife") in hindering the promotion of gender equality in Japan. Putri's paper shows that *Ryōsaikenbo* is a stumbling block for Japanese women. It reveals that discrimination against women still exists in Japan, even though the Japanese government has publically acknowledged that the role of women in politics is an important component of domestic and foreign policy related decision-making.

The papers within the second group mainly focused on the institutional obstacles which hinders recruitment of female politician due to un-supportive political parties' policy in democratization era. By providing a comparative analysis of Muslim based political party's policy in Indonesia and Malaysia, these papers provides rich material between Indonesia and Malaysia in understanding the internal policy of political party, effect of political party ideology on women's political participation and the role of women's wing of political party in recruiting women for legislative candidates. Some papers in the second group also provides detail portrait of two exemplary female leaders of the two different Islamic organizations in Indonesia: 'Aisyiyah which associated with Muhammadiyah and '*pesantren*' which associated with Nahdlatul Ulama. Last but not least, one paper within this group has enriched our understanding of the livelihood of Japanese women under *Ryōsaikenbo,* which to some extend explains Japan's low gender balance.

Overall, I would like to congratulate all of the authors of in Panel 1 "Women's Leaders, Democratization and Everyday Politics" which successfully wrote and presented experiences of women's political leadership either in formal politics, as well as, in everyday politics. All of these papers are derived from women's experiences, and thus signifies women's personal experiences as sources of knowledge.

These papers have shown that there are different degrees of challenges faces by women from different social classes in politics to have their voices to be heard in society. It also highlighted the importance of institutional support for women in political party to compete in electoral politics. It also shows the agency plays by ordinary women in everyday politics, despite its limitation, to address various problems encouraged and assisted by vital NGOs such as KAPAL Perempuan and PEKKA.

Through these papers we have reach a better understanding that democratization in the 21st Century Asia has facilitated greater expansion of Asian women in formal politics and in everyday politics, individually and collectively. Nevertheless, obstacle of patriarchal values remains and needed to be addressed contextually and smartly. ❖

WOMEN IN POLITICS IN DASMARIÑAS CITY: DEMOGRAPHY AND ROLES

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Abstract

Society frequently defines roles of men as superior to women, giving women the stereotyped roles of house workers, caregiver of children – in short, being subordinate to men. Women are not merely to play the roles as a mother or even a wife; instead they also have the role to play even in local level politics. Anchored on the framework of Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development this paper described the demography and roles of women in politics, the types and kinds of services they delivered, accomplishments and the things they still intended to realize. Triangulation as a method of inquiry was employed. Subjects included women elected in the barangay chairperson/captain level. Data were gathered through interviews, personal information sheet and the records of periodic accomplishment in 2013. Results show that only 13 out of 75 barangay captains were women with ages ranging 44-75, education level from high school to college, majority of them were married, and in the last term of office (completion of 9 years). The roles they assumed were governance, duties and responsibilities as enforcer of laws and ordinances, promote the general welfare of the people, delivery of basic needs, protection of the environment, peace and order, human and spiritual formation, fund allocation and resource generation and management; and socio-civic related activities. Their common intention is to create a community that fosters development of human potentials and a safe place to live in.

Keywords: Politics, Women, Gender and Development, Governance.

1. Introduction

Anyone attempting to understand a woman is confronted with a kaleidoscope of image. At one moment, the women is projected as frail and meek; at another, as strong-willed and committed. She may be described as a dutiful, long-suffering wife or as a seductive, strong mistress.

She may be simultaneously shown as intensely ambitious and independent at work, weak and submissive at home, or simply helpless in any setting. Often times, the status of women in the society are being described to be different from, if not inferior to, that of the men [1]. Society frequently defines roles of men as superior to women, giving women the stereotyped roles of house workers, caregiver of children – in short, being subordinate to men [2]. It seems like woman has always been defined relative to man, as if she were merely an incidental being, a creature fashioned from Adam's rib to keep him company [3]. In terms of politics, the study of Nelson and Chowdhurry [4] states that in no country do women have political status, access, or influence equal to men's. American women today have a greater voice in politics than at any point in history. But signs of inequality in actual representation of women's interests are still all too evident [5]. At the level of participation in elite roles, American women are still grossly underrepresented in top positions; however, women have recently become more visible and successful in running for political office and winning [6].

In the Philippines, it is almost unanimous that Filipino women constitute the most apolitical group. Many decry the fact that although political rights have been granted to women and not withstanding their potential power at the polls, only a percentage of them take active part during elections and the number of women elected to public office represented an even smaller portion (Fidelino [1961] in Angangco, Samson & Albino) [7]. Filipino women are always maintaining coolness, dignity, and aloofness, while still being warm and friendly [8] as what the first lady president of the Philippines Corazon C. Aquino did when she threw open the doors of Malacañang Palace to the public while she herself to work in the small guest house during her administration (Corpuz, Wy & Dela Cruz [2008] in Estillana et al) [9].

Gender and Development (GAD) promotes strategies for the advancement of women in the society. In the Philippine Constitution, enshrined in Article II Section 14, "the State recognizes the role of women in nation-building and shall ensure the fundamental equality *and equity* (italics mine) before the law of women and men". The country is known for its very liberal and progressive Constitution that was formulated during the euphoria of the People Power Revolution in 1986[10]. It cannot be overlooked we have been ahead of our neighboring countries in the implementation of Gender and Development as a policy evidenced by having 2 women presidents in the persons of Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

In the international arena, the country is considered as Asia's best performing nation in closing gender disparity in education and health garnering 0.781 points according to Global Gender Gap of 2014 report of World Economic Forum (WEF) and in 9th place of the 142 surveyed countries, with rank 2nd to Norway having women position on leadership and enterprises and *more improvements on women participation in* politics [11]. But, inequality is still observed in the four areas of Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Political Empowerment and Health and Survival. In this scenario a coalesced efforts from the government, non- government organizations, civic society groups and academe are working in improving/ maintaining the overall standing in the top 10 list.

In the gender disaggregated data in May 2000, women constitute 37.9 million (49.6%) of the 76.5 million Filipino. Almost 15.5 million were between the ages 14 to 40 reflecting young female population and they constitute nearly half of the population. One can find major advancement for women's role when they manage to become administrators and managers of about 35% which was highest in the world according to the Human development report in 2002 (UNDP). Another, being 2/3 of them were professionals and technical inclined and approximately 17.2% of

them is in the legislative seats and this data puts the country in the highest in East Asia of 0.523 according to Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM).

Along with the data provided and the statistic shows that in the political term 2013-2016 of the country, there were 6 (25%) women senators out of 24 senatorial seats, 79 (27.33%) women legislators out 289 seats in the lower house, 22.5% total gubernatorial and 18.5% vice gubernatorial and there were 20.86% women who were elected as mayors while there were 173 (22%) female barangay officials.

The City of Dasmariñas, a first class city in the province of Cavite share in the women leadership history [12]. This local government unit's advancement (political, economic and urbanization) was led, then, by a lady mayor. Working with her governance were women leaders (barangay captains) whose motions were substance of democracy. This paper described their profile and roles, the types and kinds of services they delivered, accomplishments and the things they still intended to realize.

2. Research Methodology

This study employed the descriptive qualitative research. Triangulation was used to obtain information concerning the current phenomena to describe what exist. It is primarily concerned with how the women barangay captains do their work. Descriptive research design provides data about population or universe being studied but it can only describe who, what, when, where and how of a situation, not what caused it [13].Triangulation method is the use of multiple sources of data to avoid reliance on a single source. It may incorporate two or more sources of information [14]. In this research, a combination of data sources such as interviews, observations, relevant documents and other method were applied. Convergence of this multiple sources lends credibility to the findings [15].

The subjects of the study were chosen from the list provided by the office of the mayor and the association of barangay captains. Their characteristics, common descriptions, and roles including challenges were obtained through interview, observations, accomplishments and other periodic reports and postings in the barangay bulletin. Data were analyzed by finding common meaning units, patterns of responses, and arranged according to themes.

3. Research Highlight

Majority of the participants were on their last term of office, middle adults, Roman Catholics, married, college degree holder and wives of economically capable husbands. The roles they assumed were to ensure that policies were implemented and that everybody were held accountable in every action and decisions made, and resources were properly utilized, laws and ordinance were enforced, human and spiritual formation were accentuated, protection of environment were considered to reduce risk that might happen and importantly to provide the basic needs to promote the general welfare of the people (physical, peace and order, human and spiritual). Further, their administrative function included creation of developmental plan (planning, implementing and monitoring), fund allocation, resource generation and action for socio-civic related activities.

4. Research Results

Demography

There were 9 (75%) woman barangay captains who responded in the query. Their demography is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Profile of Women Barangay Captains

Barangay	Term of Office*	Age	Religion	Civil Status	Educational Attainment	Husband	Influences/ Political Career
1. Burol II	last term	67	Roman Catholic	M	College - 2 years	Carpenter	Former "Kagawad" (councilor)
2. San Luis I	2nd term with gap	44	Roman Catholic	M	BS Social Work	Seaman	Father, was a former Brgy. Captain
3. Victoria Reyes	2nd term with gap	53	Roman Catholic	S	High School		Former "Kagawad" (councilor)
4. San Mateo	last term	60	Roman Catholic	M	BS Management	Seaman	
5. Sampaloc V	last term	61	Roman Catholic	M	BS Business Administra-tion	Contractor	
6. Sta. Cristina II	last term	58	Roman Catholic	M	High School	Business man	Former "Kagawad" (Councilor)
7. Sampaloc I	last term	75	"IglesiaNi Cristo" (Church of Christ)	Widow	High School		
8. San Nicolas II	last term	58	Roman Catholic	M	BSBA-undergrad	Business man	
9. Burol 1	last term	47	Roman Catholic	M	BS		Former "Kagawad" (Councilor)

One term = 3 years.

As political rights have been granted to these women made them privileged to run for political office (Bourque and Grossholtz, 1974 in Estillana et. al) [16]. Being in the last term means they have been occupying the position and had acted in that capacity for around nine years. It appears they were doing satisfactory work that convinces constituents to have them reelected. But the law allows them only up to 3rd term.

Their middle ages deem that they were dynamic, aggressive and possess the ideal spirit of implementing rules (Sison, 2001 in Estillana et al.) [17]. They may have the experiences to base their decisions and probably established the support system to be able to accomplish expectations. The dominant faith-orientation and marital status serve as a common denominator for them to plan activities in their barangay especially for spiritual, social, and other developments. High educational attainment appears not so much a consideration as more than half finished secondary course or college preparatory level. But the fact that majority reached the 3rd term only indicates

that more than education helped these women to perform. However, it is now discounted that being educated (for those who are degree holders) and wife of capable husbands (economically) helped them empowered [18].

Roles

Using the Local Government Code of the Philippines Book III (The Barangay, Chapter III- The "Punong" Barangayor Barangay Captains) Sec. 389 on Chief Executive: Powers, Duties, and Function as their reference, the women barangay officials observed as stated and even went beyond what were expected of them.

With many work, interest and roles in life, these women barangay captains give, as much as possible, equal priority to[19] responsibilities as mother, worker, wife, friend, caregivers, citizen and volunteer – which deserve commendation. Such can be compared to the political exercises of Women's Shadow Councils in Palestine who also participated in political and social life of their municipalities [20].

Some of the services these women barangay captains played preceding roles are spelled out as follows:

Health and Physical Services – included medical and dental mission, nutrition summit - feeding program, minor operation (cataract and circumcision), dengue prevention and physical fitness (like "zumba" dance exercises).

Intellectual Services – includes seminar/trainings/workshop on youth leadership, parenting and "Lakbay-Aral" (educational and benchmarking field trips), participation to National Celebrations like "Buwan ng Wika" (Language Month), Independence Day, "Oplan Kaluluwa" (All Saints' Day Watch), and "Paru-paro" (Butterfly) festivals during Dasmariñas Day and "Alay-Lakad" (Walk-for-a-cause). The latter is for the purpose of raising fund for student scholarship.

Sports Activities – included participation in different sports events in the barangay, city, national and international arena in coordination with the Department of Education.

Spiritual Formation – included Catholic rituals (ex. Masses, "Kasalang Bayan" [mass wedding], Fiesta [festivities], "Sta Cruzan" [Mayflower festival], Recollection and "Ugnayang Barangay at Simbahan" (UBAS) [Barangay and church partnership].

Livelihood – included Job Fair, Business Opportunity Seminarson delicacies, rugs and bags making, cosmetology, Information Technology seminars.

Socio –Civic – included immersion and activities for senior citizens, PWD (persons with disability), solo parents, disadvantaged women, mothers, youth and children, and the gift giving of groceries, medicines and school supplies.

Environmental Concerns– included regular clean-up drive and beautification,waste segregation, vaccination for pets (except for Sampaloc 1 because of the local ordinance that no pets allowed in the said barangay) and water testing.

Fund Raising Activity- singing contest, dance contest, caroling and partnership with NGO's, business enterprises and socio-civic organizations.

Governance and Administrative Functions – included provision to address the basic needs, creation and approving of ordinances, regular meetings, issuance of barangay and related- certificates, planning and budgeting, development plans, monitoring of plans, projects and activities, constructions /infrastructure (barangay hall, daycare center, path walks and play grounds), settling disputes, ensuring security and safety of the community (Disaster Risk Reduction, Fire Drill, Flood Control and Earthquake Drill) and mandated programs for 4P's ("Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or Conditional Cash Transfer), GAD (gender and development), Seniors Citizens and PWD (persons with disability).

Similarities existed among the different barangays because of the priority areas that the country was targeting in compliance to Constitution, Laws, Ordinances, Policy, Declaration of Human Rights and Millenium Development Goals. One exception existed –on the basis of religious orientation regarding Barangay Sampaloc 1 (an "Iglesia Ni Cristo" [Church of Christ] community) which reported no crime during the year 2014.

Lastly, differences existed between men and women barangay captains. The latter brought with them their role as mother - very caring, understanding, hardworking – the same traits as they manage their office at the barangay halls. Even more remarkable was their keeping the marriage life and taking care of their kids. They always find time to listen to issues concerning the community. They were making sure that the community will look good, healthy and safe to live in.

5. Conclusions

Women barangay captains were performing at par or more over their male counterpart because political and community roles were being done in addition to regular household and maternal roles. They always give help and attend to different community concerns even going beyond their financial capacities and family time. They sacrifice even their sleeping hours just to attend important and –for the others- not so important matters such as lending ears or simple listening).

They have assumed roles in providing services in different areas such as physical and health, intellectual, sports activities, spiritual formation, livelihood, socio – civic, environmental concerns, fund raising, governance and administrative functions.

Continue working together with women in the conduct of politics is recommended in support of women rights, equality and empowerment. Further study is recommended on the role of women in politics in a bigger scope, in higher and lower elective position, and about cases of success stories to encourage development partnership.

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"SEKOLAH PEREMPUAN": AN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION FOR POOR WOMEN, TRANSFORMING MARGINALIZED WOMEN TO BECOME COMMUNITY LEADERS

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Abstract

Phenomenon of feminization of poverty in marginalized women's urban communities urged Institute KAPAL Perempuan to initiate "Sekolah Perempuan". The Sekolah Perempuan is an alternative education for poor and marginalized women which was established in marginal urban communities in Bidaracina and Jatinegara Kaum, two *kelurahan (urban villages)* in Jakarta Province. Sekolah Perempuan succeeded educating marginal women to understand and begin to implement the concept of gender equality in their own household and community, as well as to articulate and convey their problems and expected solutions for their community. Through Sekolah Perempuan, KAPAL Perempuan managed to increase the capacity of marginal women and transformed them into community leaders. This paper used qualitative research method that aims to explore the impact of Sekolah Perempuan in the improvement of marginal women's capacity, as well as possibility of them to become community leaders.

Keywords: "Sekolah Perempuan", women subordination, marginal women, capacity improvement, community leaders.

1. Introduction

In the patriarchal structure of Indonesian culture, being a woman is not an easy because women often perceived as the second sex and has lower status than men, especially when they are poor. Women are often assigned to do many household duties compared to men. There is common cultural assumption that the domestic work in the household belongs to women. Therefore, for the poor women, their burden become higher. The poor women are expected to work at least eight hours at homes (cooking, washing, taking care of their children, husband, and parents). As a result, they do not have time to develop their own capacity.

It is very common that when a woman chooses to work in the public sphere to help the household income, they still have to handle all the domestic responsibility. Therefore, women always have more burden than men. At home, men are usually not responsible for all domestic work since their task is working at public sphere, it does not work vice versa. Yanti Mochtar, one of the initiators of Institut KAPAL Perempuan had very deep concern of this situation and she believed that it will further contributed to marginalization and impoverishment of women. Institut KAPAL Perempuan (will be shorten as "KAPAL") is a non-government organization, the name of KAPAL stands for Kelompok Alternatif untuk Pendidikan (KAPAL - The Group of Alternative Education), while "Perempuan" in Indonesian language means women.

In the book of "Modul Pendidikan Adil Gender untuk Perempuan Marginal", Yanti Mochtar argues that poverty occurs not only because of the structure and policy, but because of gender relation that positioned women in subordinate position [1]. In mega city such as Jakarta, marginalized women's production work often tends to be valued low due to their low knowledge and skill. Based on this concern, she initiated Pendidikan Adil Gender (PAG), a platform for informal education for marginalized women, which then called Sekolah Perempuan. The concept and methodology of Sekolah Perempuan is rooted in feminist ideology and politics. PAG develops critical thinking, encourages the emergence of women's leadership, becomes a center for women's reproductive health information, as well as an alternative source of economic finance [1]. Sekolah Perempuan is an alternative adult education program targeting poor women. The objective of Sekolah Perempuan is to improve women at the grass roots to have knowledge of gender equality so that social justice for women can be more easily achieved.

KAPAL found that the State has not been able to solve the poverty problem. The indicator of poverty are reflected in high maternal mortality rates, high rates of illiteracy and school drop outs, child marriages, as well as children and women trafficking. KAPAL found that in poverty, women suffer at most. Marginalized women or women in poverty are the ones whose sacrifice not to go school or being experiences a forced married in order to reducing their family burden. Women are the ones who often sacrificing themselves to eat less for feeding other family members. Hence, KAPAL feels it was necessary to cut off the poverty chain by giving alternative education to marginalized women.

Scott in Saptari and Holzner states that women marginalization is a process of marginalizing women into certain occupational roles only [6]. In the identification of the five forms of oppression against women, Iris Young argues that marginalization is very dangerous, since it excludes someone from socio-economic life that will ultimately lead to severe poverty, even death [4]. Due to the higher burden experienced by the poor women, they become marginalized and impoverishment since they do not have time for their own development. Thus, empowerment of marginalized women needs to be done, especially in the economic area such as income generating activities for poor women to be fully independent.

The main research questions of this paper are: how does Sekolah Perempuan contributes to community development? How does Sekolah Perempuan transform the marginal and poor women into the community leaders? The overall objective of this research is to provide an overview of how could an alternative women's education system contribute generating community leaders.

2. Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research. Data collection techniques are by in-depth interview and observation on the research sites of the participant's houses, the places where they gathered, and

the environment of the community where they live as well as document studies. The selection of the research sites was purposive, at *Rukun Warga* (neighborhood group, *RW*) 07 and 014 of Kelurahan Bidaracina and at *RW* 02 and 05, Kelurahan Jatinegara Kaum, where four units of Sekolah Perempuan in presence.

The subjects were eight women who participated in Sekolah Perempuan. They work as housewives, housemaids, teachers of Early Childhood Education (*Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini -* PAUD), small traders, and retired civil servants. Criteria selection was participants who are leaders from both Sekolah Perempuan and the communities, have an active role in their community, and who actively contribute to Musrenbang. The study was conducted from October to December 2016.

3. Research Highlight

This research intended to show the improvement capacity of the marginal women through gender equality education at four units of Sekolah Perempuan in Jakarta. This paper founds that capacity of the marginal women improved after joined Sekolah Perempuan. They become aware of gender equality and their subordinate position in family especially in relations with the husband. There are three aspects discussed in each session in Sekolah Perempuan agendas: (i) critical thinking of their right as citizen and as the poor, (ii) life skills, and (iii) organizing women in the community level. The last one was the seed that generated community leaders.

By meeting sessions at Sekolah Perempuan, KAPAL also provided various training on feminism education, leadership, democracy and political knowledge to leaders at Sekolah Perempuan. The meeting and training sessions also provided spaces for the leaders to articulate their thoughts and sharing experiences. By joining Sekolah Perempuan, the leaders admitted that they possess enough confidence to voice their aspiration. The sense of self-esteem allows them to renegotiate their position at home and community. It encourages them to be active in advocating as well as to set new business and to work on their own. Ultimately, they succeed to improve their household economics condition. Not only managed to generate women leaders, the Sekolah Perempuan had also succeeded to encourage the poor women to participated in the economics activities.

4. Research Result

KAPAL said that the root and cause of the poverty are two factors namely lack of education and gender inequality. Hence, they tried to formulate the curricula of informal education on gender equality. They conducted a pilot project of Sekolah Perempuan at Rawa Jati Sub District on 2003, called Sekolah Perempuan Ciliwung. The members were poor women who lived in the Ciliwung River banks with various backgrounds, and some of them experienced domestic violence. The training materials are including life skills, including reading and writing skills.

The focus was to improve education of women, and understanding women's needs and experiences. The result of the programs shows that they felt they the forum has facilitated them to build their own capacity, raise awareness and improve confidence to participate in community though poor.

The group of women who participates in Sekolah Perempuan said that it was not easy when they first participated in the Sekolah Perempuan. Husbands and community leaders rejected the presence of Sekolah Perempuan and thought that it was a kind of a heresy when they talked about gender equality matters. But, they proved that Sekolah Perempuan helped them in building

their own capacity. They gradually are able to participate in the community development. They currently possess skills to negotiate their rights with the husband and community. Thus, is not only improving their leadership skills, but also their confident to work in public sphere and ultimately contributed to better economic situation.

Sekolah Perempuan was then replicated in several places. KAPAL initiated and worked with various group of women to establish Sekolah Perempuan in poor and remote areas in Indonesia. Currently there are more than 25 Sekolah Perempuan in Indonesia. While in Jakarta there are five Sekolah Perempuan, locates in three urban villages (*kelurahan*). The training facilitators were generally come from staffs of KAPAL, or accordance to the given subject, such as doctors or midwives from the local health centre. There are 867 members of Sekolah Perempuan so far in the three disctrics and ninety six (96) persons are the leaders.

In the research sites, in Bidaracina, *RW* (neighborhood group) 014, Sekolah Perempuan normally is conducted at location of their PAUD (play group for small children). The room of 3x7 meters can hold up to thirty persons. The participant are PAUD teachers, community workers, housewives, small traders, housemaids, and those who works part time at informal sectors. Whereas in Jatinegara Kaum, the meeting session normally was held in *RW* (neighborhood group) meeting room or in participant's house. The meeting normally took two to three hours and it held for once or twice a month.

Gender Equality Concept at Sekolah Perempuan

KAPAL worked with poor and marginalized group of women to establish the informal women learning forum. The objective was that women at the grass roots have a knowledge of gender equality and then share the knowledge to their environment. By understanding the root of the poverty and women's oppression, it was expected the poor women can attempt to get out of the problems especially by monitoring the social security program of the government for the poor.

Ibu Lody (65), a community leader at Jatinegara Kaum was very pleased to provide her home as a place for Sekolah Perempuan. By joining Sekolah Perempuan, she gained more knowledge on gender equality. When I visited a session of Sekolah Perempuan at her house, she told me that equality between man and woman should be applied at home by sharing domestic works between wife and the husband. She was very proud to tell me that once she joined Sekolah Perempuan, she understood more on gender equality. Since then, she always encouraged her male colleagues at her office that the reproductive works at home is not only women's responsibility. She argue that in order to reach happy family, the men cannot assume and take it for granted that domestic works is always women's responsibility.

Trainings Sessions for Sekolah Perempuan Leaders

Besides the routine sessions at Sekolah Perempuan, KAPAL also facilitates various leadership trainings. I found, these activities contributed a lot to capacity development of Sekolah Perempuan leaders. I observed three trainings of democracy, politic, and feminist education on October and November 2016. In the training session, in order to help participants to exercise their ability to speak, the facilitator divided participants who are Sekolah Perempuan leaders into three or four groups to discuss respected theme and finally present their idea. After the group discussion, the facilitator from KAPAL will present the main training module. The training helps the leaders to understand more on the topics. Eventually this kind of training sharpened their leadership skills. The leaders felt more confident in participating in the community level.

Ning (42) was one of the students in Sekolah Perempuan Bidaracina. She fought for social securities of *Raskin* (Beras Miskin, cheap rice provided from government for the poor). She is currently serving as a Secretary of Sekolah Perempuan (of Jakarta Province). Ning told me that when she participated in a Raskin distribution. As one of Sekolah Perempuan members, Ning saw that there were manipulations on the price and quantity of rice distributed to the poor. At first when she has not join Sekolah Perempuan yet, she thought that it was nothing wrong when the neighbor hood chief increased the price and quantity of the distributed rice.

"Waktu tahun 2015, ada program Raskin, harga beras yang seribu enam ratus rupiah (Rp.1,600), dinaikin jadi dua ribu lima ratus rupiah (Rp.2,500) per kilogram. Terus jumlah pembagian yang masing-masing lima belas kilogram jadi cuma lima belas liter" (Interview with Ning)

[On 2015, there were Raskin programme, they increased the price of rice. It should be one thousand and six hundred rupiahs, but they increased the price into two thousand and five hundreds rupiahs per kilo. The quantity of the rice to be distributed per family: it should be fifteen kilograms per family, but they reduced to only fifteen litres, per family].

After joining Sekolah Perempuan, Ning learned a lot about social security programs provided by the government. Ning understood that a marginal women like her is supposed to participate in social security monitoring. Hence, she was very determined and pushed the male leaders to fix the deviations. With Ning's persistence, the male leaders finally have to agree to fix the distributed price and quantity. A year after, another group of people, duplicated her action on fixing the *Raskin* manipulations. Ning and her friend at Sekolah Perempuan were very proud that the community appreciated her hard work. The leaders of Sekolah Perempuan has succeeded at dismantling gender stereotype that poor women should be silent and submissive.

Sekolah Perempuan Leaders Managed to Participating at Musrenbang

Musrenbang forum, which is a forum for exploring people aspirations for city development was never been heard by Sekolah Perempuan members. They heard about Musrenbang once they join Sekolah Perempuan. Opie, one of Sekolah Perempuan's facilitaror encouraged the leaders to start participating in the forum. But it was uneasy path. In the beginning of their presence in Musrenbang, Sri Mulyati (46 years old) said that there were rejection from the male leaders and those who are rich when they tried to attend the meeting at *Rukun Warga* (neighborhood group). The forum objected to the presence of those who normally worked as their maids, the launder, or the small trader. Without saying explicitly, the forum expressed that Musrenbang is a forum for men, community leaders, and those with higher socio-economic statuses only.

"Waktu kelompok Sekolah Perempuan datang ke Rembug RW, kita grogi soalnya Pak RW menanyakan undangannya. Kami memperkenalkan diri sebagai Sekolah Perempuan. Disitu kami ditertawakan dan digunjingkan sama ibu-ibu PKK, kebetulan mereka diundang. Pak RW tidak mau menerima kami… sampai Mbak Opie menjelaskan tentang apa itu Sekolah Perempuan… Untung aja ada Mbak Opie, yang terus menerus memberikan semangat untuk kami sehingga kami tidak patah semangat" (Interview with Mulyati, 13 October 2016).

[When the group of Sekolah Perempuan went to forum of *Rembug RW*, we were nervous since the head of *Rukun Warga* asked whether we have the invitation letter. We were laughed at, seemed that we were ridiculous until Opie (the facilitator from Institut Kapal Perempuan) explained what is

Sekolah Perempuan about … Luckily, we have Opie who gave continuous spirit to us so that we were not discourage]"

Despite hesitation due to the rejection in the *RW* level, they tried to present to the higher level, and Urban Village level of Musrenbang, where their presence were appreciated by the head of Kelurahan Jati negara Kaum. At the distric level, learning the presence of Sekolah Perempuan, The Head of Pulogadung District praised the leaders for the initiative of Sekolah Perempuan. He urged other *kelurahan (urban village)* areas to duplicate Sekolah Perempuan. Finally in the end of 2016, several leaders of Sekolah Perempuan managed to join the Musrenbang in the province level. The leaders I interviewed told me that they were very proud that they were able to contribute and voice their needs. Later on, they received various health programs that benefit to marginal women, such as counselling on breast and cervix cancer as well providing the tests that are SADARI (Periksa Payudara Sendiri) and IVA (Vagina Inspection by Acetate Acid).

By joining Musrenbang, the leaders of Sekolah Perempuan, who are the research subjects confessed that they gains even more self-confidence. They proud that they can prove they are able to contribute to the community development. At the end, they were feel have a better position in renegotiating their roles with their husbands and other family members. Their husbands now are willing to share the reproductive works, and feel proud for the fact that their wives were able to actively participating as community leaders.

Income Generating Activities

Beside the meeting sessions that conducted once a week, Sekolah Perempuan encourages their member to start their own business. From the meeting sessions, they discussed and shared experience about setting up their own business. Ning was the one who finally was encourages to start her own business, selling fried snacks. She told me that beside being PAUD teacher, she is making money in the afternoon selling various snacks and it gives a better economic for their family.

Indah (39) from Bidaracina told me she was very shy person when she has not join Sekolah Perempuan. Previously, she has no courage to speak in public. She told me, that after she joined Sekolah Perempuan, she has the courage to speak up and decided to have her own business as a food trader. She determined not to dependent fully on her husband in the economic terms. So does with Lily (29). Lily feels that being women should not fully depend on husband. After joining Sekolah Perempuan, she thought that she has put aside her shyness, started to work on her own, and selling multilevel cosmetics. She found that the income was good for her.

Further, Ning shared the impacts of being leader of Sekolah Perempuan. As a PAUD teacher, Ning has succeeded in advocating PAUD permit in the sub district area from one year to four years. Another success story was that the Sekolah Perempuan Jatinegara Kaum has successfully launched their audit on national health insurance called "Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional untuk Penerima Bantuan Iuran" (JKN-PBI) on mid of March 2018. The audit objective was to ensure that the health insurance provided by the government is really utilized by the community. The audit was also intended as a monitoring and education tool to mothers and women about the importance of reproductive health. The audit took place since August to December 2017 and it was conducted by sixteen of Sekolah Perempuan leaders in Jatinegara Kaum District.

Discussion

Socialist feminism explains that male domination over women, not only because a patriarchal system, but it work hand in hand with capitalism to subordinate women. Many socialist feminists believe that capitalism and patriarchy are interrelated and mutually reinforcing their respective positions in modern society today [2]. Socialist feminists argue that the dominance to women occurs not only by those power relations, but it works with its intersections with class, race, economic status, ethnicity and occupation [3] [7]. This theory offers liberation through awareness of the oppression of women. It argues that the oppression of women by a patriarchal and capitalist as well as oppression by class, economic status, and race, must be abolished to achieve women's liberation through social, economic and political justice.

Sekolah Perempuan applied those women liberation ideas from socialist feminism through the three aspects in its curricula: gender equality concept, life skills and critical thinking, and organizing women in a community level. The members become aware of women oppression at household and community level and they have fought it through their presence in community discussion. Currently the leaders often testifying their success story on various women's movement trainings.

Iris Young [4] argued that men's oppression and domination to women manifested into a patriarchal system or structure that works in such a way to restrict women in getting equal rights with men. Oppression according Young is not a people or a group but a system or structure that restrict other people to actualized themselves or to develop their capacity. Oppression is systematically reproduced and institutionalized in economic, political and cultural terms domination and oppression restrict women in terms of self-determination and self-expression. Therefore, young urged women to work together to create systems or institutions that can encourage women themselves to be able to autonomously determine their actions. What Young refers was a democratic system structured in all areas: workplace, economy, and household. This was applied by KAPAL through Sekolah Perempuan. By joining the program, the leaders show that it has transformed them to be brave and independent person.

Ida Ruwaida [5] quotes Kabeer (2005) argues that women's empowerment is a "political" development process. Not only developing individual capacity, the movement has driven the movement to a collective level, at the organizational and institutional level. On the other hand, Saptari [6] states that in the pre-capitalist society, women are often subordinated and marginalized by the dominant classes. Despite their authority in the household, in the public area, women often acted silent and submissive as their response to the men's dominating attitude.

Because of their low capacity, many thought that poor women should be silent and in a state to obey whatever commands are given to them. At the community level they must obey a very patriarchal system which requires women to be quiet. But not with Ning, the leader of Sekolah Perempuan Bidaracina. She succeeded in fighting male domination and proved that she were able participating in the community development by fixing the distribution system in Raskin Program as I explained in the research result. Sekolah Perempuan managed to sharpen her leadership skills as well as demonstrating that integrity is an important key for any social security programme sustainability.

Marginalized Women, Sekolah Perempuan and Awareness of Gender Equality

Saptari and Holzner [6] explain that in a pre-capitalist society, women considered as housewives and unproductive, always subordinated and marginalized by dominant classes. Hence, for poor

women, the subordination was not only done by their husband and relatives, but from their working relation and from the society as well. The concept of women marginalization is a process of exclusion, as a shift of women to margins, as a process of feminization or segregation of women's work to certain occupational roles, and as a process of economic inequality. Saptari and Holzner [6] cited Allison Scott, that the process of marginalizing women in the field of work with certain characteristics is also a result of the general economic imbalances in major cities of the world. The phenomenon is not just happening in Indonesia, but occurs almost in all parts of the world.

Marginalization of women is often layered, since women in social structures often put in the lower places such as low-wage workers, while in households they also experience marginalization due to inferior position compared to other family members. According to some studies, normally within the country's structure, the poor women are often under represented. Although at time of the legislative election campaign, many candidates are acting on behalf of the poor and vulnerable, in fact, their right and interests are often ignored and in many occasions their voice considered unimportant. Some studies show that state policies are often not pro-poor/vulnerable groups. There are a lot of groups of women who have no access to information or justice because they are not sufficient to represent them. Hence Iris Young argues that women's empowerment is crucial, especially in strengthening capacity, in individual and collective levels.

Sekolah Perempuan tried to empower marginal women by giving the leadership training so that they are confident to go to public area and to work on their own. It also equipped marginalized women with the ability to not only voice their interests who have been silenced so long, but also to provide solutions in improving women's socio-economic status with socio economic activities, in example conducting the periodic bazaar within their community.

Beauvoir [8] underlines that in order to break the patriarchal system, women need to transcendent by working, involving to intellectual activity as well as become an actor in social transforming.

> "When man makes a woman the Other, "he may, they expect her to manifest deep-seated tendencies towards complicity. Thus, woman may fail to lay claim to the status of the subject because she lacks definite sources, because she fails the necessary bond that ties her to man regardless of reciprocity, and because she is often very well pleased with her role as the Other". *[8]*.

Refer to Beauvoir, Sekolah Perempuan has transformed marginalized women to be able to speak, to voice their needs themselves. After attending various training programs, including life skills, Sekolah Perempuan leaders managed to sharpen their skills in negotiating and critical thinking. Currently the leaders of Sekolah Perem are very active participating in the their urban village development. They are also active in advocating some of women's right in the society.

Recently leaders of Sekolah Perempuan at Jatinegara Kaum successfully launched their audit result of the National Health Insurance and Beneficiary Assistance schemes (JKN-PBI). The activity shows that they are competent enough in conducting audit for current health insurance. They understood the importance of improving the quality of life of poor women and tried to monitor the national health insurance program in order to ensure that the program targets are met. Those at least show that Sekolah Perempuan leaders has successfully transcendent into "Self" and no longer live as "the other".

Hence, with several success stories of Sekolah Perempuan, KAPAL proved that it is important to equip marginalized women the understandings of the gender equality concept through the

alternative education for women, Sekolah Perempuan. KAPAL as a facilitator, managed to build critical thinking as well as leadership skills and transforming the leaders of Sekolah Perempuan who are marginalized women to become community leaders in their respective regions.

5. Conclusion

In urban development, poor women are often marginalized due to internalization processes that they are the "second sex" and subordinate to men. It is also perpetuated in such way by cultural and religious norms so that the intersection of various problems and poverty puts them in the lowest position in their community. Sekolah Perempuan initiated by KAPAL was realized it. Sekolah Perempuan gave the marginal women basic knowledge about gender equality concept, to reclaim women's autonomy. By joining The Sekolah Perempuan, the subjects of my research managed to dismantled the "gender roles". Not only succeed on managing to renegotiating their position in the household, they able to participate in the community development. As they joined the training on life skills, health, and economic empowerment by KAPAL Perempuan, they finally have been able to participating at Musrenbang forum where the government can hear the marginal women's voices.

By understanding the concept of gender equality, the marginal women in Bidaracina and Jatinegara Kaum were eventually improving their position in society and led to better capacity. Leaders from Sekolah Perempuan in both areas were proved themselves to become the community leaders by participating in the health insurance audit and at Musrenbang. They provided advices on the needs of marginalized women. Currently there are several women health programs run based on inputs of the Sekolah Perempuan leaders.

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PROBLEMATIZING INSTITUTION OF EMPOWERMENT'S RESPONSES TO FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLD'S: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON PEKKA

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Abstract

According to the 2014 survey conducted by the National Economics Census Data of Indonesia, the number of female-headed households gradually increased by approximately 0.1%, yet most of the female-headed household are living below the poverty line. These women were largely ignored, but they rarely became targets of empowerment. This condition persisted until 2001 when "Female-headed household Empowerment Program" (PEKKA) commenced. Considering the position of female-headed household in a country which inclines to "state ibuism", it is interesting to see how PEKKA responds to constructions of an ideal woman and gender roles in Indonesia. Furthermore, how these responses are implemented within PEKKA's empowerment programs will give an overall description of the power relation between female-headed household and PEKKA as an institution. Therefore, excesses of power and domination constantly put the women in a difficult position. This research is also designed to apply qualitative methods with approaches of Cultural Studies, covering textual analysis and interview with PEKKA's Deputy Director of Institutional Strengthening at March 15, 2018. Additionally, the gathered data are critically analyzed through concepts of gender citizenship and trusteeship.

Keywords: Female-headed household, PEKKA, gender citizenship, trusteeship, empowerment.

1. Introduction

"Thus, women do not exist in their own right, but invariably relate to something or somebody" [1]. Such statement is uttered by Julia Suryakusuma in an attempt to define Indonesian women's capability. As one of the experts in gender studies, Suryakusuma explains that Indonesian women's capability is not to become autonomous individuals but rather "accompaniments" who have the responsibility to support and take care of other individuals in her family. Therefore, without another individual, a woman is made to be incapable of defining herself. In relation to this notion of capacity, domestic roles are imposed to Indonesian women, and such responsibilities

are commonly taken by housewives. Therefore, the construction of an ideal Indonesian woman is related to an "ibu's" (a mother's) roles, tasks, and figure, an ideology that Suryakusuma [1] named as "ibuisme negara" (state ibuism)[1]

Rapidly developing during the New Order regime, this ideology is different from western concept of motherhood. Although both concepts similarly root in biological aspects of a mother, the concept of ibuism has expanded itself to cover more roles. As a mother's figure and roles are put on a noble position, the term "ibu" can be used to express respect to rich women, older women, or women with higher positions [1]. Such high status of an "ibu" also constructs marriage as a standard of achievement of an adult's social life, thus creating difficulties for not only single women but also (and more importantly) widows.

Difficulties Encountered by Single Women in Countries with "State Ibuism"

Referring to previous researches on how the construction of an ideal woman in Indonesia often puts widows in difficult positions, it can be summed that there are three main problems that the widows often have to face. In her research on female heads of households' welfare in Karawang, West Java, Humaidah [2] finds that due to many factors, poverty has become an issue which cannot be separated from the widows' lives. In this case, poverty is defined as not only that the women do not own money and certain assets, but also that these women have limited access to resources that may sustain their lives [2].

Double burden is another issue that the widows have to deal with. In the aftermath of a divorce, the widows will generally stay at their parents' or a close relative's house. The widows will then have to bear two burdens. First, they have to provide for the family's needs (especially when the widows have children). At the same time, they are burdened with the responsibilities to take care domestic matters well [3].Were both burdens not successfully dealt with, a woman will be considered "failed and incapable of being a woman". Such notion degrades the image of widows in the society.

Thirdly, the widows have to deal with stigmas imposed by the society in their daily lives. Lyn Parker [4], a researcher who study widows in Indonesia, argues that although terminologically the word "janda" (widow) only defines a woman's marriage status, the use of this word in daily situations in Indonesia has led to implied pejorative meaning.

> As sexually experienced but single women, they (the widows)are often suspected of sexual impropriety, and hence often become the object of damaging gossip, sexual predation from men, sexual jealousy from wives, and general vilification. [4, p. 7].

Parker further argues that such stigmas are constantly imposed on widows without considering why the widows are divorced and become single again.

Responding to the problems that widows have to deal with, the government through NGOs and many women organizations has advocated the widows' rights while empowering the widows. One of the implementation of such action is "Female-headed household Empowerment Program" (PEKKA).Working hand-in-hand with other women institutions, PEKKA is claimed to

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[1] "Ibuisme negara" (state *ibuism*) was a conceptual term which is coined and developed by Julia Suryakusuma (2011) in an attempt of establishing a theoretical framework of her thesis, which critically investigated PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) and Dharma Wanita. This concept is a synthesis of Maria Mies (1998)'s *housewifization*, Madelon Djajadiningrat (1987)'s "*ibuism*", and Michael Van Langenberg (1986)'s concept of state.

capably become forefront advocates of husbandless women empowerment on a grass root level. Considering that PEKKA is an institution where only single women can be included in the board of trustees, how PEKKA responds to face gender social constructions in Indonesia (particularly the social construction of an ideal woman) becomes an interesting issue to study. It is also necessary to see how PEKKA has a role in empowering female heads of households in the grassroots level.

This research aims to map the power relation among the single women who become the heads of their households and members of PEKKA's board of trustees. Therefore, in a closer look, it can be seen that power domination works in ways that put women in difficult positions. Furthermore, in a dialogue with other Cultural Studies researches, this research can hopefully offer an alternative point of view in looking at issues of female-headed households and institutions of empowerment.

2. Research Methodology

This research applies qualitative methods and approaches of Cultural Studies. More specifically, this method covers textual analysis and interviews with PEKKA's board of trustees. These data were obtained between October and November 2017. In order to grasp a deeper understanding on the corpus and to find a research niche, the study is currently on the stage of literature reviews on several sources, particularly PEKKA webpage, PEKKA's yearly reports, and other academic works which have discussed issues related to PEKKA.

Furthermore, the research will also involve interview at March 15, 2018 with PEKKA's Deputy Director of Institutional Strengthening, Fitria Villa Sahara (Villa). The purpose of the interview is to understand how PEKKA responds to constructions of ideal women and gender roles in Indonesia, what strategies that apply, and how these responses are implemented in PEKKA's programs of empowerment. After conducting textual analysis and interview, the findings obtained from the field research will be analyzed using two concepts as theoretical frameworks, namely (1) *gender citizenship*, which lays out the position of female heads of households in the society, and (2) *trusteeship*, which explains the role and position of PEKKA as an institution which enacts their programs of empowerment in the society.

3. Research Highlight

After interviewing PEKKA's board of trustees' members and textually analyzing PEKKA's webpage, PEKKA reports, and other researches, the data provides explanation on what PEKKA is as an institution, what PEKKA programs are, how gender ideology is exercised, and what existing issues are in PEKKA.

Female-headed household Empowerment Program (PEKKA)

PEKKA is an initiative proposed by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan)[2] to cater economic and psychological needs for widows in 2000 in Aceh, which was a conflicting region at the time. However, PEKKA activists felt that economic and social issues also affect the lives of widows living outside of conflicting regions. Therefore, working together with Center for Women's Resources Development (PPSW), PEKKA transformed into an institution who specializes in providing the needs of widows in Indonesia. PPSW is an association

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[2] The National Commission on Violence Against Women is an independent institution which was established as a response to violence against Chinese-Indonesian women during the incident of May 1998. The commission was established on October 9, 1998 based on Presidential Decree No. 181/1998 and strengthened by Presidential Decree no. 65/2005 (komnasperempuan.go.id).

which had implemented programs and work groups in district level. As of 2018, this association is still active at hosting other women gatherings such as PKK, women of cooperative association (*persatuan ibu-ibu koperasi*), and religion-based women association. Therefore, PEKKA can be the forefront empowering agent for female heads of households in the grassroots level.

PEKKA institution consists of PEKKA foundation (Yayasan PEKKA), PEKKA Union (Serikat PEKKA), and Federation of PEKKA Union (Federasi Serikat PEKKA). PEKKA foundation is an institution which founded PEKKA in the first place, and currently it is located in Jakarta. At this moment, the Foundation's task is only to accompany PEKKA unions in rural areas while building relations with local people to found PEKKA in regions with no programs of empowerment. Meanwhile, PEKKA Union is a term for societal organization in regions outside Jakarta. Although the union implements the programs developed by PEKKA foundation, PEKKA Union has its separate own law firm. These unions gather with one another, creating a nationwide union called Federation of PEKKA Unions (Federasi Serikat PEKKA).The number of PEKKA Union secretaries have fluctuated throughout the years before gradually increasing during the last two years. In pekka.or.id webpage, as of 2016, PEKKA has reached 20 provinces, 77 regencies, 284 districts, and 1,185 villages.

Although it has reached 20 provinces, PEKKA's programs have actually been implemented in 34 provinces in Indonesia. In one of the interviews, PEKKA Deputy Director of Institutional Strengthening Fitria Villa Sahara (Villa) [5] informed that at the end of 2016, together with Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Right of Women and Children (KPPPA) and *Lembaga Inspirasi Tanpa Batas* (Inspirit) developed PEKKA-Perintis program. This program is proposed to find and develop female heads of households and make them as innovators in the village level. The program has been expanded that currently it reaches 34 provinces in Indonesia. According to Villa, this means that although PEKKA does not have regional secretary in every province, at least PEKKA has made networks and programs which reach out to all over Indonesia.

As of 2017, PEKKA has 6 focuses of empowerment, which are empowerment in economy, law, politics, lifetime education, lifetime right to health, and community media.[6] Among the six sectors, economy is PEKKA's main focus since most female heads of households live below the poverty line. In fact, the 2015 record shows that the number of these women increases.

> The number of woman-headed poverty-stricken households (RTM-P) increased by 1.09% while man-headed poverty-stricken households (RTM-L) decreased by 1.09% during 2006 – 2012. TNP2K also records that the severity of poverty in women-headed poverty-stricken households (RTM-P) is worse than man-headed poverty-stricken households (RTM-L). [6, p. 8]

PEKKA has a regulation that a woman who is targeted for empowerment must be the head of a household. More specifically, "head of a household" is defined as a person who takes the responsibility to become the main provider, manager, and decision maker in a family. This explanation covers a lot of women who fit into the definition of "head of a household". Therefore, PEKKA uses the term "head of a household" as an act of advocation, arguing that(household-heading) husbandless women have strategic roles and the equal position with household-heading men. Villa gives further elaboration as the following:

> "So we use the term based on confronting what is happening in reality. There are groups of women who become the head of their families because of different conditions. This condition refers to what is happening in her domestic life, whether her husband is deceased, or she is

divorced, or her husband is incapable of providing for the family's needs. However, this is still in a phase of responding to a condition. PEKKA, then, is a cause of a condition." [5]

Furthermore, as written in pekka.or.id, the phrase "female-headed household" refers to divorced women (whether the divorce occurred because of death or other reasons), unmarried women who provide for their families, married women with a financially incapable husband (for instance, because of disability/special needs), married women without financial security (for instance, being engaged in a polygamous relationship or *merantau*[3]). In relation to this, Villa explains that this definition is has been expanded to a wider scope that it may empower more female heads of households. As for now, if a woman is married to a working husband, but the woman is responsible for the entire household matters, she can also enroll on PEKKA's programs.

Persuasive Responses as PEKKA's Stance of Negotiation

Having been operating for 15 years, implementing programs of empowerment for female heads of household is not something that runs without difficulty. Although many of PEKKA's members are single women, the construction of *state ibuism* also influences the development of this institution. For instance, the use of the term "female-headed household" is still problematic. In an interview, Villa also realizes that the term "female-headed household" is not only uncommon, but also sensitive. In Indonesia, where patriarchal culture roots deep within the society, the head of a family is always a man. When a woman becomes the head of a family, she occupies a position which transcends the man, and this is considered an inappropriate situation.

Even if a man is absent in a family (because of divorce, for instance), the woman usually "returns" to her father's family. Therefore, it is common that in a divorce, there is an idiom that "the woman is *returned* to her (original) family where she came from". Furthermore, being husbandless often makes female heads of households stigmatized by their neighbors, as Villa elaborates.

> "At the very least, they [the women] are socially stigmatized. It is even worse for divorced widows. They need to bear more burdens. When one is divorced, people will say that you are not a good wife, so your husband let go of you. Also, there is another stigma. A divorced woman has to be cautious because other people's husbands may flirt with them. In short, these women face multiple stigmas." [5]

Due to these issues, Villa explains not only that the use of the term "female-headed household" does show that women have strategic roles in a family, but also that the term can initiate a movement to make people realize that female heads of households also contributes to the society, and their contribution is as much as that of men. Using this term also empowers these women that they may leave their *dis*comfort zone.

Regardless the urgency of the term, PEKKA chooses to take persuasive measures. Villa says that rejection is found in almost every region, but nothing has stopped PEKKA. PEKKA realizes that there should be a shift of term from "widow" to "female heads of households". However, there is no obligation that the term must be used. The term is introduced along with the implementation of a program, and the decision of using the term "female heads of households" as a label of identity depends on a woman's choice.

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[3] "Merantau" is an Indonesian word which describes a condition where a person has to leave her/his family in order to make a better living in another city/province/country.

"Let the process of advocation – the process of voicing out what they get from our programs – come from the female-headed household themselves, not from us (the board members). We have our own perspective on how these women should be accepted by the society, but we are always persuasive, always strategic. We never think that we should fight other people. Let the women fight for them selves to show that they do contribute to the society. So we defend them. What we do is to improve their capability, help them develop their organization and network, helping their advocation and efforts to transform socio-cultural norm in their own neighborhood. Something like that." [5]

Villa's explanation shows that the obstacles and rejections to the position of women as head of a family are something difficult to fight back against. Although PEKKA mainly uses persuasionthat women can be socially accepted as heads of their families, such ideal cannot be fully implemented in a society where patriarchal culture has entrenched itself.

PEKKA's Role in Empowering Women in Grassroots Level

In the previous section, PEKKA's six focuses of empowerment has been briefly mentioned. These focuses are PEKKA's responses to the difficulties that female heads of households have to face. Initially, these responses were merely written in the organization's vision. As PEKKA webpage states, PEKKA has a vision of empowering female heads of households with the purpose of contributing to the making of a society with prosperity, gender equality, and honor. In this elaboration of PEKKA's vision, there are three main goals that PEKKA aims to achieve. The first goal is prosperity. In one of the interviews, Villa argues that the main problem that female-headed household have to face is poverty. According to Villa, in the pyramid of welfare, female heads of household's position is only second to the poorest group. Consequently, economic sector is not only the goal and focus of empowerment but also a gateway for empowerment programs.

The second goal is gender equality. Similar to other gender-based movements, in general, equality is an important ideal to strive for in an attempt of creating a structural order which is non-discriminatory to all genders. However, PEKKA realizes that understanding on equality is still unpopular, and implementing such notion will cause rejection from a strongly patriarchal community. Realizing this, PEKKA has not demanded equal rights.

"We can talk about gender equality here, but in our practices, we don't use these jargons. At least they can understand who women are and how their relation to men is. Their experiences allow us to build a vision that what they feel is a part of gender inequality. They are victims of such thing. How their relationship to their husbands is, how they are treated for being poverty-stricken widows…" [5]

Heading towards gender equality, PEKKA's spreads awareness to the female-headed household so that these women can give proofs to and negotiate with men. By giving evidences and doing negotiations, they can be considered rightful, and people can see that they have important roles to the society. If this is achieved, these women can be involved in a village's process of decision making as their position and their voices matter.

The last goal is honor. As described in the previous section, female heads of households (especially widows) often receive negative stigma from the people. Even after empowerment program has been executed, many express their doubts on PEKKA.One of the cases is Lingsar Village, West Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Based on Kortschak's report [7] on the local women's

opinion, when PEKKA program was first implemented, many villagers (especially men) were skeptical of the program since the women are mostly illiterate and do not know occupations other than farming.

Similar doubt is also expressed by PEKKA members in many regions. They see themselves as individuals who should be pitied. Hence, during execution of the program, the women are often positioned as receivers of benefit from the empowerment program as opposed to capable individuals who can be empowered. Therefore, "honor" becomes one of PEKKA's visions so that the women have confidence on themselves, understanding that they have equal and strategic position in a community. The community will then see the women as their honorable members, and these women can be involved in the process of improving their village condition.

These visions are then implemented in PEKKA's missions, particularly in the aforementioned six focuses of empowerment. These six focuses are then developed in a system of independence. At the beginning, PEKKA foundation finds information about the numbers and condition of female-headed households in a region. Next, the women are gathered, and Secretary of PEKKA Union is established. The board members of PEKKA foundation will then find out about the needs of local female-headed household while providing training for key members of the local PEKKA union. Once the PEKKA union is considered capable of self-sustenance, PEKKA foundation will trust the local PEKKA union to take care of the community. From afar, PEKKA foundation will supervise how the local union operates. On top of this, PEKKA foundation becomes the channel for benefactors. As the institution is an independent organization, funds will not be given directly to the women. In this case, PEKKA foundation becomes the mediator between the women and the government/benefactors.

Nevertheless, their position as a mediator is evaluated by other institutions. In PEKKA foundation's 2015 report [6], Tan Jo Hann from South East Asia Popular Communications Programme (SEAPCP) and Roem Topati masang from Indonesian Society for Social Transformation (INSIST) evaluated the institution. The details of the evaluation can be found as the following:

- Although PEKKA has done a lot of things, PEKKA has not comprehensively solved greater socio-economic issues in the women's local communities such as waste management, ecological disaster, and the scarcity of clean water.

- Some of the developed activities still conform to conventional stereotypes of women, which should in reality be challenged. For instance, the development of beauty salons tends to strengthen the stereotype that women actually love to groom.

- Strategies of training PEKKA members to gain access to public services such as law identity has caused PEKKA members to do services that should be the responsible of village civil servants. This has taken too much of the members' time that organizational responses to other socio-economic issues have not been taken care of. [6, p.54]

Due to these issues, the evaluators recommended that PEKKA foundation connect their analysis on actual problems that female heads of households have to face. Subsequently, PEKKA is expected to accompany the women while enhancing their knowledge and giving sharing more information so that programs executed by PEKKA Union can cater local women's needs in a more precise manner. The evaluation results and recommendations show that PEKKA foundation's distant and centered supervision puts PEKKA in a problematic position. On one hand, they can encourage local PEKKA unions to be independent. On the other hand, PEKKA's role as a

mediator often makes the program do not respond to the women's actual needs. Due to this issue, the progress of the empowerment programs tends to fluctuate.

4. Research Results
Problematizing PEKKA's Persuasive Responses

In the previous sections, it has been mentioned that PEKKA uses methods of persuasion in helping female heads of households deal with their difficulties. This step is taken as the focus of empowerment is not to bring forth radical changes to the local community. PEKKA's focus is to make changes for the women that they may contribute to the dynamics of their community.

In one of the interviews, PEKKA's Deputy Director of Institutional Strengthening, Villa, further admits that persuasive measures should be done since there are 3 forms of power which dominate the lives of female heads of households. These three elements are further elaborated in PEKKA's 2013 report [6], which states that female heads of households are dominated by formal system of power, non-formal system of power, and norms. Formal system of power is a form of power that sources from the government, and it is legalized by the law and other government regulations. On the other hand, non-formal system of power includes members of society or relatives who have power over a woman's life. Finally, norms are a system of power which has been implanted within a household-heading woman's mind. In other words, social conventions such as norms and values are often internalized by women.

In order to fight against the three forms of power, PEKKA begins with strengthening the women by creating a self-sustaining system of empowerment.

> "The most difficult job is to battle the invisible – something which lies within ourselves. For so long we have been taught some cultural values, which is difficult to deconstruct. This is precisely what we've been doing all the time. We set women free from the invisible power. Sometimes they need to fight themselves. 'Oh, I'm a poverty-stricken woman', 'I didn't go to school', 'I'm stupid' – something like that. Women are constructed to listen to what men say. We should turn this thing around. And this is the toughest job to do." [5]

Based on this point of view, PEKKA chooses to start their advocation from each individual, hoping that this would bring changes in a greater scope (the community). However, as their finding suggests, changes in the community level are not entirely successful, and this forces PEKKA to negotiate with local communities through persuasive responses. This situation is understandable when one looks at how the government positions female heads of households. How these women are positioned by the government in the society can be understood through the concept of *gender citizenship*.

Ani W. Soetjipto and Shelly Adelina [9] argue that the concept of citizenship in Asia, particularly Indonesia, is often understood as the responsibilities and demands of a state to its citizens. Such understanding is different from western countries, which strongly emphasize individual rights of each citizen. In Indonesia, responsibilities of citizens and state's demands are classified according to a person's gender, and this classification is legalized by the law. Furthermore, Soetjipto and Adelina [9] elaborates that such demands and responsibilities particularly determines a family member's position and role, such as the following Marriage Law.

Article 31 Section 3
A husband is the head of a family, and a wife is the mother of the household.

Article 34

(1) The husband shall protect his wife and provide all necessities of life required in a family to the best of his ability.

(2) The wife shall manage the household to the best of her ability.

(3) If either the husband or the wife neglects his or her responsibilities, the other party may lodge a complaint with the Court.

PEKKA sees these articles as a kind of domination by the formal structure, and this puts female heads of households in a difficult position. Although in reality there are many women who head their households, their existence is not legally admitted by the state. One of the consequences of this is that female heads of households cannot easily make a bank loan as they are not considered the main providers of a family, and they are financially weak.

Furthermore, this law affects the non-formal structure. Gender-based citizenship in Indonesia is placed under the dome of relations between an individual, a particular community, and the state. Therefore, although not everybody understands the Marriage Law (particularly Article 31 and 34), the same discriminatory notion has been internalized by the society, and this influences how the system works in its daily basis. Due to that gender citizenship, it would be difficult if PEKKA dwells in its persuasive model. Referring to PEKKA's three visions, PEKKA may encounter less difficulties in improving female-headed household's economy, but it would still be a long way to achieve gender equality and honor if PEKKA insists on maintaining their diplomatic stance.

Problematizing with PEKKA as an Institution of Empowerment

As the aforementioned key findings from the field research suggest, PEKKA foundation is in a problematic position because PEKKA places itself as a mediator between of the government, the benefactors and local organizations. This problematic position can be explained from an understanding on Tania Murray Li's concept of trusteeship. Li [10] describes that in a social order, a position of "trustees" is attributed to a person or an institution with the authority to make claims on how a community should live, what is the best for a community, and what things are necessary for a community. Furthermore, Li explains that

> Trusteeship is defined as "the intent" which is expresses, by one source of agency to develop the capacities of another". The objective of trusteeship is not to dominate others--it is to enhance their capacity for action, and to direct in. In Indonesia, since the nineteenth century the list of trustees includes colonial officials and missionaries, politicians and bureaucrats, international aid donor, specialist in agriculture, hygiene, credit and conversation, and so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of various kinds. [10, p. 4 – 5]

The position of "trustees" can become problematic since their intentions tend to be rather utopistic. There is a dream that everything will move forward. According to Li [10], the trustees' methods are often too subtle (too persuasive). Should there be a case of coercion, it would not be conducted in an authoritarian sense. Furthermore, Li [10] explains that the trustees often run everything from a distance, with a requirement that the designed programs have been internalized by the targeted individuals.

Li's concept is in line with PEKKA's role that has been described in the previous section. As PEKKA maintains the distance between them and local organizations, it highlights PEKKA's role as a trustee. This is supported by Villa's statement in an interview.

> "We educate people, that's all. It's their organization, but we are an institution that helps them grow. We have guidelines on how to build an efficient organization, how discussions can result in the appointment of the key members, how to discuss different issues. We also give organizational guidelines and operating procedures. We hope that our guidelines can help them become independent, not relying too much on us." [5]

Villa's statement shows that PEKKA has a good intention of creating independence for both local organizations and their members. However, guidelines and standard of an executed program should not be based on static measures. What an empowering institution should aim for is not merely success or independence but the number of progressive changes that have been made.

Furthermore, trusteeship also makes PEKKA rather insensitive in responding the needs of the female heads of households. For example, although using economic empowerment as a gateway seems to be a strategic action that successfully reaches its targets, PEKKA mainly gives solutions on a practical level. This is because there is a rather simplistic understanding on poverty, which is associated with the female-headed household's low income and their incapability of fulfilling their daily needs. However, poverty is a social issue which is caused by many reasons. Despite being overlooked, social and cultural conditions, for example, also contribute to the continuation of poverty. Thus, the programs introduced by PEKKA foundation to local organizations do make changes, but they have not tackled the varying causes of poverty among female-headed households.

5. Conclusion

Female heads of households are a vulnerable group. They have to face construction of ideal women in Indonesia, which is often attributed to a mother's figure and roles. In dimensions of development and empowerment, this group is largely ignored. Female-headed households are frequently positioned as recipients of benefit. As the number of female-headed households inclines by 0.1% per year, the demands for responses proliferate. In 2001, a specific initiative started giving responses to their problems, and it transformed into grassroots-level institution of empowerment in 2004.

In its development, PEKKA has not only responded to the problems of the female-headed household, but also resisted against the construction of ideal women in Indonesia. As the construction has been internalized by the society and legalized by the law, PEKKA decides to take persuasive measures in negotiating their intentions. This strategy is a response to women's general condition in Indonesia, where they are shackled with gender-based responsibilities and demands. This is a form of structural domination of formal institutions, which put female heads of households into a more difficult position.

Furthermore, PEKKA's role as a mediator between the government, donors and local organizations make a problematic situation for PEKKA themselves. PEKKA has become the female-headed households' trustee. So PEKKA has the right to determine how the women should live and what are the best for them. Hence, while PEKKA has executed programs which are successful in terms of empowerment, the institution has not succeeded in responding to the women's actual needs.

Finally, it is necessary to admit that this research is not without problems. There were difficulties in accessing quantitative data, and this research is limited to analysis on PEKKA institution without involving the empowered female heads of households' narratives and voices. As this research is a part of an ongoing thesis, the next step of this research is expected to represent the female heads of households' voices through ethnographical research on a village.

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SISTERHOOD LEADERSHIP FOR PROGRESSIVE WOMEN: BIOGRAPHY STUDY OF ELYDA DJAZMAN'S LEADERSHIP IN 'AISYIYAH ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

This study illustrated how Elyda Djazman (EJ) led 'Aisyiyah (women's wing of Muhammadiyah) one of the largest Muslim women's organization in Indonesia. This paper aims to explore the process of EJ becoming a leader, her role in organization development, and the obstacles faced by EJ. The main informant of this study was EJ and other resources persons in her family and 'Aisyiyah. This research used qualitative method. Data collection was gained through in-depth interviews and non-participatory observation. This paper reveals that EJ's leadership is influenced by genetic factors and ecological factors. EJ's leadership character is highly influenced by Islamic leadership concept. Interestingly, EJ never had experienced of discrimination and stereotyping due to her gender. And yet, she suffered a double work load.

Keywords: Elyda Djazman, process, leadership character, sisterhood leadership, obstacle.

1. Introduction

Leadership is one of the behaviors of a person to influence the organization in order to achieve a collective goal. According toYukl [1] leadership is the behavior of an individual who leads the activities of a group to achieved shared goal; leadership is the process of influencing the activities

of a group that is organized towards the achievement of goals. Often the word leadership refers to roles rather than behavior [2].

While there is a widespread perception that men and women in general have achieved status equations in the workplace in the United States, but its data shows statistically different. Significantly women are far behind in terms of income and leadership representation in business, government, council and political systems compared to men. Research by Folta, Seguin, Ackerman, and Nelson (2012) [3] examines the characteristics of female leadership that accelerate the growth of positive change in the organization. Vasavada [4]focuses on women leaders of nonprofit organizations (NPOs), that proposes a framework for reducing challenges faces by women in India. In this era of globalization, leaders of an organization or company are still mainly dominated by men.

This paper explores the story of a prominent woman in Indonesian Islamic organization. This paper presents story of Elyda Djazman Muslim woman leader of 'Aisyiyah. 'Aisyiyah is the women's wing of Muhammadiyah founded in 1917 by Ms Walidah and her husband K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in 1917. Muhammadiyah is the biggest Islamic reformism movement in Indonesian founded by K.H Ahmad Dahlan in Kauman Yogyakarta in 1912. Elyda DJazman (will be called "EJ" throughout this paper) is prominent leader of 'Aisyiyah who was the chairman of the Central Board of 'Aisyiyah for three periods (1985-2000). She is the only 'Aisyiyah leader who comes from outside Island of Java. EJ was known as a critical and proactive. This paper focuses on leadership process of EJ including her background, leadership characters, and the obstacles.

2. Research Methodology

This is qualitative study [5] which primarily drawn from EJ's biography. According to Emzir [6] there are several types of biographical studies: biographical study, autobiographical, life history and Oral history. This research is biographical study especially life story of an individual, written by others (the researcher) using archival documents or records.

The subject of this study is EJ. The primary research site is in EJ's house located at Kaliurang Yogyakarta. The key informant consisted of eight persons, from her family, as well as from 'Aisyiyah cadre.

The main material are collected through in-depth interviews, especially uses semi-structured interview. It also makes use of documents that helps explain the life of EJ.

3. Research Highlight

It was found that EJ became a leader because it was influenced by the family environment and extraordinary natural talents. The family environment refers to the blood flowing offspring of EJ's father who are a great leader in society. In addition to family environmental factors, education factors also contributed substantially to EJ's rises as potential leader.

4. Research Results

EJ Process of Becoming Leader

Once Hj. Elida Djazman marriage with Drs. Djazman Alkindi, then she is known as Elida Djazman (EJ). EJ was born in City of Medan in North Sumatra Province in July 11, 1940. EJ is the second child of the seven children of H.M Bustami Ibrahim with Rohana. Both of them came from Bukit Tinggi, West Sumatra. EJ was born in an active family organization. EJ's father Mr. H.M Bustami is a great cleric in Medan. EJ greatly admired his father figure, as inspiration in educating and

leading society (Interview with EJ, 1 December 2015). In his lifetime, H. M. Bustami Ibrahim was Muhammadiyah activist. He was one chairman of the Muhammadiyah Region of North Sumatra. He also the founder of Muhammadiyah University and has served as Rector until his death.

In addition to her father, EJ's mother is also influential. EJ was the descendant of Minang family. In Minang society, it is perceived that though they are busy outside home, women have to complete all the affairs of the house first. EJ stated that her mother has inspired her to be an independent women who have various skills (to cook, sewing, making cake) to survive (interview EJ, 1 December 2015).

EJ studied in Elementary school of Muhammadiyah in Medan, Secondary School of Muhammadiyah in Medan, Sekolah Guru Agama (Islamic Religion Teacher School of Muhammadiyah) in Medan, and college at *Insitut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan*/IKIP (Teacher Institute of Education Science) of Muhammadiyah in Surakarta, Central Java.

EJ's leadership potential clearly inherited from the bloodline of his father who served as a prominent public figure, great preacher and as an educator. EJ has the goal to becomes teacher like his father. EJ started her working career and become a teacher at the Muhammdiyah Elementary School in Medan in 1958-1960 and the Islamic Religious Teacher School of 'Aisyiyah in Medan 1962-1963. After gaining the Bachelor of Youth at IKIP Muhammadiyah Solo, EJ taught again in Medan at the Kindergarten Teacher School during 1964-1966 as a teacher assistant. In 1967, EJ returned to Surakarta again to continue her studies. After graduated, EJ taught at the Teacher Education School of 'Aisyiyah Surakarta until 1984 but then move to the Teacher Education School of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta 1984-1999.

At the age of 27, exactly 12 July 1967, EJ had been married by Drs. Djazman Alkindi who was born in Kauman on September 6, 1938. He was the son of Penghulu Nyayogyakarta Hadiningrat, KRT Wardan Diponingrat with Siti Juwirah (grandson of K.H .Ahmad Dahlan). In addition to serving as *penghulu* (the Court *ulama*), her Father in law was an employee of the Religious Court of Yogyakarta Special Region. In Muhammadiyah, he became the Chairman of Majelis Tarjih.

When she got married, EJ was then activist of Nasiyatul 'Aisyiyah (NA) and and her husband was Pemuda Muhammadiyah or the Youth section of Muhammadiyah activist. He (Djazman Alkindi) had a formal education in the Muhammadiyah School from primary, secondary and high school which are all located in Yogyakarta. Then he continued in Gadjah Mada University and get his Bachelor of Literature and Culture and also Graduated with Bachelor of Geography from UGM in 1965. He also attended Management Course at University of Malaya, Kualalumpur in 1968 and non degree Program at Institute of Islamic Studies of MC Grill University, Montreal, Canada. After completing the study and worked successively as a high school teacher Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, he became a lecturer in IKIP Negeri Surakarta, a member of the National House of Representatives (MPRS) 1966-1971, Vice Chairman of Yayasan Masa Kini, Daily Board of Waqf Board of UII (Islamic University of Indonesia), General Superior of Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine, General Chairman of Private Private Partnership Board of Central Java, member of BKS PTIS (National Private Islamic University), Head of BM PTS (Badan Musyawarah Private Colleges) Central Java and members of the LPTS (Private Higher Education Institution). He was also one of a pioneer of building IMM, Founder of Surakarta Muhammadiyah University (UMS), and the head of department of research and higher education of Muhammadiyah Central Board. EJ only has one son, his name is Hilman Muhammad.

EJ success had been supported by her husband who is a Muhammadiyah activist. Her family background is very helpful to the formation of character and her leadership potential in 'Aisyiyah.

EJ gradually becomes leader through some processes. Initially, EJ became the administrator of Nasyiayul 'Aisyiyah (NA) while she is still in class two of Teacher Education School In 1964-1966. EJ actively returned to the board of Nasiyatul 'Aisiyiah in Medan. However, this is not lasting longer, because in mid-1966 EJ continued her study in Surakarta. Then in 1966-1967, EJ continued her activity in the Central Board of Nasyiatul 'Aisiyiah and also do some activities in student organizations in Solo. Then in 1967-1975, EJ was active in the Central Board of NA. From here, EJ began to get acquainted with some activists in 'Asiyiyah, one of them is Professor Siti Baroroh Baried who become the Chairman of the Central Board of 'Aisyiyah.

At the 40th Congress of the 'Asiyiyah in 1978, EJ began to enter the management of the Central Board of 'Aisyiyah as a treasurer. At the 41st Aisyiyah Congress in 1985, EJ was elected as a chairman of the Central Board of 'Aisyiyah (1985-1990). At the 42nd 'Aisyiyah conggress in 1990, EJ was re-elected (1990-1995) and again in the 43rd Aisyiyah Conggress in Banda Aceh (1995-2000). EJ had established good cooperation among members. One of her colleagu said that EJ has something special in leading 'Aisyiyah organization: "She is good in motivating, ...and discipline...She also did not hesitate to ask when she found difficulties and do not understand" (Interview Bu Us, 10 January 2016).

EJ was popular as a mother who always smile in joy and sorrow. The intelligence that EJ possess had becomes a key to EJ's success in leading the society. Ecological or Synthetic Theory stated that person will succeed to be a leader, if ever since she has had leadership talents, and these talents could be developed through experience and educational efforts [7]. This theory is in line with EJ story and process of becoming a leader in 'Aisyiyah. With the millions of experiences that EJ involves in several social organizations leads her to find her identity as an intelligent female leader. EJ was destined to be a leader in special circumstances due to her family, social environment, and talent.

EJ Leadership Style

Leaders play a key role in an organization. Leader in the organization are able to control all aspects of the organization from the start to end to solve problems faced by the organization. Leadership effectiveness is influenced by many aspects one of them is influence of the environment. EJ is the type of leader who has personal values, originated from her family environment and then poured in the institution. The existences of this values remains important in 'Aisyiyah, organization she had led. The values said by EJ is "EJ's love is *Ukhuwah* or Sisterhood" (interview with EJ, 1 December 2015)

EJ implements this fundamental trait to lead the organization and work in the community. The nature is *ukhuwah* or sisterhood, *ukhuwah* is a rope of sisterhood among people by establishing affection and does not discriminate between status and position. EJ proposed the values into four attributes namely: (i) *Ash-Shidq:* on her sincerity by seriously establish a close relationship in developing the organization; (ii)*Al-Amanah* or holding the mandate by implementing all of the best executed decisions of the congress in which the responsibility is to God; (iii) *Al-Fathanah* or her intelligence in tackling the problems that arise in the organization; (iv) *At-Tabligh* namely to achieve with a high sense of responsibility. She is a strong individual in terms of religion and always emphasizes the Islamic values especially monotheists, both in organizations and for their children. In addition to that, EJ was close to her members, her employees, her collegeaus to maintain her relationship and buildinc comfortable organization, (interview with Bu Hadiroh, 12 January 2016).

From those facts we can see that EJ has a strong Islamic spirituality in which Islamic values becomes the foundation in every aspect of her leadership. The findings are consistent with previous research conducted by Grine & Megeullati [8] that spirituality is dominant in the role of Muslim women as entrepreneurs. With spirituality, they are able to increase their potential and help their employees as well as the social community in general.

In addition to religious values, there were some factors contributed to EJ successed. Teo & Nowal [9] research shows that to maintain a successful leadership career, women must have networks, participate in professional development opportunities and engage in teaching. This is in line EJ's case. She developed networks in organizations, by building social relationships among members of the organization by means of good communication. This findings is accordance with the statement of Northouse [10] that there are four styles of leadership in Path-Goal theory. One of the four theories are similar to the EJ's leadership such as supportive, approachable as a leader, and pay attention to the welfare and needs of subordinates.

EJ Contribution to Organizational Development of 'Aisyiyah

During her leadership in 'Aisyiyah, EJ developed some programs for advancement of 'Aisyiyah. For example: by opening different types of education according to the needs of women (skills courses, management courses, family courses, etc), improving the management of 'Aisyiyah educational institutions, and increasing discipline of Aisyiyah schools. EJ also developed program to build the family as a basis of national development. The program of *Keluarga Sakinah* (the blessed family) has been well known among Muhammadiyah and 'Aisyiyah members. During EJ leadership, there are some strategies to foster the *Keluarga Sakinah* such as: (i) through formal and in-formal education, (ii) increasing the family economy through the improvement of entrepreneurial skills, cooperatives, educational funding assistance and village assisted businesses, (iii) increasing the welfare of mothers and children, orphanages and nursing homes, (iv) and fostering relationships with the wider community, government agencies and the private sector in the success of government.

Barriers and Challenges

Interestingly, gender discrimination against leaders is not found in this study. EJ never had experienced unacceptable treatment regarding its position as a female leader. Following Fakih, [11] there are five manifestations of gender justice that is marginalization of women, subordination, stereotype, violence, and multiple workloads.

EJ did not experience marginalization, subordination, stereotype, violence; and yet she experienced the double workload. EJ confessed that she experienced multiple loads and quite heavy at first. While EJ had to running 'Aisyiyah, she had to address her children and her husband's needs. Despite the double burden, EJ stated the she managed do the dual workload because EJ knows her own capabilities.

Interestingly, there is problem faced by EJ from the internal side of 'Aisyiyah namely lack of ability in developing technology due to limited skill (interview with EJ, 1 December 2015).

5. Conclusion

Based on the research analysis, this paper concludes EJ's leadership was influenced by the family environment and extraordinary natural talents. In addition to family environmental factors,

educational factor is also influential. The intelligence and courage that EJ possesses becomes a key to EJ's success in leading the society.

In terms of leadership style, EJ promoted sisterhood leadership based on the concept of leadership in Islam: leadership is not just a social contract between the leader and the community, but also a sacred covenant between leader and God. The values of sisterhood leadership become strong foundation for 'Aisyiyah development. Now, in the 21st Century, the sisterhood leadership is promoted to reach progressive women ("*perempuan berkemajuan*").

Interestingly, EJ did not experience unacceptable treatment or discrimination according to her gender for her leadership. And yet, EJ experienced double workload though she managed to cope with. Nevertheless, EJ faced internal obstacle in 'Aisyiyah namely lack of ability in developing technology due to limited skills.

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WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE OF PKS AND PKB IN RECRUITING WOMEN'S CANDIDATES

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Abstract

Islamic interpretation toward women's leadership in democracy and politics is still highly debated. Indonesia is one example of democratic countries with Muslim majority population. Although Indonesia is not an Islamic-based country, the influence of Islamic interpretations is quite strong in society since Islam is the major religion. Islamic interpretations about women's leadership and members of parliament are experienced more within the Islamic and Muslim-based parties, such as the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera-PKS) and the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa-PKB). However, the proportion of women's legislators is a result of the recruitment systems conducted by political parties remains low. By evaluating the recruitment systems of candidates for the Indonesian parliament in these two parties, this paper argues that recruitment process toward women's legislative candidates is more caused by the existing system within the party where women's leaders did not hold strategic positions to influence the process instead of by Islamic interpretation. As the primary aim of political parties including PKS and PKB, is to win the election; they tend to nominate those who have experience and capacity to gain the votes.

Keywords: Islamic interpretation, women's leadership, parliament, political parties, Indonesia.

Introduction

Democracy, Islamic interpretations and women's leadership are resonance in Indonesia. Although Indonesia is not an Islamic-based country, the influence of Islamic interpretations is quite strong in society since Islam is the major religion. Islamic interpretations about women's leadership are highly shaping the Islamic and Muslim-based parties, such as PKS and PKB

respectively. In the last general election 2014 PKS and PKB, (and especially PKS) did not nominate as many as women in the top of the party-list although these parties gained the top rank of votes within the Islamic and Muslim-based party's group respectively.[1] As a result, PKS and PKB contributed the fewest numbers of women's legislators. By evaluating the recruitment process for legislative candidates, this paper argues that recruitment process toward women's legislative candidates is more caused by the existing system instead of by Islamic perspective since women's leaders did not hold strategic positions within the parties. This paper only focuses in the General Election 2014 for the national parliamentary members.

1. Research Methodology

By evaluating the recruitment process for legislative candidates, this paper aims to provide comprehensive explanation about Islamic interpretation and women's leadership in those two political parties -PKS and PKB-, especially, the roles in nominating women's cadres as legislative candidates in the party-list. To achieve this objective, this paper used qualitative method and which combined a literature review and field research to gain the data. The field study involved indepth interviews with the targeted participants, included parties' board members, female legislators, failed female candidates, academics, and NGO activists in Jakarta, West Java and East Java provinces as the basic constituent areas of PKS and PKB respectively.

2. Research Highlight

As Muslim majority country, Indonesia provides good example on gender equality. Indonesia has ratified the CEDAW. The equal opportunities between women and men are also stated in the Indonesian constitution and law of human rights. Nevertheless, the proportion of women's representation in parliament is still low. By evaluating the recruitment process within two Islamic and Muslim-based parties, namely the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera-PKS) and the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa-PKB), this paper argues that these parties have not had special treatments to enhance women's chances of winning parliamentary seats in elections.

As the aim of PKS and PKB is to win the votes, they tend to nominate those who have experience and capacity, such as the incumbents and senior cadres. The similarities of PKS and PKB are: *first*, both of them apply the close recruitment system since it involves elites and cadres; *second,* they embrace a patronage-oriented system as they prefer to re-nominate male incumbents on the top list; *third,* due to Islamic interpretations, PKS allows women to be members of parliament as they are not considered to be leaders in such a role and PKB does not have special requirements regarding religion.

The differences between these parties are:, PKS appoints the candidates as the cadres are not allowed to submit themselves, whereas PKB has open opportunity for cadres and outsiders to be their nominees. During the campaign period, candidates and cadres of PKS help each other to win votes, especially to support candidates who are placed on the top of the party, while PKB only supports the potential candidates who are considered to have opportunities to win.

3. Discussion

Political parties can be the gate-keepers of women's representation in parliament. According to supply-demand theory, a recruitment system operates between the availability of women who

are looking for political careers and the selection process set by political parties.[2] In general, recruitment systems consist of two models, namely open and close systems.[3] Open recruitment systems usually run inclusively since they are done openly and involve citizens widely, not only party elites. Conversely, close recruitment systems only involve members of the party, especially the party elites exclusively. The recruitment process is the most decisive stage because this step produces the people's representatives.[4]

Recruitment process is a crucial issue for female candidacy since there are several stages that involve different actors, such as the women themselves, political parties and voters. According to Matland,[5] there are three stages that women who willing to participate in this process need to pass to achieve political office. *First,* woman has to select herself to be candidate. In this early stage, a woman needs to ask herself and decide whether she desires to enter into the candidacy process. This stage influences by personal ambition, resources and opportunities. In some communities, a woman who desires to nominate herself is considered ambitious and breaking the customs. *Second,* woman has to be selected as a candidate by a political party. The party's gatekeepers, especially the leaders of party, will play essential roles for recruiting and nominating candidates for their party-list. Generally, there are two patterns to select candidates that are used by political parties. The first is the "patronage-oriented" system which emphasizes the loyalty of those who are in power positions or, in other words, prioritize incumbents. In the second pattern, the "bureaucratic-oriented" system, the selection process is based on standards and does not consider those who are in power positions. However, the most important reason for political parties to recruit and nominate someone is to maximize a party's votes. This candidacy process occurs within the party and influences the next stage, namely candidates' selection by voters – the voter selection stage.

As the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera-PKS) calls itself a *dakwah* (religious call/to proselytize) party, they argue guided by Islamic interpretations, including in the candidate recruitment process. Their cadres, who have roles as parliamentary members, are recognized as the ambassadors of *dakwah* in the parliament.[6] Therefore, the cadres are not allowed to self-select themselves as candidates but are appointed by the party. If there is a candidate who is considered to have personal ambition, the party might not accommodate this person in the party-list.[7] This condition does not fit with Matland's first requirement -that women should have personal ambition. It means that, systematically, PKS inhibits the personal desire of women to progress in the recruitment process of candidates, even in the early stages.

PKS also does not have a special mechanism to enhance women's representation in their candidacy process within the party. There are two avenues to choose prospective candidates, namely through the mentoring units and the structural party meeting.[8] At different times and places, the cadres of the mentoring unit and the party's boards, who hold *kader madya* (middle cadre refers to the middle level of the tiered regeneration system of PKS), name the desired prospective candidates who meet the criteria, as defined by the party.[9] Then, the final decision is made in the *Majelis Syuro* (the highest of the party's boards)[10] which was dominated by men. This decision was absolute and couldnot be changed unless the candidates have crucial explanations.

However, the recruitment process was dominated by men. Although PKS accommodate women in their party's boards as required by the political party's law, there was only one woman who involved in this candidacy process. This is because PKS only placed one woman to lead department, namely Department of Women and Family Sustainability whereas other department were dominated by men. Therefore, there was only one woman among other eight men during

the recruitment's process. So, this woman should argue with the eight men in supporting women's candidates. This situation, then, was strengthened by an agreement that every woman's candidate should get her husband's permission once she was nominated by the party. In addition, the winner takes all system also required candidates to mobile to win the election, so only those who has financial and time capacities could accomplished the requirement. These conditions, then, also became a consideration for the Chairwoman of Department of Women and Family Sustainability in supporting women's cadres to be nominated in party-list.

In addition, PKS faced a special case near the last General Election 2014 that influenced their strategy to win the votes. The Chairman of PKS at the time, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq, was subjected to a corruption case.[11] This corruption case also affected the preparation for the election, including the candidacy process. As a result, the elites only thought about the existence of the party instead of enhancing women's representation in parliament. As explained by Ledia Hanifah, the only PKS female current legislators, that at that time she really did not care about other women candidates. [12] She only focused on her electoral district to save the existence of the party, "…why would I struggle in the party to nominate women as number 1 in each district but the party fails to gain the votes?…".[13] Therefore, PKS nominated male incumbents in all of number 1 positions on their party-lists, except Herlini Amran, merely to maintain the votes.

The majority of women cadres of the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa-PKB) do not have issues with the first step of the recruitment process, namely self-selection. Different from the PKS, PKB does not prevent their cadres from volunteering as prospect candidates. According to a national party officer during the period of registration, cadres are allowed to register themselves through the party gatekeepers, called the Election Winning Body, and choose their own preferred districts.[14] Although the prospect candidates propose their own preferred district, in the end the chairperson of the party, which was man, decides in which district and at what number on the party-list the candidate will be nominated. However, in PKB there was also only one woman among other eight men who was involved in the recruitment process. This only woman is also the chairwoman of the Department of Women.

PKB does not pay special consideration to women candidates unless they prove to enhance the party's votes. Therefore, the party prefers to re-nominate the current parliamentary members over new candidates since incumbents already have the capital and networks.[15] Besides incumbents, the party also usually prioritizes party officials to be nominated at the top of its party-list.[16] Also, the candidates should have a strong relationship with the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) to win the candidacy process since PKB was established by elites of NU. Therefore, NU becomes the main source of candidates' recruitment (80%) and targeted votes.[17] Women's organizations of NU - such as Fatayat, Muslimat and Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdhatul Ulama (IPPNU)[1] - become primary sources of women candidates during the recruitment process, as well as the women's wing of PKB, Perempuan Bangsa (PB, the Women of the Nation).[18] In fact, the members and officials of PB are also activists of those women's organizations.[19] Women who come from NU, but have not been involved yet in PB, can also become candidates with recommendations from its elites.[20] Prior to the election, PKB sends a formal letter to NU to seek its recommendations for cadres who want to run in the candidacy of PKB. The party also opens registration for outsiders of PKB and NU, such as academics and other professionals who are interested to join the candidacy process of PKB (20%).[21] This group should also have connections with NU, whether their family

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[1] Fatayat (for those who are under 40 years), Muslimat (for 40 years old and above) and Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdhatul Ulama (for daughters of the NU's members who are between 13 and 25 years old)

is affiliated to NU or they ever studied in the schools of NU. If they do not have an affiliation with NU, they can make it by promising to advance NU.[22] NU also becomes the major source of PKB to obtain votes. As the candidates have close relationships with NU, they can easily enter the network of NU, for example by joining groups of recitation and visiting the Islamic boarding schools of NU.[23]

The final stage is election by voters. There was no special support for women candidates but rather for all the potential candidates. Potential candidates refer to those, male and female, who are considered by the party to have a big probability to win votes. In the 2014 general election, PKB gained the sponsorship of Rusdi Kirana, the owner of Lion Air Indonesia (the private national airlines in Indonesia) - as he became the vice chairperson of PKB.[24] He supported the potential candidates of PKB by providing a large amount of campaign logistics - such as banners, party flags and clocks with the candidates' pictures on it and so on- and assistance from the consultant team.[25]

Regarding women's leadership and the Islamic perspective of these two parties, PKS has different view from PKB. PKS sees woman's leader based on the level of the leadership. PKS restricts women to be leaders at certain levels.[26] The first level is the position of the highest *imamah* (leader) or popular as caliphates (*khalifah*). A woman is prohibited to be a caliphate since this position supervises all the *ummah* (societies or nations) around the world and obliges the leader to *jihad* (holy war). The second level is the presidential position. At this level there are two different opinions within PKS. Some leaders said that a woman is allowed to be president if the woman has the capacity and there is man but he is not the best candidate, so if the man becomes president he will cause damages. Others thought that women are not allowed to be president since the presidential position is considered as *imamah uzma* (the highest leaders/caliphate). In other words, those two opinions can be summarized that PKS does not support a women to be president. During the presidential issue of Megawati, PKS launched a *fatwa* that women are not allowed to be president.[27] But, as a political party, PKS received Megawati as president as a political reality.[28] The third level is the local leaders. For PKS it does not matter if a woman is a governor, mayor, and regent since those positions are not considered as the highest level and they do not supervise wider communities (*ummah*). The fourth level is legislators. PKS also allows woman to be members of parliament since legislators are not leaders.[29] So, there is no problem with woman's candidacy for legislators in the *fatwa* level.

Regarding the influence of Islamic interpretations during the candidacy process, PKB does not have special requirements related to religion. PKB believes that religion is given so it is not necessary to ask this of other people.[30] This thought is also influenced by the acts of the founder and the first leader of PKB, Gus Dur, who embraced pluralism. During his presidency, Gus Dur struggled for the rights of religious minority groups in Indonesia, namely Chinese Confucianism. This religion became the sixth official religion in the country, besides Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hinduism, and Buddhism, in the early of 2000s. Through the Presidential Decision Number 6/2000 about the Revocation of the Presidential Instruction Number 14/1967 about the Chinese Religion, Belief, and Customs, the fourth President of Indonesia, Gus Dur, removed the prohibition of open celebration of Chinese religion, faith and common practices. The alignment to pluralism is still maintained by the successors of PKB. Nevertheless, in some electoral districts the *fatsun²* that woman should gain the permission from her husband to run the candidacy process has been

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² Political proses or activities which contains the principles of ethics, civilizations, manners and responsibilities in the frame of euqlity and respect to the fellow political actors.

still maintained by the party's boards and women's candidates.[31] The political *fatsun* refers to the process or political activity which contains ethical principles of civilization, manners, and responsibility in the frame of equality and respect for fellow political actors.

PKB was established by elites of NU, therefore NU influences much during the candidacy process. NU is the primary resource to recruit cadres and candidates for elections and also becomes the major source of voters for PKB.[32] Furthermore, the recommendation of the *Kyai* of NU is essential for candidates during the recruitment process. This recommendation can over rise the will of the party's chairperson.[33] Various party spokespersons mentioned that the elected candidates are also required to have a strong relationship with NU, such as the family background and alma mater. This also prevails for external candidates. The candidates who come from outside of PKB and NU should prove that they have connections with NU, even, if they do not have it, they should create it by promising to develop NU.[34]

4. Conclusion

By evaluating the recruitment systems of legislative candidates in PKS and PKB, this paper argues that recruitment process toward women's legislative candidates is more caused by the existing system within the party where women's leaders did not hold strategic positions to influence the process instead of by Islamic interpretation. As the aim of those parties is to win the votes, they tend to nominate those who have experience and capacity, such as the incumbents and senior cadres. The similarities of PKS and PKB are they apply the close recruitment system, they prefer to re-nominate male incumbents on the top list, and they allow women to be members of parliament. The differences between these parties are PKS appoints the candidates since the cadres are not allowed to nominate themselves whereas PKB has open opportunity for cadres and outsiders to be their nominees although PKB does not have special treatment for women's candidates.

The views of Islamic and Muslim based parties or organizations in Indonesia toward women's leadership have been influenced by the type of the institution. Regarding the two researched political parties, it can be seen that PKB is more open towards women's leadership than is PKS. PKB supports women to be leaders at any level, from president to legislators, while PKS only agrees women become local leaders and legislators, but disagrees for the presidential level. Due to the recruitment process for legislative candidates, both PKS and PKB implemented close recruitment systems for the legislative candidates which involved the leader of some party's departments in nominating the party-list. Since in those two parties woman only become leader of women's department, there is only one woman in the recruitment process among nine committees. Moreover, the final decision of the party-list is in the hand of the head of the parties who usually man.

In addition, PKS tends to hinder its women cadres to run the process more than PKB. Although PKS does not directly restrict women from being involved in the candidacy process, the established system contributes to it. Since PKS is a *dakwah* party, their parliamentary members are considered as the ambassadors of *dakwah* in parliament. Therefore, each cadre should accept being given any district and number on the party-list, even though the number defines the probability of cadre to be elected by voters. On the other hand, PKB does not hinder its women's cadres from participating in the candidacy process but it also lacks special measures to increase women's representations in parliament. PKB lets the competitions run openly between female and male's cadres. The most influential factor in the candidacy process is having a strong relationship with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), such as a family or educational background, or if they do not

already they can establish this by committing to advance NU. However, the most consideration of parties to nominate their cadres is to win the election.

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POLICY OF POLITICAL PARTY ON RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE:
PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY (PKS) IN THE 2014 GENERAL ELECTION INDONESIA AND
PEOPLE'S JUSTICE PARTY (PKR) IN THE 2013 GENERAL ELECTION MALAYSIA

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Abstract

This research explains policy of political party on recruitment of women's legastive candidate in Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in the 2014 General Elections in Indonesia and in The People's Justice Party (PKR) in the 2013 General Elections in Malaysia. It also explain how party ideology, organizational systems, patterns of regeneration and political participation of women at the center structure, comparatively. In doing so, this paper used a legal or institutional approach from Miriam Budiardjo.

Keywords: the internal party policy, recruitment, women's in legislative candidate, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), The People's Justice Party (PKR).

1. Introduction

The electoral system is one of the major factors that significantly determines the level of women's representation in the legislature. Therefore, in Indonesian since the reform era, affirmative action has been introduced to increases representation of women in parliament. Compared to previous elections in Indonesia, regulation on the quota of minimum 30% of women's legislative candidate is stronger in the 2014. Especially after the enactment of the KPU (Commission of General Electuon) [1] regulation which includes the 30% quota of women as one of the conditions that must be met by political parties as stated in Law No.2/2011 on Political Parties. Unlike Indonesia, in Malaysia there is no law that guarantees the quota system. Although,

Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Baidawi's government promised to reform the civil society and support the resurrection of women by issuing a "9th Malaysian Plan" (2006), in which there is the affirmative action of 30% of women in decision making public or private sector. But in 2010, he revised it to 20%.

Although it is said to be a new party, Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera,* PKS) can be viewed as a potential party to become a major party. It can be seen from the vote acquisition of the 1999 Election received 1.436.565 votes continue to increase at 8,480,204its in the 2014 Election.

The People's Justice Party or Partai Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) is a Malaysian opposition party originally called the National Justice Party. The birth of this party can not be separated from the dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim as deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia in 1999 which led to his imprisonment Anwar. The event led to the reform movement on 2 December 1998. The movement was supported by various NGOs and opposition parties, especially the Partai Keadilan Semalaya (PAS) and formed the Justice Social Movement (Justice) as a platform. They realized that to overthrow the National Front (Party of Government) can only be done through the Elections [2].

It is not enough to only recruit women legislative candidates but the party's policy on how women's recruitment process is also interesting to be analyzed. Therefore, it is important to study party policy regarding the recruitment process of women's legislative candidates in Indonesia especially PKS, as well as in PKR in Malaysia. In doing so, this paper will compare policy of political party in the recruitment of legislative candidate of PKS in the 2014 General Election Indonesia especially in the national House of Representative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR), with party policy in recruitment women's candidate of People Justice Party (PKR) in the 2013 General Elections in Malaysia. It will also analyze party ideology, party organization, recruitment and regeneration of women in both parties.

2. Research Methodology

The research used qualitative approach. The qualitative method puts the researcher's perspective on the subject. As Creswell said that the qualitative approach is always trying to understand the meaning of the individual or the subject studied; the researchers used in-depth interviews , as well as able to understand and develop categories, patterns and analysis of social processes that occurred in the community studied[3].

In addition to qualitative methods, comparative methods are also used that compared cases two cases. According to Duverger to compare political parties, it needed to compare aspect of ideology, mass base, leadership recruitment system and others [4].

According to Craswell, data can be classified into primary data and secondary data. Because this research uses a qualitative approach, the primary data used are interviews, while secondary data gained from document studies or literature[5]. The interview technique are unstructured interviewed and focus interview [6]. Focus interview consists of questions that have no structure but always concentrated on a certain subject that has been formulated in a hypothesis [7]. Some secondary data that had been used namely documents, historical sources, biographies, encyclopedias, books, articles.

3. Result Reasearch

In the PKS, policy on recruitment of candidates is mentioned in the constitution of PKS in Article 28 on the Recruitment of Political Position. It explains that the recruitment of candidates for members of the board should consider several things: levels of membership, capability and professionalism and representation of women. Although PKS does not write in detail at least 30% of women in the electoral districts, PKS consistents in nominating women candidates in every election. This is the case in the 2004 election and the 2009 election. The PKS has nominated more than 30% of female candidates in every electoral districts, though in the election there has not been strict sanctions applied for political parties that do not nominate women at least 30%.

In contrast to the PKS, the constitution of party PKR in Malaysia does not specifically regulate recruitment. Although in the party constitution's PKR does not write about minimum quota for women's candidacy, but in article 5, it is written that women are to achieve equality in leadership and make decisions with at least 30% involvement in legislative candidacy.

PKS as a cadre party that has a systematic and tiered level of regeneration. Thus, in the recruitment of legislative candidates, it certainly concerned with their cadre. In recruitment, the regeneration system is required for all cadres of both men and women nominated by the party to have good behavior and have adequate capacity in politics. The level of cadre in PKS consists of beginner member, youth member, middle member, adult member, expert member, full member and member of honor.

Although women have already in adult members, expert members, and full members, they are not easily to be nominated as women candidates by PKS. This is because there is a strict screening process. In order to be nominated as legislative candidate, there are some consideration in terms of membership level, capacity, and capability in various aspect. For example, they should have good record, morality, loyalty to party, society acceptance, and stable family affairs. There is an interesting requirement for women to be able to be nominated as legislative candidates from PKS: she must have permission from their husbands. This is stated in PKS's policy in *Bayan* which issued by the Central Sharia Board of PKS No.19/B/K/DSP-PKS/1929 on the activities of *Da'wah and Politik Muslimah* where PKS women activists who wish to engage in da'wah and political activities must pay attention of the husband. This indicates the influence of a strong Islamic ideology in the policy of recruitment of women candidates in PKS. This facts shows that PKS women have a very large dependence on their husbands in their activities outside the home, including in politics.

Unlike PKS which is very concerned about the level of regeneration in its political recruitment, PKR is not too concerned on it. PKR does not have tiered cadre system like PKS. There are no special requirements in PKR to be female candidates. In general, they should have good education, dignity, skills, party liveliness and loyalty to the party. In addition, every candidate nominated in the PKR has fulfilled the KPI (Key Performance Index) or the main achievement guidelines set by the party. KPI consists of: the record of political experience of the candidate, how the candidates can make a meaningful change in society or improvement the society, what programs are proposed by the candidates to improve the quality of life of the community, what percentage the voter he has touched, to what extent she understands the territory in which she will be deployed in the region, and her team in Pilihan Raya. There is an interesting point in the recruitment of women legislative candidates in the PKR namely that the women's wing organization as "Wanita Keadilan" has a significant role in determining women candidates who fight in Pilihan Raya. Wanita Keadilan has crucial role in the recruitment of legislative candidates namely to monitor the parties to stick on the 30% policy of engagement.

4. Discussion

To understand how the internal party policy in recruitment of women candidates. This paper uses the legal or institutional approach. Budiardjo[8]explains that the legal/institutional approach consists of both legal and institutional elements. By using this approach in the study of political parties, it will address the power and authority, official texts (laws or rules of conduct), formal relationships with other institutions. In doing so, this study discusses: how the political system in the two countries (Indonesian and Malaysia). The political system in each country provides a structure of opportunity in political career, the rules of the party and the election and its requirements, and how the organizational structure of the two parties.

Indonesia uses a proportional representation system, while Malaysia uses a district system with the first past the post variant as the simplest electoral system within the plurality-majority system. The system uses single member districts and candidate-centered elections. In a district there is only one winner that gets the most in choice. In fact, when viewed from the electoral system used by these two countries, the proportional system used by Indonesia is more favorable for women's election.

Regulation related to the nomination of women's legislative candidate in Indonesia regulated is enacted in Law No.2/2011 about Political Party and Law No.8/2012 about General Election. It stipulated the quota at least 30% of women. In addition, it also strengthened by the presence of PKPU No.7/2013 which stipulated sanctions for political parties participating in the election that does not include 30% of female candidates in every electoral districts. Whereas, Malaysia has never had a policy regulating the quota of nominations for women in legislative institutions or the like.

Then, the process of recruitment is related to the degree of internal party democracy especially here is the party policy in recruitment candidates. According to Susan Scarrow[9] the main dimension of the party organization in political recruitment is the party's internal democracy namely "inclusiveness", "decentralization", "centralization" and party institutionalization. Party internal democracy can be understood as the structure and decision-making process within a political party that allows individual citizens to influence the various options offered the party to its voters[10]. "Inclusiveness" is related to how the party reaches in decision making. Whether the decision-making is only done by one leader, a group of people, or by involving party members and the community.

If we analyze the internal process of the PKS in determining the legislative candidates for DPR RI, they involves a multilateral organization structure from the central, provincial, districts until the recommendation issued by DPTP. There is large role of party officials and party cadres; and thus the decision-making process in PKS in deciding women candidates can be said to be "inclusive" because it is not limited to one person or a particular group.

The party's internal democracy is also concerned with the "decentralization" of the party in which the decision-making is decentralized. PKS organizational structure starts from a coaching model of cell system. PKS organization is a cadre-based organization that is shaped like a cell. PKS's organizational model, when we analyzed by typology of organization Duverger[11] is model organization of "cell". The cell party is more concerned with the quality of recruitment than its quantity. It highly centralized as it is directed by the center. Thus, the process of policy making undertaken by the PKS is in the central structure. It can be seen from fact that any decisions issued by the party must have finally approred to the institution of the Shura Council as the supreme body of the party functioning as an institution of *ahlul halli wal-aqdi* (Majelis Permusyawaratan).

Susan Scarrow[12] states that institutionalization in principle is the suitability between the system, processes, procedures and implementation. In the context of political recruitment, institutionalization is defined as the appropriateness of the process of political recruitment with the systems, processes and procedures outlined in party policy. PKS has a good institutionalization in recruitment of candidates from its party. This can be seen from fact that PKS's recruitment process of PKS candidates are conducted based on consideration of their membership level, capacity and professionalism, women's representation on the condition of women's existence in politics must be based on the *Bayan Dewan Syariah*.

How about in PKR in Malaysia?. In Partai Keadilan Rakyat, the policy of recruitment does not involve party members as in the PKS. In nominating women candidates, the women's wing organizations namely Wanita Keadilan have a significant role in determining who are the women who compete in General Election (Pilihan Raya). This is a manifestation of the chair of Wanita Keadilan who is a member of Majelis Pimpinan Pusat: she responsibility to determine candidates including women candidates in Pemilihan Raya. Thus, it can be said that there is no inclusiveness in PKR in determining women legislative candidates.

In terms of decision-making, PKR can be classified into a centralized category. Although PKR has an organization from the national level to the branches and forms of federation system governance. In terms of party policy making, it is rely ultimately on the approval of the Central Executive Assembly (MPP), especially in selecting legislative candidates to fill the General Election (Dewan Rakyat and Dewan Undangan Negeri) by considering proposals from the state department for each State.

In terms of the institutionalization of PKR, in contrast to the PKS, PKR does not specify details of political recruitment within its constitution. However, there is a value carried by PKR namely justice for all people, and recognize existence of women. It also recognizes the equal opportunity to participate in the decision-making process and fill the party positions at least 30% for women. This indicates that PKR is consistent with the values it embraces. And yet, eventually PKR faced difficulties in fulfilling 30% of candidates for Pilihan Raya. Therefore, institutionalization is needed in the internal of PKR to fit the system, process, procedure and the implementation of recruitment of women legislative candidates.

In addition there are five types of candidate selection process according to Rueven and Hazan[13] namely: (i) the selection made by voters, (ii) the selection made by party members, (iii) the selection made by party delegates, (iv) party election selection by party leaders, (v) selection is done by one party leader. In this case, comparing PKS and PKR, both applied the third type namely selection by the party delegates to determine the names of candidates to be put as legislative candidates. In addition there are special teams responsible for recruitment process from beginning to end namely the "Lembaga Pelaksana Penokohan Kader" in PKS and "Jawatan Penokohan Kader" in PKR. This indicates that both parties are in the midst of a balance between exclusive and inclusive polarization.

5. Conclusion
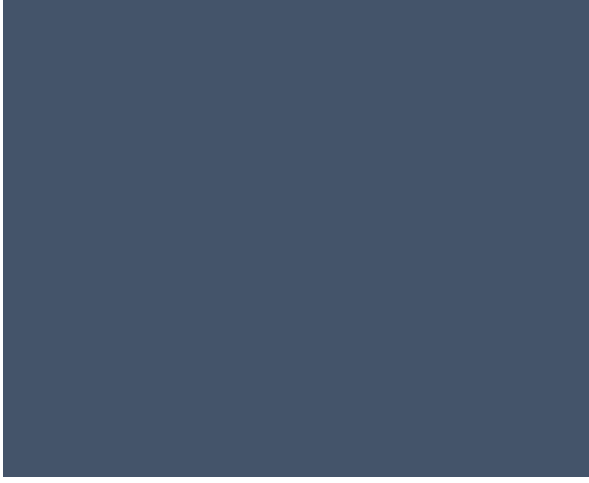
In conducting political recruitment in internal parties, each political party has its own way of recruiting candidate to fill party organizational structure, as well as political office or in state institutions. Ideology is an important factor affecting how a political party recruits its members, including recruitment of women's candidates. In Indonesia's case of PKS, the Islamic ideology embraced by PKS greatly influences how the elite parties recruiting women's candidates. For

example, women who wants to be nominated as legislative candidate are required to obtain permission from her husband. This is based on the leadership of men over women in Islam.

PKR is an opposition party in Malaysia, has the spirit of increasing the political participation of women. It can be seen from fact that the party pursued at least 30% of women in each leadership, as well as in legislative recruitment. Interestingly, the women's wing of PKR namely Wanita Keadilan plays a major role in recruiting women candidates. This is rather different with PKS where women's wector does not play a major role in recruiting women legislative candidate.

6. Reference

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The Role of Nyai Khairiyah in Advancing Education: A Prototype of Female Ulama in Pesantren

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Abstract

The female leader in the male-dominated community is very rare, let alone female religious leader in the pesantren. This research examines the role of 'female ulama' in forging intellectualism amid traditional Muslim community which is represented by Nyai Khoiriyah in the Pesantren of Seblak, East Java. This study attempts to capture the pattern of leadership of Nyai Khoiriyah in managing religious education under the male-dominated circumstance. While most women have limited access to religious texts, Nyai Khoiriyah shows a different inclination. She was not only well-trained in the contemporary Islamic studies, but also mastered various classical books on fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), tafsir (qur'anic exegesis) and nahwu (Arabic grammar). Her competence led her to be a respected 'female ulama' whose capacity and reputation surpassed fellow women and male scholars in the 20th century. This study focuses on the contribution of Nyai Khoiriyah in the advancement of traditional Muslim women to have access to education and enhancement of religious knowledge.

Keywords: female ulama, pesantren, progressive ideas, female education.

Introduction

Topic on women's role in the formation of social and religious life has been conducted in a very limited study. Most studies tend to neglect the participation of women's agents in the male-dominated world. In the 'Pesantren world' where Islamic intellectualism and traditionalism meet, women's role also gains lack of scholar's attention. It is not only because of its difficulty to investigate, but also, to some extent, the lack of political will to present women's role in

making this better world. Focusing mostly on Kiai (male agent), early studies on pesantren tend to capture male actors in empowering and developing the indigenous institution.[1] Few of studies on the existence of female agents in pesantren can be found in the subsequent development. Marcoes and Meuleman explored Muslim female and male scholars (ulama) in expressing ideas about gender relations through public speaking and their literary production.[2] Marhumah identified the role of both kiai dan nyai in forging gender discourse in Muslim community (pesantren).[3] In a deeper study on the role of women agent in pesantren, Srimulyani captured an important role of several nyais in the Jombang's pesantren.[4] Ma'mur found female agents have contributed significant role in boosting the religious-based issues on gender relations.[5]

Studies on female agents are still handful, but the development of female ulama (religious expert) in the contemporary Indonesia shows an interesting progress. The growing progressive Muslim women movements since colonial era to the Reformasi era demonstrates great contribution of female Muslim agents in responding social and cultural changes.[6] Documentation on female ulama who participated in various tracks of the development shows how female clerics devoted their life to many kinds of channels.[7] Serious effort of female ulama to reinterpret Islamic classic texts becomes an inspiring step to explore the richness of pesantren assets.[8] Strategic program of women Muslim activists to reproduce female ulama signifies awareness of supplying well-educated female agents to Muslim public. Also, the assembly of women ulama to campaign gender equality and justice harbors a great expectation of encouraging female ulama to voice women's aspirations.[9]

Serious efforts to keep searching female figures who contributed their life to the nation are remain conducted by women activists and researchers. However, such efforts are still not sufficient compared to the project of researching the role of male ulama in the social and cultural life. Moreover, study on the role of female ulama in the 20th century which is still lack of exploration and maneuver. One of female figures who played important role in developing pesantren for female pupils and capacity building is Nyai Khairiyah from Jombang, East Java. Her dedication to advance male and female santri in pesantren can not be underestimated. By exploring her experiences and stories, study on women's role will be more developed and gained important references to link this current situation with the previous development. It is important to capture continuity and change of women movement in the early campaign of gender equality, including in the traditional pesantren world.

I argue that the emergence of qualified female ulama in the milieu of traditional Muslim society is resulted from serious interactions with closest agents coming from the elite structure of religious authority. As Smith and Hamdi found that gender practices could be still under the patriarchal gender scripts and constructing ideas of female piety and behavior in docile ways, but cultural elements in the pesantren world such as spiritual bilateral kinship systems enable women to negotiate gender-based issues without necessarily trying to reform the authoritative nature of patriarchy.[10] The proximity of Nyai Khairiyah to the competent ulama granted a good image and a distinct religious authority which might not be found beyond the pesantren community. She represented a female ulama in Javanese Muslim community whose intellectual journey was forged by three prominent scholars with different expertise. Her progressive ideas reflect her deep understanding of the Qur'an, hadith and Islamic classic texts which she shared to her pupils and audiences. Nyai Khairiyah dedicated her life to education and women empowerment with motherhood approach and altruist spirit of preacher. She became an outstanding agent of pesantren

who frequently turned to be a consultant to solve many social and religious problems. Khairiyah's body of language reflected an intellectual actor who easily mingled not only with women but also with men counterparts. She is the product of sincerity, piety, and sense of curiosity of pesantren agent in 20th century of Indonesia.

Research Methodology

This research constitutes qualitative research which uses 'life history' approach. It is a type of social science research that collects data through non-numerical data and seeks to interpret meaning to understand social life. As Shaw suggests on the method of life history, it should notice several important aspects. The life history does not only need to emphasize the importance of the teller's sociocultural dimension, but also should focus on the perspectives of individual as a unique source. It also involves a time depth of personal history to reveal relevant information to a region's or group's local history and the most important thing, it should explore the local history based on the perspective of indigenous people.[11] This study focuses on santri community which becomes a targeted population and place to be analyzed. By means of the life history, this research is intended to explore the pattern of female leadership in the Javanese Muslim social structure and gender relations in the pesantren world. In collecting data, this research involves some techniques such as documentary, achieves, interview and observation. It is conducted for about a year since 2016-2017. The main location of this research is 'Pesantren Seblak Salafiyah Syafi'iyah, Jombang, East Java where Nyai Khairiyah spent most of her life time. This research uses gender perspective to identify the female role in social and cultural changes. By means of aforementioned procedure, this research attempts to answer these questions: (a). What is the role of Nyai Khoiriyah in forging the intellectualism in the Javanese Pesantren? (b). To what extend did she contribute her scholarship and competence to the community? (c). How important does her life history become a reference to the study on female ulama?

Research Highlight

Profile of Nyai Khairiyah

Educational Background

Khairiyah was born in Tebuireng, Jombang, East Java, in 1908. She was the second child from the marriage of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari to Nyai Nafiqoh. Her name was later known as Ummu Abdul Jabar after she had borne her first son.[12] Her father is the founding father of the biggest Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), whose genealogy links to the great King of Java, Jaka Tingkir. Her mother is presumably descendant of Maulana Ishak which is known as Sunan Giri, one of prominent Nine Saints (Walisongo). Their line of genealogy meet at the line King Brawijaya VI, a sixteenth century Javanese king.[13]

The young Khairiyah was trained under the mentor of her own parents, particularly on principle of 'santri life' and reading the Qur'an and also the Kitab Kuning (lit. Yellow Book/classic books on Islamic studies). Since she was five-year old, Khairiyah learnt various Islamic studies such as fiqh (Islamic Law), Tafsir (Quranic Exegesis) and Arabic grammar (Nahwu and Sharaf) from her father. By means of 'bandongan' (reading for group of student/santri) and 'sorogan' (individual reading) method, she absorbed such religious ideas with high ethos of learner. She often consulted many issues to her father if she found something unclear or doubtful understanding.

Even in the dinner time, her father frequently discussed on religious topics and the conversation on the table became an important learning process for her.[14]

Since the colonial administration had restricted education for certain citizen, many people did not attend the formal school. However, santri people rejected to send their children to formal school for their non-cooperative stance to the Dutch colonial. That's why, Khairiyah's father did not send her to formal school. Moreover, in the early 20th century, priority to send male students to attend formal schools was much higher than female students. In other words, it was not common for girls to attend school.[15]

Khairiyah pursued her study on Islamic studies to her husband after he had got married in 1921. In the very young age, her father matched her with a young Kiai (Muslim scholar) from the elite circle of Pesantren Maskumambang, Gresik (East Java), Maksum Ali. He is one of her father's favorite disciples. Khairiah later on married with the matched-man who have a high competence on mastery of Islamic studies and learnt from him on tafsir (Exegesis), fiqih (Islamic Law), hadits (Prophet traditions), ushul fiqih (Islamic jurisprudence), tauhid (Theology), tasawuf (Islamic mysticism), mantiq (logic), balaghah (Arabic literature). In this period, she finished reading (khatam) various classic books such as Tafsir al-Jalâlain, Fathul Mu'în, Tahrîr, Asymûnî, Jauhar al-Maknûn, Alfiyah, Jam'u al-Jawâmi, al-Hikâm and some other classic books.[16]

Another important experience of learning of Khairiyah on Islamic studies is her stay in Mecca for about 20 years. As the center Islamic World, Mecca has been an important destination for nusantara scholars both traditionalists and modernists. Among Javanese, Mecca is 'pusat ngelmu'. The fact that Khairiyah spent a long period in Mecca raised a speculation that she was forged by intellectual atmosphere where Islamic learning were delivered by authoritative scholars and agents. No wonder, people expected a share of barakah of her and religious knowledge after she returned to Jombang.[17] Her circumstance and qualified actors of Islamic studies around her certainly strengthen her capacity as the female ulama on the mastery of Islamic topics.

Pesantren Mileu

In 1921, she and her husband erected a pesantren in Seblak which is closed to Tebuireng. It is only 300 meters from khairiyah's new pesantren to her father's residence. The half hectare of pesantren's land was given by Khairiyah's father, KH. Hasyim As'ari, which is later known as Pesantren of Seblak Salafiyah Syafi'iyah, Jombang. The land was used to build pesantren compound and mosque.[18] Another version of this pesantren is sometimes mentioned or written with 'Pesantren of Seblak Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Khairiyah Hasyim'. It is seemingly to perpetuate the name of key person who played important role in the early formation of the pesantren.

The pesantren initially recruited male pupils and Khairiyah taught them Islamic subjects with traditional method. The classic books were read by Khairiyah with bandongan method where pupils listened the reading and taking note. One of important books taught to her student was Tafsir Al-Ibriz, written by Kiai Bisri Musthafa.[19] In 1938, Pesantren Seblak built a religious school for female pupils which was called 'Madrasah Banat'. It was formally opened by government as a support to education for female students. This school provided an elementary level (ibtidaiyah) which was later managed by Khairiyah's daughter and her son in law, Nyai Abidah Maksum and Kiai Machfud Anwar.[20]

The opened mind of pesantren agents to accept female pupils proves how pesantren community responded the changing social and cultural development. Not only men who deserve

knowledge on religious teachings, women also deserve it. Although this changing framework was still new in the early 20th century, the innovative idea becomes an important milestone of women empowerment in the pesantren world. Pioneered by Kiai Bisri Syamsuri in 1917, pesantren for female pupils was opened. Madrasah Al-Banat in Padang Panjang was erected by Rahmah El-Yunusiah in 1923. Also, Madrasah Mu'allimat or school for female teachers was also popular in 1960s.[21]

Social and Religious Activism

The life history of Khairiyah was seemingly destined to involve in education and female empowerment. After her husband died in 1933, she controlled the pesantren by herself. The young and learnt widow taught many classic books to her disciples replacing her husband's position. Although it was not common for female tutor (nyai) teaching male pupils, this practice continued for about four years during her leadership in the pesantren.[22] Her charisma and competence in mastery of Islamic sciences seemingly became power to continue her pesantren. However, Khairiyah did not lead the pesantren for a long time. She had to leave Jombang and lived overseas.

In 1940, Khairiyah flew to Mecca and lived there for about twenty years. Her father matched her with a young and bright Kiai, Abdul Muhaimin, who had worked in Mecca. The wedding ceremony was not common. Because of the groom resided in overseas, the wedding ceremony was conducted by representative. Kiai Bisri Syansuri represented the groom in the second marriage of Khairiyah. After this wedding ceremony, she went to Mecca to join her husband. In the holy land, her husband assumed as director of education of Madrasah of Darul Ulum in Mecca.[23]

Khairiyah's concern to education and female empowerment grew in Mecca. In 1942, she found the first madrasah for girls (Madrasah Banat) which was part of Madrasah Darul Ulum where her husband works.[24] It is located at Syamiah, a small district in Mecca. In this religious institution, Khairiyah taught students for about nine years. Soon after the emergence of this school, the idea to develop the educational institution was executed by Nyai Aminah, the wife of Syaikh Yasin Al-Fadani. She also erected a social unit which is known in Indonesia as PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Training for Family Welfare). In its development, the institution was continued by a daughter of Abdul Azizi Malik Faishal, one of Saudi King family. Until 1955, the school was managed by her husband and later on taken over by Saudi's government.[25]

Back to Seblak in 1957, Khairiyah still remained consistent with her commitment to teach, lead the pesantren and participated in NU organization. During her absence, Pesantren Seblak which was managed by her daughter, Nyai Abidah, had developed a higher education. Since the pesantren for girls has produced its graduate, Nyai Abidah started to erect Teacher Training for women which is known as Sekolah Muallimat or Sekolah Guru Putri. Due to the return of her mother, Nyai Abidah moved to Jombang to handle the Pendidikan Guru Agama Puteri Nahdlatul Ulama (NU Female Religious Teacher Training College). In the second leadership, Khairiyah spent more time than the first period of her leadership in Seblak.[26] Her daily life was filled by teaching and managing santri (pupils) until 1968. She was also appointed twice as the adviser for the national level of the Muslimat NU organization (1959-1962 and 1967-1979).[27] She decided to retire due to her healthy problem.[28]

However, she still showed her passion in teaching and preaching in the end of her life. For example, during her stay in Surabaya for therapy, she taught for women in the Yayasan Khadijah (Khadijah Foundation) and Yayasan Masjid Rahmat Kembang Kuning (Foundation of Rahmat

Kembang Kuning Mosque). Every Friday, She gives a speech in majelis taklim (Islamic learning forum) for local people. Sometimes, she delivered a speech in five different places at the same time. [29] It is interesting that she also wrote her thoughts and published her works. One of her articles discussed understanding of Islamic schools (madzhab) and tolerance.[30] In 1981, Khairiyah's healthy deteriorated and was treated in local hospital. She passed away in July 2, 1983.[31]

Gender Relations in Pesantren
Social and Cultural Construction of Gender

In the setting of traditionalist Muslim society, spirit of Islam might be based on the values of piety, modesty and practicality. In the early 20th century, such values continuously negotiated and adapted in accordance with social and cultural changes under the challenge of modern ideas of life. In this wave of change, ideas on women's progress emerged and responded by elements of society with various ways. Those who against the idea was seemingly afraid of breaking the established norm of society and might be comfort with the 'status quo', while those who accept it keen on the better life of Muslim society in an atmosphere of gender justice. That's why, female participation started to be considered in certain aspect of life among those who accept the idea of gender balance. One of the recorded data in the history of pesantren is the emergence of female-attended pesantren in Denanyar-Jombang, East Java in 1917.[32] Initiated by a prominent Kiai, Bisri Syansuri, this pesantren signified the awareness of the importance of education for women which is encouraged to be as pious as men, but still uphold of a modest life of pesantren and their knowledge and competence would be hopefully benefit to strengthen the next Muslim generations.[33]

In the period of Khairiyah's life, opportunity for women to access religious education was not as easy as men. A very few traditional institution of religious education for women was only limited to learn basic subject of Islamic teachings.[34] That's why, some Kiai teach their own daughter privately as happened to Khairiyah. However, the rest of women did not attend religious or formal education due to social and cultural construction which prioritize men rather than women. In Java, tradition of 'pingitan' (being kept the girl inside the house until she married) was practiced in the early twentieth among santri and priyayi in general. It gradually disappeared after the rise of Islamic reformist movement in 1912 and the emergence of women's associations that encouraged education for girls.[35]

Among traditional Kiai, although the early idea to educate women was resisted, it is slowly accepted and responded positively. This inclination can be identified in the policy of Kiai Bisri Syamsuri who tacitly accepted female pupils in his pesantren without consulting this issue with his master, Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari. That's why when his master had planned to visit his pesantren, he hid his female santri in a secure place in order to evade from Kiai Hasyim's observation.[36] A santri who consults any idea to his master is an ethical standard in the pesantren world. However, experiment of Kiai Bisri Syamsuri to open pesantren for female gained a support from his master. This surprising fact shows how thoughts of pesantren agents is very dynamic. Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari even sent his granddaughters to Denanyar which distances about 15 km from Tebuireng. The girls took andong (traditional vehicle drawn by horse) to get to the pesantren every day. Given this fact, Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari initiated to erect pesantren for girls close to his residence and asked Nyai Abidah to execute his idea in Seblak.[37]

The shifting of gender perception among traditional Muslims is also reflected in the changing pattern of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) policy. Most NU decrees in the bahsul masa'il in the early and middle of 20th century tends to treat women issues conservatively. For example, the decree of 'bahsul masa'il' on the female leader of village in 1950. It has been stipulated that woman is not allowed to run for village leader (kepala desa) because it is same with the ban of women to be a judge.[38] The trend of decree on gender issues in the subsequent development is different. The involvement of progressive gender and democracy activists in NU has changed the performance of NU regarding gender issues. The decree of 'bahsul masa'il' in 1997 on female leader becomes an important part of how NU agents positively respond women's role in public domain. It is said that women in Islam is placed in a noble position. Al-Qur'an and hadith gives the same rights to women regarding their opportunity to dedicate to religion and their country.[39]

Moderate Female Ulama

The excellent mastery of Nyai Khairiyah on Islamic sciences reveals an outstanding agent of pesantren from female wing within traditional structure of Muslim society. She became an icon of female ulama who bore in the early wave of Kartini's idea on women emancipation. Although coming from traditional milieu, Khairiyah was not compelled to conservative trend of framework which is traditionally constructed among pesantren agents. In many issues, she even showed her moderate way of thinking in responding social and cultural changes. Dealing with the issue of Family Planning (KB, Keluarga Berencana) program which was resisted by most pesantren agents, for example, Nyai Khairiyah had a different perspective. She argued that 'program KB' is a lawful (halal) practice in Islam. It is needed to control birth for the sake of mother's health and safety. For her, it is also important to ensure the quality of children's education and the condition of people's welfare by participating in the 'program KB'.[40] This argument even became an institutional opinion of Muslimat NU who concerns on women's welfare and prosperity.

Similar with Kartini who easily mingled with male counterparts, Khairiyah's interaction with male figures frequently lasted in a polite and honorable atmosphere. Due to her moderate and progressive ideas on Islamic teachings, there were many people who met her in the pesantren. Those who were recorded in history was Hamka, Kahar Muzakir and Soekiman Wiryosanjoyo. All of them were affiliated with Muhammadiyah organization instead. Another men who came to Nyai Khairiyah was Nasarudin Latif who worked for Family Planning Council (BKKBN).[41] He consulted on Family Planning program in terms of Islamic jurisprudence to Nyai Khairiyah. The meeting with male figures seemingly did not only at the level of sharing ideas, but also tended to asking for fatwa or religious opinion as commonly happened to laymen to the cleric.

In terms of appearance, Nyai Khairiyah did not show a conservative style. While most people still assume that wearing trousers for women as a 'men-resemble practice' and taboo, she challenged it. She argued that it does not contravene Islamic teachings and certainly allowed for women to wear it. For Khairiyah, wearing trousers would be more comfortable, practical and eligible to cover female aurat. Wearing trousers is easier to move rather than cloth (kain) which basically hinder women to move quickly. Although her opinion and practice were resisted by many people, she remained holding her opinion. She believed that Islam does not mention about women dress in a very detail explanation. That's why she chose trousers considering its eligibility to cover female body particularly women's calf. Based on her observation, many women who wear cloth can not consistently cover their calf if they have to move or make a larger step.[42] This unthinkable idea

must have been an important reasoning to reconstruct people's mind on the criteria of covering 'aurat' rather than following unreasonable ideas and practices.

Another important aspect of moderatism in pesantren is respecting other people's opinion. In the life history of Nyai Khairiyah, there are a variety of stories which formed her moderate and inclusive way of thinking. Those stories are important to be reminder of tolerance and harmony within diversity. The different opinion between Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kiai Ma'shum Ali, for example, is a good reference on how Muslim should appreciate one another dealing with different opinion which is believed by respective individual. As testimony of Khairiyah, Kiai Hasyim argued that using documentation by photograph is unlawful (haram), while her husband believe that it is lawful (halal). But they respect one another. Another case was determination of the first day of fasting (Ramadhan). While Kiai Hasyim believed that it should be decided by the rukyat method (lunar sightings), Kiai Ma'shum used the hisab method (mathematical and astronomical calculations). Consequently, Kiai Ma'shum family in Seblak started fasting earlier than Kiai Hasyim in Tebuireng. However, the relationship between the two Kiai lasted in harmony and people who affiliated with such pesantren followed their respective Kiai.[43] This atmosphere is important to describe the image of pesantren which basically has tradition in the formation of spirit of tolerance in diversity.

4. Research Result

Intellectualism and Pesantren World

The remarkable understanding of Nyai Khairiyah to Islamic Sciences signifies a great potency of pesantren in forming intellectual maturity which is absorbed from classic Islamic texts. The capacity of Kiai (mentor) becomes an important aspect in forging intellectual and spiritual of his disciples. Three great scholars who had influence to the intellectual journey of Nyai Khairiyah: Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, Kiai Maksum Ali and Kiai Abdul Muhaimin, all of them had a specific mastery of Islamic sciences. Her father, Hasyim Asy'ari was known as the expert on hadith (discipline on complexity of prophet sayings), Maksum Ali was expert on 'ilmu falak' (astronomy) and Abdul Muhaimin was expert on comparison of Islamic school of thoughts (madzahibul arba'ah). In many opportunities, Khairiyah learnt many subjects under supervision of three important agents of pesantren.

Without a strong foundation of scholarship (keulamaan), progressive ideas which were introduced by Nyai Khairiyah might not be recognized and respected by Muslim community. Nyai Khairiyah had religious authority to interpret sacred texts in accordance with social and cultural contexts. That's why, it is understandable when she has different opinion with mainstream on certain issues such as family planning, wearing a trousers and her ideas on gender equality. Instead of being kept away by people, she had been approached and consulted by those who recognize her competence. It means that Nyai Khairiyah has been a role model of female ulama which reflects her spirit of intellectualism and her concern on gender justice. This would be easier for next generation to refer the agenda of gender empowerment as started by gender activists in 1990s.[44]

It is important to note that traditionalism in pesantren does not always mean conservatism. Progressive ideas coming from Nyai Khairiyah prove that pesantren produced intellectual agent who capable of voicing moderatism which is basically inherent to Islam. At this point, Nyai Khairiyah had an important role in the effort of interpreting religious texts into current

situations which make Islam relevant with changing realities. Her repudiation to the content of classic book of 'Uqudu al-Lujain', for example, particularly on the husband and wife relations reflected her autonomous standing point as a cautious female ulama. This predisposition has been continued and manifested in the project of reinterpretation of 'Uqud al-Lujjain' by Sinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid through Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning (FK3, Forum for Studies of Islamic Classic Books).[45]

Pesantren is an important religious institution which continuously produces educated and pious agents. The growing number of pesantren which accommodates female pupils implies a positive development to reproduce female ulama as caliber as Nyai Khairiyah. Based on Zamakhsyari's observation in 1977-1978, female pupils were 60% of total population in the pesantren. It means that the potency of female candidate of ulama has a greater number than male counterparts. In the meantime, female pupils in the pesantren which accepted male and female students were about one third of male students. This could be found in Pesantren Cukir, for example, where the number of female santri was 1,100 from total 3,300 santri. According to Dhofier, this number has increasing trend from time to time.[46] No wonder if well-educated women graduated from pesantren participate in the domestic sphere and intellectual field.

The Existence of Female Ulama

It is very rare finding a female ulama in the male-dominated world, let alone those who wrote their thoughts. One of few clues of female author has been recorded by Martin van Bruinessen in his article 'Kitab Kuning dan Perempuan, Perempuan dan Kitab Kuning'. He found a Malay woman who wrote a basic teaching of five pillars of Islam and six articles of faith in a book, 'Perukunan Jamaluddin'. However, the identity of author is purposely hidden. It is written in the first page that the book is written by 'al-alim al-allamah mufti Jamaluddin ibn almarhum al-alim al-fadhil al-syaikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari'. It is true that Jamaluddin, a son of Arsyad Al-Banjari, was a prominent ulama in South Kalimantan at that period. However, the book is actually written by his niece, Fatimah, who was born from the couple of Syarifah and Abdulwahhab from Bugis. [47] She was even known as the "Mutiara Katulistiwa" for her mastery of Islamic sciences in Kalimantan.[48] There is no convincing explanation why she did not write her real name, but speculation that writing as a male profession is difficult to argue. At the same time, authority and competence of women as the expert of Islamic sciences was still questionable during the early wave of Islamization in nusantara.

Nyai Khairiyah is one of rare female ulama who spent most of her life time to lead her pesantren, teach her pupils and deliver a speech for local women. As a central figure in the pesantren, she has sufficient power to control the religious institution. In many occasions, she teach her pupils, but sometimes it is delegated to her daughter or son in law. Like many female leaders, she has motherhood nature which tends to educate children with care and love.[48] For Khairiyah, her pupils are entrusted creatures from God to her to be looked after and protected from any disturbance. That's why, she did not only teach them, but also guide them in terms of intellectual and spiritual development. Some of the rituals which have been continued in the pesantren can be seen in the recent activities of santri. Before starting regular learning, she has obliged santri to recite 'Surah Yasin' together. As the typical pesantren, santri are trained to conduct 'tahlil' (pray for the death) and 'istighosah'(communal pray), shalawatan (pray for Prophet Muhammad), and 'manaqib' (reading the biography of Al-Jailani).[49] Besides managing her pesantren, she also

spent her time to educate women in her neighborhood. Khairiyah regularly delivered religious preaching for them. It seems that she dedicated her life for the virtue of society.

Nyai Khairiyah's experience is important to identify a prototype of female ulama whose competence was obtained by informal education of pesantren institution under the supervision of qualified ulama in the Javanese Muslim community of 20th century. Her proximity to the competent ulama formed a good image and a distinct religious authority which can not be found beyond the pesantren community. Most female ulama are not as qualified as her in mastery of Islamic knowledge. From four category of female ulama which is conceptualized by Azra, Nyai Khairiyah might have qualification of three categories of ulama who concern on social-religious organization (ulama ormas), involved in the preaching agenda (ulama tabligh) and grew and develop in pesantren (ulama pesantren). Since Khairiyah did not attend formal or modern education, she is not a type of female ulama who spent her life through modern school (ulama kampus).[50] People has known her as an excellent product of the pesantren world.

The current awareness of reproducing female ulama dealing with the guarantee of autonomous agents in the interpretation of religious texts does not only emerge from pesantren institutions. The aspiration comes from progressive organizations of women movement which have a good network with pesantren actors. One of successful stories about reproduction of female ulama is a program conducted by Rahima, a women organization for education and reproductive health, called Pengkaderan Ulama Perempuan (PUP, Training for Female Ulama). By recruiting Nyai and female santri who have potency to be ulama, this program has supplied a variety of important materials on sexuality and reproductive health, methodology of Islamic studies, social analysis, social organization and advocacy.[51] It is designed to produce female ulama who have a good perspective on gender equality and justice.[52] For the time being, participants of the program come from various regency throughout Java. They may 'destabilise the unequal relations between men and women' by applying a gender-equal interpretation of sacred texts and Islamic classic books. However, it does not mean that the leadership and authority of female ulama will replace the male ulama; rather, both are supporting one another in creating a better Muslim community for both men and women.[53]

The peak of Indonesian women aspiration regarding serious efforts to strengthen the network of female ulama was manifested in a convention of female religious authorities which is called KUPI (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia) in 24-27 April 2017. This is an extraordinary progress of Indonesian ulama in voicing gender issues through a congress which is even unthinkable by many Muslims beyond Indonesia. By inviting many female ulama, this congress discussed many important issues such as child marriage, environmental degradation and sexual violence. The convention which invited various guest speakers from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Kenya, Indonesia and Nigeria, recommended many important issues. According to Kathryn Robinson, this movement has been slowly building for a long time and is significant voice in defining the future of Indonesia.[54] The first and historic of female ulama gathering would be important step to multiply women agents who understand the problem of gender injustice.

5. Conclusion

The life history of Nyai Khairiyah shows her important role in forging the intellectual tradition of pesantren where she became a role model of female ulama who has extraordinary competence in Islamic sciences and great responsibility to advance her community. Although she was informally trained in traditional pesantren, her capability to understand and interpret the qur'an, hadith

and Islamic classic texts showed her progressive ideas which are possibly difficult to be found to other female learners. Her passion and spirit to learn and share her knowledge became her basic ethos. No wonder, she became an outstanding agent of pesantren who frequently turned to be a consultant to solve many social and religious problems. Like Kartini, her body of language reflected an intellectual actor who easily mingled not only with women but also with men counterparts. Fortunately, she also wrote her thoughts in local magazines. One of interesting words from her dealing with the intellectual ethos: "minimum standard of santri is thinking critically and highly desire in searching knowledge." [55]

Nyai Khairiyah dedicated her life time to teach her pupils and women in her circumstances. She capable of reading and conveying her moderate interpretations by logical arguments. Despite the fact that her method of learning in pesantren still conventional, her pesantren produced many qualified alumni and contributed many important things to society. She treated her santri with care and love as if she is mother of the children. Besides, her schedule to educate women sometimes was so busy that she had to move from one place to another. To fulfill other people's request, she often forgot her own needs and interests. This altruist inclination has been also an ethos of Kiai in pesantren whose time in serving people hardly ever take a rest. At this point, the pattern of leadership and management of Nyai Khairiyah in running the pesantren and serving people tended to motherhood and altruist pattern.

The inspiring experience of Nyai Khairiyah is important to identify a prototype of female ulama whose competence was forged through informal education of pesantren institution under the supervision of qualified ulama in the Javanese Muslim community of 20th century. Her proximity to the competent ulama formed a good image and a distinct religious authority which possibly can not be found beyond the pesantren community. Three great Kiai who shaped her intellectual framework made her much easier to gain what is so called 'religious authority' without being questioned about her qualifications, virtues and abilities which is commonly happened to current female ulama who establish her competence from a community-based authority.[56] In many aspects, social and intellectual life of Nyai Khairiyah has paved the way for shifting paradigm of male-dominated framework to be more aware to gender equality.

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[1] Interview with Abdullah Hamid from Lasem via WhatsApp, 17 September 2017.

[2] Interview with Muhsin Zuhdi by phone, in 7 August 2017.

[3] Interview with Nyai Muhsinah in Jombang in 8 June 2017. She is a wife of Kiai Ya'kub.

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[17] Srimulyani, p. 89.

[18] Muzayyanah Hamas, p. 44.

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THE EFFECTS OF RYŌSAIKENBO IN HINDERING THE PROMOTION OF GENDER EQUALITY IN JAPAN'S POSTMODERN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract

Women in modern day Japan now experience much less discrimination and inequality than in pre-war Japanese society. Yet Japan still has a significant gender gap in the political sector. Modern Japanese society appears reluctant to fully embrace the concept of women in leadership positions, especially in politics. Researchers have identified a Japanese cultural idiosyncrasy, epitomized by the phrase *ryōsaikenbo*, which has preserved the Meiji Era expectation that women should always return to their traditional domestic duties, such being a "good wife and wise mother". Therefore, the research presented in this paper will focus on the implications of this phrase regarding the promotion of gender equality. The argument will be made that the Japanese education system prioritizes preparing women for a life working as homemakers. Furthermore, this paper will critique the prevailing theory of industrialization which posits a linear relationship between the fullfillment of citizens's rights and gender equality.

Keywords: democratization; gender equality; industrialization; political participation

1. Introduction

As one of the Asian Tigers, Japan has experienced remarkable economic acceleration and growth. Japan has proven itself as a tough and competitive East Asian power among the developed Western countries. Japan's modern civilization is the result of a long journey towards industrialization and democratization began during the Meiji Restoration. Interestingly, postwar democracy in Japan can't be separated from the influence of the initial modernist who introduced the enlightment to the Japan's 19th century imperial society. Modernists of that era

essentially presupposed the establishment of an autonomous state indispensable and essential for the creation of democratization within the country[1]. Additionally, those 'enlighteners' opened the door for Japan's adoption of "universal" (if not, western) values embodied by the concept of democratization. Hence, it can be said that democratization itself is a "modern" concept, especially from a Japanese political perspective.

Almost a century after the downfall of the Imperial regime, one would expect that Japan would have been accustomed with and assimilated the concepts and principles of democracy imparted to it by the occupying Western nations. The elimination of discrimination in society is a critical component of many democratic nations' agendas, given the value such a system places on individual sovereignty. The persistence of inequalities usually undermines the implementation of democracy within a country as described by Charles Tilly:

"Many analysts, from Aristotle onward, have thought that inequality threatens democracy, both because democratic politics as such rests on some presumption of equality among participants and because intense inequality encourages its beneficiaries to subvert or opt out of democratic politics[2]."

A gap in equality, described by Tilly as a categorial inequality, is a deliberately preserved situation which is often based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. Non-democratic (authoritarian) states are not the only states which can experience this kind of inequality; it can even occur within the confines of democratic countries as well.

This research basically focuses on one of these areas of inequality, gender inequality, which is still widely experienced in Japan. According to the 2017 Global Gender Gap Index Report, Japan ranks 114th out of a total of 144 countries, three positions lower than the previous year[3] (in the political participation and opportunity category, and political empowerment category, Japan ranked 114th and 123rd respectively). This is certainly no achievement given that ten years prior, in 2006, Japan still occupied the 83rd place. This is not solely due to the absence of women leaders in the head of the government, but also becauses of the lack of women in the bureaucracy and the National Diet. The number of women currently holding parliamentary seat is still very low; there are only about 9 women out of 100 MPs. This situation has resulted in Japan being ranked 129th, down seven positions from last year, in sub-category of woman in parliament. Japan's rating in the sub-category of political empowerment, also referred to as woman in ministerial position is only slightly better, at a rank of 88. However, the distance parity within this category is perpetually nearly zero, which means it is still far from the threshold of gender balance. Japan's position in The Global Gender Gap Report seems to represent a contradiction of an industrialization hypothesis that has pushed progressive values, especially gender equality, within the country.

It is generally assumed that, within a given country, with the implementation of industrialization, slowly but surely be a modern society will emerge where the standard of living is continually surpassing the previous generations. This is in keeping with what Huntington's claim that modern society is intellectually, economically, politically, and socially preferable[4]. Intellectually, individuals in a modern society are characterized as having a firm understanding of the situation or the environment around them, which allows them to be able to better control their lives and attain their wants and wishes. The extent to which this understanding is attained can be seen from the level of literacy, communication technology use, and education achieved by a population. This goes with an increase in life expectancy and an increased level of public health. Economically speaking, people in modern societies implement a very specific division of tasks,

unlike that which is found in traditional societies. In the field of politics, participation among the population increase in conjunction with the emergence of independent democratic institutions and a value in good governance. At the same time, the basic societal structure experiences a change; there is a shift regarding gender attitudes, followed by the diffusion of roles between men (fathers) and women (mothers) within the families[5]. Finally, the industrialization process which spured the creation of a modernization of society progresses into a complex, long-lasting, homogeneous, global, and progressive process.

Up to this point, given this is often considered a progressive process, it can be concluded that gender equality enhancement will follow industrialization, as industrialization contributes to a rise in egalitarian values. As these egalitarian values are adopted by the state through an increased reliance on democracy, there is often an emphasis placed on gender quotas and similar such national goals. According to Sarah Sunn Bush, author of International Politics and the Spread of Quotas for Women in Legislatures:

"...revised modernization theory posits that the bundle of societal transformations that accompany economic development and democratization include progress toward gender equality[6]."

Gender quotas can be seen as an indicator of a state's commitment to the liberal democratic system, and they have been proven not only to affect the number of women who have entered politics but also to help shift public attitudes and policies in favor of a multiplicity of gender and sexuality[7].

Bush explains that democracy can be more fertile when there are also efforts to promote gender equality within a country[8]. Therefore, it can be argued that Japan continues to progress regarding the quality of its gender-based policy. 72 years have passed since Japanese women earned their right to vote, and a quarter-century has passed since the enactment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1985. However, according to a report published by the OECD in 2012, the status of Japanese women remains below average compared to women in other developed countries[9]. Japan as an advanced industrial country, not to mention a member of The Group of Seven (G7), must ultimately admit that their level of gender equality, especially in their political sector, is one of the lowest among peers such as United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and UK[10].

The contradiction of this lag in gender equality given Japan's level of development raises questions as to how Japanese society, which has been so receptive to industrialization and democratization, can seem to turn a blind eye towards the issue of gender equality? Interestingly, one need not dig too deep into Japanese history and culture in order to realize that Japan differs significantly from other advanced industrial countries. Although Japan's economy continues to improve and change, its traditional cultures not so easily altered. Japan culture maintains interesting values, including a hierarchical structure. The influence of this hierarchical culture are manifested in several ways, including through the expression of *ryōsaikenbo*; to be a good and wise mother and wife" which seem to be major component of traditional Japanese society. This paper will examine the correlation between Japanese traditional culture, and particularly idiosyncrasy, epitomized by the phrase *ryōsaikenbo*, with gender inequality, specifically in the political sphere, in the Land of the Rising Sun.

2. Research Methodology

Researchers believe that the social and political sciences are broad sciences and do not depend on limited approaches and methodologies. Therefore, in keeping with post-behaviorist thinking, the importance or impact of social research is not only related to method but to the substance as a phenomenon which cannot be measured using the analytical tools of other sciences such as the natural sciences (quantitative). This study uses a post-positivist approach which, as the name implies, is in contrast to the positivist approach which posits that there is a pattern and consistency to every phenomenon. The post-positivist approach is based on the assumption that the acquisition of knowledge is a contextually dependent process that can be derived from language or history, all depending on the perspective. This methodology does not rely on economics or nature but on hermeneutics, historical and sociological events, instead. Accordingly, the process of data analysis in this study can be considered a qualitative methodology because the aim is to explain social and cultural realities and because the work focuses on the interactions between variables.

Furthermore, the use of deductive methodology used as a theory for testing hypotheses goes back millennia. This is due to the need to know whether an existing theory is appropriate or relevant given existing conditions in certain settings. Regarding this work, critical studies are applied to test the theory of industrialization and democratization which is claimed to share a linear relationship with the level of gender equality achieved in a specific country, and a comparative analysis is made from a feminism perspective. Furthermore, hypotheses are also made and then followed by the empirical facts obtained through the study of relevant literature.

3. Research Highlight

The Origin of Ryōsaikenbo and Japan's Pre-transitional Democracy

The emergence of Samurai class in feudal Japan can be viewed as a milestone regarding the domination of patriarchal views and masculinity in Japanese society. Women's rights began to be limited in the Shogun Tokugawa era in the early 15th century, a trend which continued until the end of the 19th century. During these centuries, there were cultural and legal restrictions which few women becoming politically influential. These restrictions included economic restrictions relating to private ownership of property, as well as educational restrictions such as women being forbidden from learning hiragana, reading books and etc. It was during this era that the phrase *ryōsai,* meaning "good wife," emerged. The concept of *ryōsai* was generally associated with women who were obedient to their husbands and was considered as a form of female humiliation[12].

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 was a turning point for Japan which resulted in the abandonment of a feudal society in favor of a market economy based society. Not simply an effort to abolish the imperial system, the Meiji Restoration featured reforms in many sectors; changes were made to the military structure and economy began a process of industrialization. This was all done based on the principles epitomized by the popular slogan *fukoku kyohei,* or "enrich the country, strengthen the military." Research related to economic growth in Japan shows that the nation experienced fairly consistent and sustained economic enhancement from the Meiji era up to the present, even though the Meiji era itself ended in 1912[13].

Massive industrialization of results in changes to Japan's educational system which were amenable towards women, and which introduced a new concept known as *kenbo,* or a "wise mother" who must be educated and an independent leader of modern Japanese families. According to Koyama, this phrase came was introduced in conjunction with the introduction of European

views that encourage the advancement of education and healthcare[14]. Interestingly, *kenbo* as a new social value did not replace *ryōsai*. Instead, the two concepts were merged. The ideal of a smart and responsible woman was promoted not only for the sake of strengthening families, but also for the national aim of increasing the population. In the end, *ryōsaikenbo* (a combination of *kenbo* and *ryōsai*) cannot be interpreted as a static, timeless concept, but more as the product of the times.

Although *ryōsaikenbo* has a noble intent, its social construction ultimately limits the role of women because it relegates the "good and wise wife" to the sphere of her household. This concept describes the ideal woman as a good housewife who cooks, sews, cleans, serves the husband, and educates the children. Furthermore, while sons are pressed to focus on academics, daughters are taught to be just like their mothers; good wives and a wise mothers[15]. It is clear that this phrase and concept delineates a difference between men and women from childhood and places women in a subordinate position.

The Study of Feminism on Gender Equality Efforts in Japan's Transitional Democracy

In order to better understand the anomaly of Japan's gender inequality, which is claimed to result from the continued influence of *ryōsaikenbo*, gender roles in modern Japanese society should be explained in advance. The importance of a feminist perspective in examining the effect of *ryōsaikenbo* on gender equality, and in particular on how it influences women's participation in the political sphere is paramount. Japan's gender imbalances in the political sphere, despite its success in the development of all other sectors of society, are indicators of gender perceptions within the society as a whole, and, interestingly, there is no feminist counter which can explain this contradiction as anything other than inequality. To this end, this paper will analyze Japan's inequality utilizing a feminist perspective, as opposed to examining it from a more relativist perspective.

As mentioned earlier, and in keeping with previously discussed models, gender equality in Japan should have naturally progressed in tandem with Japan's transition to a "full" democracy. This democratization process was a long and drawn out affair, but historically speaking, the seeds of democracy were planted from the Meiji Restoration. This was followed by the attempts at implementing democracy during Taisho era, which was supported by the influence of the United States. Japan's after the Second World war similarly had a major influence on the nation's future. The United States began exert a tremendous influence, both politically and culturally. Though Japan's military forces were disbanded through Article 9 of the American administered constitution, many positive changes were made regarding technology, industry, government structure, education, and gender equality. Women were given voting rights during the general election of 1946, and laws regulating the differentiation of status and roles between men and women began to be abolished, replaced by laws that dealt more with women's remuneration, maternity leave arrangements and the others[16].

The late 20th century represented the culmination of international women's suffrage movements, when the majority of powerful international institutions began to openly support women's suffrage. The UN's efforts to eliminate discrimination against women intensified around 1975 with the World's Woman Conferences. This was followed in 1979 by the pro-women's international convention known as the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). One year after CEDAW Japan's government ratified the convention.

There were three major changes made to Japanese national law after the ratification of the CEDAW Convention. First, Japan approved new citizenship guidelines which stipulated that Japanese citizenship could not be determined solely through male lineage. Second, more opportunities for education were made available to women. The third was the creation of a legal basis for the recognition of the position of women in Japanese society, especially in the field of economics. These three changes were followed by laws including Japan's Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA). This law underwent several revisions, one of which emphasized that harm of gender discrimination to all genders, both men and women. This progress occurred in parallel with women's solidarity and social movement. This momentum, and the new support outlined in Japan's legal framework, led to the so-called Japanese Madonna Boom, an event which resulted in the greater participation of women in parliament[17].

This, unfortunately, was not the end of the feminist struggle in Japan, eventhough there was significant regulation reform. A reform was also necessary at the individual level. Radical feminism is trying to change the structure of culture in society, but this is extremely done through the full elimination of patriarchal institutions. However, their concept, body is political, suggests a focus on the smallest personal base of society. While the standpoint of liberal feminism—which is more or less understood as 'feminism' in general—is to assume that gender identity does not rely on the biological sex of a human being and that women and men are equal from birth, regardless of their gender, and that, from a societal/legal perspective, they should be treated absolutely the same. Within the political sphere, liberal feminists have found it easier to build a base of support by inviting and embracing the participation of men, as to reject their support would risk strengthening the perception that they are 'radical' feminists who hate men. This tactic legislation that includes anti-discrimination and affirmative action has been created to counter gender inequality, especially in the economic field, as in the case of Japan. This could explain the existence of policies which, on paper, support the elimination of gender-based discrimination, and the widespread of these ideas have received from both by the government and political parties in Japan during the late 20th century.

Of course, there were limitations to this process. Though the creation of non-discrimination laws as a result of institutional change is an achievement, to be sure, it leaves out an important aspect of the liberal feminist doctrine. In a nutshell, the idea that legal/political change is the end goal focuses too much on attempts to remove the patriarchal elements in society at a macro-structural level and ignores the smallest unit of society, the individual. In fact, regardless what the law says, Japan is still struggling with obstacles related to cultural factors which require another perspective to explain the phenomenon of continued gender inequality[18].

The Analysis of Culture, Ryōsaikenbo, and the Level of Gender Equality

in Modern Japanese Politics

How exactly is *ryōsaikenbo* perceived in modern Japanese society? It has been argued that, recently, there has been a decline in feminist advocacy and the momentum of the women's activism movement as a means to influence political attitudes and women's participation in several countries, especially after they have experienced a democratic consolidation phase[19]. However, research has only focused primarily on Latin America and developing countries. Japan, alone among developed nations, may be experiencing a situation similar to those faced by developing nations, though this paper will also present a competing hypothesis as the reasons behind the lack of political participation among Japanese women.

In order to understand the influence of *ryōsaikenbo* on families in Japan, we need to understand the makeup of the Japanese family itself. There are two approaches that can be used to do this. The first approach involves conceptualizing the modern Japanese family as the result of a transformation undergone during the industrialization and modernization era[20]. Conversely, some argue that the Japanese family has retained many aspects of its traditional form, and that it differs considerably from family models in most Western countries. In addition to these two approaches, there is a neutral approach which posits a middle ground between these two ideas of the Japanese family.

It is clear that within Japanese families there is an emphasis placed on the development of a strong bond between mother and child. This can be referred to as 'Japanese materialism.' In an interview-study conducted by Emiko Ochiai and Masako Kamimura, the Japanese community's appreciation for the role of the mother is obvious when they talk about their mothers[21]. This strong attachment proves that, in addition to being a parent, Japanese women are a symbol of religious and social values. The emphasis on a mother's love, interpreted as something truly noble and authentic, distinguishes Japan from other countries around the world. The strength of the mother-child bond has been assumed as a tradition aspect of Japanese society, though there is no data to prove this. What is certain, however, is that this attachment seems to have become significantly stronger with the gradual industrialization of Japan [22].

The burden of educating children to ensure the youngest generation prospers is first goal of the Japanese mother. This concept also needs to be appreciated as viewing children as vital to the survival and sustainability of a country. However, the way society, whether deliberately or indirectly, seeks to create qualified future generations by placing this burden solely on women is debatable. Giving this 'noble mission' to women is nothing more than a time bomb. The honor given to mothers in the long run will become suppression and prohibition for future generations of women. The close relationship between mother and child in Japanese society results in the mother being overwhelmed and ultimately unable to maintain a social life. Network expansion (sharing child-raising duties with neighbors or relatives) happens, but this does not relieve the stress places on women and is more a realization that the care and education of children cannot happen properly without support from others.

The *ryōsaikenbo* based family system can also be explained from the perspective of Marxist/socialist feminism. Although Marxism, as the principle theory of socialist/Marxist feminism, does not recognize the role of women or wives in its analysis of capitalism and capitalist society, socialist/Marxist feminism provides a revision of this theory and posits that the wife or forced femininity is deeply bound within the structure of capitalism[23]. According to Marxist/feminism, the role of the wife is vital to the economic system of industrialized countries thanks to its relegating domestic work to women, who are unpaid and who are tasked with 'taking care of' the workers, the bosses, and performing the reproductive functions that generate new generations of workers and overseers. Even when a husband is drowned in work, the wife is able to engage in other activities in order to earn extra income. This so-called wives' work, whether paid or unpaid, is done for her family (in fact, this exact model took place in Japan during World War II).

Marxist and socialist feminists have criticized this form of oppression and exploitation. They claim that opposition to women working in politics or the public sphere is due to an expectation that women should continue to fulfill their domestic obligations, which are ultimately take on more weight than women's rights. This type of inequality is often neatly incorporated

into legal frameworks and government policies, but ultimately dumps childbearing on women and provides men with a justification for not participating synergistically within the family.

Marxist feminists argue that the existence of state support for gender equality should not be interpreted as a genuine attempt to increase the level of equality in society. They claim that the state may still be paternalistic, and that the public patriarchy simply shifts into private patriarchy. Masculine government policies (male-dominated) will always trample on the rights of women when given the chance. When a country needs workers, the state will provide benefits for child care, restrict contraceptive services, etc. It is also clear that the gender gap in education and health care in Japan is almost flawless[24]. Women should receive the best care and education in order that they successfully fulfill the goal of *ryōsaikenbo*. The capitalistic (and socialist) conception of women as supplemental laborers and child producers raises questions as to the effectiveness of capitalism to create a gender equality through industrialization.

4. Research Results

It has been shown that industrialization inevitably generates a dichotomy between the emergence of modern society and the maintenance of a traditional one. This resulting dualism is certainly true within Japanese society. Japan has made great strides in the fields of technology and science, and it has strong record when it comes to acquiescing to international norms regarding human rights and gender equality. Yet upon a closer examination it is clear that Japanese society still harbors regressive beliefs about the roles of women. These findings have been corroborated by the research of Sugiyama Lebra, who argues that the Japanese hold a relativist world-view whereby they can respond to existing phenomena through their own unique understanding and values[25]. An anthropologist from the United States, Ruth Benedict, has similarly claimed that Japan is a nation with two opposing sides[26]. Japanese society can be aggressive and passive, selfish and altruist, conservative and modern, etc. As a result of this world-view, one can argue that Japanese do not actually believe in the values generally assumed to result from industrialization, and that the process of industrializing has done little to change the status quo regarding local values.

While the Japanese government is gradually making changes and enacting laws which promote women's rights, the general public is hesitant to dispense with traditional Japanese values, as epitomized by the phrase "*ryōsaikenbo*." The influence of history, culture, and social values during the process of democratic consolidation makes this process different in every, and it is rarely as quick a process as the initial democratic transition (a process which is also rather uniform throughout various nations). This certainly applies to Japan, where the combination of modernity and traditional values is epitomized by the continued existence of *ryōsaikenbo*. Accordingly, a high level of gender-based discrimination implies that there are traditions and customs that are still closely held by the community [27].

Regarding discrimination within the Japanese government, Yumiko Mikanagi has presented finding which shows various incidents of discrimination perpetrated by male members of parliament against female members. For example, in 2014, during the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly, a male MP expressed sexist remarks to his female counterpart, Ayaka Shiomura[28]. Ayaka Shiomura, who at the time was proposing policy changes to provide support for women during pregnancy as a means to help stem the declining Japanese birth rate, was harangued by the male MP who told her to marry and then questioned her own ability to have children. Unfortunately, this case is just one of many similar such incidents. Male MPs often publicly utters

sexist and inappropriate remarks. According to a UPI news portal, female politicians have even been subjected to sexual harassment or solicitations that they reveal their undergarment[29]. This proves that regardless of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's policy goal of creating a society where "all women can shine", the Japanese political arena is still dominated by male chauvinism, which itself correlated with and influenced *ryōsaikenbo* and sexist/chauvinistic thoughts among the society.

These displays of sexism and discrimination were, unfortunately, common before women entered the world of politics. Women have faced these challenges long before suffrage movements existed. For instance, they have been used by family members and husbands as a means of discrediting or disapproving of women's decisions. In an interview conducted on the family members of female MPs, it was shown that husbands generally believe that family dynamics change when wives enter parliament[30]. The inclusion of women, especially those who have married, into the political arena is thought to have undesirable effects such as creating distance among families, both physical and emotional, and steering women away from the noble burden of Japanese materialism. This perception is also combined with a belief among the general public that female politicians are less credible than their male counterparts. Running for office and working within the political sphere is considered dishonorable, dirty, and unsuitable for self-respecting women, and certainly cannot be accommodated within the concept of *ryōsaikenbo*. It is believed that women are unable to balance the roles of *ryōsaikenbo* and the duties of serving as an assemblywoman or MP at the same time. Participation within the economic sphere is similarly looked down upon.

Ryōsaikenbo is not only a male inspired concept, but one which has been broadly accepted by the society and women as a whole. Many women in Japan "disappeared" from work after giving birth. This is done not only due to consideration for the baby and husband, but as the woman's "natural call" as *ryōsaikenbo*[31]. It is claimed that emancipated women violate their 'nature' as a good wives and mothers, even though the door for women has been opened in the form of existing laws. Therefore, one can conclude that all of the attempts to internalize the international human rights norms related to gender equality as a consequence of democratization have been, in effect, superficial. Although various laws regarding gender equality have been passed, the sad reality is that the societal pressure for women to be *ryōsaikenbo* is still strong enough to effectively limit equal participation within Japanese politics.

5. Conclusion

Despite the statements presented throughout this paper, it would be a mistake to say that Japan is turning a blind eye to its ongoing gender equality issues. Unfortunately, most of the efforts at promoting gender equality during Japan's democracy consolidation era are still only done 'for show' and have had little substantial impact. The behavior of the Japanese public in general in responding to gender equality is the result of the influence of embedded traditional cultural values. Accordingly, the idea of *ryōsaikenbo,* as the most recent conception in a Japanese history which is full of amalgamations of traditional and modern concepts, is believed to contribute to the slow adoption of—or even decline in—gender equality in Japan. The persistence of a male dominated society and a 'weakening' of women's role is also mirrored in the dynamics of Japan's political system. Discrimination against women still exists in Japan, even though the Japanese government has publically acknowledged that the role of women in politics is an important component of domestic and foreign policy related decision-making. Ultimately, the concept of *ryōsaikenbo* is a stumbling block for Japanese women and is keeping them from realizing their political and human rights. Therefore, though gender equality is assumed to be an inevitable

consequence of industrialization and democratization, neither industrialization nor democracy are independently and sufficiently effective at raising awareness for gender equality within every country, and especially in a country with such a unique cultural background and history as Japan.

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PAPERS IN PANEL WOMEN AND RADICALISM (RADICALISM)

WOMEN IN RADICAL MOVEMENT: PERSPECTIVES AND CASES

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Introduction

Radicalism proved as an interesting theme in the ICWG 2018, the presenter and the participants had commitment to participate actively. The presenters were various in their background, lecturer, NGO activist, independent researcher, person who has passion over this issue. In fact some of the discussion are being analyzed and put, to give homage to the discussion, we extract some of them in this article. The presentation of the paper develop into a focus group discussion, not only talking about the perspective, but also cases such as the International Female Migrant Worker that recently is being recruited as human suicide bomber. In fact in Indonesia, there is just some cases of bomber and the perpetrator include women and children. This is a shock for Indonesia's public, that they are discussing about terrorism and women is become an important agency in that context.

We are relieved that there are twelve abstracts come and finally there are six full articles presented with many angles, but in this proceeding there are only five articles after some revision. The committee has tried to contact but of no avail, therefore as writers of this panel, we try our best to incorporate the issue through the discussion. Most articles are from research, field and text. The paper shows discussion over terms such as fundamentalism, radical, and follows by cases or illustration. The researchers use qualitative method from interviews to participant observation. The subject ranges from individual such as mothers that have no relation to the radicalism activity to women who are dealing with anti-radicalism's program, from women migrant worker to profile of the female suicide bomber. The issue of radicalism is important, especially talking about women's

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role, as recently there are suicide bomber including women and children. Indonesia's public was amazed by this incidents and awareness of women participation in such movement become more apparent. Most of the paper are showing passion, because most literature about radical movement doesn't consider woman, and some other are showing their activities about the issue of tolerance, and radicalism and anti-radicalism.

This paper consist of three layers, first is introductory remark such as description above, the other is taken from the discussion. The item from the discussion is taken from the verbatim note taking and the last is the conclusion. A part of this article is taking some note as direct citation, because the discussion is so alive, most of the participants raised comment, describe, add some information that was so precious. Especially when the group was discussing about de-radicalism and experiences they have because of their study, their work with fundamentalism and radical movement are valuable. It is important to share with wider readers.

The Discussion

1. Radicalism a Social Network

To view radicalism there are three intricate social networks, first radical movement has religious indoctrination, it also use personal experience, and back up with supportive social surround. The radical movement is a complex social network, where the combination of those three items would influence the depth of the movement.

According to Affifurahman[3] "The role of women in radicalism movement could not be underestimated. By using women as suicide bombing bring symbolic meaning. It means the existence of group could no longer be underestimated". Therefore it is no longer possible to study radicalism without including women. According to him, women plays important role in the radical movement.

> "*Mereka tahu dalam menggunakan wanita akan mempermudah misi mereka dalam propaganda dan penyerangan*" (Discussant, radicalism panel)
>
> (They know that by using women would make their mission become easier in propaganda as well as in action)

The program of de-radicalization needs to see two significant things; first, the changing behaviour of captured terrorist and family. Secondly, it is important to prevent society by teaching more about critical thinking. The radical movement uses brainwash system, therefore to conquer this system, critical thinking is urgently needed, which feminism is one of them. In fact by teaching one to be critical, we give society a tool to rethinking and not easily confused by propaganda.

2. Term of Fundamentalism and Radicalism

Almost all of the papers had mentioned fundamentalism and radicalism, as it is important to show differences in context. Writers who use the term radical are showing that it refers to the terrorism action, while fundamentalism is interpreted as religion's purity movement. The radicalism term has rarely used by Western's scholar. They prefer to use terrorism term. Most of the articles use radical to show the action and use fundamentalism to refer to the religious movement.

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[3] Affifurrahman is conference participant that present about female bomber, but his paper is not included in this proceeding.

Many radical organizations use religious terms for their movements, such as *aqidah, qabliyah, qaniah*. Those organizations mostly hold patriarchal system, therefore most women are positioned as subordinate. However, base don the latest fact, the role of women have elevated their position as leader, which is similar with Saba Mahmood's thinking. According to some discussant, the participation of women in the radical movement as freedom of expression. The women who participate in radical movement believe that what they have done is not only for their current life but also for theirs after life. The radical movement constructs a new meaning of being a woman. For the radical group, women's way to heaven is fairly easy. They believe that by washing her husband clothes can make it happen.

In the discussion, one comment about fundamentalism and radicalism:

> "Kalau saya pakai fundamentalis, karena tidak semua perempuan menginginkan perubahan drastis dalam sistem negara. Dalam penelitian saya, perempuan dari Hizbut Tahrir itu fundamental iya, radikal iya. Yang mereka inginkan merubah NKRI menjadi khalifah. Dan tidak hanya Indonesia tapi global. Bagaimana seluruh umat Islam bergabung membangun khilafah Islam. Menurut saya yang radikal itu fundamental. Tapi tidak semua fundamental itu radikal" (discussion, radicalism panel).

> (I would use fundamentalism, because not every women want a drastic change in the state system. In my research, women from Hizbut Tahrir, they are fundamentalist, and also radicalist. They want to change republic to be khalifah, and not only in Indonesia but also in global context. It is how to make all the Muslims to join the Islamic Khilafah. According to me, the one who is radical is fundamental also, but not all the fundamentals are radicals)

3. The Base of the Problem

In macro level, the problem of radicalism lies in the constructed value and norm that is in diabolic position compare to recent social situation, such as for them the Indonesian government is *kufur*. Therefore, it is necessary to bring out alternative to the failure of democaracy in Indonesia, such as Khilafah. Indonesia's society is also represented as negative such as:

> "*Indonesia sudah tidak aman untuk anak-anak. Ada pedofilia, mutilasi. Nah ini jadi pendorong untuk hijrah. Jadi ada* social problem dan social injustice' (Discussant, radicalism panel).

> (Indonesia is not a save place for children, there is pedophilia, mutilation. Nah…this is the push factor to hijrah. So there is social problem as well as social injustice)

The basic cause for the radicalism is not religion, although the discourse about religion influence has apparent. The social injustice problem is societal basic problem and many cases show problematic situation in individual level.

The other situation is globalization that dismantling old structure, disruptive power that bring people into confusion. For women according to one discussant "Globalisation created inequality and women want to return to traditional values because they see this is the answer to inequality" (conference's discussant, radical panel). In terms of conflict, women have been in contested position, while from ISIS propaganda, we see that ISIS is targeting women. On the other hand, ISIS also use women in their movement as active agency. Kartini says "In Al Qaeda, women only participated in tactical movement, while ISIS allows women to involve in defensive and offensive operation. ISIS argue that women as important as men in the way of jihad. Al Khansa Brigade became one of the ISIS model on the role of women" (discussant, radicalism panel).

One of the discussant describes the active participation of women, "Women are not only (play) as bio (reproducer) and (also) cultural reproducer. They call their children as *jundi*, means army of God. Most of them are marriage with the jihadi member. In every place in Jakarta, you will see many women bring their children in demonstration for khalifah movement, syariah and others. Women become effective instrument to build ideology" (discussant, radicalism panel).

> "… *ada semacam emansipasi wanita. Bagi feminist itu bermasalah. Wanita ikut ISIS, notabene patriarchy, pasti subordinat. Bagi mereka itu bukan subordinasi atau diskriminasi namun emansipasi*" (discussant, radicalism panel)

> (…it is women's emancipation. For feminist it is problematic. Women join ISIS, which is nota bene patriarchy, so the women position must be subordinate. But for them, it is not subordination or discrimination, it is emancipation)

This is to show that as movement they make alternative meaning to the women participation. The word emancipation is used to represent women's role vis a vis women's role in term of gender equality. This is something that Mahmood had mention before.

Saba Mahmood seems to be a significant reading, since there are some discussants mentioned her work. According to one discussant:

> "*Saba mahmood juga menyebutkan, agak sulit menggunakan feminis Barat untuk melihat fenomena teroris di Timur. Ini memberikan agency pada wanita karena mereka merasa ini bagian dari emansipasi. Termasuk kelompok feminis yang tidak appreciate dengan ibu rumah tangga. Ini yang digunakan oleh kelompok anti feminis*" (discussant, radicalism panel).

> (Saba Mahmood said that it would be difficult to use western feminist thought to view terrorist phenomenon in the East. It gives women an agency, and the women felt it is a part of emancipation. Including the feminist group, who do not appreciate the role of housewife. This is the discourse that has been used by the anti-feminist)

There are at least two things that have to be think about, first the feminism is seen as Western product and it is not compatible with the contemporary position of women in Islam. One of the drawbacks of feminism is their problematic relationship to family. The feminist view the source of oppression lays in the family as institution. This is something that needs to be answered through women movement in Indonesia.

Family is the base of the radical movement, it is a part of their strategy to strengthen network by using women's role. Women in this position is very important because:

> "Salah satu perannya educator, mewariskan semangat jihad pada anaknya. Dia mengawinkan anaknya waktu sekolah, ingin meneruskan jalan itu, dikawinkan dengan jaringannya untuk memperkuat dan memperpanjang jaringannya. Kita harus lihat perspektif mereka. Ini adalah kewajiban untuk meneruskan jihad" (discussant, radicalism panel).

> (One of her role is as educator, to continue the jihad spirit to her children. She has married her daughter while she is still in school age, to keep in this path. We have to see their perspectives. This is an obligation to keep the jihad alive)

Women make sure to maintain the network by instilling the function of the family as the bases of the movement.

The other thing is the construction of fear, this movement are disseminating some fact or information that build on our fear, "…lagi mereka menggunakan fear dalam masyarakat, seperti

ada lho kelompok yang mau ambil kenyamanan kita" (discussant, radicalism panel). They produce discourses that constructed out senses, according to other discussant :

"*ada ketakutan yang memang diciptakan. Saya tanya masalahnya apa, Islam tertindas. Saya tanya tertindasnya di mananya. Dari sisi ideology ada Yahudi, Syiah, etc. dari ekonomi aseng (Chinese migrant worker) dan asing (foreigner) itu. Fear itu diciptakan*" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(there is a feeling of fear, that is constructed. I ask what is the problem?....Islam is being oppressed ……where? ….In the ideology side, there is Jews, Syiah etc. ….from economy there is aseng (Chinese migrant workers) and asing (foreigners). The fear is constructed)

4. The changing situation

To recruit the participant, the radical organization uses someone who has close relation to them, such as family member. Most of them are also family member of terrorist, such as brother, sister, wife, etc. They use sisterhood and collectivism in the group:

"Site of comfort *sebagai penyebab kawan-kawan aktivis ini bisa sangat militan karena memang dalam analisis kelompok-kelompok radikal biasanya menggunakan istilah-istilah yang sangat* friendly, *seperti ukhti, teman. Ini yg kurang dari gerakan feminism. Bagaimana juga merekrut dengan cara yang sangat* friendly, *menggunakan* personal approach" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(Site of comfort as the cause of these activists would become militant, because in the analysis of radical groups, usually use friendly terms, like ukhti, which means friend. This is something missing in feminist movement. Therefore to join the group is using the friendly matter, using the personal approach)

Most of radical participants believe that following radical movement will bring many advantages for theirs after life, not only for themselves but also their families:

"*gabung kelompok jihadist akhirnya doktrinasinya perempuan atau laki-laki mati syahid maka akan dapat syafaat 10 atau 20 keluarganya*" (Discussant, radical panel).

(joining the jihadist group, in the end, the doctrine is male or female whose dead is *Syahid* would get *Syafaat* for 10 or 20 of their family members)

"*Radikal dulu, teroris kemudian. Bahrun Naim itu dulunya ga radikal, ikut Hizbut Tahrir, liqo dan qolaqoh..baru..yang jadi pengebom di Cirebon, awalnya cuma ikut gerakan kayak di Bogor, aliansi anti syiah, anti gereja…teryata abis itu termanifes dalam aktivitas radikal*" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(radical first, terrorist later. Bahrun Naim formerly is not radical, he joins Hizbut Tahrir, liqo and qolaqoh….next…the bomber in Cirebon. In the first stage, he follows movement such as in Bogor, *anti-syiah* alliance, anti-church….later on, it manifestly to radical activities).

The paper from Ellyawati discuss about the International Female Migrant Worker (IFMG). This issue is important as female bomber are being recruited while they are in the host country. The paper assumes that alienation plays important base for the radical organization. The IFWG live alone, with limited contact to their fellow and difficult to communicate, since most of them are living with employers at their houses. They feel oppressed and underestimated, the social media platform become the easy access. They also have difficulty to express their religiosity in different social context. In the discussant word:

"After the alienation, their identity was repressed, they afraid of Christianization from their employers. They work exposed to hoax in social media and other information. Then, they join the group and found new world, the recruitment of terrorist and radical group" (discussant, radicalism panel).

Therefore, the contact with the radical organization fulfilled all their needs, including: identity, religion, peer groups. Because they are directly connected with radical organization, they could not share the information as they are limited contending sources.

Besides, the radical organization is not only use social media to promote their movements, but also by using the fashion for their approach:

"Kalau anak SMA pakai jilbab pasti dideketin, ajak liqo, maen, lama-lama teman-teman yang direkrut akan mengikuti kakak kelasnya secara penampilan, lama-lama militan juga. Yang namanya identitas akan menimbulkan sense of sameness. Tidak nyaman kalo berbeda" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(If there is High School student wear jilbab, it is most likely they get recruited, to join liqo, to be together, in the long run, they would follow their older class mate, then they will be militant. Identity is growing the feeling of sameness. They feel uncomfortable when it becomes to differences.)

The outfit shows the depth of the ideology or militancy. There is a process that people have to endure, a process of being. It is a complex as well as a complete process, from abstract understanding that is different with discourses in society to technical process to the social supporting system. In the process, there use control social to prevent change:

"…faktor lain seperti kontrol sosial, seperti perubahan jilbab pasti akan langsung bertanya o..berubah ya, o..jilbabnya makin pendek ya. Sisterhood, ukhti, akhwat..wah itu gawat sekali. Ada salah satu bilang sebenernya gue ga apa-apa lepas jilbab tapi gue takut ngecewain mereka".

(Other factor is social control…for example the changing in headscarves (jilbab's) style would directly precipitate question or comment such as…. Oooo there is some change, your jilbab getting shorter. Sisterhood terms such as ukhti, akhwat…is very apparent. There is a woman said that it is ok for her to pull off the jilbab, but she is afraid to let her friend/community feel down).

In general, social control plays efficiently by seeing the performance of the person. Besides, social control also plays in psychological things, that they don't want to be different and don't want to hurt somebody else.

The fundamental and radical organization use social media for its movement, and they are very advance in that platform. They also have significant knowledge on how to present themselves:

"Sangat eye catching, sangat muda, sangat menyenangkan. Mereka mengunakan anak muda, dengan gaya bicara sangat friendly dan dengan bahasa yang sangat mudah" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(very eye catching, very young, very friendly. They use young people, with a friendly communication style, with the simple language)

The medium such as the social media is important platform to study, as the radical organization have a good knowledge about it and their ability to produce text are remarkable. This is something

that confused the media consumers, there is a thin line between the willingness to their religiosity and leading discourses to radical movement.

One of the discussant is working from the radical convicts prison and there is perception that prison could erase radicalism. In fact, the terrorist prisoner could be divided into the participant and also the actor. Both have different degree of ideological knowledge that is not easy to conquer. In addition, he said that BNPT work on de-radicalism itself is not effective, they give economic workshop but without giving any idea about business plan. Government would develop prison for terrorist as today they are in the same cell with other criminal. One to one cell would be build, therefore make communication access limited. The BNPT program seems too focus with theological approach.

> ”… *agama bukan penyebab utama yang menjadikan orang sebagai radikal. Maka program yang dilakukan BNPT selalu gagal karena selalu dengan pendekatan teologis. Misal, mendatangkan ulama-ulama demokrat, ya mereka gak mau*” (discussant, radicalism panel).

> (religion is not the prima causa for individual to being radical. Therefore, the BNPT's program is failed, because they only use theology approach. For example, they invite moderate ulama,….they obviously refuse him)

The radicals have already set up their structure of the imagine society that include their own version of ulama. Their ulama is someone who has same religious ideology with them.

5. To Repel the Radical's Propaganda

Most of the discussants are agree that the BNPT's approach is not effective. There is also some discussions about how to prevent the radical's propaganda, by education approach or using the previous approach. Alternatively, we must build critical model, and must be able to applied. The government must intervene the education system, because they use the education system as the base of their norm and value. To individual, there is a need to build ability to be critical, therefore it would be difficult to be brainwashed and influenced by the propaganda. Individually, there is a need to get some knowledge the meaning of brainwashed and propaganda, for individual ability to seek information and answer. One of the critical knowledge as an example is feminism, where we have to judge and seek for an answer about the position of women vis a vis man. People need to know the different between piety and fundamental-radical activity.

The other way to anti-radical activity is by showing examples or role model as has been done by Ibu Nyai in Edi Mancoro Pesantren, Salatiga. This case is an example that Ibu Nyai, the wife of Islamic school in Salatiga could play important mode to repel radical activity. The pesantren itself is well known for their passion toward the tolerance and anti-radical movement. They have "live-in" program for non Muslim to live in the pesantren and learn together with the santri. She puts tolerance lesson while she teaches, and she tells stories and discusses with the santri. These are the things that Ibu Nyai has been done to disseminate tolerance, namely interpreting Islamic value in the plural Indonesia.

One discussant said that:

> "…she telling story about NKRI, introducing pluralism, internalising her thought to their family, discussing ideology with santri and persuade santri to involve in community program, such as live in program.."

"(Ibu) *Nyai* and *Kyai* become the role model for *santri* to learn about ideology, *Ibu Nyai* said it is part of learned courtesy. I listen and I will do" (discussant, radicalism panel).

The other article shows mother perception to radicalism, and this research indicates that education background and profession influence their perception toward radicalism. According to the research, the mother thinks that it is necessary to do something if there is some radical action. This is the new situation as in the old days, in Aceh, mother sung a song, a lullaby that consist of spirit to fight against invaders, Dutch at that time. At present the circumstances is different, they need to come up with new way to fight the radicalism. One of the discussants describe that there are women who produce a media war with the radical sources.

Having said that, deradicalisation needs an inclusive program for them to adapt and incorporated with the society:

"Deradikalisasi itu perlu juga diimbangi dengan kemasyarakatan. Menyiapkan masyarakat untuk menerima kembali" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(De-radicalism program need societal facilitation, to prepare society in order to receiving the radical persons/terrorists back to their communities)

It is the proper time to talk about de-radicalization as a strategy and also as program. We need to study the radicalization program that put human as the basic consideration. We need to study individual cases to come out with comprehensive way to prevent radicalism. De-radicalization is a social program that needs social engineering, to facilitate both society and person who want to get out from the radical movement. Government needs to pay attention to de-radicalisation in order to make an adaptation for the former terrorist or the participants.

"deradikalisasi yang dilakukan pemerintah, mereka tidak bisa lagi dengan senjata atau ditangkap karena membuat luka baru pada keturunannya" (discussant, radical panel).

(De-radicalism program by the government can't be done by the armour or kept them in the prison, these thing make a new wound for the descendants)

Having said that, one of discussant told the experience of the terrorist. According to her, de-radicalization is influenced by personal experience,

"…deradikalisasi itu faktornya personal. Perubahan itu datang dari diri sendiri. P berubahnya bukan dari program BNPT tapi petugas lapas berperan. Dia berubah setelah ketemu adik-adiknya. Keluarganya ga tau dikira sudah mati. Ketika didatangi keluarga, mereka minta P" jangan jadi teroris lagi, karena dia pengganti orangtua" (Discussant, radicalism panel).

(The deradicalism is a personal matter. The changing process (in P case) comes from himself. P (former terrorist) has changed, not by the BNPT program but more by personal approach of the jailer (sipir). He changed after his family came to see him, they didn't know him and presumed that he has already dead. His family asked him to stop being terrorist, because he is replacement of their parents)

Then, P declares that he quits the radical movement because he has to live adapted to society norms. In P case, his family helps him to prevent him to execute as radical participant.

The other story about people quit the radical movement is also because of personal touch. According to one discussant, who has experience with the terrorist actor shows that:

"Ada anak dari Samarinda, dia radikal banget sampai bapaknya dibilang toghut, ga mau dikunjungi bapaknya. Bapaknya PNS Dinas Kesehatan. Satu hari dia jatuh di kamar mandi dan harus dioperasi di luar, satu-satunya yang nolong adalah keluarga. Nah setelah dioperasi dia baru sadar ternyata keluarga adalah satu-satunya tempat yang selalu mencintai. Akhirnya dia sadar tidak mau lagi bergabung dengan kelompok tersebut" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(There is a boy from Samarinda, he is radical, he called his father *toghut*, he refuses to be visited by his father in prison. His father is a government official from provincial health department. One day he fall down in the bathroom and need an operation, then he realizes the one to help him is the family. After the operation, he noticed that family is the place where love is. In the end, he gets his consciousness and refuses to join the group).

Personal touch is making a huge different, and it is something that need to be considered as efficient way to de-radicalized people.

"Pelaku bom Marriot, dalam pelariannya dia ditolak. Nah disitu dia berpikir mana solidaritas mereka, nah itulah ia mengalami refleksi diri" (discussant, radicalism panel).

(The bomber in Marriot's case, when they are running away, they were being rejected by the "radical" community. It was the time that they think about solidarity. That the time, they think about self-reflection).

Many cases above show about the variety of radicalism movement and how the society and state trying to cope with de-radicalization.

Conclusion

The conference has made this issue come to public that women are significant agency to be viewed and studied. The radical movement has made alternative discourses that critically against gender equality. The radical organizations or radical movements are mostly patriarchal base, where women are seen as supporting system for them. However, they use the term emancipation, therefore without changing the situation, they make women seems actively participate in the movement.

In fact, they make an alternative societal vision, such as Indonesia is *khufur* and it is not safe anymore to raise family. In the utmost height is they propose the *Khilafah* as alternative of the democratic government. Therefore, to join the movement is a declaration of identity to minimize their alienation feelings.

The other thing, the radical movement make an alternative conception about gender, that used the term emancipation. Women could support the movement as part of emancipation. In addition, they still have reproductive function as well as cultural function. Therefore, they participation in the radicalism movement is real, where they are supporting the movement and also being the producer of the next jihadists.

The general public have divided into two confusing situation, in the first place people's piety is increasing, but in the second situation, they are trapped into radical movement, without realizing it. Many mother experience fear in regards to their children possibilities to radicalism movement. But in the other side, they don't really feel that it is a necessity to do prevention at the present, because the radicalism behavior still felt outside their boundaries. Public also need to be facilitated to behave toward the ex-terrorists or participants of this movement.

Lastly, social media is common platform that used by the recruitment agency in radicalism movement. It is the easiest way to interact each other and to get information fast and freely.

Most Indonesia are like to communicate and interact with others, so social media become the powerful media to connect between recruiters and the prospective jihadists. To sum up, social media become alternative media to fill the gap of alienation in the society. ❖

THE WOMEN'S STRATEGIES IN PREVENTING RADICALISM: CASE STUDY OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN BOGOR

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Absract

Radicalism has been one of the major problems in Indonesia. After the downfall of Soeharto's era in May 1998, it has come to resurface and mostly appeared in a form of terrorism. This article mainly discusses about the role of Muslim women in developing strategies to counter radicalism in Bogor. As the most important element of society, women play an integral role in preventing radical ideology and intolerance. Eight of twenty three Muslim women living in Bogor, both city and regency, were involved in this research. Qualitative research and ethnography (in-depth interview) are applied in this research as well as quantitative conducted in the preliminary research. The research finding reveals that women develop multiple strategies in preventing and countering radicalism in Bogor. The research result also points out that critical thinking, exposure of feminism discourse, and the utilization of social media platform are the most effective strategies that are suggested to prevent the growth of radicalism in Bogor.

Keywords: Muslim women; radicalism; strategy; intolerance; Bogor.

1. Introduction

The relation between Islam and radicalism has always been a controversial public debate all over the world (Rodin, 2016). Several terrorist attacks are mostly associated with the growth of various radical and fundamental movements, such as: 9/11 tragedy in New York, Washington DC, and Philadelphia in 2001, Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005, Madrid train bombing in 2004, and other similar bombing attacks in London, 2005 and Paris in 2015. In 2017, a set of bombing attacks occurred in Indonesia, one of the most recent attack was the Kampung Melayu twin suicide bombing. The terror that killed three police officers was allegedly masterminded by terrorist convict Aman Abdurrahman, a supporter of the Islamic state. In Indonesia, radicalism

is one of the state major problems that need serious attention from the government. A research by the Institute for Islam and Peace Studies of the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (LaKIP UIN Syarif Hidayatullah) throughout October 2011 to January 2011 revealed that almost 50 percent of high school and college students supported radical activities in the name of religion. Surprisingly, it is popular among college students studying in secular universities. A study conducted by the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) and GUSDURian (2016) pointed out that 12, 8 percent of students supported any kinds of violence committed by radical organizations. 1.200 respondents (aged 15-30 years old) involved in this research were coming from six big cities in Indonesia, such as Bandung, Makassar, Surabaya, Surakarta, and Jogjakarta. BNPT (2016) found out that the radical ideologies had already become entrenched among college students. The survey showed that 26. 7 percent of college students favored committing violence and going on war in the name of *jihad* Islam. Another research of BNPT in 2017 reported that college students had been influenced by radical ideologies. In the survey conducted in 15 provinces in Indonesia, 39 percent of college students are interested in joining radical organizations and changing the state ideology with *sharia*.

The national survey about tolerance at schools and universities in Indonesia (2017) conducted by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) in association with the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah) Jakarta is also referred in this research. The respondents involved in this national research are students who were born in 2000 and school and university teachers in 34 provinces in Indonesia. The survey showed that 37, 71 percent of students favored that fighting against non-Muslim people is defined as *jihad*, 23, 35 percent of them favored that suicide bombing is *jihad*, 34, 03 percent of them favored that those considered apostate must be murdered, 33, 34 percent of them favored being intolerant to minority groups. This research also pointed out the school students accessed the ideas of radicalism from social media (50, 89 percent), books (48, 57 percent), television (33, 73 percent), religious gathering *pengajian* (17,11 percent), blog and web (3,98 percent), radio (3,39 percent), bulletin (2, 86 percent), and Islamic forum/ *liqo* (2, 69 percent). This survey also noted that education institutions also contribute in the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. 49, 95 percent of students admitted that they were taught not to socialize with other people from different religions. From all books of Islamic religion subject, only 12, 96 percent contains tolerance. Besides that, teachers and lecturers were also involved in this research. The result showed that 49 percent of them refused if the government gave protection to "deviant" sects or organizations, 86, 55 percent of them favored fighting against organizations that were considered as "deviant" sects, 53, 74 percent of them favored that Jews were Muslim's enemy and considered that all Jews hate Muslims, 63, 53 percent of them refused the establishments of non-Muslim worship houses and facilities.

In Indonesia, radicalism movements have been the central issues after the downfall of Soeharto's New Order in May 1998. Since then, Indonesia has dramatically experienced a new political phase that marks the advent of the *Reformasi* where the process of democratization indicated by the freedom of speech began to take place. During his regime, all radicalism movements were strictly banned and became the common or state enemy. As one of the world's largest Muslim majority state, many non-mainstream Islamic movements, mostly known as neo-revivalists, have been growing significantly and these Islamic conservative groups take this opportunity to keep on introducing and promoting their ideology as religious measure to the society (Budiman, 2008). Their main agenda is to bring back the resurrection of Islamic world hegemony.

To contextualize the growth of radicalism in Indonesia the Setara Institute, which monitors religious freedom in Indonesia, reported 216 cases of violent attacks on religious minorities in 2010, 244 cases in 2011, and 264 cases in 2012, and 155 cases in 2017. Similarly, the Wahid Institute, established in 2004, documented 92 violations of religious freedom and 147 incidents of religious intolerance in 2015. The violence includes physical attacks, burning and closing the houses of worship, and discrimination in various public services such as education and health services, and granting official certificates. This horrible portrayal surely leads to a serious threat to the state integrity and implies that radicalism has been growing in Indonesia. The government has already imposed a strict ban and developed some strategies to curb radicalism. In Soekarno's Old Order, the government stipulated policies and strategies to prevent and curb radicalism. In his era, it was suppressed through military operation. In Soeharto's New Order, the government applied similar strategies by focusing on State Intelligence Agency operation. In the *Reformasi* era, democratization and Human Rights perspectives offered new ways to urge the state to develop strategies in preventing radicalism. In the previous years, through the presidential regulation the government ratified Law No 1 Year 2002 and established Counterterrorism Desk (DKPT) which is now known as BNPT (the National Counterterrorism Agency). Finally, the government has stipulated law Number 15 Year 2003 on combating criminal acts of terrorism after the bombing attack in Legian Bali, 2012. In 2010, the government stipulated the presidential regulation (Perpres) No. 46 Year 2010 to form BNPT.

Specifically, the growth of radicalism has been central in Bogor. As reported in Jakarta Post, according to a recent study by human rights advocacy group, Setara Institute for Democracy and Peace in 2015, out of 94 municipalities in Indonesia, Bogor municipality ranks the worst in religious tolerance in Indonesia. Religious intolerance was a major issue covered by Jawa Pos News Network (JPNN) through the case of Gereja Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian church) in Taman Yasmin. JPNN is a news agency under Jawa Pos Group that includes 151 newspapers, tabloids, and 40 publisher networks throughout Indonesia JPNN distribute news and information through its local newspapers including Radar Bogor. Besides that, the Mayor of Bogor, Bima Arya was reported by Human Rights groups to have issued a circular letter that bans the *Shia* community to celebrate their religious feast day, *asyura*. Some research has also shown that radicalism has been spread in many places in Bogor. Educational institutions are the potential sites that are targeted for the spread of radical ideology. Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) is one of the universities allegedly considered as the basis for the spread of radical ideologies that are incompatible with the state ideology, Pancasila. According to Yayat DN, as the Vice Alumni Community of IPB (KA IPB) from Faculty of Agricultural Technology, IPB has been the centre for the spread of radical ideology for almost two decades. A senior researcher from Setara Institute, Muhammad Syauqillah, openly stated that both Bogor and Depok have been the "incubator" for radical ideologies. In the past ten years, Bogor was said to be the "incubator" of terrorism because several terrorists were coming from this city. IPB was also mentioned as the basis centre of radical organization, *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*. Setara Institute recorded that since 2002 there have been 20 cases of terrorism and all of them were from Bogor. For example, Rohim, the suicide bomber of Kampung Melayu, was coming from Taman Sari-Bogor, as well as Sunakim who was the suicide bomber of Thamrin. He also said that radicalism and intolerance are intensively spread in every mosque at the neighborhood. They often form an exclusive religious gathering (*pengajian*) and intensively promote the discourse of anti-America and anti-government. Syauqillah explained that they create such a grand design to control all mosques in the neighborhood. He later emphasized

that the spread of radicalism is actually challenged by moderate religious organizations, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, but they are difficult to infiltrate and control the mosques, particularly in campuses. These moderate organizations tend to oppose these radical organizations, but they are not able to contest it. This condition explains that more strategies to prevent radicalism and intolerance are urgently needed by involving all elements of society. Therefore, as one of the most important elements in the society, women can be the potential agency in preventing radicalism.

BNPT has committed two distinct strategies in preventing radical ideology and terrorism in Indonesia. The first may be characterized as "deradicalization" that is used to change the behavior of captured terrorists and their families from radical to less radical, or moderate. The second may be characterized as "counterradicalism," which aims to prevent other segments of society from being radicalized and seeks to influence radical ideology and behavior. The other main purpose of the last strategy is to make these radical groups leave their ideology and merge with the spirit of moderate Islam that is compatible with Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In the purpose of supporting the state in preventing radicalism in Indonesia, this article is trying to reveal and offer strategies done by Muslim women in Bogor. Women play a very pivotal role in the society, particularly in the family and they can also be a victim of radical ideology. The Fourth National working meeting of *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* 2018 mentioned forms of radicalism, such as the massive campaign to support polygamy, obligation of wearing hijab in Arabian style, and shackling women from freedom and gender equality. Therefore, this research will also recommend other different strategies to prevent radicalism in Bogor.

2. Research Methodology

This research applies qualitative and quantitative methods by involving twenty three Muslim women who live in Bogor, both in the city and regency. This research was conducted from 1st February to 10th March 2018. The questionnaires were given via e-mail in the preliminary research, to select the potential respondents. The questionnaires offer the concepts as well as cases of radicalism taken from reliable sources and theorists.

The next stage of this research is to interview the selected respondents and explore their strategies in preventing radical ideology. The writer applied qualitative research as well as ethnography. Bogdan and Bilken (1992) stated that qualitative research gives descriptive verbal or written data from the phenomenon being observed. The writer also applied ethnography method to collect the data. Geertz as quoted by Barker (2004) stated that ethnography is an empirical and theoretical approach inherited from anthropology whose central purpose is to generate detailed holistic description and analysis of cultures based on intensive fieldwork. Its major objective is the production of 'thick descriptions' of the multiplicity and complexity of cultural life, including its unspoken and taken-for-granted assumptions.

The data were collected through direct and indirect interview (via e-mail) conducted in different place and time. After collecting data from respective respondents, the data which provide strategies offered by Muslim women in Bogor were collected and highlighted in this research. Due to privacy, research ethics, and sensitive issue, the respondents' real identity will not be revealed. Another reason is because two of the respondents used to join and become the members of radical organizations. Therefore, their names will be changed with other Indonesian names and this research will mainly focus on the analysis based on the data collected.

3. Research Highlight

Radicalism has been one of the central issues in Indonesia. Many bombing attacks and intolerance that occurred in many different parts of Indonesia indicates that this issue needs serious attention. The state has been developing strategies to either counter or fight against it. Categorized as the most intolerant city in Indonesia by Setara Institute in 2015, it is an obligation that people must take part in preventing the growth of radical ideology and organization. As the most important element of our society, women offer several strategies to counter radicalism in the city.

It is the fact that women involve and become the victims in terrorism attacks. In 1985, Lebanese women were reported to be the first female suicide bombers. They engaged in war to attack Israeli soldiers (Kemoklidze, 2009). At the end of the nineteenth century, Vera Zasulich, a Russian woman, was reported to be the member of a revolutionary movement, Narodnaya Volia. She was found guilty of trying to murder Trepov, a Governor of St. Petersburg. While in court, Zasulich proudly stated that she was a terrorist. In 2000, female terrorists, known as Black Widows, were reported to have committed suicide bombing attacks in *Chechnya*. In Nigeria, hundreds of young women were abducted by militants, Boko Haram, and forced to carry out missions for them. In Indonesia, the involvement of women in terrorism is also growing. Dian Yulia Novi was believed to be the first Indonesian female suicide bombers. In the aftermath of her arrest, several female terrorists appeared, such as Ika Puspita Sari in Purworejo, Umi Delima in Poso, and many more. In May 2018, a bomb attack was reported at three different churches and several places in Surabaya. The bomb attack was carried out by a family affiliated with Jamaah Anshar Daulah which involved a wife and her two daughters.

Instead of seeing them as victims, women, in fact, are active in setting up strategies to carry out terrorism attacks. The reasons are multiple. Musdah Mulia argued that though they are active in developing strategies to attack the state, they are still considered as victims. Some of the female suicide bombers stated that they want to take revenge of their husbands who were sentenced to death by the government. On the other side, women are involved in several attacks after they get information about ISIS from social media. Furthermore, Musdah stated that women who belong to radical organizations are positioned as submissive subjects who must be loyal to their husband as patriarchal system is exercised within their organizations. The social injustice was also mentioned. After the events of 9/11 in the United States, Muslim women are stigmatized to affiliate with radical movements because they wear *hijab*. From this discussion, we can draw a conclusion that women are the ideal targets for radical movement. Referring to this, women must develop more strategies from being radicalized.

Before going to further discussion, it is important to note the difference between radicalism and fundamentalism as both terms are mostly overlapped in some ways. A search for the roots of Islamic fundamentalism originates in the nineteenth century, starting from the official version of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, Islam being practiced in a literary, quiet and aristocratic manner. The first kind of Islamic fundamentalism was an intellectual movement, which called for a return to an idealized Islam but at the same time felt that this new Islam should be purified of its taints from a rigid past (Lane & Redissi, 2009). After the events of "9/11", fundamentalism within the Islamic civilization is driven by a new form of religious zeal. It links up with the notion of *jihad*, but pursues this classical idea in Islam on a global scale, where the fight against the domestic tyrant (*taghut*) is replaced by the confrontation with the "world enemy number one", the United States. Hasanudin Abdurakman made a simple definition of radicalism. He stated that radicalized people are those consider other people who embrace other religions or beliefs as threats or

enemies. Furthermore, they want a revolutionary change and are obsessed to undermine the existing social system and build a state where its laws are based on their religion. It implies that radicalism is possible to any religions.

Ali (2013) stated that the root of Islamic fundamentalism can be traced back from the hostility between the West and the Muslim World. Another factor that contributes to the growth of Islamic fundamentalism is Wahhabism. In his classical famous book *The Clash of Civilization*, Huntington (1996) argued that these Islamic fundamentalism groups refuse secularism, Westernization, democracy and modernization. In terms of religion, these Islamic fundamentalist groups are called *salafi* groups as they adopt former *salafi*'s groups in applying Islamic values. They use textual method which refers to the golden age of Muslim world. Its main logic is to reject the present reality and change the world by applying the social systems that are compatible to their doctrines (generally, they take the selected history that is compatible with their doctrines). This kind of perspective won't allow and tolerate the present reality. This kind of understanding makes the Arabian cultural symbols profound in Indonesia for example; an obligation to wear hijab and burqa for women and wear white clothes and have a long beard for men. *salafi* groups in Indonesia are Imam Samudera groups, *Tarbiyah*, *Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia and many more.

A religion scholar and expert on Islam, Esposito (1992) as quoted by Abdullah (2016) stated that fundamentalism was formerly influenced by American Protestant movements in 20th century. It refers to the literal understanding of Bible to Christian doctrines. He then contradicts the term and said that fundamentalism includes Christian political agendas and Western stereotypes. Therefore, he'd better take the term "Islamic revivalism" or "Islamic activism" that is believed to have roots in Islamic tradition. In line with Esposito, al-Asymawi (1998) used fundamentalism to explain extremist movements in Islam, not the fundamentalism in Islam. Therefore, fundamentalism is not similar to Islamic doctrines because crimes, radicalism, extremism, anarchism are not allowed in Islam. In short, fundamentalism is different from radicalism. According to the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), radicalism is a movement that desires revolutionary and dismantles the existing social system along with its ideology through violence and extreme actions. Radicalism is the embryo of a terrorism idea. There are few characteristics that we can use to identify radicalism. In general radicalism includes intolerance (not willing to accept ideas or ways of behaving that are different from their own), fanaticism in terms of religion, exclusivity, and revolutionary.

The term "radicalism" is more precise and comprehensive than "fundamentalism". Rodin (2016) stated that fundamentalism, in a Western sense, is a group of extremists who maintains and defends their ideology through violence. In terms of theology, fundamentalism can mean the movements that return Qur'an and Hadist as the only reference to rule the society. In other sense, it also refers to the Islamic revivalists. Meanwhile, etymologically, radicalism is a concept that requires significant changes to a new development. In terms of social theory, radicalism is associated to a revolution that is against the status quo. It can also be defined as the reaction that opposes one's ideology, perception, institution, or values. These overlapped terms are often associated with Islam so that this stereotypical view of Islam will provoke the anti-Islam discourse in many parts of the world. One of the many chief factors that raise the issue is the massive mass media representation of Islam framed in Western perspective. This mass-media propaganda is actually bias and will give potential contribution to divert public opinions towards Islam (Ummah, 2012).

4. Research Result

Based on the report by Setara Institute 2015, most of Indonesian majority learn religion from their family. Referring to this, a figure of wife plays an important role in shaping children's understanding on religion. Tina, a single mother who raises two children, asserts that the role of a mother is very important to protect the kids from radical ideology. As she emphasized in the interview:

> "Of course a mother's role is very crucial. Why? Because the radical sects will target young people to become their members. One of the many reasons why they do this is because they think that young people (children and school students) are psychologically unstable and still in the process of finding their "true" identity. They will use this condition to feed their minds with their radical ideology. That's why, we, as a mother, have to stay alert. We must be able to identify the spread of radicalism. And to fight against it, we can start from protecting our own family from it. If we're already able to protect them, we help others." (Interview with Tina, 10 March 2018)

This forty one year old's mother and entrepreneur was a member of HTI (*Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia), a religious group which was officially disbanded by the government because their activities contradict the state ideology, Pancasila. While she was a member of the group in 1995-1999, HTI was still "underground" and had not yet been a big organization. She thoroughly explained how they recruited the members. According to her, the group targeted school and college students to become their members. They did this because they wanted to expand and infiltrate into all educational sectors in Indonesia. She warned every mother to always protect their children. She also said that most young people are so physiologically unstable and prone to get influenced easily. These radical groups usually target innocent young people coming from the villages because they assume that these young people are not backed up with the strong principles of religion from their family. She also added that young people are recruited because they can be future potential agents who can help them spread and sustain their ideology. Therefore, Tina said that developing critical thinking in the family would be effective to prevent radicalism.

Instead of indoctrinating her kids with dogmatic values and literalistic understanding of Islam, she chose to introduce them to positive Islamic values about tolerance and teach them to improve high order thinking skills as well as use critical thinking when analyzing problems. She also likes to have a discussion with her kids. She lets her kids speak up their opinion and she doesn't mind being criticized by them as long as their arguments are logically acceptable. It is important for kids to have curiosity to critically question every single thing so that they are not prone to get influenced by any dogmatic and illogical thoughts. Tina emphasized that, in this case, parenthood matters a whole lot. If the kids get used to being applying high order thinking skills, the parents do not have to worry much about their children being radicalized. Instead of being influenced, they will protect their friends from the danger of radicalism. Tina also added that though the children are given chance to enhance their critical thinking, the parents still have to control them. In other words, the parents should always get themselves up-to-date with the current information. In terms of knowledge, they are expected to be one step ahead from their kids. In this context, education is still perceived as the key factor that is effective to motivate individuals, especially women, to sharpen their critical thinking and broaden their knowledge. Women equipped with adequate education will be more potentially able to prevent the growth of radicalism. By applying this method, Tina has practically done things to protect her family and society from radical ideology.

As a magister graduate of English education, Tina established a private educational institution for toddlers and primary school students from any different social backgrounds. Besides

sharpening the kids' talent and stimulate them to improve their cognitive skills, she also gets her students entrenched with critical thinking and tolerance. She also educates their parents by getting them involved in the class activities because she believes that this can help her educate both parents and the students to think logically. As a result, they will be equipped with adequate theoretical framework to resist radical doctrines and intolerance. In the effort of countering radicalism, Tina also offers her critical thoughts in social media, specifically in *Facebook*. She thinks that this social media platform can be an advantageous medium to distribute her thoughts about radicalism discourse. She also said that most radical organizations have been so far taking advantage of social media to demonstrate their ideology and influence people. Therefore, the effectiveness of social media in countering radicalism must be considered. She openly stated that she would directly counter those who try to promote radicalism or are against her opinion. She doesn't mind spending time arguing with them in social media as she believes that her argument is based on logical thinking and evidenced with reliable references. Tina is also active doing comments on any postings that promote radicalism and reposting news and articles that she thinks beneficial to counter radicalism. Tina doesn't care about what people might say about her because she thinks that "being silent" will not give solution to the problem. Though she knows that she will be overwhelmed with many negative comments, at least she has done something to counter radicalism by offering her critical opinion to people who are in favor of and against her. At least people know that her arguments are logically acceptable. Tina also added that social media platform is very effective to promote anti-radicalism discourse in Indonesia because most Indonesian people have *Facebook* accounts. She also recommends that people must have bravery to counter radicalism in social media. If one is not brave enough to promote anti-radicalism in social media, the efforts of preventing the radical ideology will be just in vain.

In line with Tina, a mother of two children, Sandra has committed similar strategies to curb radicalism. According to the forty-six woman who teaches in a private university, the understanding of unity in diversity is compulsory and she always teaches it to her children. She also added that applying the state ideology Pancasila will also make the kids learn and accept the diversity and avoid violence.

> "I always teach my son and daughter to discuss anything, any topics. I never limit the topics. The kids once asked me about religion. They asked me about Islam rally during the regional head election (PILKADA) of Jakarta. My daughter asked me. "Mom, why do Muslim people hate Ahok (former governor of Jakarta), why do they speak rude words and curse him?"

> "While responding her questions, I did not directly judge and blame those who attack Ahok. Of course I didn't do that; however I said to her that diversity is something common and having different opinion from others is just fine. I give them an understanding that people are different but if you think that being different is a problem, of course it is not something right. There is no good or bad in this life. It is only about perspectives. Therefore, I always teach my kids to celebrate freedom of choice, including being different from others in terms of opinion. I keep saying this to my kids, like, ok your religion is yours and my religion is mine. I think this is so important so that the kids can accept diversity." (Interview with Sandra, 10 March 2018)

Sandra's strategy started from educating her children about how we should coexist in diversity. She said that the family is the first people to be protected from radical ideology. She also said that women, especially mothers, must always update their knowledge and get them up-to-date with the current information to be able to answer the questions that the kids might ask their parents about. Kids are always curious about something and parents must be able to provide them good

information. In relation to radicalism, parents must be aware of this and must be able to give them logical understanding to counter it. Sandra said that she is not really interested in posting articles and doing comments on radicalism issues in social media. She admitted that she is not an active social media person and doesn't want to take risk arguing with people about this issue. She only focuses on protecting her family from being radicalized.

Santi (thirty-four-year-old married woman) likes to directly counter radicalism in person than in social media. She has a *Facebook* account, but is rarely active using it. She used her social media account just to find information about the growth of radicalism and unfriend the accounts that promote radicalism related contents. She said that she'd better counter it directly as she thinks it will be more effective. Santi chooses to promote tolerant and positive Islamic values to people she knows. According to her, giving people a positive understanding of Islam in a group discussion is way more effective than using social media.

> "I'm actually NOT a social media person. When I open my account and see my friends sharing articles that I think radical, I simply delete them from my *Facebook* friend lists. I personally think it is no use telling your ideas in social media. It won't be effective. I'd better protect my family members by strictly asking them not to participate in any movements which promote intolerance. For me, people must know that Islam is a religion that teaches peace. I wear *hijab* since I was in high school in 1998. I wear *hijab* just because I want to, not because I have to, but I never ask or even make my friends wear it. The thing is I want people to know that Islam is a peaceful religion. I'd choose to speak in *pengajian* (Islamic learning forum) and tell people that Islam isn't related to radicalism. Islam never teaches people to commit terrorism and violence." (Interview with Santi, 20 February 2018)

Santi believes that by giving positive understanding about Islam, people will know that radical ideology and terrorism are not taught in Islam and she is positive that this strategy will be effective. In line with Santi, Suci, a thirty-five-year-old woman, offers one strategy to curb radicalism. She doesn't have social media accounts as she doesn't like to have conflicts with people who disagree with her opinions. She said that she prefers to be actively speaking in Islamic learning forum at her neighborhood, as she said in the following excerpt:

> "My strategy to prevent radicalism in my neighborhood is simple. I actively promote Islam as a peaceful religion in Islamic learning forum for women. I also explain them about forms of intolerance that can discredit Islam. I buy books and read articles that promote Islam as a religion that is full of positive understandings. I will then share my knowledge with my family, neighbors, and close friends. I believe that people will appreciate kindness so I believe that people will respect my religion if we always perform good things. And for my Muslim friends who show their sympathy to all kinds of Islamic groups performing intolerance like Islamic Front Defender (FPI), I choose not to care about it" (Interview with Suci, 22 February 2018)

Suci's strategy to avoid radicalism is very simple. Instead of countering those who support radical ideology, she chose to keep promoting Islamic positive values. She believes that radical ideology can be restrained by this. Meanwhile, Hera offered other strategy to prevent the growth of radicalism. This married woman, who is now studying culture and literature, openly stated that she had been a member of a radical organization. She joined that organization in Depok in 2006. As already mentioned by Tina, Hera said that this radical organization targeted young people, especially school and college students. When she decided to quit joining the organization, she had learned about and adopted their strategy. As mentioned in the following excerpt:

"Well, honestly I was once the member of a radical organization based in Jagakarsa. Though I was a member, I wasn't recruited and brainwashed. I intentionally wanted to join this organization because I was curious about what they did. It was 2006 when I belonged to this group. I wasn't worried when I joined them. I'm sure I can take care of myself and protect myself from getting brainwashed. When I was with them, I much focused on how they successfully brainwashed the other members. One thing I clearly remembered is they kept saying that were being colonized and fooled by America. They also said that most of Indonesian people now are *kafir* (infidel) and we are obliged to fight them, no matter what. We were encouraged to attack them back to maintain Islam ideology. It isn't sinful to attack infidels as they are Muslim enemies." (Interview with Hera, 2 March 2018).

Hera said that "brainwashing" method is considered to be an effective strategy to prevent radicalism in the society. What she meant by "brainwashing" method is to "feed" people with state ideology, countering discourse, and articles that promote unity and diversity. She said that though their ideology is radical, they didn't use violence to recruit people to become their members. Hera will use this "brainwashing" method to protect her family and close friends, but she won't start unless it is needed. When she hangs out with friends, then they open a discussion on radicalism, she will actively respond by giving logical understanding about how to fight it. Hera also added that this "brainwashing" method must be congruent with excellent knowledge. She suggested that women must also be backed up with feminism thoughts, particularly gender equality. Mastering feminism thoughts is crucial to her, because in Indonesia patriarchal ideology has long been exercised and become entrenched in our society. Women are positioned as submissive subjects so that they don't have any bravery to have different opinions with her husband. If they are exposed to feminism thoughts, they will realize and enhance their high order thinking skills so that they will know the social injustice that is caused by people who use religion to justify the oppression.

Women empowerment programs that focus on educating women about gender equality and equity must be intensively carried out. Why is this important? Because it enables women to be an "independent" subject. By being exposed to this, women are also expected to be able to critically identify any radicalism related contents. It is so important because men supremacy in the society serves as the medium for the spread of radicalism. Furthermore, radicalism is the issue that Indonesian feminists must really work on because people's understanding on feminism still needs to be improved. Feminism is often considered as "dangerous" and "radical" ideology that potentially misleads women. Most people also take it as an ideology that brings hostility to men, whereas in fact it needs men's participation in destroying patriarchy that treats women as submissive and second subjects. Therefore, women organization must be established to educate them so that radical ideology can be effectively restrained. Most interestingly, radical organizations also offer the concept of feminism to their female members. Ulil Abshar Abdalla (2017) called it as a concept of "pseudo-feminism" that empowers women to defense Islam in the name of *jihad*. This concept also encourages women to go on war to fight against their "imaginary" enemies. Therefore, more strategies must be developed and advanced to counter this perspective. Besides that, it is quite difficult to get a comprehensive and practical understanding of feminism. Most people have some technical difficulties understanding the terms of feminism itself, especially for those with low educational backgrounds so that the comprehensive pedagogy of feminism must be further more developed.

The utilization of social media can be an alternative way for young women to prevent the growth of radicalism, especially college students. They said that social media is the best platform to produce countering discourses. Social media facilitate them to react to radical ideology mostly

spread in virtual space. With little risk, they don't have to worry much about being confronted as they don't have to directly argue with those who support radicalism. As explained in the following excerpt:

> Rita: "I used my social media account to find information about radicalism. *Facebook* actually helps me find articles about it. I can keep myself away from people whose thoughts are radical. For example, I sometimes do stalking to my *Facebook* friends' accounts. It is easy to identify whether they are radical or not. I can see it from their postings or fan page and accounts they follow. Though it is not actually fair to define them as radical or not. At least I can stay aware with them. Frankly, I never directly talk about radicalism in *Facebook*. It is too risky for me and I'm not ready to counter them. I just read any postings which talk about it and I just don't care. But sometimes I think about making fake account to counter them. Sometimes I can't stand their postings. I post articles in my fake account, remained unrecognized, and do comments" (Interview with Rita, 3 March 2018)

> Sukma: "I do rely on my social media accounts, especially *Facebook*. I personally think that's the right choice. I know that I never do comments on any postings related to it, but I can get myself up-to-date with information about anti-radicalism discourse from it. I share the information that I get from *Facebook* with my family and close friends. And I think it helps me a lot when I have a discussion with those who support radicalism" (Interview with Sukma, 5 March 2018)

Another form of radicalism is to restrain the freedom of expression. *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* 2018 mentioned that obligation of wearing *hijab* (especially in Arabian style), and shackling women from freedom and gender equality are also forms of radicalism. The general idea behind *hijab* is that Muslims should dress "modestly" - by covering up their "private" parts and avoiding clothes that are flashy or extravagant. Not only women, men's clothes should also cover the whole body but not reach below the ankles, and must not be tight-fitting. Beards are obligatory and must not be trimmed (though the moustache part should be cut). According to Abdurahkman (2017) this kind of *hijab* style is not a part of Indonesian culture. He stated that Indonesia has various clothing styles that are different from Arabian style. Historically, Muslims in various parts of the world have dressed in a variety of ways - often following local customs which pre-date Islam - and nobody bothered very much about the differences. In his opinion, *hijab* is a transitional notion that is circulated through mass media. In early 1980s, a state-owned public broadcasting television (TVRI) screened and reported the political condition of Iran that was mostly focused on Imam Khoemini. In the televised report, we were exposed to the common sight of Iranian Muslim women who mostly wear black clothes that cover their whole body and since 1990s many movements that promote *hijab* for women have been profoundly massive. In Soeharto's New Order regime, they were suspected and considered as rebels that could possibly threat the state so that the government imposed a strict ban to *hijab*. However, due to the contribution of academic research and conferences which emphasized that *hijab* is a part of religious expression of Muslim women that should be protected by law, in the early of 1990 the Minister of Culture and Education, Fuad Hasan announced that *hijab* was officially allowed in Indonesia such at schools and offices. In addition, the way Indonesian Muslim women wear *hijab* is much localized. In other words, these women have their own style of wearing *hijab* that is different from the one in Iran. In other sense, *hijab* is considered as another social phenomenon or a transnational idea that is triggered by mass media. The following excerpt will show how women deal with this kind of radicalism.

Rani: "I've never liked those who are so proud of what they believe is true. I often get some annoying statements and questions from my friends, like you know when I will wear *hijab*. They always speak about the consequences of how sinful it is if a woman doesn't want to wear *hijab*. You can go to hell or something. Well basically, I never directly counter them, not because I'm afraid but just because I don't want to deal with them. I'm not willing to have conflicts with them. But social media helps me, I mean my *Facebook*. I feel free to express how I really feel about my life, personal expressions, and thoughts. If they don't agree with my opinion on radicalism, I don't mind countering them directly and I don't care if they like it or not, that's my right and I think I have privilege to say what I like to say. *Facebook* also helps me find the information and knowledge to back up my opinion. This is so beneficial for me as when I argue with them, my only problem is knowledge." (Interview with Rani, 5 March 2018)

The excerpts explain that social media play an integral role in countering radicalism. They admitted that they don't really have braveries to directly counter radicalism since the issue is still considered sensitive and risky. They said that they are still unable to accurately identify radical ideology, but at least with the help of social media, they are able to understand forms of radicalism and identify its followers. In addition, they will share information that they get from social media with their family and close friends and educate them not to be easily influenced by radical ideology. These young girls affirm what has been mentioned by the previous respondents that family and close friend are the first people that they have to protect. They stated that they actively prevent their family members from participating in any religious movements or campaigns raising religious, ethnic and racial *(SARA) issues*, joining close organizations, and sharing news or articles containing religious, ethnic and racial *(SARA) issues in social media*.

5. Conclusion

Radicalism is growing and has long been the central issue in Indonesia. Both the state and civilians must take serious attention since radicalism will potentially lead to terrorism. The discourse of radicalism has made a comeback after the downfall of Soeharto's New Order. Labeled as the most intolerant city in Indonesia, Bogor local government and its people must develop more strategies to prevent the growth of radicalism. This research highlights and recommends practical strategies, offered by Muslim women who reside in Bogor, to curb radical ideology and movements. Therefore, as the most important element of society who contributes in many aspects of life, Muslim women develop diverse strategies to prevent the growth of radicalism. Eight respondents who participated in this research offer multiple strategies in preventing radicalism in Bogor. The first strategy is by developing independent thinking skills. It is important to note that by improving this they can also advance their critical thinking. They would also have the ability to criticize things that are not logically acceptable. Furthermore, women would have the potential to confront and resist any radical ideologies. This strategy is also beneficial for married women who have children. They are suggested to bring it into their family life, especially their children, to create "sharing and debating culture" which prioritizes high order thinking skills. Through this strategy, children will get used to applying critical thinking to analyze any problems, including radicalism. Therefore, educating women to improve their critical thinking would help prevent the growth of radicalism.

The second strategy is by utilizing the social media platform. They can use this virtual platform to generate and distribute the countering discourses to resist radical ideologies circulated in social media. In this sense, women must equip themselves with media and technology literacy to be able to identify and report the spread of radicalism related contents in social media accounts.

Moreover, women can actively find, read, share, and even produce texts that they can use to counter radicalism. In many parts of the world, radical ideologies are propagated through established organizations. From this, the respondent, who was the member of a radical organization, suggested to adopt the similar strategy by establishing a solid organization to create potential agents that can empower and educate women about the danger of radicalism. The ideas of feminism, such as gender equality and equity, are needed to investigate the social injustice that is based on gender. It is very crucial, particularly for mothers, because they are important elements in the family who can protect their children from being radicalized. In summary, education is once again the key factor to effectively create active and critical agents that are able to prevent radical ideology.

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THE ROLE OF MOTHER IN INTERNALIZING ANTI- RADICALISM AND TOLERANCE VALUES TO CHILDREN IN ACEH

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Abstract

Women particularly mothers held an important role in the character and attitude building of the children. The culture of peace, tolerant and anti-radicalization were found to be significantly related to the role of mothers. If we look back in the history of Aceh, women have successfully instilled 'the spirit of *jihad* using a poetry against invaders. This study examines the perceptions of mother in Aceh toward issue of radicalization and identifies their approach in children education and tolerance character building. Data were collected using in-depth interview. The sample is mother with children who live in Banda Aceh in purposive sampling. The result shows mothers' understanding on radicalism is varies and the way they instill the anti-radicalism and tolerance also differ. Educational background and professions are important determinant that influence their understanding and their ways of instilling those values to children. Nevertheless, all of them agree that mothers play vital role in child's character and personality development.

Keywords: *role of mother; internalization of tolerance values; anti-radicalism; children;*

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1. Introduction

There is a lack of studies on the subject of radicalism among women. Recently, the studies on radicalization often focusing on school environment looking at what the student are potentially exposed to at school [1] through the teachers of Islamic education and the units of Islamic spiritual. [2] The program of Islamic spiritual unit activity is usually designed in extracurricular and the learning process is implemented by a third party, so that the schools have difficulties to control the learning material that is taught to the students. On the other hand, schools also have the opportunities to disseminate anti-radicalism values to students. [3] The findings of the research suggest that factors that led to the emergence of radicalism are closely related to the gap that occurs in society. [4] Economic disparities, poverty, and social cultural exclusion are factors that emerge radicalism. [5]

Meanwhile, the government's efforts to prevent the spread of religious radicalism in the society have been done through Islamic's teachers by providing a holistic understanding of religion to students. [6] In addition, there are film can be used as a tool for prevention radicalism but also dialogue to anticipate the emergence of radicalism among young people. [7] Most literature on radicalism shows that the government has not positioned women as subjects or actors who have an important role in the anti-radicalism program.

In fact, women have a significant role in running anti-radicalism programs in the community. The women participate as wives can neutralize radical religious thought despite the wife's position tends to be subordinate, had shown positive results. [8] In addition, women as mothers in preventing or neutralizing the issue of radicalism, is now beginning to emerge among the younger generation through various media. According to Machasin, [9] mothers have a great opportunity to shape the character of children's and their personality to be tolerance which is regarded as capital in social life. According to the theory of psychology of child development , parents especially mothers put the foundation by stimulating all aspects of the development of the child's personality in harmony and integrated. [10]

In the history of Aceh, the role of mothers has been proved to be significant in childrens' character building. In the past the mothers taught their children to have a strong spirit to fight against the invaders. Mothers had instilled an anti-colonial attitude to their children through the lyrics of a song sung while lulling their child in the cradle. This Acehnese song is known as "Syair Doda idi" or "Jangin" in the Gayonese community. [11]

The Acehnese tradition is in line with the developmental child psychology theory which states that the growth and development of the child from birth to pre-school age, is strongly influenced by the motherly attitude. John Bowlby strongly denied exchanging the mother with 'a substitute mother' because a mother was essentially prepared to nurture and develop the baby, while a substitute mother is only skill-based. The touch of the fingers of the mother, the hum of her voice and the eyes of the mother makes an indispensible affective atmosphere for the baby's psychic development. The mother is the source of the excitement that can affect the child's development. Unfortunately parent is often behind in developing the child's personality, such as aspects of cognitive and moral. [12]

In addition, since the knowledge and moral values of the children are all obtained externally, the cognitive and moral development of children is much influenced by their surrounding environment. Children learn and taught about good manner and avoid bad behavior by their environment. Since the earlier years of the child's life depends entirely on the parent, especially

the mother. The role of parent to develop their child's moral life is very important as they are the first person's the child known. Children mainly learn from their parents how to behave towards others, what behaviors they should do or should avoid. [13]

According to Erikson, [14] it is important for children to have a good foundation at the beginning of a child's life, so that when they enter adulthood they will not experience emotional disturbances. The first year of the children's life is crucial to instilling the foundation of trust the others. A child who does not get affection and does not get the satisfaction of his needs will fail in developing trust in others and will bolster his social relations in the future.

Meanwhile the parents who are passive in preparing for their child's personality will contribute totheir child being vulnerable toward deviant behavior. Those child will experience an identity crisis because the idol figure can be blurred due to lack of dialogues between child and parent. The dialogue between father and mother occurs only when the child begins to exhibit a distorted behavior. The lag of parent – children relationship causes the children to look for figures outside the family which often a mislead behavior. [15] Thus, the parents, especially mothers, play a vital role in teaching, educating and show their children good manners. In further stage, children need guidance to know, to understand, and finally to be able to apply morality to their own behavior, and to avoid bad behavior. Children moral development is in line with the development of cognitive aspects. As children's ability to understand increases, more moral values can be captured and be understood by the child. [16]

Meanwhile Muhadjir [17] said that internalization is the interaction that gives capability to accept or to reject value, to influence to the personality, there the evaluative function becomes dominant. The process of internalization is acquired through five levels, namely: (1) receiving, (2) responding, (3) rating, (4) organizing values, and (5) characterizing values. The process of internalization actually reaches its target when it has reached the fourth level, that is organizing value. The process toward ownership of a particular value system occurs at the fourth level. At this level the various values are arranged in order to be synchronous and coherent. While the process of internalization of values formed at level five, where the subject has begun to set up a hierarchy of various values and has organized it to unite.

In contrast, Muhamin said that the process of internalization of values through three stages namely; (1) value transformation stage, at this stage the father and mother only inform good and bad value to the child in verbal communication; (2) value transaction stage, at this stage there are two-way interaction between the child and the mother or the father mutually. At this stage the mother or father does not only provide information about good and bad manner but also execute and give examples of real practices; (3) Trans internalization stage, where there is no longer in physical appearance but also the attitude of his personality. [18]

The term anti-radicalism is a combination of the word anti and radicalism. The word anti in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* means against, and hostile. While the word radicalism comes from the Latin "radix" which means root, base, bottom, or it can also mean thorough, all-out, and very hard to demand change. In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* radicalism means (1) a radical understanding in politics; (2) the notion of wanting change or social and political renewal by force or drastic; (3) extreme attitude in the political stream. Radicalism can be divided into two levels; the level of thought and level of action. At the level of thought, radicalism is still a discourse, the concept of ideas that are still being discussed. While at the level of action, radicalism are in the realm of social politics and religion. In the political sphere, this understanding is evident from the act of imposing one opinion in an unconstitutional way. As an example, it can be in the form of

mass mobilization for certain political interests which might ends in social conflict. In the field of religion, the phenomenon of radicalism is reflected in anarchist destructive acts in the name of religion from a group of people against other religious groups or different denominations; and usually it is considered heretical. Thus, the meaning of anti-radicalism is an act or an open attitude to accept different religious groups and be cautious no to judge people who are different understand it. [19]

The word "tolerance" in Katasapoetra et al. is defined as an attitude of acceptance that sympathizes with different views or tolerance can also be interpreted as a process whereby the conflicting parties fail to reach agreement; but end the dispute by continuing the unfinished differences. Tolerance is the key to help children to socialize in a world of differences; and tolerance is something that can be learned and taught. So tolerance is defined as a child's ability to accept or to adapt to conditions or with different individuals, regardless of differences. Tolerance is divided into two: (i) religious tolerance and (ii) social tolerance. Religious tolerance is respect for the religion of others, while social tolerance is the tolerance of society by establishing common life and cooperating within certain limits without sacrificing faith and worship that has been arranged and determined clearly in detail. [20]

Therefore, based on the background description of the above problem, this article is based on the research about the knowledge of mothers about the issue of radicalism and the way of the mothers socialize the values of anti-radicalism and tolerance to their children in Aceh.

2. Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research undertaken by combining historical aspect, child development psychology and family education, especially about the relationship between mother and child. The data is collected in Banda Aceh, the capital of Aceh province. The city is characterized as have a heterogeneous and educated population, and have easy access to information, and fast development of information technology. The subjects of this study are mothers who had children under the age of 18 years.

Initial information and data on women and radicalism were obtained from the literature review. Meanwhile, the information about mothers' knowledge on the radicalism and their role in educating children to be a tolerant person is obtained through observation and in-depth interviews using purposive sampling. Data analysis was carried out during data collection and was continued during report writing or referred to, as ongoing analysis. Then this data is analyzed and presented in this paper in narrative form.

3. Research Result

Today radicalism is understood as anarchist destructive acts in the name of religion from a group of people toward other religious groups. The forms of acts of religious radicalism are all activities to impose opinions, desires, and religious ideals by force. [21] Empirical evidence shows that there is quite a lot of variation about the understanding of radicalism among the mothers. Not all of them understand the meaning of radicalism and any dangers posed by this radical thought. Their level of knowledge about radicalism varies from those who have only heard the term, to something is well understood. Those who often hear the term radicalism from the mass media do not know the true meaning of it, but those who know the term have lack understanding of the meaning and its potential danger. In addition, some of them understand radicalism as a term

that has a negative meaning because it is considered as a violation of the rules, [22] but there is also a case in which a mother who understood the term radicalism and the dangers caused by its actions. The variation in mothers' understanding about radicalism seems to be determined by their educational background and their profession.

The variation in mothers' knowledge on radicalism have no implications on their perception of whether anti-radical values important to be instilled to children from early childhood. There is a case in which a mother does not understand radicalism, but she keeps controlling the religious activities of her daughter. She does not permit her daughter to attend an exclusive teaching group which targeted certain people, her daughther is held closely at home, and is not exposed to the society. [23] In another case, a mother who does not understand radicalism but consider, it important to teach her children because they were victims of the radicalism acts by a group of people.[24] On the contrary, a mother who understood well the term radicalism, but does not view that instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance are important provided that her child has never raise any questions about radicalism. Furthermore, in her opinion, it is not the right time for her child to be taught the values of tolerance and anti-radicalism because it is not needed in her study and social environment. [25] A contrast opinions was also expressed by another mother who understood radicalism, but according to her, anti-radicalism values is necessary to be instilled in children regardless of whether a child's question. On the other hand it is the demand of the environment given that she wants to shape her child's character to become a global citizen.[26]

Meanwhile, the answers given to the question of "when the right time to do internalization process of anti-radicalism and tolerance values to children", can be divided into two response. Majority of the respondent said teaching the values of anti-radicalism and tolerance to children should be started at school age; at least when the child at the age of 7 years or when the child start to engage in a dialogue. A respondent also said that the teaching of tolerance values is relevant when a child has been exposed to interact with people of different opinion or religious background, but she does not specify an age at which children can be taught these values. In other words, instilling anti-radical values is appropriate when the social environtment need it.

Only few mothers say that anti-radicalism and tolerance values need to be given to children from an early age. The children at aged 0-5 years are at the stage of character and personality formation. According to Musdawati, in this age range, the morality values need to beintroduced to a child. Also the values of tolerance are instilled to the child, through values of openness, respect and appreciation of the diversity. In fact, at this age stage, children need to be in love and affection of their parents only. Usually the values taught by the mother will be very imprint on a child; this practice has been proven when her son has started school in one of the private school in Banda Aceh where students came from various ethnic group and various religious backgrounds. Her son has no difficulty in communicating and interacting with his schoolmates of different religions and ethnicities. For example, when her son fasting in ramadhan, she taught her son to respect his mates who did not fast, he did not feel disturbed as he saw his friends eating during school break time. Musdawati began to teach the values of anti-radicalism to her son at his primary school age. [27] Similarly, Oya points out that the process of instilling anti-radicalism values to her children started when they were at 7 or 8 years old.[28] Moreover, There was also a case where a mother taught the value of anti-radicalism once her child had entered high school age.

Drawing from responses given in this study, instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance values to children is an essential need. The values of tolerance should be instilled at the age of 0-5 years in which children started to develop their character. The timing for teaching anti-radicalism values

should be given to the children when they are 7 years old, because at this time they have engaged in dialogue with their parent. This answer is proven to be consistent with the child development psychology theory, which explains that the gold phase of child development is at the age of 0-6 years. In this phase the child's brain is experiencing rapid growth, which all the information will be absorbed by children either in the form of good or bad information and will be the basis for the formation of character, personality, cognitive ability, and social behavior.[29] Therefore, it is highly recommended for mothers to teach good moral values to children, that will served as a foundation in the future when the child become an adult.

Next, the answers on "how to internalize the values of anti-radicalism and tolerance" seem to be different. For example, Ipah said she would instill anti-radicalism values when her daughter raises such issue. So, as long as her daughter does not raise any questions about radicalism, she would not feel necessary to do so.[30] Musdawati distinguishes instilling the values of anti-radicalism and tolerance into two ways. First, instilling the value of tolerance begin at the age of 0-5 years without the process of dialogue and discussion, and Second, instilling anti-radicalism values begin when her son was able to engage in a dialogue; usually Musdawati communicate with her son in a dialogue when she and her son see a case such as women wearing purdah. The anti-radicalism value thought by Musdawati to her son is openness in viewing differences and should not judge one another based on differences in opinion and religions.[31]

According to Oya, instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance values is essential given that her family is the victim of radicalism. She explains her children that a group of people dissapointed their family, who treated them badly and who have not known the root of the problem clearly. Likewise, she taught her children how to deal in a good manner when their friend treats them badly such as bullying. She also told her child that their friend's bad attitude caused by poor understanding of religious value. Hence, Oya always teaches her children to do *tabayyun* (checkup rightness and clarity of the information before passing it onto the third person) especially when they get an information that is against the teaching in Islam that they have embraced and furthermore, Oya always teaches her children to respect the difference.[32]

Another respondent, Ani views that children need to be taught a moderate religious teaching as a solid foundation in their lives. Moreover, she argues that the factor that drives the child to be radical is the lack of religious knowledge and of care and of affection from their parents, especially their mothers. So, the mother has a vital role in religious teaching, a part from teaching by *Teungku* (*Ustaz*) and teachers. Ani also oversees the religious activities of her daughter in which she allows her daughter to attend a "majelis taklim" in their area of residence or a "majelis taklim" commonly followed by people.[33]

The empirical evidence gathers from the interview shows that the radical attitudes and bad behaviors could not be separated from the process of instilling religious values by the teacher or from the values taught to the child. It is clear from the theory of child development psychology that parents have a vital role in the character and personality building of the children. It is a matter of fact that mother is the most important person in the character building from conception to birth, the mother are an individual who are first encountered and close to him physically and emotionally. So the role of mother as the basic formation of children's character is not replaceable. The mothers are encouraged to have a moderate understanding of religion so as their children. According to the psychology of religion, the behavior of a child cannot separated the unity of belief to his personality. [34]

Nevertheless, this study has not found an ideal model for instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance values that have commonly been practiced in Aceh. Unlike the tradition that has been practiced by the people of Aceh in the formation of the spirit of war against the invaders or often known as jihad. In the old days, mothers in Aceh from various tribes have instilled their children the spirit of fighting against the invaders since their childhood, this spirit was instilled through poems that are sung as the child go to sleep. Although the activity of lulling the child in the cradle is carried out without a dialogue between mother and child, but the message are transferred in the lyric, and was able to form the character and personality of the child. Historical facts show that the courage and persistence of the Acehnese, both men and women, against the invaders seems to be evidence of the character formation of children, that has been started since the child aged 0 years. However, due to the changing times and advancement in technological, there has been a change in child care and Acehnese tradition in children character building. Many parents, especially mothers, left such tradition behind and take a new approach that are different from one another.

4. Conclusion

The finding of this study shows that mothers play significant role in instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance values to their children. The religious and socio-emotional skills are important, especially at the golden age of child development. However, this study has not found an ideal model by which anti-radicalism and tolerant values that were commonly practices by Acehnese society. Moreover, not all mother instilling anti-radicalism and tolerance value since childhood, some of them teach the values of anti-radicalism and tolerance when their children are engaged socially with others, who are from different religion and ethnicity background and also when they became victim of radicalism by a group of people.

Therefore, by improving mother's knowledge about radicalism and its potential dangers will significantly influence their perspective about the character and personality building of the child; that is, to teach their children to be tolerant and anti-radicalism. A good practice that is recommended for mothers in Aceh is to educate their children to be tolerant by conveying positive messages to the child once they go to sleep, this message can be in the form of poetry, bedtime stories, etc., or could also be practices while interact and engage in communication with the child.

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THE LEADERSHIP ROLES OF *BU NYAI* IN STRUCTURING THE ATTITUDE AND PERSPECTIVE OF ANTI-RADICALISM OF FEMALE *SANTRI.*

(A CASE STUDY IN TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL EDI MANCORO SALATIGA)

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Abstract

As the world's largest Muslim country, wiping out radicalism in Indonesia is not an easy thing. The figure of *bu Nyai* Rosidah, Lc, wife of *Kyai* in a traditional Islamic boarding school (*pondok pesantren*) Edi Mancoro can be the inspiration of female leaders. Her spirit to counter radical Islamic movements can be seen from the way she brings the concept of plural Indonesia and changes the paradigm of radical Islam through reviving the love of NKRI at the moment of discussion with her 200 female *santri* (students). As the wife of *Kyai*, she is a role model for female *santri*. In contrast to most of Kyai's wife in *pesantren* who only acts as an administrator providing all the daily needs of *santri*, but *bu Nyai* dedicates her life to totally involve in teaching and learning process in this *pesantren*. She teaches tahfidz (Qur'anic memorization) and Arabic by internalizing Islamic values and concepts of plural Indonesia.

Keywords : *bu Nyai*, anti-radicalism

Introduction

Indonesia has the largest Muslim community. Unfortunately, over the last decades, the issue of Islamic radical movement brings destructive image for all Muslims in the world especially Indonesian Muslims. Islamic radical is identical with terrorism. People will never forget the tragedy Bali bomb in 2001 which took many victims from both Indonesians and foreigners. This tragedy had the impact not only material damage, but also immaterial damage and of course implicated

the perception that Muslims are terrorist. The fact shows that it is not easy to change the paradigm about this judgment. Terrorism is difficult to be erased. It is difficult to sweep out the terrorism because there are international Islamic radical networks that support this perception. Hundreds of Indonesian Muslims join this radical international networks. Most of them are from young generations. Furthermore, this networks today also involve women in terrorist activities.

Agus Surya Bakti maintains that vulnerable groups are easily infiltrated by terrorist ideology. In terms of age, the group indicated vulnerable to terrorist ideology are teenagers or young people who have a lot of free time to internet browsing, while on the one hand they are immature from various aspects, especially psychologically, intellectually, economically, and socially. Azca stated that young people are vulnerable of being radicalized and may be further involved in radical movement of terrorists as they are in a transition phase in the growth of the age that allows them to experience an identity crisis. These conditions have inevitably facilitated the opening up of their cognition, which constitutes a micro-biological processes that bring them to the acceptance of new more radical ideas and understanding in the field of religion.[1]

On the other hand, *santri* (students) from *pondok pesantren* (traditional Islamic boarding school) considered potential to be perpetrators of terrorist. In *pondok pesantren*, *santri* are taught the knowledge, values, and norms of Islam. Not all *pondok pesantren* really teach the kindness of Islamic values and norms. Some of them intentionally spread radical ideology that is usually called as the concept of violence Jihad which also support terrorist ideology. It goes without saying, this ideology will be very dangerous in structuring attitudes and perspectives of *santri* about radicalism.

Pondok pesantren is lead by *Kyai* (the leader of *pesantren*). *Santri* are very respect to *Kyai*. They have very close emotional relationship since they consider *Kyai* as the figure of parent for them. (Mastuhu, 1994,67).[2] One of *pondok pesantren* that is keens on changing the Islamic radical mindset is *pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro. This *pesantren* is lead by Gus Hanif and also supported by his wife, *bu Nyai* Rosyidah in conducting teaching and learning process. More than 75 percent of *santri* in this *pesantren* are females. So, the figure of *bu Nyai* is also very essetial in this *pesantren*. Female *santri* really adore her and have close relationship with her. They believe that *bu Nyai* is an ideal figure to be the role model for them. Hence, the leadership role of *bu Nyai* is really influential to structure the attitude and perspective of her female *santri*. Based on the fact above, this paper focuses to expose the leadership role of *bu Nyai pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro in structuring the attitude and perspective of anti-radicalism of female *santri*. This article describes bu Nyai profile as well as her leadership. Through her social relationship with the santri in antiradicalism's context. She teaches and also gives examples of tolerance in dayly life.

The Profile of *Pondok Pesantren* Edi Mancoro Salatiga

Pondok Pesantren Edi Mancoro was established by KH. Mahfud Ridwan, Lc. The name of Edi Mancoro is derived from the word Edi which means good, and Mancoro which means bright. *Pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro – starts as a place for education and training, through *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (Non-profit Government Organization) "Desaku Maju". Later, ~~but~~ KH Mahfudz Ridwan, Lc increases the status of this *LSM* into a *pesantren* on December 25, 1989.

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[1] Muhammad Najib Azca, "Yang Muda, Yang Radikal; Refleksi Sosiologis Terhadap Radikalisme Kamu Muda di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru," Maarif, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Juli 2013), 19-20.

[2] Mastuhu, 1994 : "Dinamika Pendidikan Pesantren", Jakarta, INIS.

He creates this *pesantren* by a vision to create religious aspect of its *santri* in the context of plurality of Indonesia. In 2018, this *pesantren* has 260 santri which consist mostly of 200 female *santri* and 60 male *santri*. Most of them are university students. Since the founder of this *pesantren* passed away, the leadership turned to his son, Gus Muhammad Hanif, M.Hum.

Pondok pesantren Edi Mancoro is a non profit organization and has been independent in determining the policy for *santri*. There are two types of learning programs: the first is tahfidz program which is a special program to memorize the Qur'an, while another program is regular program which studies religious knowledges such as *tauhid* (divinity), *kitab kuning*, *akhlaq* (character), *fiqih* (Islamic law), *aqidah* (conviction), Arabic and another subjects. *Pondok Pesantren* Edi Mancoro always delivers the message of pluralism and tolerance among religious people to realize the vision. Until now, this *pesantren* is still often visited by people who want to learn about pluralism. Many great figures have visited this *pesantren*, such as President Jokowi, Minister Hanif Dzakiri (who is also an alumny of this *pesantren*), Gus Mus, foreign ambassadors, pastors, priests and leaders of Hindu and Buddha. In addition, this *pesantren*,   also has an interesting program named "live in". Live in is a program where the Non-Muslims can stay in this *pesantren*, interact with *santri*, study and discuss together about Islam and plurality for several days.

a. The figure of bu Nyai Rosidah, Lc.

Basically, *Kyai* is the most important figure in *pesantren*. But in *pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro Salatiga, the wife of *Kyai* Gus Muhammad Hanif, namely *bu nyai* Rosidah also has an essential role. As Kyai's wife, she is also the leader for her 200 female *santri*. *Bu Nyai* Rosyidah was born in Mecca on August 30th, 1984. She has been married to Gus Hanif who is now the leader of *pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro since 2011. She is a tough woman who has a brilliant educational background starting from MI Al Khoiriyah Garut, Al Muayyad Solo Junior High School, KMI Pondok Modern Gontor, and completing a degree program at Ahgaf University of Yaman. Furthermore, she also finished *tahfidz* program at *Pondok Pesantren* Sunan Pandanaran Yogyakarta.

The figure of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah plays a role model for female *santri*. Now she is the wife and mother of three children, but shealso dedicates herself to take care of her *santri* and actively becomes one of the teachers in this *pesantren*. In addition, at present she is the headmaster of Edi Mancoro Kindergarten, built in 2015. With those full activities, she must be able to share her time as a house wife, a teacher for her santri, and a headmaster in Edi Mancoro Kindergarten.

Bu nyai Rosyidah has a specific thought and perspective about the issue of radicalism in Indonesia. Her love for this country is very strong because she is the granddaughter of great *ulama'* Prof. KH Anwar Musaddad. He was anti-treacherous figures who rejected the Islamic radical movement in the era of Indonesian independence. The view of her grandfather has inspired *bu Nyai* Rosyidah to always love his country, one of the is to prevent the radical Islamic movement. Her commitment is conveyed to her *santri* while teaching. Moreover, her intelligence as well as her educational background has influenced her *santri* that women must be well-educated so they can be good wifes and mothers for their family.

She is very charismatic leader, as well as the wife of *Kyai*.. She rarely asks *santri* to do what she wants, because she teaches independence by giving example of her kindness and attitude. She understood that views and perspectives of radical Islam are conveyed in informal discussion. She also contributes the idea about developing this *pesantren*. She becomes the pioneer of tahfidz program which now becomes special program.

1. Research Methodology

This research uses descriptive qualitative method by describing the role of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah - the leader of female *santri* in *Pondok Pesantren* Edi Mancoro Her role is a showcase of her leadership, her motherhood as Kyai's wife, and her role in structuring the attitude and perspective of anti radicalism on her female *santri*. The instruments used in this study are observation and interview.

2. Research Highlight

The researcher have observed as a first stage of the research process, it is about the situation at *pondok pesantren* Edi Mancoro and also to investigate the role of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah. The next step is, the researcher interviewed with some female *santri* randomly, to get the information about the activities in this *pesantren*. There are interview with *bu Nyai* and 20 females *santri* randomly

To support this preliminary research, the researcher also conducted interview with the *Kyai* in this pesantren to get the real information about his wife's activities at home and *pesantren* and also to know about the role of *bu Nyai* in this *pesantren*. The result of preliminary research strengthens the researcher to continue doing the field research in order to investigate more deeply about the figure of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah in this *pesantren*.

The researcher observed the teaching and learning process both formal and informal in *pesantren*, took documentation, wrote some notes, and also recorded the interview.

3. Finding and Discussion

As stated by the Director of Conflict Policy Analysis Institute (IPAC), Sidney Jones, Indonesia should establish a special program for women in preventing radicalization, especially empowering women to prevent the influence of radicalism in the family.[3] According to this idea, it is important to empower female santri by giving enough knowledge and also attitude that might help them prevent the radical behavior.

To do so, is not easy as female leadership in a *pesantren* is rarely discussed. The role of *bu Nyai* in the *pesantren* generally is respected because of her position as the wife of *Kyai*. Besides that, in factnly a few of *bu Nyai* participates in all the teaching and learning process in *pesantren*. This case is different from the figure of *bu Nyai* in *Pondok Pesantren* Edi Mancoro, therefore her role is important knowledge for empowerment.

The profile of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah, the role of her in this *pesantren,* and the perception of *santri* about *bu Nyai* Rosyidah are important. *Bu Nyai* Rosyidah is the teacher for tahfidz program and Arabic lesson.

In this study used Krathwohl's taxonomy in which there is a component of scientific attitude or affective component. There are five level of affective aspect according to Krathwohl (1961), namely: Receiving (Attending), Responding, Valuing, Organization and Characterization in structuring the attitude and perspective of anti radicalism of female *santri* in Edi Mancoro. According to this taxonomy:

a. **Receiving** describes the stage of being aware of or sensitive to the existence of certain ideas, material, or phenomena and then being willing to tolerate them. The ability is as such : to differentiate, to accept, to listen (for), to respond to.

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[3] Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "Sidney Jones: Indonesia Perlu Buat Program Deradikalisasi Khusus Perempuan dan Anak», https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/11/26

b. **Responding** describes the committment in some small measure to the ideas, materials, or phenomena involved by actively responding to them Such as: to comply with, to follow, to commend, to volunteer, to spend leisure time in, to acclaim.

c. **Valuing** means being willing to be perceived by others as valuing certain ideas, materials, or phenomena. The attitude are: to increase measured proficiency in, to relinquish, to subsidize, to support, to debate.

d. **Organization** is the fourth stage of Krathwohl's taxonomy and it involves relating the new value to those one already holds and bringing it into a harmonious and internally consistent philosophy. People do it by : to discuss, to theorize, to formulate, to balance, to examine.

e. **Characterization** are done by acting consistently in accordance with the values the individual has internalized. He or she would: to revise, to require, to be rated high in the value, to avoid, to resist, to manage, to resolve.[4]

The interview is also done to support the observation result. *Bu Nyai* states the reason why she really cares with her *santri* because she feels that she has a great responsibility towards her *santri* as the representative of parent in *pesantren*. She believes that de-radicalization is very crucial since *pesantren* must be the place to construct ideology and character of its *santri*. Many *santri* join to radical Islam movement because they do not have enough knowledge about it. Some of them even finally follow radical organization since they cannot counter it. Here is the duty of *Kyai* and *bu Nyai* in structuring the ideology of santri about radicalism. In addition, she also said that she wants to teach her *santri* not only in the knowledge of Islam, but also in the context of social life.

During teaching and learning process, she describes the concept of plural Indonesia while discussing with her *santri*. She shares her thought and ideology of anti-radicalism by telling the heroic story of her grandfather, Prof. KH Anwar Mussadad who is patriotic figure that opposes and rejects establishment of Islamic country in the era of Indonesian independence. The heroic story of her grandfather touches her *santri* deeply. Futhermore, she persuades female *santri* to revive the love of NKRI (Indonesia unity). She also adds the way to prevent radical Islamic movement by joining "live in" program, staying together, discussing and doing the beneficial activities with non-Muslim as the realization of respected plural Indonesia. By doing this program, female *santri* are expected to be more tolerant with non-Muslim community. What she has done is one of her way of de-radicalization activity.

From the interview of 20 female *santri* randomly, all of them agree that the leadership role of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah shape their attitude and perspective about anti-radicalism. *Bu Nyai* Rosyidah teaches the values of kindness by giving attitudes as model. She shows how to respects non-Muslim communites such as foreign ambassador, pastors, priests and leaders of Hindu and Buddha when they visited this *pesantren*. This action directly persuades female *santri* to be tolerant with the non-Muslim community, to respect others and to show that they can live peacefully with them. This value inspires her female *santri* to imitate her attitudes. Hence, they strongly believe that *bu Nyai* Rosidah is the perfect figure of women leader in this *pesantren*.

Below are the transcription of the thought and perspective *bu Nyai* Rosyidah about radicalism and pluralism:

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[4] Sax, Gilbert. (1980). ***Principles of educational and psychological measurement and evaluation***. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

"A pesantren will bring the ideology to the santri, it is clear. When Kyai has radical understanding or uphold the state of "sharia" then automatically santri without prompted will be carried away. Kyai and bu Nyai have the ability to influence the santri ideology as this is called as the scientific ethics, since santri must be "sami'na wa atho'na" (I listen, then I do). For example, recently the issue of 212 and sharia NKRI movement appeared, certainly the ideology of Kyai will influence his santri. Persantren has roles in the societyto enforce the shariah but still they must also maintain the peace. Supporting pluralism does not mean to equate all religions but it can be interpreted as our ability to live well side by side with non-Muslims. In Edi Mancoro, there is a program called "Live in" where the priests stay in this pesantren for several days. This program also introduces and shows that we love peace and can live side by side with the followers of other religions. This program involves santri to mingle with them, having lectures, doing activities and religious discussions together. The pesantren Edi Mancoro is againts radical Islam. I learned from my grandfather, Prof. KH. Anwar Musaddad who was one of ulama' that opposed sharia NKRI and the Islamic state. Obligation and sunna must be hold. For instance, we must not denounce the veiling of women because they are firm in the sharia, nor we must criticize the bearded man for that reason. The main point is that we must not impose the Republic state by taking the law of the sharia state. Sharia is not for politics. We do have to enforce sharia lawfully on worship and muamalah but it does not mean that we are not communicating with non-Muslims and even caliphs like Umar bin Khatab cooperated with Jews."

"Sebuah pesantren akan membawa ideologi para santri, itu jelas. Ketika Kyai mempunyai paham radikal atau menjunjung tinggi negara syariah maka otomatis santri tanpa disuruh akan terbawa. Kyai dan bu Nyai sangat berpengaruh pada ideologi santrinya sebagaimana hal ini disebut sebagai adabnya berilmu, dimana santri harus sami'na wa atho'na. Misalnya baru-baru kemaren muncul issue gerakan 212 dan NKRI bersyariah, pasti ideologi Kyai akan terbawa santrinya. Peran pesantren hadir ditengah masyarakat wajib menegakkan syariah namun tetap wajib pula menjaga perdamaian. Menjunjung tinggi pluralisme bukan berarti menyamakan semua agama namun bisa diartikan dimana kita bisa hidup berdampingan dengan non-Muslim dengan baik. Di pesantren Edi Mancoro ada program bernama "Live in" dimana para pastur "nyantri" dipondok ini. Program ini sekaligus mengenalkan dan menunjukkan bahwa kami cinta damai dan bisa hidup berdampingan dengan penganut agama lain. Program ini melibatkan santri untuk berbaur dengan mereka, pengajian bersama, beraktivitas bersama serta diskusi tentang keagamaan. Pesantren Edi Mancoro menentang Islam garis keras. Saya belajar dari kakek saya, Prof. KH. Anwar Musaddad yang merupakan salah satu ulama yang menentang NKRI bersyariah dan negara Islam. Wajib dan sunah harus kita pegang. Sebagai contoh kita tidak boleh mencela orang bercadar karena mereka berteguh pada syariat. Kita juga tidak boleh mencela orang yang berjenggot karena itu sunah. Yang digaris bawahi adalah tidak boleh memaksakan negara Republikdengan mengambil hukum dari negara syariah. Syariah bukan untuk politik. Kita memang harus menegakkan syariah secara kaffah untuk urusan ibadah serta muamalah tapi bukan berarti kita tidak komunikasi dengan non-Muslim bahkan khalifah seperti Umar bin Khatab yang bekerja sama dengan Yahudi juga diperbolehkan."

4. Conclusion

Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution has contributed in developing students' radical ideology . The leader in this institution obviously structures the attitude and perspective and ideology of their students. In fact, the leadership of *bu Nyai* Rosidah in dedicating her life to totally involved in structuring the anti-radicalism attitude and perspective her female *santri* can

be the inspiration for other female leaders in this modern era as the way of de-radicalization. Bu Nyai Rosidah, Lc is an ideal figure of the women leader. She is very charismatic who can influenced her female santri. She has great educational background as the foundation for her in managing this pesantren. Her thought of anti-radicalism ideology greatly influences the attitude and perspective of her female santri.

The leadership of *bu Nyai* are compatible with 5 levels of Taxonomy Krathwohl; Receiving (Attending), Responding, Valuing, Organization and Characterization.In Receiving (Attending) level, *bu Nyai* is a role model for being tolerant through her daily activities. In Responding level, *bu Nyai* stimulates her *santri,* by actively involved in making her santri discussed and expressed their views on the phenomenon of radicalism movement that occurred in Indonesia. In doing so, so her santri will gain tough perspective of anti radicalism.. In Valuing level, *bu Nyai* is able to implement the anti radicalism in every activities in pesantren, so her *santri* indirectly follow the tolerant principles in their daily life. In Organization level, the female *santri* already has internalized the anti radical philosophy. There is a self-concept that they will live in a tolerant and loving Islam as human beings. In Charactization level, bu Nyai is succesfully structured the attitude and perspective of anti-radicalism of her santri personally, emotionally and socially.

The leadership roles of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah, Lc in this research can be concluded as follows:

a. Leadership in the domestic area.

In domestic area, *bu Nyai* Rosyidah, Lc is a good housewife. Although she is a wife of the leader in this *pesantren*, but she still handles all her family's need. She takes care her children by herself eventhough there are many *santri* and assistents around her. In addition, she is also an administator in providing daily needs of her *santri.* If there is a big event in *pesantren,* she takes charge in preparing the dishes and services for the guests. Therefore she is also a good equal partner for her husband in managing her family and also this *pesantren.*

b. Leadership in public area.

In the public area, she is the pioneer of tahfidz program in this *pesantren*, a good teacher for her female *santri*, the headmaster for Edi Mancoro Kindergarten, the parent and motivator for female *santri,* and also ulama' (religious figure) who becomes the references for female *santri* in answering question about religious aspect.

There are the ways of *bu Nyai* Rosyidah in structuring the attitude and perspective of anti-radicalism of female *santri* such as:

a. Integrating Islamic values with the concept of plural Indonesia in teaching and learning process.

b. Reviving the love of NKRI by telling the heroic story.

c. Introducing the plurality in social life to her *santri.*

d. Internalizing her thought and pespective of anti-radicalism to her *santri.*

e. Giving the chance for her *santri* to discuss about ideal ideology of Islam.

f. Giving the way to avoid from recruitment of Islamic radical networks to her *santri.*

g. Persuading *santri* to be active in social activities; supporting "live in" program and also

conducting discussion with non-Muslim community in the context of plural Indonesia.

h. Showing respectfull attitude when   interact and communicate with non-Muslim community.

i. Motivating the female *santri* to follow their dreams by continue schooling for   higher education, both general knowledge and Islamic knowledge.

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THE RISING OF WOMEN'S ROLE IN RADICAL MOVEMENTS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The rise of the ISIS-affiliates groups in many countries, including Indonesia has raised many concerns that women can also be recruited by radical groups. The Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) has reported that Indonesian women are potential to become suicide bombers. It is believed that most of these women have been radicalized through online chat forums and radical material on the internet as well as social media. This study examines the varied roles of women in radical movement in Indonesia that was increasing nowadays by looking at their active involvement as an important actor in supporting and committing radical movement and terror activites. The research method of this study is qualitative reasearch by conducting content analysis based on document and written materials. This study showed that the role of women in Indonesian radical groups had been shifted from family members and sympathizer to active members. In conclusion, it can be argued that the varied roles of women in organized violence networks has been increased recently and shifted from a passive into an active and important actor. This study also contributes to the study of the role of women in radical movements that was still understudied.

Keywords : role of women, radical movements, terrorists, ISIS, Indonesia

1. Introduction

The issue of the involvement of women in radical and terrorist movement has raised greater concerns in Indonesia, especially after the case of Dian Yulia Novi who was arrested in 2016 due to her plan to carry out suicide bomb attack in Jakarta. Previously, terrorist activities was dominated by masculine face, however, recent trend in terrorism uses women as the actor through feminine approach. The Prasasti Perdamaian Foundation has reported that women who are participated in radical Islamist movements in Indonesia are wives and family members of terrorists who were involved in terrorist attacks in Indonesia; and also wives and family members

in jihadists in Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey. In this regards, their husbands or relatives are members of the Jamaah Islamiyah, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, ISIS, Salafi Jihadists and other radical Islamic organizations[1].

This study examines the role of women in radical movements in Indonesia that has been increased lately. This study will argue that the involvement of women in terrorist activities in Indonesia is now equal to male extrimists and has been increased compare to previous time where women's involvement was limited and forbidden.

2. Research Methodology

The research method of this study is qualitiative by conducting content analysis based on related documents and written materials. As Krippendorf (1969) defines content analysis as the use of replicable and valid method for making specific inferences from text to other states or properties of its source. Content analysis analyzes not only the manifest content of the material. As Becker and Lissmann (1973) differentiates levels of content, namely themes and main ideas of the text as primary content; context information as latent content. Content analysis is used as an approach of empirical, methodoligal controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without thoughtless quantification. This study will use content analysis by drawing on Krippendorf and Becker and Lissman's frameworks.

3. Research Highlight

Saba Mahmood in her piece on *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and The Feminist Subject,* points out that socioreligious movement that is supported by women who hold female's subordination principles creates problem for feminist analyts. She argues that subordination of women to feminine virtues, such as shyness, modesty, and humility has became a given condition for the increasing of women's public role in religious and political life.[2]

Rachel Rinold in her writing on *Women and Piety Movement* argues that the increase of women's participation in piety movements is happened due to their willingness to return to traditional value since globalisation has produced inequality. Rinold states that women involves in piety movement because they see it as a way to solve modernity and social change issues. In this regards, piety movements provide opportunity for women to create their own versions of modernity. Although modernity implies a secular concept, however, for many women who involved in piety movements, modernity and piety is compatible.[3]

In the context of terrorism, Mia Bloom notes in her writing on *Bombshell: The Many Faces of Women Terrorists* that the role of women in terrorist groups has been underestimated. Bloom challenges past gender stereotypes and examines the real conditions that infuence female violence. She offers framework to analyse the reason behind women's involvement in terrorist act through what she calls "The Fours Rs Plus One", namely, revenge, redemption, relationships, respect, and rape. In her book, she argues that there have been women in terrorist groups back in 1960s and presents them in some conflict zones such as in Chechnya, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Palestine, and Indonesia. In the case study of the Jamaah Islamiyah participants in Indonesia and across Southeast Asia, she points out the roles of women in terror networks are to raise and educate warriors, passing nationalist and religious ideology on to the next generations.[4]

This article will use analytical framework from feminist thinkers point of view like Mahmood, Rinold, and Bloom as mentioned above to analyse the increasing role of women in radical movements in Indonesia.

Shifting Role of Women in Radical Movement

More than a decade, women across the Muslim world were measured unchallengeable influenced by the concepts of pre-Islamic tribal incorporated with Islamic mores. During wartime, the practice of taking a defeated enemy's wife or daughter was sometimes justified. However, mostly women could ask for immunity from military violence threat, rape or ransom under Islamic legal systems and Islamic cultures. Since the period of the first caliph in the seventh century, targeting women and children during warfare was forbidded by the traditional codes of conduct as part of Islamic culture.

However, nowadays, this view of women that has been uphold for a long time has been changed by radical Islamists. Across the Muslim world, women, whether non-Muslim or Muslim, have been targeted by the radical Islamists. For instance, non-Muslim women in Iraq and Syria have been murdered by ISIS and at the same time Muslim women have been suffered by ISIS. This state of affairs can be seen as a change of view on women in which radical Islamists like ISIS was no longer follow the view of avoiding attacks on women.

In contrast to its predecessor Al Qaida, ISIS has different standpoint regarding the position of women in waging jihad. In Al Qaida perspective, women was barred to participate in the tactical team or in the battlefield. On the contrary, ISIS has allowed women to get involved in offensive and defensive combat operations. In this sense, ISIS claims that women are also important as men to wage jihad. As a realisation to this claim, ISIS formed Al Khansaa Brigade in 2014 that consists of female ISIS members which operates in Raqqa and Mosul. Al Khansaa Brigade plays significant role in presenting local security and serving a model for ISIS female fighters in many countries, including Indonesia.

Rola el-Husseini argues that one of the factor that influencing the changing view of Islamists was the growing presence of women in the enemies lines, whether as blunt critics or as combatants. For instance, the Kurdish female fighters faced by ISIS in Kobani has weakened the perception of women as fragile human being. The presence of these female combatants has made difference in the understanding of women by ISIS and also among the West which depict Muslim women as passive victims.[5]

In Arab and Muslim history, there were female who also became combatants in warfare. Previously, radical Islamists has discharged female combatants as historical anomalies. Recently, they have to change their view on women when faced with the increasing presence of women in traditionally male-dominated areas. As a response to the growing presence of women, radical Islamists have started to acknowledge the role of women both as enemy targets and as their agents. Radical Islamic movements have begun to encouraged women to see radicalism and violence as a form of women empowerment by looking at the Chechen Black Widows to Palestinian female suicide bombers in Gaza and the West Bank as their models. Al Khansaa Brigade formed by ISIS, consist of Arab, French, or British-born women, acted as morality police that operate checkpoints and patrol the streets. These female jihadists involve in ISIS brigade due to some reasons such as revenge, ideology, or financial gain.[6]

El-Husseini confirms that the reason why women fighters were recruited by male jihadists certainly were not because of gender equality. They still uphold the traditional view on women in a sacred virtue and motherhood, but they also embrace the utilitarian notions of women. For example, Islamist theologians like Mohammed al-Arifi from Saudi Arabia, justified the sexual jihad notion that is a temporary marriage. According to some reports, teenagers from Tunisia, Europe, and Malaysia have been recruited to become jihadi brides. According to ISIS rationale, they recruited jihadi brides since they need pious women to support and accompany male jihadists.[7]

4. Research Result

The Rising role of women in radical movement in Indonesia

Previously, the involvement of women in terrorist activities in Indonesia was limited and forbidden. For example, within Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), women previously played roles in intermediary and childbearing in order to increasing ties and creating future jihadists as ways to increase the number of the groups. Women also involved within JI as fund raisers for terror activities. For instance, Noralwizah Lee Binti Abdullah, a Sabah-Chinese woman, the wife of JI's commander, Hambali, was suspected as head of JI's accountant. However, nowadays women can actively involved and plan terrorist act equal to male extremists. As argued by Anindya that the role of Indonesian women in terorists networks have been influenced by family ties through marriage.[8] Their involvement range from facilitating logistics and financing terrorists acts. However, there has been a growing trend of women in Indonesia to involve actively in terrorist activities. Indonesia's police counterterrorism unit (Detachment 88) has arrested three women who were allegedly involved in terror activities in December 2016. They were planning to bomb tha Indonesian State Palace in Jakarta.

According to some reports, the women, namely Dian Yulia Novi, Arida Putri Maharani, and Tutin Sugiarti were allegedly part of a Solo-based terrorist network under the instruction from Bahrun Naim – the man who was responsible for the Sarinah bomb attack. After the arrest of the three women, Detachment 88 has also been arrested Ika Puspitasari in Purworejo, Central Java. Novi and Maharani are the wives of Muhammad Nur Solikhin – the man allegedly to be the leader of the terror cell. Reports stated that Novi had a role to prepare the planned suicide bombing at the Indonesian State Palace. Maharani's role was facilitating the funding for terror activities and was aware of the attack's preparaton. Sugiarti was responsible for radicalising Novi which in fact Novi is the wife of the group leader. While Puspitasari was responsible for preparing to launch a suicide bombing in Bali on New Year's Eve.

Before that, there were several case of women arrested or identified in terror related activities. In October and July 2016, Tini Susanti Kaduku and Jumaitun alias Ummi Delima were arrested as armed combatants with their husbands in the Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT). In September 2015, Aisyah Lina Kamelya created Baqiyah United Group (BUG), an international pro-ISIS channel on the social media application Telegram. Members of this group included Indians, Kenyans and Libyans. In August 2015, Ratna Nirmala asked her husband to accompany her and their children to Syria. Other cases were reported that in November 2015, there were six Indonesian women with alleged ties with ISIS were arrested by Turkish authorities in an effort to enter Syria. There were also Indonesian female migrant workers were deported from Taiwan for alleged ties with the ISIS group. In 2015, a pregnant Indonesian woman who was working in Hong Kong travelled to Syria to join ISIS. It was reported that the woman had married an

Indonesian jihadist online, and met him in Hong Kong for a few days while he was transiting to Syria. The woman then joined her husband in Syria.

According to 'Mothers to Bombers' study conducted by IPAC, there are four groups of Indonesian radical women.[9] First group, consists of Indonesian overseas migrant workers in East Asia dan Middle East who have better capacity such as more confidence, more of an international attitude, better English and Arabic and computer skills compare to their counterparts at home. Male jihadists view the women as financial sources and became potential target for recruitment. The study showed that some Indonesian women migrant workers in Hong Kong and Taiwan facilitating compatriots trip to Syria by providing money through fund raising, making schedules and assisting recommendation for potential members. Ika Puspitasari, arrested in December 2016 for preparing to launched a terrorist attack in Bali, was a former migrant worker in Hong Kong and allegedly had this kind of roles. According to the study, Puspitasari had relations with radical cells through Facebook in 2015. The husband of Puspitasari who married her via mobile phone while she was in Hong Kong, was arrested in December 2015 with allegation of planning terrorist attack in Indonesia. When Puspitasari was working in Hong Kong as migrant worker, she financed the attack by giving 8 million rupiahs. She moved back in Indonesia in November 2015, a month before she was arrested. While Dian Yulia Novi, alllegedly planning an attack on Indonesian President Palace, was radicalised online while working as migrant worker in Taiwan.[10]

Second group, consists of Indonesian women who have participated with ISIS in Syria through family ties. Reports told that in some cases, the women itself who asked their husband to leave the country since they attracted by ISIS videos or in some cases driven by willingness to raise up their children under Islamic law. Third group, consists of women deportees. Women in this category are the one who try to traverse the Turkish border to join their husbands or other family members, however Turkish authorities have arrested and deported them. Forth group, consists of women combatants from *Mujahidin Indonesia Timur* (MIT) in Poso. According to the report, the wives of three MIT leaders have been trained to use arms and explosives although it was only for survival reasons. The women's involvement in this group can be seen as radical groups desire to embrace women in military training.[11]

By categorizing the women's involvement in radical activities into four groups, the study showed how the role of women have went beyond marriage, motherhood, and network building by participating in active role in military strategy. When some reports falsely claimed that terror attacks in Paris on November 2015 was launched by Europe's first female suicide omber, Indonesian women showed their admiration on the attacks through pro-ISIS forums. Alhough the reports were false, some Indonesian women were inspired by the idea of female suicide bomber and acknowledged that they were willing to commit to jihad.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, by drawing on Bloom's framework it can be argued that the varied roles of women in organized violence networks has been increased recently and shifted from a passive into an active and important actor in supporting and committing terror activities. The ISIS standpoint on the position of women as equal to men in waging jihad has significant influence on calling women worldwide to join the war in Syria and Iraq. This calling also has significant impact to the involvement of women in many countries, including Indonesia to actively participate in radical and terrorist movements. The recruitment of women has raised the combatants number in terrorist groups, however, this movement can be seen as an indication that terrorist group were

also longing for more recruitment due to the shortage on male combatants. The idea of female suicide bombers can affect overreaction by the public and government, however this was the purpose of the terrorist groups were seeking to. Therefore, counterterrorism agencies in Indonesia have to pay more attention to the increasing role of women in radical or terror activities as a way to get a better approach in dealing with female extremists.

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RETHINKING THE RADICALIZATION OF INDONESIAN FEMALE FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS: AN ANALYSIS TO POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ALIENATION

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Abstract

The growing number of Indonesian female foreign domestic workers as terrorist suspect prompts more questions especially the underlying factors that enable their radicalization. This article attempts to explain the political-economic circumstances as well as agential factors that result in the radicalization of foreign domestic workers. In so doing, this article will incorporate a feminist approach that is sensitive towards material as well as agential aspects to analyzing the personal stories of radicalized foreign domestic workers. The main argument of this article is that the domestic as well as international political-economic structure inherently results in the alienation of foreign domestic workers. This alienation further leads to a 'cognitive opening' that enables foreign domestic workers to adopt radical world views and participate in radical experiences. Therefore, the possible prescription to conduct deradicalization and/or prevention to radicalism should be aware of the political-economic circumstances and patriarchal perceptions that oppress female foreign domestic workers.

Keywords: Indonesian female foreign domestic workers; radicalization; terrorism; political economy; alienation.

1. Introduction

The most recent report estimated that 45 out of more than 150,000 Indonesian migrant workers in Indonesia have been radicalized[1] and in other Asian countries, such as Taiwan and Singapore, several of them were also deported after found to have been affiliated with ISIS[2] and radicalized through internet[3]. Two Indonesian women who had been migrant workers were foiled on December 2016 as they were preparing suicide bombings at the presidential palace in Jakarta and a tourist site in Bali. Others have traveled to Syria to marry ISIS fighters, provided funds to the group, recruited new members or connected local jihadist with fighters in Syria and

Iraq[4]. While it comprises tiny percentage, this phenomenon deserves a special attention. The rising trend of radicalisation targeting (mostly female) foreign domestic workers (FDWs) is unique because there are some specific contexts, underlying causes, and process that trigger them to be radicalised, from exposure to inherently oppressive regulations on hiring and recruiting FDWs, constant social and psychological denigration, to deeply ingrained patriarchal culture.

2. Research Highlight

Currently, the discourse and study addressing the radicalization of Indonesian FDWs remain deficient. The existing literature usually focuses only on personal stories and omits the political-economic structure that to certain degree allowing for the FDWs radicalization to take place. It also fails to examine what it truly means to be an FDW and thus lacks of in-depth analysis of what is distinctive from radicalization of FDWs compared to other type of groups. Therefore, this study aims to capture both the structural factors as well as the agential factors that—to certain degree—become an underlying conditions for radicalization. The main research question that we address is how does the radicalization of FDWs occur?

3. Research Methodology

In this paper, we will seek to emphasize the complexity of the basis, i.e. the political-economic structure that enables FDWs to be radicalized by using a materialism analysis, while at the same time being sensitive to feminist perspective. We argue that the political-economic structure in Indonesia, especially the market of migrant domestic worker, inevitably results in the multilayered alienation of women labour. This alienation leads to certain conditions that enable FDWs to embrace radical world views and practices as a way to overcome their perceived problems. Nevertheless, if the alienation is a phenomenon that occurs everywhere at the macro-level (political-economic), then why does radicalization only happen to some particular cases of FDWs? We try to address such question by using a radicalization theory at micro-level (agential) process, that seeks to explain the life trajectory of individuals toward radicalization. Muhammad Najib Azca for example, argued that individuals become jihad[5] actors after undergoing 'radical reasoning', which means "a set of micro-sociological process that involves both cognition and emotion through either 'moral shocks' or 'cognitive opening' or both which eventually lead to participation in jihad as an 'act of identity'. Radical reasoning often occurs in the context of, and as a response to, identity crisis experienced by the actor"[6]. He further contended that jihad participation consists of 'radical experience' that become a 'pivotal event' in the actor's life. However, these radical experiences may be interpreted differently, based on the influence of "ideological framework which is furthermore maintained and developed through their social networks"[7]. Thus, aside from the political-economic factors, examining the agential factors—i.e. ideology and social networks—that may have influenced the FDWs' radical life trajectory will also become crucial in this case.

The first part of this article will analyse the political-economic structure that allows commodification of domestic work—which brings about one of the permissive conditions for radicalism to arise. The second part will analyse how the structure results in the alienation of FDWs, that further leads to their radical reasoning. In so doing, we will examine several relevant personal stories of Indonesian FDWs in Hong Kong based on the in-depth report by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC). IPAC's report is choosen since it is the only available

empirical research thus far that managed to unveil personal stories of radicalized FDWs. IPAC is also widely-known for its credibility in conducting various researches in terrorism and radicalism. Lastly, we will conclude our analysis with a brief reflection on a gender-sensitive deradicalization.

4. **Research Result**

The Commodification of Domestic Work

A scrutinization on political-economic circumstances is important to comprehending why the commodification of domestic work has been so prevalent in international labor market. Choices and constraint within an understanding of wider institutional and market processess have been mostly developed in relation to international labor migration, where the role of direct long-distance recruitment and the interconnection between migration, investment, and production strategies within a changing most evident[8]. This understanding provides a plausible explanation to the changing gender division of labor that coincided with the emergence of gender-differentiated mobility on an international scale[9]. Within the context of international division of labor, the pursuit of development agenda is dependent on the incorporation of female migrants into the lowly-paid workforce that is labor-intensive and covers menial aspects of production.

The huge demand of domestic helpers in developed countries comes as result of more women participating in the labor force and thus looking for maids to perform reproductive work, which then coincided with developing countries' urgent need of foreign income to pay off their debts that started piling up following the Asian Financial Crisis and its impact to worsened national poverty and unemployment[10]. In Indonesia, such transnational labor migration has been endorsed by the government in the name of economic development since the mid-1980s, particularly due to the appeal of financial remittances sent back to Indonesia driven by the logic of market-driven neoliberal governmental policies[11]. The developed countries facing the shortage of cheap domestic workers, such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia, decided to import workers from developing countries like Philipphines and Indonesia. Indonesian overseas employment agencies (Penyalur Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, PJTKI) sold the services of domestics cheaply as a strategy to compete with better trained and better organised domestic workers in other supplier countries, such as Philipphines, resulting in many Indonesians being paid less than the minimum wage[12]. At this point, we see that the commodification of domestic work in developing countries like Indonesia arose as a result of the needs to advance domestic developmental agenda.

Since FDWs are paid relatively low wages compared to wages earned by mothers in developed countries from their formal employment, FDWs provide an affordable solution for women in developed countries who would otherwise not have been able to join the labor force, reflected by the sample data that show that households with working mothers are more likely to hire FDWs[13]. Despite the significant contribution from FDWs to the household and developed countries by becoming an indispensable enabling factor to the higher female participation in the labor force, they are subject to multiple level of opressions, one of which is their limited rights reflected by the official regulation governing FDWs by receiving states. They are cheap workers who are disposable and require minimum social and political liabilities, in Singapore, for instance, the provision even declares it is fully justified to send low-skilled workers back to their home countries in times of economic turbulence[14]. The receiving states are complicit in a sense they enjoy a wide latitude in exacting compliance from migrants because of the limited resource and social protection that migrant workers own due do their citizenship status in host countries and migrant workers, both female and male, who often face cultural stereotyping by their host society.

The dominant conception of FDWs' working place as home-bound and domestic (i.e. private, informal, and apolitical domain) results into them being treated as opposed to those in the formal employment[15][16]. Strongly tied to the perception that women belongs on the private sphere, the regulatory framework of FDWs thus becomes inherently opressive. It results in the normalization of low-paid domestic-labor. Singapore, for example, who adopts a contractual approach rather than a rights-based approach in managing FDWs places their admission to be solely as a transactionary, transient, and easily disposed. Many institutional and socially constructed constraints create unfavorable, if not abusive, work situations for low-skilled migrant workers, rendering them to be vulnerable to exploitation. Their work permit and entry are strongly tied to her employers which means they are not granted ability to participate in local labor force as a free and autonomous agent and could be easily repatriated.

FDWs are often excluded from receiving states' employment act and legal instruments due to the nature of domestic work as informal and private sector. In Singapore, FDWs do not possess state-sanctioned rights with regards to standard employment conditions. i.e. minimum wages and guarantees in terms of working conditions[17]. One way to justify this, as stated by the Singapore's Manpower Ministry, is because it is not practical to regulate specific aspects of domestic work, i.e. hours of work and public holidays. Added to that, it would be hard to enforce the provisions of the Employment Act for FDWs since their working site is in a home and the habits of households may vary.

Since there are no fixed standards due to the private nature of the workplace, FDWs are strongly vulnerable to be the subject of exploitation and social alienation, rendering their rights invisible compared to those workers in the formal sectors. For instance, in Singapore, the Employment Act states it is not permissible for workers to work more than 12 hours per day and anything more than this should only be under special circumstances and require overtime exemption. If they work more than 8 hours, they will receive overtime pay, which is at 1.5 times the normal rate of pay. However, given that the Employment Act does not cover FDWs, this protection does not reach them. It is no wonder then, according to the report[18], 82% of FDWs surveyed work more than 12 hours since there is no regulation on their maximum working hours and their long working hours is exempted from extra salary, unlike those who work in formal sectors.

Second, the exploitation also operates in terms of wages. The pulling factors for international labor migration, especially for FDWs, is the promise of higher wages compared to the alternative working in their home country. Although it is correct that they receive higher nominal wages in comparison to what they might gain in their origin country, it does not necessarily become an antithesis to them being exploited. Higher nominal wage, anyway, does not translate into higher purchasing power parity since ideally wage is adjusted according to the standard of living in the countries. This is then further confirmed by a study on different wage level of workers of the same occupation in different regions which demonstrated the real wage gaps of unskilled workers in rich and poor countries reaches almost 1 to 11 ratio[19]. In Hong Kong and Malaysia, although there is a specific minimum of wages set to Indonesian domestic workers, FDWs still receive wages disproportionately lower than average minimum wages received by the locals, with the comparison can be seen in the table below.

Receiving Countries	Average Monthly Wages	FDWs' Average Monthly Wages
Hong Kong	HK$15.819	HK$4,410
Malaysia	2,463 RMY	900 RMY
Singapore	S$550	S$5,596

Sources: Trading Economics (2018)[20]

The very limited host government's intervention to the protection of FDWs compared to other workers has increased their vulnerability and weakened their bargaining power[21]. The contract-making process betweeen the employer and employee in itself reeks of strong power imbalance. The agent acting as an intermediary between the employer and employee also plays a detrimental role in disempowering FDWs in their contract-making process. FDWs in Singapore, for instance, are required to pay around their three months' salary to recruitment agents to get employment contracts, making them willing to endure exploitative, if not abusive, working condition. Moreover, if FDWs choose to resign, they must pay fines to their agents, which leads them to be reluctant to negotiate or even resist abuse, understanding they are afraid to risk unemployment and further debt[22]. The transfer of recruitment, transportation, training and placement costs to domestic workers are burdened in the shoulder of FDWs alone, consequently get FDWs in Singapore to pay using approximately their first four working months[23] and even up to seven months in Hong Kong[24].

However, just because there is a certain set of rules written in the legal instrument, does not mean enforceability free from becoming a challenge. In Singapore, for instance, even if the Passports Acts prohibits the possession or control of another's person's foreign travel document including the passport, data showed only four out of ten FDWs held their own passport[25]. The Singaporean government, in fact, allows the withholding of FDWs passports as long as it is under a worker's consent. Yet, the subordinated position of FDWs in the employment relationship makes the consent easily manipulated and made not under a fully informed condition and genuine willingness. Other than that, despite existing legislation designed to protect FDWs, the exploitation still takes place because many of them are not even aware of their rights; consequently, the employers can get away with months of abuse before it is discovered[26].

Lastly, gender also makes difference even between low-skilled workers. It is necessary to adopt a gendered analysis by looking concurrently at both men (often identified with the more formal productive sectors) and women (more often associated with informal reproductive spheres) in contract work[27]. In Singapore, male blue-collar workers are officially provisioned to be inadequately housed by their employers with tight government's enforcement, and if not, the government would not grant workers work permits[28]. Further, the government explicitly reasoned the importance of proper living arrangement for male migrant worker is to ensure they are well taken care of and better managed, thus they are likely to be happier, more motivated to work for their employers, and equal to being more productive[29]. In contrast, the fact FDWs having to sleep in dismal conditions, such as on a mattress set up on the floor of the kitchen or living room[30] failed to prompt similar levels of state's concern or led to the provision of off-site housing for FDWs[31]. In fact, living outside the house of the employers is not even an option for FDWs in Singapore, since they are only allowed to work and live solely at her employer's residential address.

This policy setting has several implications. Firstly, it indicates the way the state posits domestic work: it is not treated on the same level as productive work, hence it is not work for

which once can upgrade one's skills and productivity. FDWs' work, such as cooking, childcare, and nursing, do not count towards "skill upgrading"[32]. Such a stance, Huang and Yeoh argued, contributes to the reinforcement of the patriarchal view of the status of domestic work as non-work, unproductive, and an ability that should come naturally to women. This kind of treatment, further, also exarcerbates the marginalization and low protection of FDWs and perpetuates the low value attached to domestic work. This part has showed how the political-economic circumstances contribute to the poor condition of FDWs, even in some developed countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong. On the next part, we will elaborate how such circumstances create alienation that further leads to radicalization.

Alienation of Female Foreign Domestic Workers: A Step Towards Radical Reasoning

Women participating in the labor force does not automatically shift the burden of domestic responsibilities in the hands of their spouse, making it supposedly a more egalitarian. Hiring foreign maids in a higher-growth economy is a means of improving the economic future of first world's women, ironically, at the expense of reinforcing existing social ideologies of low worth of third world women's labor[33]. This solution rests on certain nationalistic and gendered stereotypes: their valorization is predicated on attributes perceived as feminine, a willingness to do a repetitive, boring, and menial job for relatively low wages[34]. Further, one probably can say, the fact that women's socialization, includes learning to be flexible, to tolerate humiliation and social degradation, seems to make women to be more accepting and inclined to this kind of trajectory, contributing to the feminization of migration that exists mainly in the private sector[35].

The labor migration from developing to developed countries is not only classist, but also comes as the result of deeply ingrained patriarchal culture. FDWs, even compared to low-skilled male workers who are allocated in manufacturing sectors, undergo unique characteristics of oppresion. According to Marx and Engels[36], the current prevalent mode of production leads to alienation in the agency level, which is 1) alienation labors from their own labor-power and 2) identity and sense of meaning. The workers' alienation from their own labor-power occurs because the process of materializing their own labor, or power transfer, requires them to objectify the product they produce. Marx further contended, although the objectification of their own labor provides power to their labor product, the worker lose power over their own labor. In a highly capitalistic system, power transfer, instead of making them powerful of their own labor power, render them to be the slave of it.

The alienation of worker from their labor power could be observed through the control of their body from which they extract their own labor by the host government and their employers. FDWs' body as a site control is one of the most distinguished features compared to the treatment to low-skilled male migrant workers. The regulatory framework governing FDWs extends to surveillance of their physical bodies and a limitation of their life chances, for instance, FDWs must go for a biannual examination (6ME) to screen for infectious diseases and pregnancies[37]. If they fail the examination, they will be immediately repatriated. FDWs, along with other low-skilled foreign work-permit holder, are also not allowed to get married to Singapore Citizen or Permanent Citizien by the marriage restriction policy. Those who marry without the government's approval or become pregnant during their employment in Singapore will be repatriated and not granted an entry into Singapore. This rule applies even after foreign worker's work permit has expired or has been cancelled or revoked[38].

However, even if it is true that all low-skilled workers are not allowed to get married an procreate, the body of male migrant workers do not experience the same level of surveillance like female's bodies. Female migrant workers must police their own bodies and present them to the intrusive gaze of medical inspection in which their male counterparts need not. It enables men to indeed get away with trangressive acts of procreation, while FDWs bear severe consequences squarely on their own including being fired and repatriated if they are found to procreate[39].

It is interesting to take a closer examination on Singaporean government's justification of aforementioned rules. The government said it is the form of control to the population size, ensuring the ones who want to live and have families in Singapore can look after themselves, their families, and children, which is stated in:

> "Singaporean do have human rights to be be able to look after ourselves and manage our limited resources and to ensure that those legitimate Singaporeans would be well looked after and would not exact too much of our social system."[40]

From this point, it could be inferred low-skilled foreigners as being likely to take advantage of Singapore's social welfare system and undeserving to do that[41]. This regulation also succesfully illustrates how strictly disciplined, disposable, and replaceable the bodies of Indonesian FDWs, marked by ethnic, gender, and migrant otherness in host countries. They are valued for the reproductive work they do for their employer's families (child care, elderly care, cooking, and cleaning), but their own biological reproductive labor and rights are denigrated[42].

Not only does the government's policy rule FDW's bodies, but also their employers. Through the stereotypes of FDWs being stupid, dirty, rotten, and not worthy to be respected[43], the employers try to control the movement of FDWs through a series of micro-processes, such as allowing FDWs to go only to certain places during their days off, which means they have confined social maps even in their own spare time[44]. Their time is also restricted and curfews are often imposed by employers, saying it is the way the employers express "care and protection" as one might do to immature, irrational household members.

Further, Constable[45] argued that "employers' discipline and control of domestic workers is as an attempt to reduce them to docile social bodies, to deprive them of full personhood, and to craft for them a less morally ambivalent—but sufficiently subordinate—position within the household". Other than making the body of FDWs as a site of control, some employers go to the extent limiting their helpers to have social conversation with others[46]. According to the interview done by Ladegaard[47], some of interviewees stated most employers do not want their helpers to talk and converse with other people, especially fellow FDWs. The freedom to access discourse matters because one of the greatest promises of discourse is in it we become truly human; only in dialogue do we get to know the Other, but perhaps more importantly, only in dialogue do we get to know ourselves through our interlocutors' affirmation of our value[48]. Hence, depriving individuals of discourse is also to deprive them of their sense of belonging, and to deprive them of their self-worth and confidence—and even depriving them of their humanity[49]. The prohibition to have a social interaction creates lonely and isolated employees, rendering them easier to control since it reduces the chance of them conversing and discussing about their rights and experiences as well as organize themselves, making them ignorant of their own rights and be more submissive.

Not only are FDWs positioned as robots who work overtime, or as people who are incapacitated of rational thinking and exercising autonomy, they are also treated as inaminate household commodities which may be exchanged like faulty goods, which contribute to their

depersonalisation and dehumanisation. They are attached to certain prejudices and stereotypes, which serve as ideological functions justifying the exploitation of certain group over others, explaining the poverty and powerlessness of some groups, framing differential treatments of some groups legitimate and even natural[50].

The aforementioned explanation on alienation of FDWs still needs to be scrutinized based on personal stories of radicalized FDWs. We will use IPAC report on radicalization of Indonesian women workers in Hong Kong and analyse it with Azca's theoretical arguments of radical life trajectory of jihad actors[51]. His theoretical framework is deemed useful because of its sensitivity towards the micro-level analysis, i.e. the aspect of identity and social networks.

Generally speaking, IPAC found that some FDWs faced abuses, such as being paid less than the minimum wage and being portrayed as ignorant and submissive to appeal to employers who wanted docile workers. However, IPAC argued that these abuses "do not appear to have played a direct role in the radicalization of women, but they did lead to the establishment by the maids themselves of an Islamic advocacy group […]"[52]

The FDWs communities in Hong Kong are deemed to be prone to Christianisation, the conversion done by Christian priests. This condition caused the concerns of some Indonesian preachers, including the radical clerics, who eventually created initiatives as response towards "the danger of conversion". Some of the initiatives were manifested by establishing small religious study circle (halaqah), offline and online dakwah groups, or even charity. We contend that some forms of alienation experienced by FDWs—as the result of the oppressive domestic work circumstances—have led them to be alured by radical ideas that they perceive suitable for solving their identity crisis.

For some FDWs, the difficulties of migrant life—principally dislocation and isolation—inspired a spiritual rebirth[53]. According to Nuraniyah's op-ed in The New York Times, some FDWs felt humiliated for cooking pork for non-Muslim employers while wearing a niqab. Other stories, such as Firda, an Indonesian maid worked in Singapore who was interviewed by Nuraniyah, said that she "felt dry spiritually." Similar condition of the feeling of being 'lost' spiritually also happens to some other FDWs. Many FDWs were told by their agencies not to prat or wear a headscarf because in Chinese culture, white (the colour of the Muslim prayer covering for women) symbolises death, that it would make their employers uncomfortable[54].

Yeni (not her real name), a FDW came from a poor family in Blitar that got a job in Taiwan and was forced to join a Bible study group. She was under intense pressure to be baptised. In IPAC's report, she told that she was not a very observant Muslim but her conscience shrieked at the thought of conversion. She briefly ran to internet to search a solution for her situation and bumped into Serving Islam Team or SIT's facebook page, a Middle Eastern-linked group that seeks to clarify misconception about Islam through dakwah. It was her beginning in finding Salafism.

Other story is Ayu, one of the earliest Indonesian ISIS sympathisers in Hong Kong. She was radicalized by a spiritual rebirth following major personal turmoil. She was born to a poor family in Banjarnegara and had left to work overseas as a domestic helper three times: Malaysia in 2000, Singapore in 2003, and Hong Kong in 2004. In Hong Kong, her life was difficult that she got fired by two different employers and was once stranded in Macau, living on the street while waiting for a new visa. Shortly, she was depressed by mounting pressures from her job, family, and ex-husband that pushed her to seek refuge in drugs and alcohol. Her journey to plunge into drugs was back and forth. In 2011, she admitted to gain "enlightenment" (hidayah) to return to

Islam, but she did not have many friends and turned to Facebook for guidance. Her enlightenment encouraged her to search about jihadi ideas and practices, especially in Syria.

The stories of Firda, Yeni, and Ayu become example of FDWs who work in Hong Kong and got radicalized after undergoing a life-changing religious transformations. Such transformations mostly reflect the experience of, coining Azca's term, radical reasoning. The decision of some FDWs to embrace radicalism and join jihad involved radical reasoning since it "ruptures the 'normal' daily life of the actors"[55]. Their ruptures occurred "following a crisis that may have unsettled their certainties, including their identities, thus they become more receptive to the possibility of new ideas and world views"[56]. In this case, the crisis were often resulted from FDWs' alienation: they were facing difficult conditions at their job overseas, they were directly or indirectly forced to suppress their religious identity, and even facing fear of Christianisation. Many of FDWs in Hong Kong felt that they lack of emotional support, hence they took refuge to dakwah groups, such as in the Victoria Park, to gain emotional comfort and community. They created bonds with other Muslim members in that group, providing them a sense of surrogate family[57]. Their crisis became a crucial moment to seek for their 'true' identity, while by chance their circumstances led them to bump into radical world views as the answers of this identity quest.

Radical reasoning becomes the form of cognitive process that leads FDWs' decision to participate in terrorist actions as a way to response their identity crisis. But other FDWs also experienced 'moral shocks', such as the case of Devi, a maid who went to Syria after experiencing a rapid transformation from secular to radical Muslim. Devi was moved by photos of Syrian Muslim victims on Facebook, and she was questioning whether ISIS was really a terrorist group or a champion of persecuted Sunnis. She tried to find asnwers in Ayu's Facebook page and join Ayu's study group afterwards. A few months later, Devi pledged loyalty to al-Baghdadi, the prominent leader of ISIS, and married foreign fighters in Syria[58].

However, FDWs' participation to terrorist actions—which is called as 'radical experience—is also influenced by ideological framework which is furthermore maintained and developed through social networks[59]. In this case, we see that FDWs radical actors interpreted their radical experiences based on specific ideological frameworks, such as Salafism. Social networks also highly influenced their life trajectories. Azca mentioned three kinds of social network. Firstly, *core-network*, which is a social network through which the actor joins jihad. Secondly, *tactical-network*, which is a social network of jihadist network which occur temporarily during the jihad period. Thirdly, *extended-network*, which is an extension of social networks which develop in the aftermath of jihad participation. Azca argued that the core-network is the most important network which provides actors with an ideological framework and acts as an 'ideological network' to the actor[60].

Some FDWs go through different dynamics of those three kinds of social networks within their radical experiences. Most of them had their core-network in the form of online dakwah groups, such as radical Facebook pages and Telegram. Even many of them who had been radicalized were trying to participate in jihad operations via virtually reaching out to some prominent jihadist networks as they were interested to join jihad by their own causes. In this case, some FDWs were interested to join online marriage with jihadis or volunteered for jihadi operations to be suicide bombers, as in the case of Ika Puspitasari and Dian Yulia Novita, who were the would-be suicide bomber of the presidential palace in December 2016.

During the jihad, some of them, built tactical-networks, such as Ayu who incidentally assisted Indonesian jihadis who wanted to fight in Syria and sought for a safe place to transit.

She further also established her extended-network by joining a Telegram group administered by an Indonesia jihadi. She got to know some jihadi prisoners and other ISIS preachers through this online group. Her virtual interaction had provided her with new networks which could be invited to give online lectures or weekly religious study groups in Hong Kong[61]. These stories gave us a glimpse insight on how FDWs have undergone radical reasoning that further lead them to participate in radical experiences.

5. Conclusion

Deradicalization of Foreign Domestic Workers: Quo Vadis?

We have explained that the political-economic circumstances of Indonesia have resulted in the advancement of commodification of domestic work. This commodification brought about policy-settings that to certain degree have disadvantaged FDWs, providing them with low wage and low protection. The working and living conditions of domestic helpers in some developed countries also created a sense of subordination and marginalization towards FDWs. Hence, many of FDWs felt alienated from themselves as well as from their communities. This alienation triggered some ruptures in their identities and lives, which further provided a room for radical reasoning to take place.

The next important inquiry—that could be a further research agenda—is how to create a strategic way in deradicalizing and preventing radicalization of Indonesian FDWs. We may not be able to flesh out any prescription for this inquiry. However, what we ought to underscore from this study is that any deradicalization or prevention strategy should be aware of the materialist aspect, i.e. the political-economic circumstances, that may enable the catalysts of radicalization to occur. We cannot expect, for example, a terrorism prevention strategy to succeed if the proper protection and wage—as the basic rights—that FDWs deserve are not fulfilled. Moreover, when it comes to female FDWs, it becomes important to also pay attention to the gender perspective. As we have explained, FDWs are facing specific stereotype from patriarchal perception that further creates double oppression towards them: one is the oppression of FDWs' female identity that renders them as inferior and attached to private sphere; and the other one is the oppression from their material conditions—i.e. exploitative working hour, imbalance power relations *vis-à-vis* the employers, inappropriate wage and protection, abuses of identity, etc—that are shaped by domestic as well as international political-economic structure. Therefore, the efforts to liberate FDWs from the threat of radicalization might also need to simultaneously resolve the oppressions that they have been facing on their daily basis.

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PAPERS IN PANEL WOMEN AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN (VAWC)

PROLOGUE

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN (VAWC)

Chair:
1. Dr. Indraswari (Parahyangan Catholic University, Indonesia)
2. Khariroh Ali, MA (National Commission on Violence Against Women/
Komnas Perempuan)

This proceeding consists three papers on the the topic "violence against women and children (VAWC)." The presenters are Aileen May P. Mijares (*Department of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines*), M. Saifullah Rohman and Nina Widyawati (*Research Center of Society and Culture, Indonesian Institute of Sciences*), and Faradilla Fadlia (*a Lecturer from Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Syiah Kuala, Aceh*) and Ismar Ramadani (*a Lecturer from Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Al-Muslim University, Bireuen, Aceh*).

The first paper written by Aileen May P. Mijares under the tittle "#*WoManLaban* (WomanFight): Women Defending Their Rights in the Philippine War on Drugs." This paper seeks to explore emerging concepts in notions of leadership deemed effective in pushing for more democratization in the Philippines. It discusses the ways in which women leaders - in communities, NGOs, religious and other civil society groups as well as government agencies are localizing human rights discourses and galvanizing the citizenry to fight against state's repression dubbed as the War on Drugs, as well as the blatant misogynistic tendencies of the current regime. This paper utilizes an ethnographic approach to discuss the impact of the War on Drugs on women and how they are fighting for their rights in the context of the authoritarian rule of President Duterte.

M. Saifullah Rohman and Nina Widyawati write a reserach paper under the tittle "Returned Women Migrant Workers and Mental Ilness: The Challenge of Grassroot Working Women in The Global Era". In this paper, at least there are three types of violence toward women migrant workers; violence from families especially husband, violence from social environment, and violence in the workplace. This paper was based on the fieldwork in Sukabumi, that shows how women migrant

workers are vulnerable to experience with mental illness through several factors surrounds them. Those factors include family, society, and workplace ranging from pressures to violence act.

The last paper is "Dayah and Sexual Harassment Againts Women in North Aceh (An Analysis for Space and Power Relation in Dayah)" written by Faradilla Fadlia and Ismar Ramadani. This paper discusses how the Islamic boarding school (Dayah) in Aceh Utara become a treat for women, especially from sexual abuses. Dayah should be safe for women but in reality Dayah is actually a place with high rates of sexual abuse in Aceh. The hypothesis of this paper that Dayah is not a safe place for woman and it is because of the spatial setting of Dayah that "threat" woman and power relation between the perpetrators who are usually the leader of Dayah "Tengku" and Student. The existence of an unequal power relation between student (*santri*) and the perpetrator (the Dayah leaders) make it difficult to reveal the cases of sexual harassment in Islamic boarding schools in Aceh.

All the papers are very interesting to see how violence against women and children become a problem in Asian countries with different types and forms. It seems that there is no safe place for women since VAWC occurs in private, public, as well as at the state level.

The session after lunch, discusses four papers on violence against women and children. Presenters are four academicians from four universitiesin Indonesia and a researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI).

Fetia Nursih Widiastuti from University of Indonesia, Jakarta, writes the second paper titled "Violence Againts Young Married Women: Association Between Child Marriage and Intimate Partner Violence In Indonesia". Using quantitative method, this paper discusses a study on the relationship between child marriage – which is part of SDGs issues – and intimate partner violence (IPV). Based on the study, there is a tendency that child marriage lead to a higher possibility of IPV. The study recommends the government to give more attention to child marriage and to reduce its prevalence which in turn will reduce IPV.
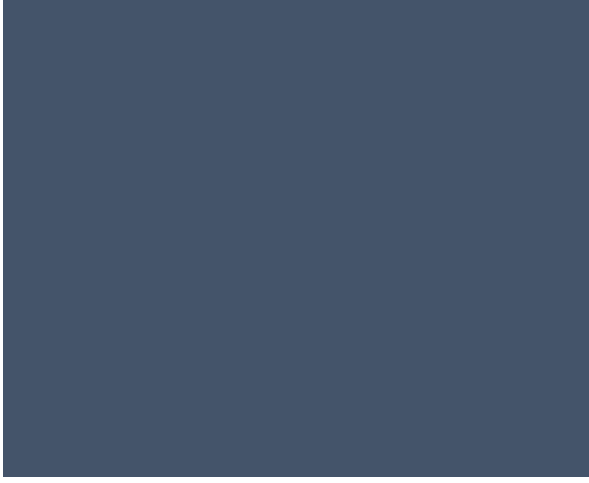
"Life struggle for the widow of child marriage because of dating violence in Palembang, Indonesia" is the third paper written by **Putu Samawati** from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. The paper is a study of 100 widows in Palembang city of South Sumatra, Indonesia, who experienced dating violence and got pregnant outside the wedlock(as a result of the violence). These widows were married as a child, divorced and become single parents. Some of their marriage were unregistered *(sirri),* making the situation worse. This paper discusses how do these women struggle in raising their children and their lack of protection from the government and the society.

Sihol Farida Tambunan from the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI) Jakarta, writes the fourth paper titled "Etnophilosophy of a very expensive marriage of Moko dowry for many girls in Alor district of East Nusa Tenggara". This paper discusses the custom of Moko dowry and how it relates to a woman's position. It turns out that the expensive dowry only weaken a woman's bargaining position in marriage. She has little say on matters such as whether or not she would like to marry, with whom she would get married, whether or not she would keep her religion and tradition post marriage.

Winny Gunarti Widya **Wardani and Muhammad Iqbal** Qeis from Indrapasta PGRI University, Jakarta, writes a paper titled "Symbolic violence against women and children: a visual analysis of meme designs in social media", which is the fifth paper for this session". This paper

is a study on the visual structure of meme designs in social media. While the memes aim for amusement and humor, they actually exhibit symbolic violence against women and children. There is a need to build public awareness on sexual harassment against women and children which is displayed through sexist meme in social media.

Overall the aforementioned five papers offer a broad topic on violence against women and children, covering sub-themes on disability, tradition, child marriage and social media. All papers are research-based and give significant contribution to the discourse and to solve the problem of violence against women and children. ❖

#WOMANLABAN (WOMANFIGHT): WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINE WAR ON DRUGS

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Abstract

The current situation of the Philippine War on Drugs has resulted in thousands of deaths and placed the Philippine government under the watchful gaze of the Human Rights Community, both local and international. Despite numerous protests, government authorities stand firm in their conviction that the crackdown on drug addicts will continue as long as there is a threat by alleged addicts to the country. Using an ethnographic approach, this paper seeks to explore emerging concepts in notions of leadership deemed effective in pushing for more democratization in the Philippines. It discusses the ways in which women leaders - in communities, NGOs, religious and other civil society groups as well as government agencies are localizing human rights discourses and galvanizing the citizenry to fight against state repression as well as the blatant misogynistic tendencies of the current regime. Their experience signals significant pathways towards harnessing the power of Filipino and Asian women as champions of democratic institutions.

Keywords: human rights violations; leadership; civil society; democratic institutions

1. Introduction

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Philippines have been strongly condemning the brutal campaign of the government dubbed as the War on Drugs. These groups comprise different spectrum and political persuasions and are involved in different strategies to counter the repressive and misogynistic state. Among the key players of these various CSOs are various women's groups who have been in the forefront of the protest and are also engaged in various programs to address the needs of families who lost their kin in the Drug War. Recent crackdown

on leaders of progressive organizations have intensified the danger of falling back into the dark era of Martial Law. As such, efforts toward protecting civil liberties are steadily gaining ground as the threat of more political repression and authoritarianism looms over the Philippines.

Methodology and Limitations of the Study

This paper utilizes an ethnographic approach to discuss the impact of the War on Drugs on women how they are fighting for their rights in the context of the authoritarian rule of President Duterte. Data were culled from interviews, media reports, fora on the Drug War, focus group discussions among women civil society leaders active in the campaign against the War on Drugs. Focus group discussions were conducted among urban poor women leaders whose sector are the most affected.

Narratives of Tokhang: Tales of Anguish and Anger

"Galit na galit ako! wailed Nanette (not her real name), a mother who lost her son to   a 'riding in-tandem' in October 2017. This mode of killing suspected drug addicts, involving suspected police or vigilantes who wear masks, is rebuked by Nanette as '*duwag*' (cowardly). "*Duwag sila, nakatakip pa ang mukha!*" (These cowards cover their faces) *Nakahiga na ang anak ko, binabaril pa!- tatlo sa ulo, dalawa sa dibdib*"... (My son was already on the ground and they still kept firing – three in the head and two in the chest) *Walang kaluluwa ang mga taong ito!*"(These people have no souls!). A picture of her son hangs on her neck as she spoke to a room of people.

She painfully recounted the day her 32-year old son became a victim of *Tokhang*. It has been 157 days since she lost her son and she says it doesn't get easier every day. Though she admits that her son had indeed been using drugs, he was not a bad person, he was never a harm to anyone, nor was he a pest/plague ("*mabait siya, hindi siya perwisyo, hindi siya salot*, *hindi siya salot*). Her son had work, a professional welder, and had been quite caring, visiting her daily to check on her and her husband. She feels a great loss, "*siya ang alam kong mag-aalaga sa akin sa pagtanda ko.*" (I knew him to be the person who would take care of me when I grow old). Now she feels alone and longs (*nangungulila)* for her son's daily visits.

Nanette has witnessed many others got killed from the Drug War but she never imagined her son would be among them. "*Pag po ba gumamit ang tao, may lisensya silang patayin*?" (If they knew that a person takes drugs, does it become a license for killing?) They could have imprisoned him, even for the rest of his life. I would have visited him in jail. But they killed him… if only they did not shoot him in the head… I will never cease asking until I die, why they did this to him!"

Disbelief, anguish, anger and longingness were the themes in the narratives of Nina's story.

Another woman, Angela, (not her real name), also lost her stepson to the Drug War last year. Her stepson was accosted and detained for three days but there were no police records about the incident. After failing to find her stepson in the nearby police precinct as well as other precincts, she was told about the execution (Na-tokhang) of three persons in a place called Delpan. She immediately went there and was asked to identify her stepson at a funeral parlor. *Nagpanitso na kami* (we had to arrange for a grave). She was also given the motorcycle that her stepson had used, she noticed it had been altered – with the newer parts taken out and replaced with old ones. A policeman scoffed, " Ayan ang motor, yan lang naman ang habol mo sa anak mo!" (There's his motorcycle, it's the only thing you want from your son anyway"). She had seen from the CCTV

footage that two policemen had been using her son's motorcycle before returning the same to her but with completely altered parts.

She told the policemen, that even ten motorcycles couldn't quite pay for her son's life. They could even have obtained credit if that would spare her stepson's life. She had learned about the practice they termed 'ma-thank you' which means that the person can be accosted and killed because of a reward money given for the death of alleged drug addicts.

"*Paano ko ipaglalaban ang anak ko na wala namang kasalanan, na-checkpoint lang*!" (How can I fight for my son, who was innocent and was a mere victim at the checkpoint) .

Angela has filed charges of frustrated murder against the police for the inclusion of her son in the three drug executions. She says that the police and NBI agents had offered to pay them off but she and her family had refused. They had to flee from their old home for fear of reprisal. She learned that police and NBI operatives have been visiting their old home, prompting her to ask why.

These are familiar scenes in the current War on Drugs in the Philippines. To put things in perspective, the next section gives an overview of President Duterte's War on Drugs.

The Philippine Drug War

With the assumption of President Rodrigo Roa Duterte as the Philippine President in 2016 With the assumption of Rodrigo Duterte as Philippine president in June 2016 and his infamous War on Drugs, human rights advocates have been up in arms accounting for and condemning the spate of killings, dubbed as EJK (extrajudicial killing) or in local parlance, "*natokhang.*" Operation Tokhang is a portmanteau from the Visayan words, '*toktok*'-'*hangyo*' which means knock and plead, is project of the Philippine National Police implemented nationwide since July 2016 to warn illegal drug traffickers and users to stop their activities. The reality however, is a far cry from its seeming gentle moniker. In practice, this anti-drug campaign, also dubbed as "War on Drugs", according to the Human Rights Watch, has resulted in 12,000-13,000 deaths[1] as of January 2018. This is a far cry from government's 3, 968 deaths of drug suspects killed in 'legitimate police operations'. Other deaths are dubbed as DUI 'Deaths Under Investigation', usually done by vigilante groups as described in the narratives of the women.

The Drug Campaign, also dubbed as Oplan Double Barrel, targets high profile drug lords as well as street personalities. It is the latter who have been the casualties of the drug war. The Philippine National Police (PNP) describes the drug campaign as a "community-based" approach, wherein village chiefs and residents are encouraged by police to help compile neighborhood watch lists of suspected drug users and dealers. This is termed as Masa Masid (literally, the masses observe). Based on this list and other intelligence, the police conduct house-to-house visits, invite alleged users to sign a waiver promising to stop using drugs, or submit themselves to a rehabilitation program. 807,659 people have surrendered as self-confessed drug users or dealers, according to police records. Records also show that more than 4 million homes have been visited (the number includes houses both cleared of and implicated in drug activity). Those homes cleared of any suspicion of drug activity are branded with a sticker listing the date of the visit, the name of the visiting officer, and a note thanking residents for their cooperation. What is a cause for alarm is the arbitrariness of the drug list that can be fabricated by people who may want to target non-drug related cases. The lack of due process and the blatant impunity in the drug war has been

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[1] Human Rights Watch, January 24,2017.

the subject of many human rights groups criticisms levelled against the police. Moreover, there have been reports that those who are in the drug list are in danger of being targeted for execution and not given the chance to surrender as attested to by many family members. The alleged quota system whereby policemen and hired civilians are rewarded certain amounts of money based on the number of drug suspects killed further puts this drug campaign into question. To describe the notoriety of the drug campaign as problematic is an understatement.

Human Rights Watch, an international human rights watchdog organization, has urged the Philippine government to cooperate with UN investigation into the drug-related deaths to account for the disparity in official and independent estimates of the killings and facilitate accountability for unlawful deaths. In response to this, the President has chided UN officials like UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings Agnes Callamard, who visited the Philippines in 2017 to attend an academic conference and was critical of the human rights situation in the country. She sought an invitation from the Philippine government to conduct an investigation but later declined due to conditions set by the Philippine government including a public debate with the President. Callamard says these conditions run counter to UN protocol. President Duterte would later be sanctioned by the UN for physically threatening to slap Ms Callamard if she goes ahead with the investigation without the blessing of the Philippine government. The President has been notorious for verbally attacking opponents, using foul and misogynistic remarks against opponents particularly women. A highly controversial case in point is his order to the military to 'shoot women rebels in their vagina." Moreover, his penchant for making jokes about raping women are evidences of his misogynistic propensities that is so distasteful and unbecoming of a public official, more so as the highest public official of the country. The next section will discuss the Drug War as violence against women and children.

WEDC: The Drug War as Violence Against Women

This section of the paper argues for women survivors of Tokhang and/or relatives of those victimized by *Tokhang* to be considered as belonging to the category of WEDC. According to Section 30 of Republic Act 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women, "Women in Especially Difficult Circumstances (WEDC) shall refer to victims and survivors of sexual and physical abuse, illegal recruitment, prostitution, trafficking, armed conflict, women in detention, victims and survivors or rape and incest, and such other related circumstances which have incapacitated them functionally." Stories upon stories of the extreme situation of women warrant the inclusion of Tokhang or the Drug War as violence against women which the Magna Carta of Women defines as:

> " *VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (VAW) refers to any act of* **gender-based violence** *that results in, or is likely to result in,* **physical, sexual, or psychological harm** *or* **suffering to women**, *including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary* **deprivation of liberty**, *whether occurring* **in public or in private life**." Section 4 Magna Carta of Women (RA 9710)

Philippine Senator Risa Hontiveros, notes the difficulties of women in the current administration of President Duterte, known for his misogyny and EJKs. She says,

"The first year of the Duterte government is a dangerous year to be a woman. It is marked by colossal human rights crisis. It is the year of misogyny and extra judicial killings. It is a year of national grieving. The vignettes below tell the plight of these WEDC.

> *I'm angry," she said. "Why did they have to kill my husband and son and leave families like ours to sacrifice?"(Sally Antonio, 43)* [2]

Sally is exhausted from working three jobs since police killed her husband and son, a typical Philippine drug war widow enduring a life sentence of impoverished misery. Sally lost her 19-year old son and unemployed husband to the Drug War. He was the main breadwinner, who worked as a waiter. "When they killed my husband and son, they also killed me." Sally shares her daily struggles, taking in several jobs to feed her five children and a grandson. She sleeps for only two hours at times to juggle several jobs as laundrywoman, doing errands for neighbors as well as taking on the job as community security officer. She breaks down when narrating how she would at times stop working for a day or two when her hands get too painful from all the work she does. As a daily wage earner, she would then have to borrow money from neighbors to be able to buy food for her family. Her 18-year old daughter who majors in Psychology had to stop schooling to look after her siblings and nephew when her father was killed. Sally's woes are even made worse with the heart ailment of her 11-year old son. Her main concern she says is to be able to procure medicine for him.

Sally wept when she recalled how her son was gunned down when he begged for the life of his father, whom Sally acknowledged was a drug user, but not a drug trafficker. Police report indicated that her husband and son resisted (*nanlaban*) and thus were gunned down. This is no isolated incident, for as many as 2,500 cases of *nanlaban* had been reported by the police in their drug raids, making it appear as self-defence. Rights groups have accused police of systematically making up self-defence claims after killing drug addicts and traffickers. Amnesty International has warned police may have committed crimes against humanity.[3] Duterte's candor about his disregard for human rights and his penchant for impunity has earned him the moniker as 'the executioner.' He has openly ordered the police to gun down drug addicts if they resist arrest during *Tokhang* operations or what they had been rationalizing as resistance (*nanlaban).* In a shocking statement regarding the massacre of addicts which he likened to the Hitler's massacre of Jews, he has been promoting impunity. The President has candidly remarked that he would be "happy to slaughter" three million drug addicts, although he and his aides have also insisted police are not being instructed to do anything illegal. But, there is persistent suspicion among human rights groups that the police back and encourage extrajudicial killings—with the police officers themselves allegedly paying assassins or posing as vigilante groups like the riding-in-tandem earlier mentioned who were involved in the killing of Nanette's son. A *Reuters* interview with a retired Filipino police intelligence officer and another active-duty police commander reported both officers detailing how under instructions from top-level authorities and local commanders, police units mastermind the killings. Yet, no systematic investigations and prosecutions of these murders have taken place, with top police officials suggesting that they are killings among drug dealers themselves or merely classified as DUIs (Deaths Under Investigation).

I haven't gotten into the psychological and emotional trauma that the Drug War has brought into the lives of survivors. Though not overlooked and often brought into the public attention by psychologists and civil society groups, the difficulty of addressing the psychological trauma of survivors is an understatement. The resources involved are unimaginable.

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[2] Agence France Presse. Enduring Pain for Drug War Widows. Philippine Daily Inquirer. March 14,2017.

[3] Agence France-Press. Enduring Pain for Philippine Drug War Widows. TODAY. March 14, 2017.

I am reminded of Linda Green's fine ethnography "Living in Fear: Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala" that reveals the quotidian experience of left-behind widows and children of the victims of the Guatemalan war and their chronic experience of anxiety and insecurity against the backdrop of a brutal colonial history, civil war and the presence of the US military. Though she acknowledges that anthropological works do tackle societal manifestations of violence, these works have not focused on the lived experiences of victims of these violence, whom she considers as 'muted'. I liked the way she analyses the widows' lives and talked about 'blood memories' or *memorias de sangre* that run through the widows' veins literally and figuratively. I quote a passage from her beautifully written ethnography:

> *Their memories, like history, were shaped by breaks, discontinuities,*
> *and ruptures and now the "perceived continuum of their lives*
> *[was] broken down into a before and after". Their painful bodies stood*
> *as individual and collective evidence of the violence perpetrated against*
> *them, their families, and their neighbors. In this case, pain and trauma, rather*
> *than introducing a conscious split between mind and body, self and world,*
> *self and other, joined the women in ways that rendered their pain personally*
> *and socially meaningful (Green 1999:118).*

She writes about the social malaise experienced by the widows borne from their traumatic experiences in the form of *susto,* or the loss of essential life force due to fright. Her work gives voice to the trauma and recovery experiences of victims who have survived the atrocities of state terror and violence.

In the Philippines, Sally's dilemma apart from the difficult task of making ends meet, is the mental anguish of worrying that her children will grow up without a father figure. More than the economic burden of putting food on the table daily, she insists that her family has been deprived of their father's care and guidance, which is 'irreplaceable'. This sentiment is echoed by many other women who bear witness to the gruesome effects of the current war on drugs.

"*For every Tokhang victim, there is a woman wailing beside*", thus says Neri Colmenares, a human rights lawyer, on the impact of the Drug War on women. For him, it has indeed become a women's problem. "Out there are ten thousand mothers who have borne the personal brunt of the loss of a husband or a child." He added: "It's the women who will be picking up the breadwinner mantle and teaching the children how to cope with grief and anger, with dignity and honor. It will take feisty and consistent female courage to take this administration, and all perpetrators and enablers, to account."

This keen observation is bolstered by figures that cannot deny how the Drug War has resulted in 18,000 orphans according to the Department of Social Welfare and Development. A growing number of older women or grandmas have been forced to care for drug war orphans, as the mothers of these orphans have either been killed themselves, jailed or is in an unstable condition to support their children. These old women with ages 60 -90, should no longer be working, let alone be supporting an entire family. It can be deduced that given that the Drug War has been targeting mostly men, the presumed breadwinners, the phenomenon of femininization of poverty seems to be the obvious consequence. Even the grandmas or *lolas* as they are called are forced to find gainful employment to support their orphaned grandkids. In interviews with

social workers from Project SOW (Support for Orphans and Widows) and Rise Up for Life and for Rights Philippines, these elderly people have resorted to doing laundry and selling vegetables just to keep the family going (Malig 2017). This important notion of *pagtaguyod* has become an operative term that refers to the brunt of responsibility that has fallen on women, both widows and grandmothers, who are left to fend for their families' economic needs, with many in very difficult circumstances owing to their economic and social status. Some widows can be as young as 16, like Jazmine Durana (not her real name) whose story was featured in the newspaper as among the teen widows of Duterte's Drug War.[4] They are said to be the hidden cost of the drug war, facing a bleak future without government support nor jobs available to them as minors. In a country with the highest teen pregnancy rates in the region, Jazmine is a teen mother. She has lost her co-parent and breadwinner to a state-sanctioned drug war that has claimed the lives of thousands of mostly young men (Santos 2018). She made several attempts in finding a job to support her one-year old daughter, who was only a month old when her partner was gunned down. It does not help that her diminutive figure further makes her look younger than 16 years, and making it difficult for prospective employers to hire her for fear of violating anti-child labor laws. Jazmine personifies the complexity of combining high teenage pregnancy with a drug war targeting poor young men. Their young widows are becoming part of a demographic trend that warrants government attention, if not compassion. This is further exacerbated by State failure to implement its Reproductive Health Law that could have stemmed the rise of teenage pregnancy like Jazmine's case. Santos points to an epidemic of teenage widows and single mothers, young women who have lost the fathers of their children to the war on drugs, left to fend largely for themselves and their offspring. Though she was too young to officially marry her boyfriend, Jazmine is now essentially living as a teen widow. On paper, she is an oxymoron—two words that don't belong together, forced upon one another. In reality, she is a social anomaly. As a minor she cannot access two important things she badly needs: a job and birth control (Santos 2018 cited in Monsod 2018). Her situation, as with many of teenage widows have caught the attention of many including a former commissioner of the National Youth Commission, Perci Cendaña who speaks of the "intersectionality of the problems on public health and welfare, security and social justice, and an indication of the failures as a society." With the current war on drugs, these teenage widows are even made more vulnerable making their burden unbearable economically and socially.

The social aspect of Tokhang that breeds stigmatization is an added complexity. It has been pointed out that families of Tokhang victims have to contend with the stigma of being associated with Tokhang victims. One Tokhang widow shared a poignant story about how she bitterly wept when none of her kin and neighbors came to the wake of her husband for fear of being associated with a Tokhang victim. As a Filipino term describes it, '*nilangaw ang lamay*' (the wake was empty). Apart from moral support, failure to hold a *lamay* (wake) means inability to raise the much needed *abuloy* (donations) that can be collected through small-time gambling during a wake. Some reportedly have no funds to pay for the casket and the formaldehyde needed to preserve the body. They rely on small time gambling /card games that has been practiced in a wake to come up with the much-needed money. The more the body stays in the morgue/funeral parlor, the more indebted they become. In death, the poor are mired in more indignities which is too much to bear.

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[4] Ana P. Santos. "Teen Widows of Duterte's Drug War Face a Bleak Economic Future" in Women's Advancement Deeply. https://www.newsdeeply.com/womensadvancement/articles/2018/02/07/teen-widows-of-dutertes-drug-war-face-a-bleak-economic-future

Another problem that has been spurred by the deaths of drug suspects, is the reality that some of the survivors, who are mostly the women, take on the task of selling drugs themselves to be able to survive financially. As Mr. Dennis Febre, who has been active in community programs have intimated, "*Some of those left behind also sell drugs while others go into prostitution because it's a matter of survival,*"

Compounding the already intricate problems as a consequence of the War on Drugs is the issue of rape. Though the Philippine National Police has been boasting about the decrease in reported rape incidences since the implementation of Tokhang, and have in fact attributed the rise of the same when Tokhang Operations were suspended, I cannot help but be bothered about the statement published on October 20, 2017 in Feminine News Perspectives by a certain RINJ[5] Press based in Canada entitled, "Philippines Drug War is Cop Rape-Fest" alleging how young women in the 'ghettos' (slums) are threatened with being placed on the drug list and are coerced to perform sexual favors for the police in order to be spared from Tokhang. In some instances, these young women were allegedly raped and then threatened with being put on the drug list. The publication continued to argue about cases of women who were killed in the drug war but were not part of the drug culture. A case cited was one of Rowena Tiamson, who was allegedly killed because she threatened to talk. If these allegations are true, it further puts women in extremely difficult circumstances than they already are.

Sally, Jazmine and a host of other women survivors, are taking the cudgels of continuing life amidst the extremely difficult aftermath of the war on drugs, often referred to as the War Against the Poor. The next section will look into the affect of Tokhang and explains why people are polarized over the issue of the Drug War and over President Duterte's authoritarian style of governance.

The Duterte Effect and Affect

When we interviewed a drug surrenderer's mother and barangay workers regarding their views on Tokhang or the War on Drugs, they were ambivalent. The mother said that they became more vigilant of what was happening around them *("ngayon palagi na namin sinusubaybayan dahil kay Duterte").* Then when asked how she felt that her son surrendered, she said that had mixed feelings, feeling both glad yet fearful (*"natutuwa na natatakot"*). She felt glad that her son was no longer involved in drugs. However, she was wary that he surrendered and that this posed dangers by being on the list, ("*sabi ng iba mas maganda pa na di nag surrender para walang pangalan at di babalik-balikan").* She seemed assuaged by the Duterte effect and how he has brought changed behavior among so many of his constituents ("*maganda naman na nandiyan si Duterte, nagbago ang mga tao, nasusubaybayan ang pamilya*"). From her statement, it would seem that Duterte's 'change is coming' actually emanated from the people's fear of him. She saw the impact of this, particularly on the family. When queried about the Drug Campaign, she posed positive views on this because she saw positive changes in their neighborhood and how those who have been addicted (*nalulong)* were able to change. The barangay workers likewise had both positive and negative views on the Drug War. The table below summarizes their views:

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[5] Philippines Drug War is Cop Rape-Fest. Feminine Perspective News. RINJ Press. https://rinj.press/index.php/news-rinj-press/october-2017/drug-war-philippines-rape-fest-cops/

PROS	CONS
People can change	Extrajudicial Killings are taking place
Surrenderees are given jobs	Intensification of police powers
Drug suppliers have left the village	Minors are being targeted
Drug addiction has been curtailed	People are easily tagged as addicts

These ambivalence is shared by many more Filipinos. As one sociologist, Nicole Curato, has pointed out, Duterte's politics is one of the most polarizing. Despite his authoritarian style of governance, his trust ratings among the public remains quite high. According to Dindo Manhit[6], President of Stratbase ADR Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADRi)[7] , the President has successfully defined his leadership which has been termed 'Dutertismo.' His leadership style is characterized by "consistent exercise of political will, a deep personal connection with constituents and an ability to define some key visions for the country." Manhit says his style of leadership has earned him the trust and optimism of the Filipinos. Prof. Randy David, another noted sociologist and public figure, David has warned of a fascist leader in Duterte. *"By Dutertismo, I refer to the Filipino incarnation of a style of governance enabled by the public's faith in the capacity of a tough-talking, willful, and unorthodox leader to carry out drastic actions to solve the nation's persistent problems."* He zeroes in on the authoritarian/dictatorial governance style of Duterte that was effective when he was still a mayor of Davao. What is disturbing is the overwhelming support that Duterte still enjoys despite his lack of regard for the sanctity of the Philippine Constitution which he sees as an 'obstacle' to change. He continues to highlight the urgency of his task through the rhetoric of 'building a nation', 'protecting the youth' and 'uniting the country' and has no qualms about spilling his gut about getting away with murder to achieve these goals. As Prof Randy laments, *"Yet here we find ourselves again, seduced by the siren call of a strongman promising final solutions to our people's problems, and ready to give up our freedoms in exchange for "real change.*

Also there is the fear of what befalls dissidents and opposition. "The unaccountable *en masse* prosecution of anyone accused of drug trade involvement or drug use also serves as a mechanism to squash political pluralism and eliminate political opposition (Felbab-Brown 2017)[8], Those who dare challenge President Duterte and his appalling policies are accused of drug trafficking charges and arrested themselves. The most prominent case is that of Senator Leila de Lima. But it includes many other lower-level politicians. Without disclosing credible evidence or convening a fair trial, President Duterte has ordered the arrest of scores of politicians accused of drug-trade links. He and his supporters from the different institutions (legislative, judicial, media) have launched successful campaigns against strong opposition figures like Senator Leila de Lima, Chief Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno, and Ombudsman Hon. Conchita Carpio-Morales, incidentally all strong women. They have been taunted, shamed and falsely accused but these women continue to fight back. The Chief Justice is currently under attack and clearly the President

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[6] Manhit, Dindo. "Reviewing Dutertismo". *Philippine Daily Inquirer.* June 26, 2017.

[7] Stratbase ADR Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADRi) s an independent strategic research organization. With its international focus, ADRi believes that Philippine and regional security and development can be achieved through the cooperation of the public and private sectors.

[8] Vanda Felbab-Brown. "The Human Rights Consequences of the War on Drugs in the Philippines". Brookings. August 8, 2017.

and his men want her out of the way. With the help of concerned groups, they have been engaging Duterte's authoritarian ways.

As such, not all are happy about the state of affairs in the Philippines especially on the issue of human rights violations and the toll of the Drug War. The next section discusses some groups that have actively been opposing the War on Drugs and some of the programs established to help those affected.

Movement Against Tyranny and other civil engagements

There are other critics of Duterte's 'fascist' ,'strongman', 'authoritarian' governance style. In a forum convened by academics, policy makers and politicians to evaluate Duterte's first 300 days in terms of political governance, economic policy, and culture entitled "Deconstructing Dutertismo" at the Ateneo de Manila University, Anne Marie Karaos, associate director of the John J. Carroll Institute, described "Dutertismo", as an ideology espoused by the Duterte administration that is characterized by an "authoritarian drift" whereby said administration applies "local strongman tactics and localist style of problem-solving within a centralized leadership." [9] Karaos cited the War on Drugs that has resulted in the killing of more than 7,000 people as a 'testament to the President's authoritarianism.'[10]

Senator Risa Hontiveros, who has been a dauntless critic of the Duterte administration, opines that why 'an insecure population' is a captive audience to the "allure of an authoritarian shortcut.' [11] She describes the current administration as "an expression of desperation and frustration from a populist which has become impatient with the modern challenges, with the kind of democracy we have." She revealed her worries about how the country is increasingly headed towards "brute and coercive force discouraging criticism and dissent."

A network of multisectoral groups have launched a movement that called for an end to drug killings and the "tyranny and fascism" of the administration, but it stopped short of demanding the resignation of President Rodrigo Duterte. In a statement, the Movement Against Tyranny (MAT) assailed Mr. Duterte's war on illegal drugs that had claimed the lives of "mostly poor, small-time drug users and pushers." [12]*"He continues to incite state security forces to commit willful violence against the people while assuring them of protection from investigation, prosecution and punishment," the group said. "In the face of such blatant displays of fascist tyranny, it is time to take a stand, to speak out, and to act,"* it added. Police presence was palpable and protesters encouraged each one to fight their fear. "Fear can be contagious but courage can be contagious as well," Mae Paner, a stage actress who has been a staunch opposition, also known as Juana Change, said in a brief speech before nearly 200 people who attended the launching. The group, along with other civil society organizations had a huge mobilization last Sept 21, the anniversary of the declaration of Martial Law in the Philippines by the late strongman President Marcos. The massive mobilizations and dissent did not escape the government's radar, who later took a back step and reviewed their War on Drugs, sadly, it was relaunched again sometime soon.

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[9] Paris, Janelle and Blaise Ilan. "Deconstructing Dutertismo: Progressives Take on Duterte Governance". *Rapple*r. April 30, 2017.

[10] ibid.

[11] ibid.

[12] Nikko Dizon. Movement Against Drug Killings, 'Acts of Tyranny' Launched. Philippine Daily Inquirer. August 28, 2017.

WOMANLABAN: Women Fighting Back and Defending their Rights

Literature on women and conflict have bared both the horrendous impact of (armed) conflict on women but have also noted the post-conflict opportunities for women to push new platforms for change. Julie Arostegui talks about the resilience of women who have lived through horrific situations in conflict situations and the merits of struggle and conflict that allowed women to find their voices, advocate for policy, effect change in their societies and advance women's rights in Africa (Arostegui 2013:533-34; Karam 2001). Similarly, in Central America, the COMADRES' success in organizing widows despite state repression (that included rape of their members) that continued on to several generations is worth noting. What are the key lessons in these countries? Can these be applied to the Philippine situation as well?

An important event that featured the voices of women who are fighting against the Drug War was the forum on "Rise, Resist, Unite against Tokhang and Tyranny," a forum on the human rights implications of President Rodrigo Duterte's war on drugs, organized by a new network of lawyers, *Mga Manananggol Laban sa EJK* (Lawyers Against EJK) *or MANLABAN* (Resist) sa EJK. In this forum, women survivor's testimonies were heard. Among them Nanette, whom I mentioned as the mother who lost her son to the Drug War. It was riveting to listen to Nanette's narration. While Nanette is far from finding justice for Aldrin, she remains vocal about her story of victimization, especially after working with faith-based group Rise Up for Life and for Rights. For Nanette, she owes it to her son to speak out. But more importantly, she says she speaks on behalf of those who cannot, or who would not, speak. [13] "Other victims are scared," Nanette said. "I want them to be empowered, I want mothers to be enlightened. You have to stand up because you are victims, you have nothing to be afraid of. And even if you aren't victims, you should speak up."

Indeed, Nanette is but one of the thousands of women who are left to "claw their way out of bereavement, anger, marginalization, and poverty." Other women, like Angela and Normita Lopez, 53, from Hermosa, Tondo, chose to file cases against the police who killed their sons in separate drug operations. As Normita says, "They are our families and we love them. We fight for the people we love." Angela is represented by NUPL (National Union of Peoples Lawyers) specifically Attorney Krissy Conti, who has been involved in cases of extrajudicial killings related to the drug war. As a woman, Atty Conti understands the plight of these women, and the immense pain of losing their children. She considers women as the "moving force" of this fight against EJKs. Atty. Conti voiced her concern over the challenges ahead for these women to communicate their issues to the President, known for being sexist and chauvinist. "He doesn't listen because he's a populist, and we only have one, two, three [women speaking out]. If 5,000, 10,000 women would pester him, things might change." Conti and her fellow advocates against EJKs coined the term "WoManlaban" to engrave what it means for every woman to fight in this war on drugs. It also a play on the word "nanlaban" (fought back), the reason almost always cited by cops for killing drug suspects (Lopez 2018). The force of women are not lost on Conti and her fellow advocates, acknowledging the fact that women hold families together and there is potential for them to mobilize other family members to join in their fight. "To WoManlaban, you bring in your entire family into your struggle as well," Conti said. "When a woman fights, she fights not only for herself but for others, and she brings in others into the fight as well." The danger posed by this statement however, points to a tendency to dichotomize between men and women's way of struggle or leadership that categorizes women as relational-oriented while men as

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[13] Eloisa Lopez. Women Fighting: Widows, Mothers of Drug War Casualties Come Together. Rappler. March 10, 2018.

task-oriented. This is associated with works on dimensions of women leadership that categorizes women's leadership as feminine leadership (as opposed to feminist leadership).

As the Drug War continues its catastrophic path and continues to wreck families, the women are left to fend for themselves and their communities. It is my hope that just as the Mothers of the Disappeared left their mark in Latin America, and other similar women's organizations that started out with traditional 'feminine concerns', their fight for justice may in fact impact on their own empowerment as can be gleaned from the case of Nanette who now sees it as her mission to speak and fight for others.

In an FGD with Zone One Tondo (ZOTO) women leaders last April, the urban poor women leaders made apparent the struggles they are undergoing in the time of *Tokhang*. Although they see security as a problem, but not as threatening as what Duterte has depicted to justify his war on drugs. They voiced their concern over the rampant killings they observed in their own neighborhood, where dead bodies used to be a common sight during the first months of *Tokhang*. What the women said that caught my attention were their repeated reminder of the intersectionality of problems that should be addressed by the government, not just the problem with drugs. Though not discounting the fact that drugs are indeed a problem, they think that the blatant economic and social marginalization of the poor has been exacerbated by the war on drugs, providing more opportunities for corruption for the police when kin and loved ones are jailed for drugs. I don't want to go into detail about the horrendous practices, which in itself could be a good topic for another paper. When asked if women can make a difference in resolving the problems of the country particularly the drug war menace and tyranny shown by the incumbent dictator Duterte, they believe women, especially in the grassroots or marginalized areas, despite their desire for active participation, are often curtailed by economic difficulties to really be active in the resistance movements. They believe that women can make a difference especially when they come together. This is particularly salient in literature on empowerment where women's consciousness can be altered by personal circumstances as shown by Nanette's case that can lead them to further involvement in organizations or movements that advocate for change. However, the caveat on women's participation in movements as articulated by Maxine Molyneux (1985), may be explained by the intersecting, or at times, interfering axes of the practical versus strategic gender needs. What this means is that, it is often tempting to romanticize women's groups or movements in terms of empowerment, but as Molyneux carefully warns, participation in an organization does not necessarily equate with empowerment in the real sense of feminist consciousness. Her distinction between practical gender needs, referring to immediate basic needs that tend to be economic, as against strategic gender needs which refer to a unifying ideology on women's interest seem to be useful in explaining women as political actors.

On the other hand, it does not include insights from what other feminists have termed other forms of empowerment like Jo Rowlands' (1997) notion of empowerment from within. This refers to the personal strength formed or inner strength that women are capable of gaining that will transform her disposition and motivation to become an agent of change as shown by Nanette's resolve to become the voice of the voiceless. Further case studies may be needed to put forth these arguments more solidly. What is clear at this point, is the potential of women, as 'moving forces' who are catalysts in sparking dissent and protest in the current Drug War and Duterte's authoritarian ways. They may start out with personal agenda as seeking justice for loved ones but the potential for her empowerment within (power within) wrought by her experience in seeking justice may actually result in another form of empowerment (power to) mobilize other women

like herself. As the women of ZOTO, chimed, they believe women can be potent when they come together and advocate for change. Jokingly they said, especially when they are sexy, they may catch the attention of Digong. Kidding aside, the potential of women to be catalysts for change is immense. Learning from Dan Slater's study on social movements and democratization, it is important to merge the symbolic as well as material aspects for the success of any mobilization or protest action. The Latin American[14] experience likewise strengthens my view that Filipino women may be able to bring in a significant contribution toour current situation. They (women) likewise bring in a different approach to traditional protests to include narratives on family, love and resilience. *Itaguyod and laban*! (Onward with the struggle!) Without reifying the maternal, performative displays of motherhood can have a powerful symbolic appeal as the lessons from Latin America have revealed. Rey Ileto[15] talks about the importance of symbols like these that rally people towards dissent and nationalism. But this does not preclude other types of identity politics that may be brought in (e.g., children and youth). Playing up this notion of motherhood and its entitlements may be an example of meaningful participation for demanding justice. The sustainability of these types of struggles/movements however, may go both ways- it can either be hampered by lack of resources or it can be valuable as a conjunctural event that can be used to push for the agenda of halting the Drug War and instead focus on a Poverty War as mentioned by the ZOTO women. Demand for justice may also mean pushing for accountability for those who committed these atrocious crimes like the *Tokhang* victims. It can also include push for institutional support as mandated by the Magna Carta of Women for the female-headed households devastated by the War on Drugs. This can likewise be done in the Philippines since the country has been a signatory to CEDAW since 1979. Moreover, there are other statutes and laws that can be used to formally institute women's entitlements or citizenship that would solidly push for concrete aid especially for *Tokhang* survivors. This not only entails economic support in terms of livelihood, it should also include psycho-social support to ensure that the survivors are able to overcome their ordeal and live productive lives. In this manner, the other dimensions of democratization will be expanded to include the procedure, content as well as outcome. As the women of ZOTO rightfully pointed out, the nature of democracy at the present moment is hardly meaningful for those in the margins like themselves. For them, democracy means having an effective government that addresses the needs of majority of its citizens like basic services and transforming its priorities to include recognition of social rights and advancement of economic equality. It also means allowing women's participation in electoral politics especially at the barangay level to directly benefit them. The ZOTO women leaders recognize the importance of their participation in barangay activities such as the State of the Barangay Address (SOBA), where they make their presence felt to push for women's agenda and include women's issues such as VAWC (Violence Against Women and Children) and the fight against impunity. For them, the Drug War is not the right solution and merely compounds the vulnerability of the poor who are the target.

Conclusion

With the challenges faced by CSOs in achieving a unified stance against an authoritarian government that seems to enjoy strong support from certain sectors of society, there is a need to

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[14] Among these notable Latin American groups are the Plaza de Mayo mothers of Argentina, COMADRES of El Salvador, Mutual Support Group in Guatemala and Group of Relatives of the Detained-Disappeared in Chile (Westwood and Radcliffe 1993: 16; Chaney 1973)

[15] Pasyon and Revolution, 1979.

come up with fresh perspectives and strategies on leadership that will be relevant to the current political landscape. Moreover, the key role of women leaders who have been in the forefront of the struggle against the authoritarian state need to be viewed as pathways towards harnessing the power and resiliency of Filipino and Asian women as champions of democratic institutions.

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RETURNED WOMEN MIGRANT WORKERS AND MENTAL ILLNESS: THE CHALLENGE OF GRASSROOT WORKING WOMEN IN THE GLOBAL ERA[1]

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Abstract

The desire to improve economic welfare of the family makes many Indonesian women decide to work as migrant workers. Most of them are working in informal sector and they were vulnerable to both physical and non-physical violence. Several reasons underlie women to work as migrant worker despite they have to deal with high risks, such as high salaries, increased family incomes, and experienced to travel abroad. However, not all of women migrant workers achieves all of their goals. Some cases indicate three types of violence toward women migrant workers; violence from families especially husband, violence from social environment, and violence in the workplace. These pressures make many returned migrant worker suffer from mental illness. Working outside the house is still a big challenge for women, especially women in the grassroot. The root of this problem is otherization. Therefore, the position as grassroot women, low-educated, and migrant worker make them in difficult challenges. This research uses a qualitative approach with case study method. This research was conducted in Sukabumi region where it is one of the sources of women migrant workers in Indonesia. Research result shows that women migrant workers are vulnerable to experience with mental illness through several factors surrounds them. Those factors include family, society, and working place which is in form of physical and non-physical pressures to violence act.

Keywords: *women migrant worker; domestic violence; violence in working place; mental illness.*

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[1] Primary source of data in this article based on field work of thematic research's P2KK-LIPI with the title: *Hak Kesehatan dan Jaminan Sosial bagi Penyandang Disabilitas di Kabupaten Daerah Tertinggal tahun 2013.* Then, those data developed and analyzed with different perspective and emphasize. The research on *"Hak Kesehatan dan Jaminan Sosial bagi Penyandang Disabilitas di Kabupaten Daerah Tertinggal tahun 2013"* used inclusion perspective in treating disabilities, while this paper used sociological perspective and intercultural communication with the focus on *othering* to marginal group, which is women migrant worker.

Introduction

Globalization era marked by global market where no boundaries between nations in term of labor. Labor faucet was opened and its impact on competition among people to be hired as worker inside or outside their country. Therefore, people must prepare themselves with capacity and skill to be ready in global competition. It is not an easy task in preparing skill labor to be competed in global market. Eventhough the state has provided policies and training as a way to increase labor's skill, the labors have to self-esteem with their condition in preparing capacity to be hired in global market. Globalization did not differentiate gender in term of labor and gender equality has marked labor competition.

In contra with globalization, the traditional perspective recognizes division of labor based on sexuality. Women nurture the child while men are working outdoors to earn a living. But, industrialization has changed that views. When cheap labor needed, women begin to enter labor market. In this global era, the need for cheap labor goes across national border. This opportunity used by Indonesian women to try their fortunes as migrant workers. Moreover, stereotyping migrant worker as heroes of foreign exchange for the country influence Indonesian citizens to work in other country. Then, numbers of Indonesian migrant workers increased from year to year. BNP2TKI in 2017 reported the number of migrant workers almost 261.820, it increases 27.369 peoples from year 2016 and most of them work in informal sector, such us domestic worker (BNP2TKI, 2017: 1). Although globalization open an opportunity for women taking jobs abroad, but the job for women still limited and mostly in domestic area.

Among Indonesian migrant worker, women are the most in number and reach about 183.561 or 70 percent comparing to men which is only 78.259 or 30 percent in number (BNP2TKI, 2017: 3). This number indicate that Indonesian women more-interested to work in foreign country than men eventhough they only working as domestic worker with several consequences. The data show the fact that most of Indonesian women are working in domestic sector comparing with another job's field. More than 46.849 women migrant worker work as domestic worker (BNP2TKI, 2017: 9). The position as migrant worker makes women take over the role of men as breadwinner. Unfortunately, it does not change the stereotype toward women in the society. Women are still required to run their traditional position which is caring household. That stereotype makes women migrant worker no longer labeled as family heroes although they support the financial for their family, but they were recognized as woman who abandon their domestic duties. It makes women an object especially for the husband. Therefore, cases such as the husband use migrant worker women's money to married another woman or for playing gamble is not a new story. Meanwhile, they also get violent in their working places from employers for several reasons. The accumulation of these violence makes women migrant worker became more stressful and disturbed their mental health.

Violence against women, especially women migrant worker, occurred not only in working places but also happened since in the proses of making decision to go aboard. When patriarchal culture evolved, women migrant worker vulnerable to exploitation and violent act from their family. Women in this sense assumed as the backbone of family where they can support financial family by working aboard (Husna, 2014: 15). Eventhough women as worker is breadwinner for family household and main supporter for family financial, but the husband still holds as head of household and dominate the wife in our patriarchal society. Moreover, illegal recruitment system applied in recruiting women had imposed on women liberty. They bounded by discriminative contract and should pay the agent fee by cutting their salaries. In other side, they will be more

misfortune if when experienced violence from employer in their working places. Above are several negative consequences facing by women migrant worker who working abroad.

Discussion on violence against women migrant worker mostly discuss on the source of violence and physical violence as experienced in their field work. Its lack on notion about the impact of violence to the mental health of women migrant worker. There were some cases depicted that returned migrant worker who suffer with mental illness. In line with that case, how women migrant worker could suffer with mental illness will discuss properly in this paper. What should do by their family, society, and state regarding the case of mental illness suffered by returned women migrant worker will exposed in this article. As the essence, this study found that multiple violence and pressure against women migrant worker put them in vulnerable position eventhough they have been returned to their homeland.

Several studies about violent against women migrant workers has been conducted by researchers with different emphasizes. Nurul Husna (2014) focused on violent toward women migrant worker with multiple violent and it caused by lack of education, unskilled labor, and ignorance on rights and duties as worker. In other side, women decision to be migrated as worker in other country has been studied by Rizkia Tri Utami and Sukamdi (2012) with quantitative method. Their research finding shows that migrated women worker influenced by her friends and family for her first migration, while the second migration was decided by herself. To support this argument, research form research center for population, LIPI (2014), shows that decision on married woman to be migrant worker is on her husband. Meanwhile, for unmarried women is on her parent decision.[2] Although women migrant worker deal with various challenges and violence act, they still decide to migrate aboard and working there and did not notice any consequences from their decision. This paper fills the gap about returned migrant worker and their vulnerability to be mentally illness. This case study will show the impact of multiple violent against women migrant worker to experience mental illness. Therefore, women should be aware with themselves before decided to migrate as worker.

Research Methodology

This research is a qualitative research with case study strategy. Samples were taken by purposive sampling of returned women migrant workers who experienced with mental illness and received health care from local health authorities. In addition, interviews were also conducted with social workers and community leaders. Data collection techniques were conducted using in-depth interview. This research uses a multidisciplinary perspective; sociology and intercultural communication perspective. This research located in Kebonpedes sub-district, Sukabumi regency. Sukabumi regency was chosen as location of this research because it was one of the source of migrant worker in Indonesia and many returners of migrant workers who suffer mental illness due to violence experienced while before, during, and after migration.

Research Highlight

This paper captures the vulnerabilities experienced by migrant workers through narration from informant stories. The result shows that there are three main factors lead women migrant workers experienced with mental illness, such us:

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[2] Tim Migrasi. 2014. *Pengambilan Keputusan Bermigrasi.* In internet online: http://kependudukan.lipi.go.id/id/kajian-kependudukan/dinamika-kependudukan/174-pengambilan-keputusan-bermigrasi. Accesed on 9/2/2018/

a. *Family pressure.* Family committed violence in term of economic and social violence, especially husband's violence. For example: husband used women migrant worker's money to married another woman with a reason of not fulfilling their duty as a wife or for gambling.

b. *Social environment pressure.* The picture of economic success is social burden experienced by woman migrant workers. When they return form aboard, they were expected to build a house, bought rice field or cattle, or bought a car and etc. If they were unsuccessful during their work period, the social environment will blame them. In general, the social environment lacks an empathy toward unsuccessful women migrant workers with their problems, such as unpaid salary and remarry their husband with another woman, having no money to buy rice, etc. Our society always imagine that being migrant worker as successful person.

c. *Employer pressure.* These pressures include economical violence (unpaid salary), physical violence (beaten and trampled), social violence (force to curettage at their own expense with salary cut), and verbal violence (ridiculed and accused of stealing).

Discussion and Research Result

• Main Factors Triggering Mental Illness of Women Migrant Workers

Working outside the house is big challenge for women. *Othering* is the cause of women in difficulties became a leader. The traditional views put men working outside the houses and make the workplace's structure dominated by men and unfriendly toward women. In other side, there are stereotypes on women's occupation. These views built on an assumption that women were considered weak. The challenges for grassroot women more complicated because their low level of education. Therefore, the exist of labors market for women are domestic working which is considered low level and vulnerable to experienced violence.

In fact, violence based on gender relation happened because of no equal relation among women and men in our society. Patriarchal relationship tends to put women experienced with violence. Titik (2003: 11) in Anwar Sitepu (2011: 65) mentions several forms of violence against women, such us rape, domestic violence, gender mutilation, prostitution, pornography, enforced sterilization, molestation/torture, sexual and emotional harassment. Thus, women became object of violence since they receive harassment not only from others but also from their relatives who should be their protector (Sitepu, 2011; 71).

Although most of Indonesian women migrant worker are working in the domestic area, they didn't feel ashamed with three D (dirty, dangerous, demeaning/difficult) jobs since it provide wage to support the family. A description about the job, income's salary, and success stories as migrant worker attract women to decide going abroad for working. But, there were unspoken stories of unsuccess women migrant worker to be notices by women before deciding to go aboard as migrant worker. This paper will depict the unsuccess stories of three ex-migrant workers or returned migrant workers who suffered mental illness. They have been recovered from mental illness after treated by health department and local state with UILS (*Unit Informasi Layanan Sosial*) program.[3] Their stories also depict some factors triggering women migrant worker to be mentally ill, such us:

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[3] Interview with Ojan Sopandi [head of Kebonpedes village] on May 23th, 2013. He mentioned that UILS (*Unit Informasi Layanan Sosial*) was dedicated to helps residents of Kebonpedes village who suffer with mental illness. Since extraordinary incident happened where dozens of Kebonpedes residents suffered with mental illness, this program continued to assist resident with mental illness.

a. Family pressure

One of the important factors triggering women to be mentally ill is pressure from their relative or family. The story of Sarah (33 years) is one of stories which is depict how her spouse became her pressure and lead her to be mentally ill. Sarah is one of returned migrant worker who suffered with mental illness because her husband remarried with another woman using her money (Propiona, et al, 2013: 99). She has been worked as migrant worker in Saudi Arabia for 1,5 years. Although she received good salary and welcomed by her master (employer), she decided to return home before finished the job's contract. She had bad feeling with her husband during her absence in home and working aboard. Her feeling was right and her husband married another woman which is her neighbor. The money that she sent as long her working in Saudi Arabia for her family was used by the husband and his new wife. In fact, she wants her husband to build their house from the money that she sent from Saudi Arabia, but his husband used it for another woman (Propiona, et al., 2013: 100). Sarah felt that her work in other country is useless since no money left and her husband has gone. As Sarah said in the interview:

> *"The salary was sent to my husband, but it spent by him. Finish, it would not return again. Then I recover, relapse, remarry and left again, so I am sick again. In Arab, I was thoughts about my husband and there is a bad feeling that my husband having an affair with another woman. After return from Arab, I know the fact of gossip that my husband having affair with neighbor. Return from Arab but I'm out of money, the money that I give to my husband was finished."[4]*

These conditions effect on women psychology and lead to be mentally illness. Being far away from her lovely husband, but Sarah was betrayed and her money was spent by the husband for married with other women. Distressful feeling in the homeland effect on decrease of her jobs performance. Then, the employer began to disrespect on her presence and reducing the salary. Therefore, among spouse of migrant worker must commit with their marriage to avoid affair since they practice long distance relationship. Unfaithful husband who spent wife's salary for his own need is one of factor triggering women migrant worker become stressful and lead to be mentally illness.

These research findings show that family (husband) engages is social and economic violence against the wife (migrant worker) as they were minority toward men. Many of women migrant workers are married women when they decided to go aboard for working in order to support the family economy. When they go aboard, they have to leave their husband and children for several times based on their contract with the employer. Regularly, they sent half of their salary to fulfill the needs of husband and children. It shows the gender relation shift in the family of women migrant worker where the wife plays its role as breadwinner to meet the needs of the family, while the husband as family finance manager and received livelihood. However, this change of relationship is not accompanied by a change of society's views on women's role as breadwinner. The society did not blame unfaithful husband, but her absence in the family as source of affair. Therefore, social environment engages in social violence because it resistances on family changing and economic jealously. Meanwhile, the relation between husband and women migrant worker changed. As Triana Sofiani (2009) explained that most of relation between husband and women

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In this program, one volunteer assists some people with mental illness next their house to remind them about taking medicine and educate the family what should they do toward their family member who mentally illness.

[4] Interview with Sarah (33 years) on May 24th, 2013.

before migration is vertical patriarchal where the husband as breadwinner and the women as household. It shifted when women decided to migrated as worker and position as household hold by the husband if they capable (Sofiani, 2009: 4-6). Then, it should be an agreement among husband and wife about their position and duty in the family after deciding became migrant worker. If it's lack of agreement and understanding each other, so their marriage will be ruined.

b. Social environment pressure

Despite pressures from their relative, returned women migrant worker also problematize on social pressure of successful migrant. In our society and in the level of grassroot, people tends to portray that being migrant worker and working aboard must be success. It because an assumption that the amount of salary in aboard is better than salary in Indonesia. Moreover, the success story of migrant worker who able to build houses, buying cars, buying rice field, and other became a generalization for who working aboard. The pressure to be successful migrant worker became a barrier to be as they are. Therefore, when women migrant worker failed in achieving those material as long as her present in aboard, she became under pressured and always asking why she failed and she is not able to be as her friend who are success. Those thinking effect on their psychology when they return as failed migrant worker.

The story of Fatimah (45 years), a resident of Jampenenggang, Kebonpedes, Sukabumi, will illustrate how society became the pressure for women migrant worker. Formerly, Fatimah had working in Saudi Arabia for several times and once in Malaysia. Her first migration to Arab was success and she able to buy rice field eventhough still single. After her marriage, she went to Saudi Arabia again and sending her salary to her husband for their household. Her husband is a responsible man. He only used the money for their household's need because he could not able to work outside for nurturing their children (Propiona, 2013: 94). In this case, the relative or spouse is not a pressure for women migrant worker.

In her next migration, she works at Malaysia for 18 months and failed. She goes to Malaysia on her 3 months pregnancy. Her employer noticed it after her coming and bring her to the hospital for curette without any discussion and her permission. All of hospital cost charged to Fatimah by cutting her salary. During in Malaysia, she moved from one employer to another and it effect on her working permit. Finally, she became illegal worker and repatriated home through Batam to Jakarta.

Her last migration to Malaysia is a start of failure in her life. After her return for Malaysia, she starts to sell her property such us rice field as entrepreneurship capital. Then, she bought a car for public transportation. But, the income did not suit her family need and she sell it to fulfill their need. Being a failed migrant worker, failed entrepreneur, and unable to build good house stressed Fatimah. Moreover, that pressure from society to be successful migrant worker and lack empathy from the neighbor while she lacks of food for her family makes her in depression. Therefore, she began to shouted in the village to attract people attention. On the interview, Fatimah said, *"I did not have rice to cook, I shouted but no one of my neighbor who has millions money helps me"*[5].

From Fatimah story, we could notice that society play role in influencing someone to be mentally illness, particularly for returned women migrant worker. Society imagination of success migrant and lack of society help for unsuccess migrant worker pressures women. Although Fatimah experienced violence from the employer during in Malaysia, it did not trigger her to

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[5] Interview with Fatimah (45 years), May 24th, 2013.

feel depression in essence. But, her returned as failed migrant worker from Malaysia and impact on society view, lack of society helps during her poorness periods are the factor pressuring her and make her in depression. This depression leads her to be mentally illness.

Employer pressure

Meanwhile, employers commit in a violence against migrant workers because their Women migrant workers are vulnerable to violence in their workplace. Moreover, they were unskilled labor who work as domestic helpers and has no health insurance or guarantees as laborers. Therefore, they still remain in quite although they get harassment because no official document in hand, such as passport and working permit (Husna, 2014: 17). Moreover, extended working hours make them physically and mentally tired. Therefore, the form of violence against migrant workers is very vulgar and various.

As described in the story of Fatimah (45 years) above about her experience in working place at Malaysia. In her first coming to Malaysia, the employer knows her pregnancy and decided to abort her 3 months fetus without a discussion and permit. She was taken to the hospital for abortion and the cost charged from her salary. As long as her presence in Malaysia, she was shifted from one employer to another, from one kind of jobs to another. Two of jobs that she remembers during in Malaysia is working as nanny and working at plantation. She has been exploited as worker and did not received appropriate salary. As many stories of another migrant workers, Fatimah has been under pressure from her employers and its impact on her psychology and mentality.

Another story on employer pressure come from Aisyah, a returned women migrant worker and resident of Jampenenggang, Kebonpedes, Sukabumi. It was a little bit difficult to hear a complete story from Aisyah since she has not fully recover from mentally illness. The story of her experiences as migrant worker told by her sister and mother. As her sister and mother told to the researcher, Aisyah is a success migrant worker for her first till the third migration and working aboard. But, her last migration to Kuwait became a trigger of her mental illness because she received improper treatment from the employer. Aisyah returned home by her sponsor[6] and indication of mentally illness appears as long as her stay in the shelter. The sponsor told her family and inform that Aisyah has returned but in condition of mentally illness. After treated by her family, she could tell the story and what happened with herself. During her work in Kuwait, she gets bad treatment from her husband's employer. If she considered fail in cooking rice, her employer got angry and trampling on Aisyah with shoes. The bad behavior and bad treatment from the employer make Aisyah depression and feeling oppressed. That condition makes Aisyah being moved from one employer to another till she deported to Indonesia (Propiona, 2013: 97-98). Although Aisyah has been treated and get medicine for her illness, but there is no spirit and lost the passion from herself to be heal from her illness. Aisyah's mother even says, "it's useless to be treated, it can be cured"[7]. Torture and bad treatment from the employer imprint on Aisyah psychology eventhough she has been returned to Indonesia. Therefore, she lost the spirit and struggle to take medicine even the family forced her.

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[6] Sponsor is another term to call middleman or *calo* who recruit men or women for working aboard. In internet online: http://www.beritasatu.com/makro/359290-calo-tki-bertebaran-di-bogor.html. Sidney Jones (2000) also use term middleman and *calo* to refer who recruit girls from Dayak ethnic group to work as Maid in Malaysia (Jones, Sidney, 2000: 66).

[7] Interview with Aisyah's mother, May 25th, 2013

Pressure from the employer is one of the most factor triggering women migrant worker being mentally illness. Both story of Fatimah and Aisyah above depict the situation of women vulnerability being migrant workers. The employers tend and able to exploit migrant worker since their weak position as women, migrant, and unskilled labor. There are many stories on torturing women migrant worker by employers as captured and blow up by mainstream media, such us televisions and newspapers. Most of stories on torturing to women migrant worker emphasized on physical effect rather than psychological, mental and long terms effect from pressures and tortures experienced by women migrant workers. Sarah, Fatimah and Aisyah stories shows that women migrant worker could be mentally illness and vulnerable being exploited by their employer, family, and society. Thus, women should think more than twice to decide whether work as migrant worker or not since they are vulnerable to be tortured physically and physiologically or mentally.

- **Anxiety and Mental Illness**

Migrant workers recruitment process is not easy. Exploitation occurs at every stage in both the country of origin and the receiving countries. In a book entitled "Making Money Off Migrants, The Indonesian Exodus to Malaysia, Jones (2000: 142) mentions that: *"Abuse of migrants take place in their home country before they leave, in the receiving country where they work, and in the home country again after they return"*. Jones also said that abuse of migrants in home country is caused by corruption at every stage of recruitment process. At the village level, migrant workers are recruited by brokers (called sponsors). Sponsor gets a fee from labor recruitment agency. Then, the recruitment agency takes care of all necessary documents including passport, visa, medical check-up. The data in the document is sometimes falsified. This is where human trafficking takes place. When Indonesia has not had biometric data (e-ID card / electronic identity card) yet, identity and data of migrant workers, take for example: name, age, and health data sometimes falsified. At this fist stage, migrant workers especially women has been exploited by some actors.

Then in receiving countries, migrant workers also vulnerable to receive abuse from their labor agencies, employers and inhabitant. The story of Fatimah above depicts one case of the violence of women migrant workers since the departure from the home village. Fatimah's departure as her last migrant worker to Malaysia ends miserably. Before leaving her home country, Fatimah was pregnant whereas the requirement for women working abroad one of them is not pregnant. Although she is pregnant, Fatimah pass and got medical check-up as document requirement. It was mean that Fatimah pass from medical check-up and she got inaccurate medical check-up data. This was the beginning of Fatimah's suffering.

After she arrived at receiving country (Malaysia), employer brought to hospital for abortion with cut salary cost. Because Fatimah is not in a good health, employer sent Fatimah back to her labor agency. Labor agency hire Fatimah to another employer. This is the beginning of Fatimah to be illegal (Illegal can be caused undocumented, overstayed or employed with an employer not in accordance with the working permit). Then, Fatimah work for one employer to another employer. She changed the type of work such us as a housekeeper, as a maid in a used car showroom, in the agricultural sector, and she finally deported through Batam.

When arrived at home country, migrant workers often got bad treatment such us difficult to exchange their money and to take car rental for returning to the village. Moreover in the home village, the community is less empathy towards the women migrant worker who mischief. It described at the story of Fatimah who returned from Malaysia did not bring money and at the same time her husband's public transport business was less successful. Getting lack respect from

her neighbors and economic factors make Fatimah stress and suffers mental illness. Because of disturbing neighborhood, the neighbor put Fatimah at prisoner's stock. At the first time, Fatimah be prisoner's stock for 27 days, and the second for 3 months. It was terminated after the news of its was heard outside the village. Now, Fatimah already healed, but she still has obsession be rich. She wants to own something like rice cooker, water pump, bathroom, and ceramic flooring.

Meanwhile, Aisyah is a women migrant worker who received harsh treatment in receiving country which ended up as illegal migrant. His departure as a migrant worker to Kuwait was treated badly by the employer. Aisyah trampled on male employers with shoes, so that Aisyah to be expelled from work. This is the beginning of Aisyah becoming illegal. Persecution and illegal status make Aisyah suffer with mental illness since in receiving country. By the agency, Aisyah was hired to move from one employer to another for 9 times within 5 months. Finally, Aisyah was discharged from Kuwait to the labor agency. The labor agency repatriates to the sponsor in home country, then the family took Aisyah to the labor agency in Jakarta. Labor agency only give Rp 500.000 compensation as much as 3 times. At home village, Aisyah's husband did not want to treat her. The husband returns Aisyah back to her parents. Six years ago, Aisyah had recovered and remarried. But, her new husband spent Aisyah's treasures and money. Aisyah despair and not want to recover. Now, Aisyah has been ill for 7 years. When Aisyah was young, she was beautiful and cheerful. Suffering from being tortured by the employer and divorced by her husband became the trigger of her mental illness.

The story of Fatimah and Aisyah is a practice of human trafficking done simultaneously from home country to receiving country. Human traders ranging from sponsors, labor agencies in home country and labor agencies in receiving countries treat Fatimah and Aisyah like commodities. Fatimah and Aisyah had no right to decide their fate. As a commodity, Fatimah and Aisyah moved from one employer to another employer.

Human being is a living thing. Fatimah worked for a family with different culture. In Malaysia, Fatimah worked for families of Malay's ethnic and Chinese ethnic, while Aisyah worked for Arab families. When Fatimah and Aisyah will interact with people who have different cultures, they feel uncertainty and anxiety (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997: 13-15). Uncertainty is an inability to predict or explain the behavior, feelings, attitudes, behaviors and values of others with different cultures. While anxiety is feeling uncomfortable, tense, worried about what will happen. Anxiety arises because the fear will happen things less desirable. Anxiety occurs in Fatimah and Aisyah each time the employer changed. Poor and bad experience in the past was effect on Fatimah's adaptation process. Anxious and feeling hopeless can be a mental illness seed.

Otherization and Inequality

The analysis of this research employs intercultural communication perspectives. It just because of frequent conflict between migrant and employer/inhabitant due to cultural differences and adapting to local culture. The main problem is 'other'-ing or *otherization*. Otherization is a 'culture first' view of individuals (Halyday, Hyde and Kullman, 2004: 180). Cultural differences between employers and migrant workers make the interaction between employers and migrant workers does not always go smoothly. The approach of intercultural communication mentions that there are cultural influences that affect the communication process called cultural variability (Gudykunst and Kim 1997: 53-74):

- *Individualism – collectivism.* Society that has a humanist individualist culture tends to take care of personal issues, whereas in societies with collectivist cultures humans tend to be tied up in certain groups and have loyalty to the group.

- *Uncertainty avoidance.* Community members with high uncertainty avoidance usually low tolerance, avoids conflict and competition, wants consensus in solving problems but can't accept behavior that is inconsistent with the culture, shows emotions, difficult to change. This group considers something different as a danger, motivation to achieve low achievement, full of ritual and polite.

- *Power distance.* Power is not distributed evenly. High power distance accepts that power is unevenly distributed. There are emerges superior and subordinate relationships. Low power distance society considers individuals equal, this is a precondition of freedom and prosperity because all individuals have access to resources.

- *Masculinity – feminity.* Communities living in a high culture of masculinity system emphasize on gender differences, roles, performance, ambition, independence. While people living in a system of low masculinity cultures (high femininity) are more fluid in assessing gender differences, roles, quality of life, independence.

If the case of Fatimah and Aisyah placed in the frame of intercultural communication perspectives, there are 2 (two) cultural variability that caused *otherization*:

1. *Power distance.* Employer has high power distance, so employer can do abortion without Fatimah's permission. Labor agencies has high power distance, so that agents can transfer Fatimah from one employer to another employer. Neighbor also have high power distance when they make decision to treat Fatimah as a prisoner's stock. The same thing happened to Aisyah. The employer physically abused Aisyah because of the power distance. Then, the agent showed his power by moving Aisyah 9 times within 5 months to get new working places although its failed in the end.

2. *Masculinity - feminity.* Receiving country where Aisyah works is a society with a high masculinity culture that emphasizes on gender differences. Trampling with shoes is a symbol of a lack of respect for women.

Otherization also increases due to differences. Hurst (2001: 3) explains that inequality is the impact of differences in possession, places, wealth, experiences, bodies, races, genders, and power. Inequality is institutionalized rather than individual. Inequality is a structure that is produced and then reproduced. Fatimah was often prejudice as a thief by her employer, while Fatimah felt not steal anything. This is a production of inequality in terms of possession, wealth and places on Indonesian migrant workers reproduced by Fatimah's employers. Production of inequality where produced by the media is called '*Indon*' which has look down; somebody perform menial work that Malaysian don't want to do it. Sometimes the term contains bad stereotype and prejudice that some of migrant workers are thief. In the article entitled "Migrant Workers and The Issue of Security: A Case Study of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia", Widyawati (2009: 108) describe that negative view of migrants in the Malaysian Media promotes fear from the host community.

Conclusion

In sum, pressures experienced by women migrant workers makes them vulnerable to suffer with mental illness. It was appeared since in their workplace and therefore they sent it back by employer or it appeared after they returned or deported to Indonesia. The impact of the pressures experienced by women migrant workers makes them vulnerable to be mentally disorder. This condition of course impact on their family financial where they play important role as family funding formerly. Later, they became mentally disorder and rely on her family support.

Violence against women migrant workers depicts that women still remain in vulnerable group. As vulnerable group, they always experienced with violence form various side ranging from employers, society to husband. It can be both physical and non-physical violence. These findings support Sidney Jones (2000: 142) thesis that abuse of migrant worker takes places in their home country before they leave, in the receiving country where they work, and in the home again country after they return. Therefore, multiple violence experienced by women migrant worker before leave, in work-place, and after return to home country can lead women became mentally illness.

From the narrative of returned migrant workers who has recovered from mental illness, there was several factors triggering women (especially migrant workers) became psychotic disabilities or mentally ill, such as violence from family–failure to defend marriage and husband married another woman during her migration as worker aboard, violence from the society–demands for success as migrant workers and the ideal type of success stressed women migrant worker, and violence from the employer–violent in working place, unpaid salary, sexual harassment, beaten, torture and others.

This case study fills the gap on the study about impact and vulnerability faced by women migrant worker who suffer from mental illness. The narrations of returned women migrant worker who survived from mental illness depict the vulnerability of women. Then, the women should think more to make a decision became migrant worker since there a lot of challenges and vulnerability despite the imagination of successful women who working abroad and return to their homeland with bunch of money in their wallet. This research finding emphasized on the psychological effect from pressures experienced women migrant worker in their working place, society, and family. Not only physical torture which is noted and focused by media as experienced by most of women migrant worker, but there also physiological effect triggered by several pressures that must be concerned by women while deciding that she must go aboard or not.

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DAYAH AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINTS WOMEN IN NORTH ACEH (AN ANALYSIS FOR SPACE AND POWER RELATION IN DAYAH)[1]

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Abstract

This paper discuss about how the education institution (Dayah) in Aceh Utara become a treat for women. Sexual abuse is a form of violance that experienced by some women in their boarding school (Dayah). Dayah should be safe for women but in reality Dayah is actually a place with high rates of sexual abuse in Aceh. The hypothesis of this paper that Dayah is not a safe place for woman and it is because of the spatial setting of Dayah that "threat" woman and power relation between the perpetrators who are usually the leader of Dayah "Tengku" and Student, the next concept is hegemonic. This paper uses a Qualitative method with In-depth interview, observation and focus group discussion

Keywords: Dayah, Women, Violance, Spatial setting, Power Relation

Introduction

Dayah is one of Aceh's traditional education institutions, especially in North of Aceh. The reason why this institution has been the choice of North Aceh society is not only the trust from society, but also economic factor. Educational fee at traditional Dayah is relatively cheap. Thus,

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[1] The data in this paper refers to the results of research about **"Protection and Women's Right Protection in North Aceh, for Qanun Study No. 3 of 2012 on the Implementation of Dayah Education in North Aceh."** that conducted by "Relawan Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan" (RPuK) and KOMNAS Perempuan "

low income parents prefer it to be alternative school for their children. According to the latest data, North of Aceh is the poorest regency in Aceh based on its population (115,05 thousand people), although based on the percentage its rank is nine (9) (BPS 2017). High poverty number and populous area made North of Aceh having most of Dayah quantity (BPS 2011 and BPS 2013). Besides, a far access from state school has also became the reason why parents registered their kids at Dayah. In another condition, some Dayah located nearby state school, so the children will stay at Dayah (tengku) to learn Islamic teaching during morning and night, then able to come to school tomorrow. This made Dayah seems like their second home and Dayah leader (tengku) to replace the parents' roles (FGD, 31 Oktober 2017).

Dayah is so important that made it as the background of the existence of Effectuation of North Aceh Dayah Education Qanun no.3 year 2012. In fact, North of Aceh regency became pioneer since it firstly established the Qanun before other regency or even provincial government did so. However, This Qanun is still have not yet answered the main problem in the context of protecting the students and female from sexual harassment and rape.

According to sexual harassment data in Aceh year 2012-2014, North of Aceh regency hold 4 (fourth) position in the rate of highest sexual violence after North of Aceh with 44 cases, Aceh Pidie 43 cases, and Middle of Aceh with 37 cases during 2012-2014. In detail, 9 cases happened in 2012, 8 year 2013 and 12 happened in 2014 with total 29 cases. Surprisingly, from perpetrator's background which showed 6,3% of the perpetrators were teacher and it was increased to be 25% in 2014. (Saiful 2015:50-56)

At least, there were 3 (three) sexual harassment and rape cases that was conducted by Dayah leader towards his/her student. This fact contradicts peoples belief towards Dayah as a safe place for their children to continue their study and learn about religious teaching. In addition, Dayah has initiative to put female students boarding home at the back side of the school nearby the leader's house. It is considered a safe place because the Dayah's leader is believed able to protect them. However that spasial setting has opened chance for sexual harrasment and rape by Dayah' Teungku. It has been proved by the Centre of Women and Children Empowerment team that noted 3 (three) sexual harrasmentand rape took place in 2016 at North Aceh with Dayah leader as perpetrator and female student as victim.

Besides Spasial Setting, relations among Teungku Dayah and students also become the reason behind. Tengku Dayah is considered as second parent , wise, thoughtful and respected – creates doctrine in society to obey order and wish from Tengku Dayah. This was not only experienced by students but also by people in general, as well as their own parent. The effect of high power from Dayah leader even hampers the process of case disclosure. Whenever the perpetrator makes a confession, some friend even family will not believe if Dayah leader which their considered sainted doing that (FGD,31 Oktober 2017).

The descriptive story above deliver this writing to hypothesize that imbalance spasial setting in Dayah and strong power between students and Tengku Dayah resulted that Dayah as insecure place for student. In fact, settling down the case through custom, referring to Qanun and head of regency rules became their means to prevent from legal process.

1.3 Research Question

How does spatial setting and power relations provide opportunities for abuse and rape of women in Dayah?

2. Research Methodology

This chapter present the study area, selection of repondents and the data collection. The method that will be use is the qualitative, this method is use in order to interpret the social problem using in-depth interview method to analyze the problem of sexual harassment in boarding school (Dayah). We also will conducted the observation, to observe spasial setting in Dayah. Moreover, we also conducted Focus Group Discussion with stakeholder.

2.1 Research Area

This research was conducted in 3 sub-districts in North Aceh regency. (1) Alue Keujreun Village. Kecamatan Tanah Luas, North Aceh. (2) Gampong Meunasah Blang, Kecamatan Syamtalira Bayu, Aceh Utara dan (3) Desa Matang Teungoh, Kecamatan Cot Girek Kabupaten Aceh Utara.

2.2 Data collection

Data in this research is obtained through observation, FGD, In-depth interview, Document, tracking media:

Observasi:

Observtion was conducted in Dayah, that included spatial setting, access to the facility and interaction between students with teacher, tengku with santri, and santri and fellow santri.

Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

First FGD was Conducted on Tuesday, October 31, 2017. Place in Rajawali Hotel with Theme "Access and Protection of Women's Rights in the Implementation of Qanun no 3 of 2012 on the Provision of Education of Dayah in Aceh Utara". Second FGD II was held On Monday, 13 November 2017 at Harun Square. With Theme "Access and Protection of Women's Rights in the Implementation of qanun no.3 of 2012 on the Implementation of Acehnese Dayah Education".

These two FGDs invite stakeholders among others; Head of Dayah Agency, North Aceh Education Office, Dayah Leader, Academician, NGO Representative, and Media. Some participants were respondents who were interviewed before the FGD was conducted.

Depth Interview:

In depth interview was conduted with victims, families of victims, TP2A, Dayah Leaders and staff, Academics, heads of education and Dayah Director of Legal Aid Institute

Document:

Document review was conducted on Qanun academic script, Qanun of North Aceh Dayah Education No.3 Year 2012 and Regent Regulations on the Implementation of Dayah Education. Includes reading material relevant to this research

Tracking media:

Searches for media coverage are required to obtain additional information related to cases of sexual harassment and rape in Dayah in North Aceh

2.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis related to data reduction organizes the irregural data into more understandable data by coding anda developing categories and summarizing data into a simple pattern and arrangement. In addition, the interpretation of the data pertains to the meaning and understanding of the words and actions of the research participants who with their concepts and theories raise expository findings (Idrus 2009)

3. Research Highlight

3.1 Definition of Sexual Harassment

The sexual harassment is defined as unwanted sexual attention, rude sexual comment and unnecessary sexual touching (Macmillan et al. 1999: 307). The sexual harassment was first recognized in 1960 but many of the studies in sexual harassment focused only in school and place of work. Only a few study of the sexual harassment took place in public places. It is because as long as the sexual violence in public space has not been in stage of physical attack, it is not a crime. The public space is seen as an "incidental route", a place where people have direction to go somewhere. Unlike in private space, there is no inspection of manner or etiquette in the street.

Rhodha et al. (1999), revealed three arguments that can explain why sexual violence often happen: firstly, "the social-structural argument" which imply about imbalance power relation between women and men. Because men have more access to education, information and other resources, this leads to the subordinate position of women. Secondly, "the socio - cultural argument" relaying that the role of women was socially constructed within the society because of the culture and norm that support "male violence against women." The gender role and relation also legitimates as normal between the "superior male and inferior female. Women are associated as sexual object while men "aggression is eroticized." The gender relation in public space recommended that women do not belong to public space and if those women are in public space, they should be accompanied by someone. Women also should avoid getting attention from others by well-behaving and not using tight clothes in public. Because the public space i.e., street is a territory of men, The sexual harassment is justified and teasing of women in the street is a sign of gratitude. These form of sexual harassment alarmed the women that their presence in public space are inappropriate for they are not free from men's scrutiny (sexual comments) of their appearance. Thirdly "the social control argument" implies that the social control "maintain the status quo of male dominance." It is based on the assumption that women should restrict themselves by not going to certain places at night to prevent the possibility of sexual harassment in public space. Moreover, women should be well-mannered in order to accepted in society (Rhonda et al. 1999). According to Rhonda et al. (1999), the sexual harassment incident makes

women feel fear, hopeless, blaming themselves, depression and anger. Rhonda et al. (1999) explained a number of reasons why the victim usually not take an action when facing sexual harassment. "The ambiguity of some types of sexual interaction; the acceptance of norms and myths that tolerant male violence against women and hold women responsible for managing sexual interaction; women concern that the harasser will be unduly punished; and the fact that much harassment is not severe, which is more likely to result in assertive responses".

Thompson (1994:320) explained that American women are faced with domestic violence as well as sexual harassment experiences in work place, the cause of which he attributes to prolific use of the female body in television advertisements, ultimately leading to the "rape culture." Whereas as the impact women recognize that they are completely unsafe in public space. Women

have tendency to assume that every stranger is harmful for they can not recognize whether the stranger has intention to harass or not.

3.2 Women and Fear approaches

Fear causes women to isolate their selves from certain places, avoid going out in the night and limit their activities. According to Koskela (1999:111), women are "unequal victim because they are socially and physically vulnerable to victimization." The geographic behaviors of individual within society are based on the assumption "that human spatial behavior is determined by preference only" (Koskela 1999: 112). Moreover, to understand about the problem within women and their spatial exclusion, one should acknowledge that spatial problems are not solely questions of mobility or distribution in physical space (Koskela 1999: 112). People use the space not based on preference but on social construct of power relation. Fear causes women to have "spatial restricted life" because they are in powerless situation. Fear and threat of violence contributed to women's decision in choosing their direction or place to go (Koskela 1999:112).

According to Pain (1997: 233) "the spatiality of fear has effects on behavior and the quality of urban life." There is connection between fear and politics, social and economic inequality. People, who are incapable of integrating themselves within the society, who are deprived of access to the resources and people who are powerless in the community possibly fear crime. Further, Pain (1997: 234) stressed about "social disadvantages" brought from the fear of crime. Fear will affect the activities and way of life of people. The personal geographies between women and men were different. Women's fear of men's violence makes them restrict their mobility's within the city. Further, women never attempt to go to certain places and never respond if someone knocks the door. How women choose activities and jobs and how they spend their leisure time is affected as well. Women are afraid of going out at night for they are afraid especially when alone. They choose the not risky directions and places and go there at the safe time. Women feel safer in private space than in public space. The places and condition are linked to possibility of harassment.

Pain (1997: 235) stated that many incidents of attack and harassment were done by people that are known by the victim. Most women believe that the possibility of attack is higher in public space, whereas the sexual harassment often happens in private space. Regarding this, the interesting question may be posed: Why are most women not very afraid of the threat of violence by people that they know and rather more afraid of strangers? This assumption created mismatch information that comes from the community, media and family. According to Koskela (1999: 115), fear is socially constructed in everyday life through discussion and warning within society, parental advice, and the media that expose the issue and "tend to blame women victim for their destiny." All women who experienced harassment in the street become traumatic. Koskela (1999: 116) stated that "violence inflicted on a woman by one particular man becomes fear of violence from any man." Fear makes women put attention on condition around them and tend to be paranoid and focus on a little signal of danger.

The experience of sexual harassment affected deeply the women causing them to not just be silent but fight back due to anger. It is hard to guess which reaction would be fit in order to help women to overcome the incident (Koskela 1999).

2.3.1 The justification of gender planning

According to Moser (1993:1) the aim of gender planning is "the emancipation of women from their subordinate position, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment." The main concept of gender planning is highlight the different role between the men and women in the community that leads to their different needs. It becomes essential that "when identifying and implementing planning needs it is important to disaggregate within communities, households and families on the basis of gender" (Moser 1986: 2). The planner generally based planning policy on the western planning theory which consists of three basic assumptions that refer to the division of labor in the family. Firstly, family includes the father, mother and children. Secondly, the families divisions of labor focus on the man being define to have a productive role while the woman plays role as a reproductive worker. Thirdly, the family functions as one unit of socio-economic wherein all adult members have equal access to resources and equal position in decision making concerning the family livelihood. However, this concept is not relevant with the position of women in the household as housewives having reproductive role and are secondary income earner. The women's position is not equal with the men because the latter plays roles such as being the breadwinner, productive worker and head of the family. In many countries, this western planning theory of division of labor within household is seen as normal. As the result of implementation of the policy, the government refers to the traditional planning stereotype of household arrangement, without taking into account the woman's unequal position with man within the family (Moser 1993:16). For example, in data collection for beneficiary of agricultural project, the women's participation is not counted as recipient because male is assumed as the head of the family. Further, the women's participation become unseen making them disqualified for the beneficiary of agricultural project such as credit, land, agricultural training and other services.

The conceptual rationale in gender planning is raised from feminist theory and WID (women in development) / GAD (gender and development) approaches. It concerns about the gender blindness in policy planning because of incorrect assumption about the women within the household causing less consideration for the women's role and needs in planning the policy (Connelly 2008:8). Women in development (WID) approach are based on the assumption that if women are included, development process will be much better. Women are not miss out but considered despite its reproductive role. On the other hand, the gender in development is pointing about gender rather than women, where women subordinated position were socially constricted in patriarchal society. As Moser argue "that to focus mainly on women in isolation is to ignore the real problem." It emphasizes on gender relation when designing measures to "help" women in development process" (Moser 1993: 3). The gender planning purpose promotes the liberation of women from their subordinate position, so women and men have equality and equity in the society. Gender planning focuses on the differences between women and men in accessing economic, social, cultural, and political sectors, which helps to correct the inequity between the sexes (Moser 1993: 1).

2.3.3 Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

In planning concept, the term gender interest is known as gender needs. This part explains the difference between the strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. Men and women not only have different roles but also have different needs. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the gender interest in order to integrate planning concept of gender needs. In planning for low income women in developing country, it is important to see their interest. To determine their

interest, it requires classifying the interest into three categories: (1) women interest, (2) strategic gender interest and (3) practical gender interest (Moser 1993: 36). The "women interest" is associated with biological similarity; however the ethnicity, race, religion and class also determine the interest of these women in common. Women have same interest but it is labeled as gender interest (Moser 1993: 36).

It is important to differentiate between the strategic gender needs and practical gender needs in gender planning. Because the dissimilarity of needs most of the times are confusing, therefore the explanation is significant if realistic parameters are recognized in order to find out in planning process what can be achieved and the constraint of different policy involvement. According to Moser (1993: 39) the definition of strategic gender needs is:

> "Strategic gender needs are the needs of women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategy gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender division of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs help women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position"

The ideas of strategic gender needs are those needs that develop from analysis of women's unequal position with men. It is refer to natural relationship between men and women. The strategic gender needs have been used to help women to break out the subordinate position from men in society. This subordinate position depends on the social political and cultural term. The strategic objectives consist of the elimination of the division of power, the right to choose of childbearing and reducing the burden of women's domestic work. The strategic gender needs believe that the top down state intervention will not have much impact on change of the women subordinate position. However, to transform the gender inequality can only be achieved with the bottom up intervention from women's organization.

Moser (1993: 40) explain about the practical gender needs that mean:

> "Practical gender needs are the needs of women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenges the gender division of labour or women's subordination position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment"

In contrast with strategic gender needs, the practical gender needs emerged from the actual condition of women in the community. This concept is not trying to change the existing women condition in community but created the policy that acknowledge the women's position in society and trying to reduce the women's burden with external intervention as well as planning the policy that are sensitive gender (Moser 1993: 41)

4. Research Results

4.1 Spatial Setting in Dayah

4.1.1 Spatial Setting, Sexual Harassment and Rape Vulnerability in Dayah

In general, Dayah Spatial Setting is designed to maintain safety and avoid threats that might come from male-female interaction either from within Dayah or outside. Restriction on male-female interaction in Dayah is a common thing. There are two approaches to implement the spatial setting: *First,* women are provided space at the back. *Second,* students are required to stay in a place/dorm that is very close to where the head of the Dayah lives as he is considered to be the one who is able to protect the students.

The first spatial setting comes to have female students stay behind the Dayah building. This idea emerged because Dayah building is considered to be the safest place for women to stay and this is a common policy applied in many Dayahs in North Aceh. One of the Dayah heads confirmed that the Dayah puts the female students at the back in order to minimize the students' interaction with others outside the Dayah. (FGD-2)

The second Spatial setting is providing students a dorm located near by the house of Dayah head. This setting aims to give safety environment to the students as their Dayah head or teachers can give them protection and supervision towards the interaction between male-female students or others outside the Dayah.

The safety purpose of the spatial setting, however, has led to potential spaces of sexual harassment towards the female students. This threat came from the interaction among the students and the teachers within their shared environment.

According to an observation conducted in one of the Dayah in Nisam sub-district, North Aceh, the female students' dorm is located only 5-6 steps away from the teacher's house. The observation found that there is a case of sexual harassment and rape happening in a room that is believed to be safe to stay. The room, where the sexual harassment and rape took place, is an empty place and located between the students' dorm and the Dayah head's house.

The spatial setting addressed for the students' dorm and daya head's house has ended up with two reasons why sexual harassment and rape can occur; first, the students have an easy access to come into the Dayah head's house as they consider him as the one who is replacing the absence of their parents during their time in the Dayah . This situation can explain how the rape committed by the Dayah head towards his female student happened in his bed room. Second, as the guidance the Dayah head feels that he has an authority to watch and get closer to the female students for safety reason. In addition, along the entrance path to the Dayah head's house there is a bath room provided for the female students, where the path is also passed by the Dayah head or visitors. So all of them pass the same path that gives everyone a space to see each other by accident. (Observation 2017)

During an informal interview with one of the Dayah heads to discuss the sexual harassment and rape happening in North Aceh, he insisted that Dayah heads should not live very close to the female students' dorm. At the same time, however, he lives near by his female students' dorm. Some of them were even sitting in the terrace of his house at that time. This fact shows a contradiction between the problem being faced by the Dayah and the solution he proposed.

The sexual harassment and rape happening in North Aceh shows that the spatial setting designed to protect female students has, in contradiction, created spaces for sexual harassment and rape. This unexpected result came up because the "safe room" can create safe feeling to anyone

to do anything, and at the same time, the female students are not very much aware of threats of sexual harassment and rape that can happen to them.

4.1.2 Limitation of Facilities

In general, Dayah is divided into two models. First, traditional Dayah or commonly known as Dayah salafi. Second, modern Dayah. The difference between these two Dayahs can be seen from their facilities. A Dayah salafi usually has less facilities than those in modern Dayah. This facility limitation actually does not meet the formal Dayah qualification based on the regulation applies in North Aceh regarding Dayah establishment, i.e. "Qanun Penyelenggaran Pendidikan Dayah Aceh Utara" (Qanun 2012). This paper is discussing Dayah salafi, where the insufficient facilities contribute to create possibilities of sexual harassment and rape within the Dayah. For instance, many of the Dayahs still use one shared bathroom for both male and female students.

Moreover, the bathroom wall is only as high as a person's neck and covered by used banners, which does not meet the standard requirement of a bathroom. As a consequence, people outside the bathroom can see the shoulder and head of a person who is using the bathroom, especially if the outside people are in a higher position. Another fact is that there is a Dayah where the terrace of the Dayah head's house is in a higher surface than the female students' bath room.

The description above proves that insufficient facilities can be another factor leading to sexual harassment and rape. Therefore, it is important for the society and the government who made the regulation on the Dayah requirements to support the availability of sufficient facilities in Dayah in order to avoid the possibilities of sexual harassment and rape to happen within *Dayah.*

4.2 Power Relation

The power relation in this paper refers to an imbalanced relation between Dayah head and students. In this case, Dayah head is the owner of the Dayah as well as the Islamic scholar at the same time as they are considered to be those who have excellent understanding of Islam with noble attitudes. Therefore, in some cases, Dayah head is considered to be able to replace the absence of the students' parents during their time in Dayah. A Dayah head even seems to have a higher authority than the students' own parents, while the students do not have any authority within the ayah.

The power relation unfortunately can also lead to possibilities of sexual harassment and rape within Dayah. The reasons are first, the cult on Dayah heads, and second is that there is no such a mechanism for reporting and victim protection.

4.2.1 Cult to Dayah Heads

Cult can be seen in a person who has such a charisma, which comes up from the interaction between a person who gets the cult and the people who give him/her the cult. This cult refers to a view from the society on a person who gets the cult and the profile quality of the person (Horikosi:1987:213). The cult in this paper describes three points of view: First, holy/charismatic person. Second, a Dayah head is given a strategic position in government institutions. Third, nobody can interfere the authority of Dayah heads.

A Dayah head is seen as a charismatic person. This figure is a result of the cult process made by the Dayah, the society, and also the government. Dayah, head of Dayah, and place of Dayah are all united into one institution. Dayah Malikussaleh is an example. It is located in Rawa Itiek

village, Pantonlabu, Tanah Jambo Aye sub-district, North Aceh. The Dayah was established in 1970 and took times until it achieved its glory during the leadership of H. Ibrahim Bardan commonly known as Abu Paton. Tengku Dayah and the place where the Dayah is located has become one unity. Abu/Abi is a nickname for Dayah heads. It has the same meaning as father or parent, so Abu Panton means a parent of Panton or the people of Panton. The article on Cutl to Religious Figures: Teungku Tarmizi and His Teaching in Indrapuri, Great Aceh Nurchalis Sofyan (Salim 2010) argues similar thing. Giving Tengku/Abu/Abi as a nickname for Dayah heads shows that the figure of a Tengku is very much respected by the local society. Thus, when people put a high respect to Islamic scholars or Tengku, they will no longer call the persons by their own names.

Furthermore, the cult to Dayah heads have led to a trust from the government to offer them important and strategic positions within the district or sub-distric level of government institutions where the Dayahs are located. For example, a Dayah head in Cot Girek sub-district is also a member of Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama (MPU) and used to be a village imam (the one who leads the prayers in the village mosque).

Third, nobody can argue the authority or the validity of a Dayah head, meaning that a Dayah head is a righteous and holy person. This fact has led to some difficulty in investigating the sexual harassment happened to the victims. For example, there is a sexual harassment and rape committed by a Dayah head to his female student, in which the student's friends, family, and the local society found it hard to believe that the case is real. People with higher level of education also embrace the cult to Dayah heads. This is indicated by a statement from a lecturer at a state university in Lhokseumawe, he doubt on a case that a Dayah head would ever commit sexual harassment and rape to his female students, "I don't think a Dayah head would ever be that immoral!". (FGD-2). As a person who used to study in a Dayah, which is believed to be a holy institution, and also embrace the cult to Dayah head, who is believed to have noble attitudes, it is hard for him to accept the fact that there is a Dayah head who ever committed sexual harassment and rape. This doubt sounds reasonable because Dayah and Dayah head are seen as an absolute truth in the society's view. For those who keeps their belief on this view do not even see a sexual harassment or rape committed by a Dayah head is a mistake, "It's fine if it is done by a Dayah head" (FGD-1).

The above story describes how an imbalanced power relation of Dayah heads and students, supported by the holiness of the figure of Dayah head due to the figure cult process, has contributed to the possibility of sexual harassment and rape that can be committed by Dayah heads. On the other hand, from the victim's side, the power relation and the figure cult have made it uneasy to stay away from being a victim.

4.2.2 Anomaly of Problem Solving with Custom Approach

Another finding from this study is the use of custom approach in solving problems. This condition is inspired by the cult to Dayah heads among the society. In this type of problem solving, the closest persons to the victims, including the village instrument, insist that the victims should not bring up the sexual harassment or rape cases to the court. The reason is that they do not want to see a disgracing of Dayah heads' figure as they believe that reporting the Dayah heads for committing a sexual harassment or rape is just the same case as disgracing the figure of the Dayah heads, the Dayah, and the places where the Dayah stand. This idea shows a partiality of the Dayah and the society to the perpetrators who are the Dayah heads in this case, so there is an imbalanced support for justice for the victims.

The custom approach of problem solving is, however, an anomaly because the legal mechanism in Indonesia (KUHP) does not allow a custom approach to solve a rape case. So, the case must be solved by legal procedures. However, the sexual harassment and rape stated in the qanun , which is simplified by a term amoral, actually has a resolution base of peace approach. The district regulation regarding Dayah Institution Establishment, article 10 point 3, states that, if a tengku/ustad/guree(teacher) commits an immoral action then he/she will be prosecuted by legal procedures, saying that immoral action committed by a tengku/ustad/guree(teacher) can be brought up to a criminal act by the authorities if it can not be solved in a peace or custom approach. (Perbup 2014) This article indicates an effort to promote the case resolution with a peace/custom approach before being passed to the court if the peace/custom approach fails.

The custom approach of problem solving is divided into two ways. First, an agreement/peace letter needs to be made, stating that the victim would agree not to sue the perpetrator at all. This letter is normally attached with a certain amount of money from the perpetrator for the victim. The amount depends on the demand of the victim and how much the perpetrator would be able to comply. For example, the rape committed by the Dayah head to his female student in Cot Girek sub-district ended up with a peace resolution. The victim's family agreed to end the case with a compensation of Rp.20.000.000,-, but the perpetrator could only afford Rp.8.000.000,- and this case was closed, being revoked from the court. The village imam and the village head attended the peace resolution process to accompany the perpetrator and the victim. At the end, each of the companions received Rp.1.000.000,- from the perpetrator for their involvement in the peace process.

Second, the custom approach to solve the problem is marrying the perpetrator to the victim. This effort was ever taken into action by the perpetrator who committed three times of rape to his female student. The perpetrator, 53 years old, tried to propose the victim for a marriage but the victim's family rejected the proposal and keep passing the case to the court. (Deep Interview 2017).

The success story of the peace resolution shows that sexual harassment and rape are not seen as a crucial issue in North Aceh. Economic situation, education, strong dependency on Dayah, as well as power relation have put the victim as a person who just deserves to be a victim, meaning that the society's concern is mainly the reputation of the perpetrator, the Dayah, and the place where the Dayah is located. They do not put much concern on giving support and advocacy for justice to the victim. To sum up, the custom approach of problem solving or damee-damee is a preferable resolution for sexual harassment and rape in Dayah. This approach is picked as the priority before the case is passed to the court as a criminal act if the custom approach fails to end the case.

5. Conclusion

Dayah is not safe place for women esspecially because the accsess and spattial setting that not guarantee security for women. The existence of an unequal power relation between student (santri) and the perpetrator who incidentally is the leader of Dayah. people tend to 'defend' the perpetrators because of the hegemony power that owned by the tengku Dayah. therefore it is really difficult to to revealed the sexual harassment case that was happen in Dayah. including difficulty to take precautions because regulations that emphasize common law case resolution. The existence of Qanun Dayah which is expected improve the quality of human resources in educational institution is not fully able to provide protection and guarantee of women's rights in Dayah.

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VIOLENCE AGAINST YOUNG MARRIED WOMEN: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN CHILD MARRIAGE AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

SDG's have goals on target 5.3 eliminates all harmful practices such as child, early and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation. Child marriage is a violation for children. In Addition, many negative **effects** of child marriage. One of **the** negative impact of child marriage is intimate partner violence (IPV) experience, includes physical and sexual violence. The aims of this research to **find out** the association child marriage and lifetime IPV on married women in Indonesia. The binary logistic regression analysis used to know the association between child marriage as independent variable and IPV as dependent variable. The result of this analysis, women who married before age 18 associated on **the** lifetime IPV. Meanwhile, when added control variables, then in the youth, child marriage does not significantly associated the lifetime IPV. The condition is different in the adult. The government is expected to give more attention to the marriage **delay programming** to reduce the prevalence of marriage and prevent the effects of child marriage, one of them is IPV.

Keywords: Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), child marriage, physical violence, sexual violence, husband olcohol use.

1. Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) occurs between two people in close relationships, including current and former couples and dating couples. IPV include physical violence, sexual violence, stalking and psychological aggression [1]. The women who have tend experience violence have general mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress, sleep

disturbances, alcohol use disorders, somatic and psychological complaints [2]. Violence can have a serious impact on physical health, mental, and reproductive health [3].

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child is defined as a person under 18 years of age. At that age, the child is entitled to all child protection [4]. Child marriage is defined as a marriage under the age of 18 years. Child marriage is a basic violation of the rights of girls [5]. Child marriage violates the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and violates **the** Universal Declaration of Human Rights (DUHAM) [4]. Parents in some countries in the world encourage their children to get married in the hope that they will benefit economically from the marriage of their daughters [5].

The impact of child marriage has been widespread. The economic impact of child marriage is participation and decision making, education, employment, violence and health [3]. In addition, it was mentioned that the economic impact of child marriage is divided into five sections, they are the impact of early childbirth, the impact on fertility and population growth, the health, nutrition and violence, education, employment and wages, decision making and land ownership [6].

Child marriage affects wellbeing of women that include women's autonomy and violence by husbands [7]. Research in Bangladesh shows that married women of child age are more vulnerable to experiencing physical violence by husbands than married women of adolescence [8and disproportionately affects young girls in rural, low-income, and poorly educated households. Our study aims to determine the associations between child marriage and controlling behaviors (CB). In studies of the impact of marriage on well-being in Bangladesh, the result is that child marriage, age differences of husband and wife, and poverty contribute to increased incidence of domestic violence against women. In addition, it was concluded that child marriage had an effect on the increase in domestic violence and had an effect on the decline of women's empowerment [9]. In the study of IPV and child marriage in India with a focus on two areas with high rates of IPV and child marriage, it was found in one region and entirety, married women younger than 18 were significant to have a lifetime IPV and the last 12 months compared to women married at the age of 18 years or older. However, the condition is not significant in one region due to the high rates of IPV and child marriage it is considered reasonable [10].

There are several studies on child marriage in Indonesia, including research on the prevalence of child marriage and child marriage determinants in Indonesia using Susenas data in 2010 [11]. The research on the impact of marriage on the outcomes of reproductive health outcomes 2007 IDHS data [12]. In addition, research on the impact of child marriage in Indonesia, child marriage affecting the economy, social (including domestic violence), health (reproductive health, sexual health, and child health) as well as the psychological impact [13]. The prevalence of physical and / or sexual violence perpetrated by a spouse and experienced women aged 15-64 years who / have been married in Indonesia by 18.3%. Physical violence is the most common type of violence committed by a spouse [14].

The fifth goal of SDG is to achieve gender equality and empower women, specifically, on target 5.3 eliminates all harmful practices such as child, early and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation [15]. In the world, over the past 30 years, the prevalence of child marriage has declined from 33 percent to 26 percent in 2010 [16]. But the decline in the prevalence of child marriage slowed [17]. Marriages that occur in women under 18 years old are still large. More than 700 million women in the world are married under the age of 18 [16]. The prevalence of marriage of children aged in Indonesia in 2015 by 23 percent, decreased one percent compared

to 2013 which is 24 percent. The prevalence of child marriage shows a stagnant condition in 2017 about 22.9%. This condition is similar to that of 2015 [18].

Research on the association of marriage on domestic violence has been widely practiced, but the study is still limited to case studies. Therefore, this study aims to determine the association of child marriage on intimate partner violence in Indonesia. It is expected that the results of this study could be a consideration of the government to take a policy related to delay of marriage age. The focus of this research is child marriage and intimate partner violence in Indonesia with the hypothesis of married women at child ages (<18 years) will increase the risk of experiencing IPV compared women married at the age of 18 years and older.

2. Research Method

Research methods in this research are quantitative method, with data source is the data result of National Women's Life Experience Survey (SPHPN) in 2016. This data set is selected because having information which complete enough and latest support this research. SPHPN 2016 is a survey result of cooperation of Central Bureau of Statistics with Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. SPHPN 2016 is a special survey that explores information on violence experienced by women. The number of samples of this survey are 9000 households and in each household selected one woman aged 15-64 years as the selected respondent with a response rate of 97,3% [14].

The unit analysis in this study was a married woman once, because in the questionnaire there was no question of age at first marriage so approached with the first year of marriage validation minus the age of the woman to obtain the first marriage age. In this analysis, the sample was restricted by women aged 20 and older, divided into youth (20-24 years, 415 samples) and adult (25 years and older, 5412 samples). The 20-24 age group is examined separately because in the youth age group provides a new perspective occurs than in the adult age group. Youth group can be used as a reference for the implementation of government programs in the future [10]. In addition, the adult group has more extensive experience so it can not be used as a reference for the implementation of government programs.

The dependent variables in this analysis have experienced of physical and sexual IPV in the last 12 months and lifetime experienced of physical and sexual IPV. For the IPV variables, there are six questions about physical abuse and four questions about sexual abuse which then formed a dummy variable to 1 is at least 1 of 10 categories are experiencing IPV in the household and 0 is not experiencing IPV in the household. The IPV variables are slapped her, or thrown something at her that could hurt her; pushed or shoved her; hit her with a fist or something else that could hurt; kicked, dragged or beaten her up; choked or burnt her on purpose; threatened her with, or actually used, being physically forced to have sexual intercourse against her will; having sexual intercourse because she was afraid of what her partner might do; being forced to do something sexual she found degrading or humiliating; and forced to have sexual intercourse with other.

The main independent variable in this study is the age of first marriage. The age at first marriage is divided into two categories, which are under 18 years old or child marriage, and age 18 or older. The control variables in this study are the area of residence (urban and rural), women's education (primary, secondary, and higher), working status of women (work and doesn't work), the number of children, husband's education (primary, secondary, and higher), husband's working status (work and doesn't work), age difference between husband and wife (younger or same age,

older 1-4 years, older 5-9 years, and more than 10 years), attitudes toward spouse abuse, husband alcohol use and witness father beat mother.

The attitudes toward spouse abuse variables measured from a question that women agree that the husband has the right to beat his wife if his wife did not complete the housework satisfactorily for her husband, did not obey her husband, refused to have sex with her husband, asks if her husband has another woman, her husband suspected his wife was unfaithful, her husband knew that his wife was unfaithful. If the woman reports any supportive attitudes, this variable coded 1, and if she reports no supportive attitudes, this variable coded 0.

Descriptive analysis was conducted to find out the condition of child marriage with IPV using cross tabulation. While inferential analysis is binary logistic regression analysis used to know the effect of child marriage to IPV (lifetime and the last 12 months) based on the age group of youth and adult.

3. Research Highlight

The main result obtained from this study is the percentage of youth (20-24 years old) to marry at age before 18 years is 27%. In the adult, the percentage of married women at age before 18 years is 20.94%.

In this study, 19.52 percent of currently married youth report lifetime IPV experience, and 11.57 percent of currently married youth report IPV within the past 12 months. In addition, 17.68 percent of currently married adult women report lifetime IPV experience, and 5.51 percent of currently married adult women report IPV within the past 12 months. In both groups, adult and youth, about the lifetime IPV experience, it can be seen that youth experiencing lifetime IPV is slightly larger than the adult. While in IPV in the last 12 months is a considerable difference between the two groups.

Based on the results of logistic regression analysis, from two models is between youth and adult, with the same result that age at the first marriage of less than 18 years tends to increase the lifetime IPV experience.

4. Research Result

Table 1, shows the child marriage, IPV, and related variables in married women in Indonesia, in youth and adults. In adult women, the age of the first marriage before age 18 is 20.95 percent, whereas in young women larger is 26.99 percent. This condition is in the prevalence range of child marriage in 2016 that is 22.3 percent. Based on the perception of physical violence of the couple, 52.98 percent in the adult and 62.17 percent of the youth agreed that the husband was allowed to beat his wife for at least one reason. Then in adult and youth, by 7.82 percent and 16.39 percent witness his father beat his mother. In youth this was more common than in adults. For the lifetime IPV experience, 17.68 percent of adult report lifetime IPV experience, and 19.52 percent of youth report it. As for IPV in the last 12 months, youth experiences much more IPV in the last 12 months than adult group, 11, 57 percent compared to 5, 51 percent.

Table 2 shows the cross-tabulation between age at first marriage, attitudes toward spouse abuse, husband alcohol use and witness father beat mother, and lifetime IPV and IPV in the last 12 months between adult and youth. In the lifetime of IPV experience, between youth and adult there is a similar pattern that those who experience lifetime IPV percentage at most are

in marriage before age 18, husbands consume alcohol, witnesses to father beat his mother, and agree that husbands may beat his wife is minimal for one reason.

Table 1. Early Marriage, Attitudes Toward Spouse Abuse, Witness Father Beat Mother, Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and Husband Alcohol Use for Adult and Youth in Indonesia (percent)

	Adult (25-64)	**Youth (20-24)**
(1)	(2)	(3)
Age at marriage		
< 18	20,95	26,99
18+	79,05	73,01
Attitudes toward spouse abuse		
Husband never has the right to beat his wife	47,02	37,83
Agrees with at least one reason husband has the right to beat his wife	52,98	62,17
Witness father beat her mother		
No	92,18	83,61
Yes	7,82	16,39
Lifetime IPV experience		
No	82,32	80,48
Yes	17,68	19,52
Experienced IPV in the last 12 months		
No	94,49	88,43
Yes	5,51	11,57
Husband alcohol use		
Doesn't drink	94,86	96,14
Husband drinks alcohol	5,14	3,86

Source : SPHPN 2016 (processed)

This pattern is somewhat different from the IPV in the last 12 months for adult and youth groups. The percentage of IPV in the last 12 months was more common in young women, in all categories and in all variables. For example, for the age at first marriage, women married before age 18 and 18 years and older in the youth group had IPV in the last 12 months about 11-12 percent. While in the adult age group, this condition occurs only 4-6 percent. In the variable of alcohol consumption, the youth group whose husbands drink alcohol experience IPV in the last 12 months amounted to 37.50 percent, unlike the youth group whose husbands did not drink alcohol, experienced IPV in the last 12 months 10.53 percent. This percentage is much higher than adult group. Adult women whose husbands consume alcohol, had an IPV in the last 12 months 12.23 percent. Even her husband did not drink alcohol, only 5.14 percent experienced IPV in the last 12 months. Similarly, attitudes toward spouse abuse and witness father beat mother. Despite the different patterns, the IPV in the last 12 months category that is larger equals the lifetime IPV category for all adult and youth groups.

Tabel 2. Lifetime IPV and IPV in The Last 12 Months Based on The Age at Marriage and Control Variables (%)

(1)	Adult		Youth	
	Lifetime IPV	IPV in the last 12 months	Lifetime IPV	IPV in the last 12 months
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Age at marriage				
< 18	21,08	4,41	25,00	11,61
18+	16,77	5,79	17,49	11,55
Husband alcohol use				
Doesn't drink	16,67	5,14	18,55	10,53
Husband drinks alcohol	36,33	12,23	43,75	37,50
Attitudes toward spouse abuse				
Husband never has the right to beat his wife	14,90	4,44	17,20	10,83
Agrees with at least one reason husband has the right to beat his wife	20,17	6,45	20,93	12,02
Witness father beat her mother				
No	16,32	4,93	16,43	10,09
Yes	33,81	12,29	35,29	19,12

Source : SPHPN 2016 (processed)

The results of binary logistic regression analysis are shown in Table 3. This table contains two models in each adult and youth groups. The first model contains one independent variable that is the age at the first marriage. As for the second model contains control variables. The control variables included in model two are the area of residence, women's education, women's employment status, number of surviving children, husband's education, husband's employment status, husband's age difference, attitudes toward spouse abuse, witness father beat his mother, and husband alcohol use. The dependent variable in each model was the lifetime IPV experience.

In the first model, between adult and youth groups, it was seen that age at the first marriage before 18 had a significant asocciated on lifetime IPV. While in the second model, in the youth group, the age at first marriage did not significantly associated the IPV. This condition can be caused by control variable which is not significant also influence to IPV. In the control variables associated with IPV, in the adult group, the perception of women that husbands may beat wives for at least one reason, the witness's father beat mother, and husband alcohol consumption significantly related to IPV experience. In the youth group, father witnesses beat his mother, as well as the husband of alcohol consumption is significantly related to IPV experience, while the perception of women that husbands may beat wife because at least one reason does not significantly affect the IPV experience. This condition is like the results obtained in research in India by focusing on two areas [10]. In addition, women's perception that husbands may beat wives for at least one reason in the youth group is not significantly affected the IPV also showed similar results in the study.

Table 3. Odd Ratio From Binary Logistic Regression of Factor Associated With Lifetime IPV Among Currently Married Women (Adult and Youth) in Indonesia

	Lifetime IPV							
	Adult				Youth			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
	Exp (B)	p-value	Exp (B)	p-value	Exp (B)	p-value	Exp (B)	p-value
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	(5)
Age at marriage								
18+ (ref)	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	
< 18	1,32	0,001	1,25	0,068	1,57	0,088	1,24	0,535
Attitudes toward spouse abuse								
Husband never has the right to beat his wife (ref)			1,00				1,00	
Agrees with at least one reason husband has the right to beat his wife			1,42	0,000			1,40	0,300
Witness father beat her mother								
No (ref)			1,00				1,00	
Yes			2,42	0,000			3,03	0,001
Husband alcohol use								
Doesn't drink (ref)			1,00				1,00	
Husband drinks alcohol			2,46	0,000			3,97	0,044

Source : SPHPN 2016 (processed)

5. Conclusion

The main findings of the study show that in youth and adult groups, women who married before age 18 will increase the risk of lifetime IPV experience. When added control variables, in the youth group no association was found between the age of marriage before 18 with IPV, in contrast to the adult group. This may occur because the control variables are insignificant, or samples that are too small to make the first marriage age not significantly correlated with increased risk of IPV.

Based on the results obtained, it is known that the incidence of lifetime IPV and the last 12 months, especially IPV the last 12 months more experienced by youth than adult. This condition indicates that IPV is still mostly done, especially in young families in Indonesia. As the marriage age increases, IPV begins to decline.

The limitation of this study is the absence of direct questions about the age of married women for the first time. The age at first marriage is approached with the last marriage validation, for a married woman once, can see her first marriage age. This study did not accommodate women who married several times because it is not known the age of marriage at the first time. In addition, it is suspected that there is a causal relationship between IPV and female perceptions about husbands may beat his wife as well as the causal relationship between IPV and husband consuming alcohol. Another limitation in this study is the question of domestic violence refers only to the questionnaire, if there are other types of violence not accommodated here. This study uses cross sectional data, so it can only measure at a time. Longitudinal data can be used for further research so as to know the development of IPV experience in a particular cohort.

Overcoming IPV and child marriage requires government policy as well as an active role of the community. Required programs for marriage delays and programs to reduce IPV experience. Increased education of young women and knowledge of reproductive health can be one of the efforts to reduce the child marriage. Understanding of IPV and the resulting risk is expected to reduce the incidence of IPV in Indonesia, especially for married young women.

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LIFE STRUGGLE OF THE WIDOWS OF CHILD MARRIAGE BECAUSE OF DATING VIOLENCE IN PALEMBANG - INDONESIA

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Abstract

This Paper studies how 100 widows of child marriage because of dating violence in Palembang can be struggle their life after law and some of government policy can not give protection for their right. Their life changing from teenager force to become adult because that girl pregnant and get marriage in youngest ages. Their marriage does not run well because her husband not willing to take responsibility. Because a part of respondent get marriage without being registered "Sirri Marriage", so law can not protect her right to make sure her ex-husband fulfill his obligation. Single parental status requires them to live a life for double burden. They perceive that life is heavier because of the social sanction that give negative stereotype about widow status, and the government policy is not balanced especially in terms of obtaining educations and employment. This paper is a part of research report that describes three types of how 100 respondents survive in build and continue their live. Field research to 100 respondent use a questionnaire and in depth interview, found a result that 100 respondent have some characteristic or type to defend their life. This type depend on their faith, skill, education, family respond, and community environment.

Keywords: *Life Struggle, Widows, Child Marriage, Dating Violence, Palembang, Indonesia.*

1. Introduction

Palembang is one of the cities in Indonesia, with an area of 400.61 KM² which is divided into 16 sub-districts. The total population of 1.580.517 people, totally of population density reached 3.945 people/km² which is making it the 10 largest cities in Indonesia.[1] Musi River is the icon of Palembang City, it divides the two areas into the "Seberang Ilir" and "Seberang Ulu". The

environment life of the people of Seberang Ilir and Seberang Ulu have different characteristics, this is influenced by the background of the community, where the residents of Seberang Ilir are mostly immigrants, while the residents of Seberang Ulu are natives of Palembang City. Like the big city in Indonesia, western culture also influence because of the development of telecommunications and information. It is also affects the social life of adolescent Palembang city, even free sex between couples in a relationship dating often have an impact on pregnancy out of marriage. Pregnancy that occurs in adolescents who are still categorized into the age of children (under 18 years), it's happen because of the pressure of the couple to have sex. The pressure made by a boy friends can be either coercion or seduction in the name of love.[2] This condition is called dating violence.

Dating violence is the act of controlling the spouse either physically, psychologically and sexually, until it has a disturbing effect on the victim. On the basis of a dating relationship as if justifying the violent acts by one of the partners, generally violating is a male.[3] The term of control is signifies the presence of a more dominant party and has or is assumed to have greater power than the other party. One of the effects of dating violence is pregnancy that causes teenage to be forced into adulthood to account what they done. Marriage became one of their parents' demand to cover the disgrace of pregnancy that has occurred.[4] The practice of child marriage is largely inoperative, emotion-related disputes are often the reason for disharmony in a partner's household. Finally the shortcut taken is divorce.[5] 100 respondents were widows who had made a child marriage because of dating violence.

Marriage as a best solution to cover the pregnancy actually cause other problems, such as their marriage can not be registered because their age is still under minimum range allowed by law. Besides that, a big a part of dating violence victim loss of continuing formal education opportunities, and the worst is the problem of neglect by the husband and make her be a single parent. All of the issues that emerged made it clear that the violence experienced by 100 respondents was like an endless cycle. It is interesting because of a finding on the field research that 100 respondents are aware that they are victims, but the influence of the pressures and views of the family and the community in which they are leave, influencing their mindset makes opinion that what happens to their lives is based on their own mistakes and it is a living destiny that they must go on, this is what socialization theory says as a false consciousness.[6] A hundred respondents are individuals who have their own strategies in performing their functions as single parents. The compulsion that makes them single parent motivates to fight for the child has entrusted to them. The variety of factors that lie behind the widows to survive in their lives provides a picture of the pattern of widows struggle. The pattern is depend on their faith, skill, education, family respond, and community environment. Attempts to examine the pattern of widows struggle are the focus of this paper.

2. Research Methodology

This study's methodology combines both qualitative and quantitative.[7] Primary data collection was done through a questionnaire and depth interview,[8] which was preceded by 100 respondent who are widows of Child Marriage because of dating violence. Determination of 100 respondents was done by using snowball sampling technique,[9] the initial respondents were obtained through the Women Crisis Center (WCC) of Palembang as victims of dating violence, then from the initial respondent obtained the next victim of dating violence information. 100 of these respondents are all victims of dating violence is a women who are pregnant before marriage and men as their spouses/boy friend do not want to be responsible, after being forced and threatened to be reported

to the police eventually the man was willing to marry. It is noted that 100 of these respondents were married while still under 18 (eighteen) years old and now all of them have separated (divorced) from their husbands. The information of 100 respondents is contained in Table 1 below,

Table 1. General Description of 100 Respondent Dating Violence

No	Marriage		Divorce		Husband fulfill his obligation after marriage			Husband does not fulfill his obligation after marriage
	Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Until their Child 1 years old	Until Okt 2016	
1	2011	11	2012	6	2011	6	1	4
2	2012	12	2013	9	2012	9	0	3
3	2013	27	2014	23	2013	19	0	8
4	2014	28	2015	37	2014	19	2	7
5	2015	22	2016	25	2015-2016	16	1	5
Total		100		100		69	4	27

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

Determination of the number of respondents based on the similarity patterns experienced, originally obtained 127 respondents but 27 other respondents are victims of dating violence but men as their partners are willing to take responsibility and still marry until now. While the 100 respondents who were subjected to the study were respondents who experienced dating violence while still in student status and pregnant before marriage. Although her boy friend marry the victim, but their marriage base on forced. Finally they are divorce and her ex-husband did not want to be responsible. Elements forced to marry a pregnant victim becomes an important point reinforcing the assumption that the perpetrator is not responsible, this is also evidenced by the age of marriage that did not last for less than 5 years as illustrated in Table 1 above.

Secondary data was found by a review of existing literature about gender-violence and law protection about marriage, children right protection, and others literature which is connected by problem.[10] The field research took place in four sub-districts on Palembang city in Indonesia, namely: kecamatan Kertapati, kecamatan Seberang Ulu I, kecamatan Seberang Ulu II, and kecamatan Plaju. Each of sub-district get a 25 respondent. A result of the research is reported using description analysis with sociology-jurisprudence approach, and statute approach.[11]

3. Research Highlight

Ideally, a marriage takes place as a form of a spiritual and physic bond between a man and a woman in order to form a happy and eternal household based on the divinity of the Almighty.[12] The Inner Bond (spiritual and physic) meaning that marriage is based on the sincerity of non-coerced pairs. In addition, marriage is also carried out with the ultimate goal of forming a happy and eternal household with the foundation of the foundation of religious held by the couple.[13]

The term household is identical to a family whose members consist of at least husband, wife, and children (nuclear family).[14] The ideal family form is indeed the hope of every couple, in fact not all can form a happy and eternal family. One of them is the widows who were forced to become single parent. 100 respondents were widows who experienced child marriage as a result of dating violence. They are basically a unstable person because the age when become a mother is still a child's age (under 18 years old). an overview of the age of marriage and age of mother to 100 respondents are in table 2 below;

Table 2. Description of Age Marriage and become Mother 100 respondent

No	Age Marriage	Total	Age be a Mother	Total
1	Under 15 years old	9	Under 15 years old	7
2	16 years old	27	16 years old	24
3	17 years old	54	17 years old	48
4	18 years old	10	18 years old and Up	21
	Totally	**100**	**Totally**	**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

Based on table 2 above, it is clear that the marriage of 100 respondents occurred in the age of the child (under 18 years old) even still in status as Junior or Senior High School student. The status of pregnant students has an impact on the sustainability of their education. Most schools do not want to accept the conditions of students who are pregnant, the reason is to break the existing order in the school environment, because pregnant students can be a bad example for other students. There were 89 respondents who had dropped out of school, while 11 respondents were still given the opportunity to finish high school education.

Diagram 1. Continuing Education of 100 Respondent
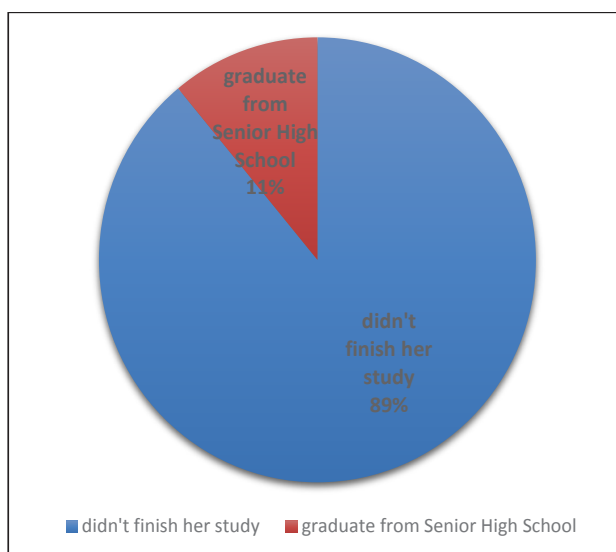
Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

The main factor behind the marriage of children in 100 respondents is due to pregnancy. All the respondents were pregnant in a courtship relationship with their schoolmates or their playmates. Child marriages conducted by 100 respondents have an impact on some do not make a formal marriage recording in Indonesia call "Sirri Marriage" and the effect is they didn't get book of marriage or certificate of marriage. This condition occurs because the minimum age of marriage can not be met by both bride and groom. Act No.1 year 1974 concerning Marriage requires the fulfillment of the minimum age that must be met by the couple before the marriage takes place, namely the groom man at least 19 years old and the bride at least 16 years old (Article 7 paragraph (1)). The legal solution is offered when the bride is still below the required minimum age, so the bride and groom can request dispensation to the Court by their respective parents (Article 7 paragraph (2)), to be legally recognized by their marriage state and considered valid to be able to listed / registered.[15] 100 respondents mostly do marriage sirri (not registered), this happens because at the time of marriage bride has not reached the age of 16 years or groom has not reached the age of 19 years. The recapitulation of 100 respondents' marital record status is shown in table 3.

Table 3. Status of Marriage Registered for 100 Respondent

No	Description	Total
1	Sirri Marriage (Get marriage without registered)	59
2	First Get Sirri Marriage, than re-marriage to get marriage book / marriage certificate	39
3	Marriage by requesting a dispensation to court	2
	Totally	**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016.

Marriage is considered the best solution to cover the pregnancy, but the fact it did not run smoothly. Some respondents stated that after marriage, their husband changed to hurt and hate them, quarrels often occur, the harmony in the household is getting worse because the marriage is done with the compulsion and the unpreparedness of the couple to be parents. Most of their husbands leave them unanswered, this is possible because the average of their marriage do not registered, so the court divorce process does not need to be passed. The following description of the separation with husbands of each respondent is contained in Table 4.

Table 4. The Process of Separation with Husband of Each Respondent

No	Description	Total
1	husband divorces well and returns to the woman's parents	18
2	Husband left since the age of marriage less than a year	82
	Totally	**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

Based on Table 4, it is known that 82 respondents have a heavy burden, where their husbands leave them without accountability, on the other hand they have to survive to support the children they have. Only 18 respondents admitted that their husbands divorced them well by returning them to their parents. Concerning their livelihoods and abandoned children is described in Table 5 below,

Table 5. Husband's Livelihood Accountability

No	Description	Total
1	Husband gives a living cost only at the beginning of marriage, until the wedding maximum 1 (one) year	14
2	The husband remains responsible for the child's living cost abandoned to the wife, until October 2016	4
3	Husband gives a living cost only in the early birth of the child, until the child is a maximum of 1 (one) year	55
4	The husband didn't give a living cost since get marriage	27
Total		**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

Based on information from 100 respondents, until October 2016 only 4 respondents who still earn a living cost for their children, while 96 other respondents have not received any livelihood from their husbands. Conditions that require them to work on their own to support the children they have, make them strong. The working condition of the single parent is a strategy to sustain its economic needs.[16] Whatever efforts they undertake to fulfill their basic needs for the survival of her live and her children. Limitations of education because 89 people do not have a senior high school enrollment, have an impact on the limitations of job options that can be obtained. The types of work they do are listed in Table 6.

Table 6. Occupation of 100 respondent

No	Occupation	Total
1	Work in domestic sector (house keeper)	8
2	Work as cleaning service at office or mall	5
3	Work in industry sector (employee of factory, sales, store keeper)	37
4	Work in entertain sector (guide of karaoke, spa therapies, bar tender)	23
5	Work in sex commercial sector	18
6	Have own business (store which selling feeding, such as selling gado-gado, selling empek-empek, selling cake, etc)	9
Totally		**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

In fact to survive the respondents can do any work, even some work in the commercial sex sector, the number is fairly large number of 18 people, the main reason they provide because forced due to no business capital or expertise in other fields. The work they do is basically just to meet basic needs, if they look further at the amount of income earned from their work, most are still under the Minimum Wage of the Regency / City of Palembang. The description of the amount of income earned 100 respondents are listed in table 7 below.

Table 7. Range of Salary 100 Respondent

No	Range of Salary	Total
1	Under Rp.1.000.000 per mount (Less US$ 71.50)	9
2	Rp.1.000.000 – Rp.3.000.000 per mount ((US$ 71.50 - US$ 214.50)	76
3	More than Rp.3.000.000,- per mount (Up US$ 214.50)	15
Totally		**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

The minimum wage of the Regency / City of Palembang is based on the Mayor's Decree through Circular Letter No.01/SE/Disnaker/2017 worth Rp.2.480.000 (US$ 177.15) previously in 2016 worth Rp.2.294.000 (US$ 163.85). Most who have an income above the regional minimum wage is working in the entertainment and sex commercial sector. Their ability to sort out the work that suits their condition is also influenced by several factors. Based on the results of more in-depth research obtained information that the choice of work for survival is influenced by their faith, skill, education, family respond, and community environment.

An understanding of the religious order by the respondents about what is right and wrong is the decisive factor for them to survive including being responsible for raising and educating their children. The religious factor is also a benchmark in choosing the type of work for the respondents. There are at least 52 respondents who stated that the choice of work they live must be "halal" and "barokah". While 36 respondents said no matter what type of work is important do not die of hunger, the remaining 12 respondents abstained. Family and community support is also very influential for respondents in survival, families who provide full support will lead to the right way of life by helping them find jobs or take care for their children. The ability to survive for widows is an effort on their own that they must do. The demand for the fulfillment of the necessities of life cost for the child to the former husband or his family has become a dead end for them. On the other hand, the support of local governments in poverty alleviation programs does not include single parent groups as a priority. Whereas their number is fairly large and they are the ones who will form the generation of the Indonesia who will be continue development.

4. Discussion

The social phenomenon that puts the woman most responsible during pregnancy because of dating violence shows that social sanctions are more burdensome to women and the other side, men could be free from social sanctions. This fact is experienced by 100 respondents in this study, when the husband or father of the expected child can help just do not want to be responsible, and

the state law can not help (because the marriage is not registered), the community environment seems to think that it as the risks that women must accept by trying to earn their own income. The dominance of patriarchy is still very strong within the local community, self-awareness that they are victims and the courage to demand and protect their rights and their children is not yet done, in the end they resigned to the condition. Stereotypes to people who think that children should be cared for by mothers who are better able to control the role of domestic, social, and public than fathers, increasingly corner the position of women because the father who abandoned the child is considered normal but when the mother who left the child is considered extraordinary .[17] Another thing that adds to the downturn for women who experience dating violence and get pregnant before marriage is implementation of government policy that discriminates against women. Whereas, legally protection against their rights is regulated in Act. No. 35 years 2014 concerning the amendment of Act No.23 years 2002 about "Perlindungan Anak", Act No.1 years 1979 about "Pernikahan", Act No.4 Years 1979 about "Kesejahteraan Anak", Act No.39 years 1999 about "Hak Asasi Manusia", and Act No.23 years 2004 about "Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga". One example of the treatment of discrimination experienced by respondents is 89 respondent can not graduate from basic education 12 years, the reason of the school did not want to receive from pregnant student because it would be a bad example for the other student. The impact of less education and do not have enough skill were the limited employment opportunities, which is a reason why 41 widows work in entertainment and sex commercial sector. By the time they have to accept the fact that they are divorced and have to fend for themselves for the survival of themselves and their children, most of the widows expressed shock. Psychology trauma is the most common. Recovery of trauma takes a diverse time there is only a month, but there are also more than one year. Recognition of the duration of trauma recovery of 100 respondents is found in Table 8 .

Table 8. Rehabilitation from Psychology Trauma 100 respondent

No	Range Timing	Total
1	Less than 1 mount	6
2	1-3 mount	21
3	4-6 mount	34
4	7-9 mount	19
5	10-12 mount	11
6	More than 12 mount	9
Totally		**100**

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

Based on Table 8 it appears that the average widows can overcome psychology of trauma less than 6 mounts. The biggest reason they stated was the child who was motivated to stay afloat. 100 widows are role models of young widows can be struggle their life even their ex-husband left offhand without accountability. According to Linsay Clowes,[18] their ability to rehabilitate their selves is influenced by at least 5 major factors, namely their faith, skill, education, family respond, and community environment.

Their faith will be the trials that God gave them to be the main factor to encourage the improvement of their lives.[19] Religion embraced by the widows gives the meanings that the test that God gives in accordance with the limits of the ability of His servant. When they get calamities,

then they realize through the approach of religion, generally the recovery will be shorter. The second factor that also has an important role is family respond. What kind of family response is in the form of support for the struggle or even abandonment and disgrace for the family also greatly affects the recovery of the victim. The level of education is also influential in the rehabilitation process, the higher the education the more mature emotions in behaving. Although this condition is not absolute, but for 100 widows states that education has an important role for recovery for the struggle in their live. Education is also a tool to make it easier to get a job to live worthy. In addition to education, skill is also directly proportional to education, widows who have certain skills will generally be able to survive in continuing life and this can help the rehabilitation process. Last is the community environment. Atmosphere family hood in a community becomes a media that will greatly assist the rehabilitation process. The condition of people who do not hate and reject the presence of single parent is one form of support for the rehabilitation process.

These five main factors are further traced to 100 respondents through questionnaires and interviews. Further investigate these five factors to test whether these five factors affect the rehabilitation process for the 100 widows. The results obtained are summarized in table 9 below.

Table 9. 5 Factors Affecting The Rehabilitation Process

No	Factor	Total
1	Their Faith	
	➢ Trust the temptations and the destiny of God	48
	➢ The test to be better person	11
	➢ Punishment from God	32
	➢ Abstained	9
2	Skill	
	➢ Have some skill	17
	➢ Does not have skill	81
	➢ abstained	2
3	Education	
	➢ Emotional scores	21
	➢ The ability to be mature	37
	➢ The ability to use logic in every situation	11
	➢ Abstained	31
4	Family Respond	
	➢ Support of the family in full	59
	➢ Support of the family is limited to advice	21
	➢ Support of the family to finding job	19
	➢ Abstained	1
5	community environment	
	➢ Community who accepted and cooperative	29
	➢ Community who do not care	62
	➢ Community who rejected or refuse	7
	➢ Abstained	2

Source: analyzed from the results of the distribution of questionnaires to 100 Respondents in 4 Sub-districts in Palembang City, October 2016

From the description of the five factors that can affect the rehabilitation process for the widows in the struggle her life, the interesting finding that the level of community care in urban areas is relatively low, 62 respondents stated that the environment in which he lived considers dating violence victims to be single parent is a common thing. Mistakes that are considered to be folly are considered to be the views of the people in the neighborhood.

Based on the factors affecting the rehabilitation widows for the struggle of survival trap patterns in three main groups, namely: the type of flow in the air, type out of the box, and type of desperate. The grouping of these three types is done on personal analysis based on social discourse which is more familiar by name social phenomena[20] The grouping of survival types for these widows is summarized, namely:

1. Type of Flow in The Air

This group is a fairly lucky group. The struggle to be single parent passed by following the flow of life. The characteristics categorized in this type are as follows:

a) They have the conviction that what happens to him is a trial and a destiny God has given to raise the degree of His servant's fear;

b) They have special skills that can sustain their lives;

c) They have emotional and rational maturity;

d) The family provides full support both materially and spiritually;

e) The condition of the community in which he resides can be well received and able to cooperate with the status of single parent.

2. Type out of the box

Groups that are categorized in this type are the widows whose lives are less fortunate or losers. The difficult conditions resulted in them moving out of their zones to seek a better life. The characteristics categorized in this type as follows:

a) They have the conviction that this test is part of an effort to mold them into a better person;

b) They have no special skills, but are willing to try and learn;

c) The education that they have makes them a figure who think adults, so as to rise to change his life for the better;

d) Family support is not entirely, this is because of the limitations of their family members. Generally support is only advice;

e) The condition of the community in the neighborhood is somewhat ignorant or indifferent to their existence.

3. Type of Desperate

This group is the most alarming type, in their social phenomena categorized into stagnation groups. This group is a type of widows who reckless in the act and even seem desperate without thinking about the consequences that may be experienced. The characteristics of this type are as follows:

a) They have confidence that what they experience is punishment from God. They argued that God was unfair to themselves by giving such a difficult trial;

b) They have no special skills, and the desire to acquire skills is also not a priority;

c) Practical patterns that blame others more and even seem irrational are often used to judge each life event;

d) Family conditions that do not provide support, even seem to leave them themselves struggling;

e) The community environment also rejects their presence.

The three types of life struggle of widows is an effort to facilitate in helping the government create policy programs that can provide benefits and improve the welfare of the community, especially the marginalized community. In addition it also needs a thought and a breakthrough about welfare improvement programs and widows civilization is done by forming a peer group as done by the group of Widows in Ponorogo by establishing the Widow of Muslim Women Ponorogo. Finding strategy to improve widows by a peer group is an effort to empower the widows by sharing knowledge and skills among others, but it can also be a means to motivate each other to get through the trauma, and also for protection of their right and their children.[21] The formation of peer groups is also one of the more effective steps as they are the closest and most out of touch with the problems in the field.[22]
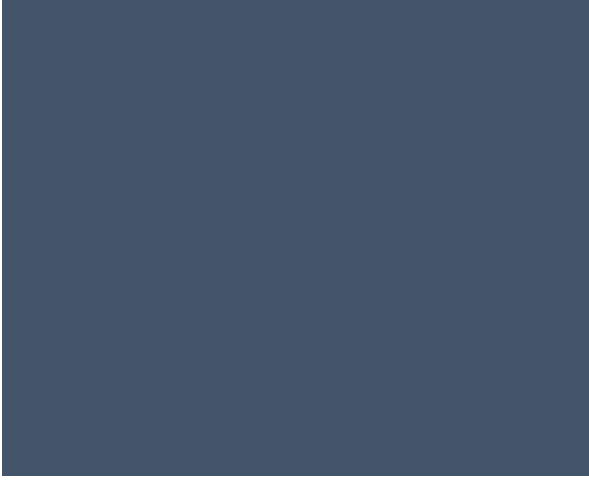
5. Conclusion

Basically legal instruments in Indonesia has have rules on protection to the widows of child marriage because of dating violence, only maintain the law which still need on good cooperation among law enforcement officials, government, NGO's, university, stakeholder, and community. The main thing that must be held is the best for protection and safety of the victims. Fair treatment is ideals desired by the victim dating violence, because they still have the opportunity to continue a better life. Especially rehabilitation program, rehabilitation that lead to alleviate poverty and improvement of economy victims they would be able to strength her life and was able to return adapt (reintegrated) in the community, so that they can have a better future for his life. One of poverty alleviation programs can be done by utilizing CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) fund cooperation from various companies in coordination with government and academic community.

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ETHNOPHILOSOPHY OF 'A VERY EXPENSIVE MARRIAGE OF 'MOKO DWORY' FOR MANY GIRLS IN ALOR DISTRICT OF EAST NUSA TENGGARA.

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Abstract

This study tries to show how Alor ethnic community must face the problem of marriage with dowry 'moko' which price is increasingly expensive from year to year. The high price 'moko' cause many Alor girls who live in the remote areas or who have a weak economy, are difficult to get married. They have to wait for the ability of men who want to propose them to pay the 'dowry' moko to their parents. The complicated wedding with dwory 'moko' in Alor is not only a big problem for men but also for women. It cause the poor women from kampoong Habollat in North Probur, Alor district, were afraid not to get married. Some Alor girls in kampoong Habollat are forced to renounce their kampoong and custom to marry the moslem man from the neighboring kampoong, Kelihibeng, who does not apply the marriage with 'dowry' moko. They convert their religion to moeslem which contrary to their will, because they are weak in individual right. Traditional marriage with dowry 'moko' is an ethnic identity that they maintain as ethnic traits.The issue of expensive moko dwory is the one factor that make people of Alor poor and left behind. Therefore, it needs a change in managing the price moko which has been turned out to become a business.

Keywords: Ethnic Habollat- A very expensive moko'dowry- Migration- Ethonophilosophy - Habollat girls - Custom.

1. Introduction. (Empirical Writing About Moko)

Indonesia is a country with about 700 ethnics scattered across the islands, consisting of various communities, which most of them, still apply the customs (*adat istiadat*) of their anscestor as a local local wisdom or ways of life. Usually, that traditional customs (*adat istiadat*) are still completely applied in remote areas or far away from the city. Traditonal heritage customs usually

express into many items, such as, ideology from local wisdom in woums, rituals and material things. Local wisdom are part of the cultural structure and it refers to the growing cultural community as an essential element for strengthening social cohesion in ethnic communities. " Local wisdon is all of the ideas, values, knowledges and activities, including the specific and proudly cultural objects that become the identity of a particular community or ethnic group." (John Haba 2007).

-What is 'Moko' from Alor Island?

Moko from Alor.

The process of carrying moko in the b The process of carrying moko in the bride' head at the customary marriage of Alor society, NTT (Photo Wahana Visi Indonesia). (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.html)

In Alor Islands, also known as the district of Alor, province of East Nusa Tenggara, traditional customs (*adat istiadat*) are still applied in the midst of society from original ethnic as a sacred and valuable rules. These islands which consists of about 200.000 populations, keeps the natural beauty of the sea that makes more and more foreign tourists come to that area. There are ethnics of Alor like Abui, Belagar, Alor, Deing, Kabola, Kelong, Kawel, Kemang, Kui, Mauta, Lemma, Wersin and Wuwuli. (//ciricara.com/2015/03/09/apa-itu-suku-alor/). Distric of Alor has an area of, 2,864 square kilometers,consisting of various islands with the main island of Alor and Pantar islands. The district capital, Kalabahi, located on the island of Alor, is well advanced with modern facilities such as luxury homes owned by Chinese traders and various hotels and government offices. But that kinds of modernity only lies in Kalabahi and not evenly distributed to the sub-district that have villages close to that city. The villages in Alor district, especially in the mountains, remain left behind although the government has opened up the remoteness of these villages by building many roads.

Alor Island is also known as the island of '1000 moko' or a kind of cup-shaped trophy made of bronze (*nekara* bronze'cup) that has been existed in this island since thousand years ago. It is a cultural object of pre-history, made from a metal object that can be used as a drum musical instrument or art object. According to archaeologists experts, moko Alor's manufacturing technology comes from bronze technology in Dongson, northern Vietnam. Then, this technology spread to various regions in Southeast Asia, including to the island of Alor. It is said that Ferdinand Magelland, a wellknown Portuguese's sailor had stopped in Alor island on January 12, 1522 and there he saw a tradition marriage with moko's dowry. Alor island became the island with the largest collection of Moko although it had not been produced there. Moko as an ancestral relic, kept in a house of many families in Alor villages who have at least one moko in their house. That relic can improve one's social status when he has many 'moko. It can also be used as payer of fines when there are people who promise or vow but have not fulfilled it.

-Moko for The Dwory Wedding.

Wedding with dowry 'moko is a *customary* marriage that is widely applied in almost Alor district. This traditional marriage must first be done before marriage legally in state and religion. The East Timor Evangelical Customary Church in Timor (GMIT) which is widely embraced by the Alor community, also approves that situation by holding a contextual liturgy based on the local culture. The other things that have to used in Alor's traditional wedding is '*gong*' (percussion musical instrument) which is still produced and its price is not expensive. In the perspective of Alor people, the plat-shaped *gong* in a facial position is the epitome of femininity,while moko's round in a standing position is a symbol of masculinity. That's why this two things must be used as a symbol in wedding ceremonies of Alor people. Radical feminisim believe that " the roots of women's oppression are biological... became dependent on men for phisical survival." (Jaggar, page 239). This theory can applied to see the Alor women as long as they economically depended on their husband.

Anthropologist Cora Dubois, who once researched moko, states that moko has four functions: First, moko as a symbol of social status, in traditional leadership. Second, moko as dowry because for the people of Alor, moko can not be measured by any amount of money. So, moko has its own position and value in the social community.Third, moko as an economic means of exchange. Since in the past, Alor people use moko as a barter exchange like money. In the Dutch period there was inflation of Moko in Alor and due to this incident, the Dutch restricted moko's circulation.

Fourth, according to its function, as a musical instrument, gong and moko are usually played for dance accompaniment.

-The Price of Moko and How to Get It**.**

The price of moko can be reach about 15 to 30 millons and it is increasing every year. That   price is very expensive for the majority people of Alor who work as crop cultivators which are poor and left behind. This expensive moko'price has made majority of Alor men very difficult to to get the best moko as their dwory to the girls' parents. Moko in different areas of Alor are vary in shape. Almost every ethnic who live in` various villages in Alor have their own moko. Every man who want to married must have at least two or more moko(s) in different shape. Without dwory' moko' it is impossible for a man Alor who still apply the customs to marry a woman. So, a lot of them have to borrow money from some   who used to act like a helper but ask also more money back as a payment. The high price of moko is caused by an urgent need for an object that is limited to its existence. The inflation has made the price of moko, calculated according to the current price. Finally, marriage dowry issues become a business affair that benefits some people. A few years ago there was the effort of some Alor community to eliminate the marriage with moko dwory,but it does not work because it has became a bussiness to many people. Indeed there is an attempt to make a dialogue to hold a cultural revitalization about the high price dwory since the year 2017. It is not easy to unite 12 clan tribe of Alor who have different rules about the price of Moko.They decided the price of moko ' *cap* aimalahai' which enough to be used as dwory Rp 7,000,000. But this price is still expensive for a lot of Alor people.Ussualy the girls parents ask the other type moko dowry, such as moko '*cap* kawat' or moko '*cap* tanah' which is more expensive than moko' aimalahai'. More over, the cost of this moko is still added with traditional cloth, food, groceries and so on to be used in the wedding.

In Alor society there is a person who play the price of moko as family financial affairs. The habit of increasing the price of moko value has occurred for generations. Frequently, men's families must be in debt to buy moko to give to the female family. To hinder it this happens continuously, majority of lor people who work as a crop cultivator and fishermen choose to set aside their money or keep their property (including animals) in case of having to buy moko later in the day when their children will get married.

The issue of expensive moko dwory is one of the factor that make people of Alor poor and left behind. Several children from unlegally marriage woman can't go to school because they dont have birth certificate. It is not easy also to make the price of moko cheaper than before. " I paid high moko price to my wife's family, I could not agree with this new rule because I want to get back to doing the same thing when my daughter married (raising the price of high moko.) But how long will it cost money, even children can not be given good education because money run out just for moko,"said one of chief community, Reverend Hengkie Anie, some one who are ambigous for the price of moko dwory. (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.htm)

Without dwory 'moko' it is impossible for an Alor man who still apply the customs to marry a woman. Actually, the marriage with dowry moko obviously is very complicate to the men in Alor who still want to marry with traditional custom, because they can only marry their girl-friends or their fiancee when they already have moko for dowries wedding. Initially, the exchange of women with moko was done in the form of barter. Then, there was a change point of view, in the beginning of the twentieth century, when people began to recognize currencies

or economies, these rare moko, began to become treasures' objects. Then, when the girls family asks for a high price for a dwory, while the male family is not accepted the payment amount, it can be lead to the failure of the marriage and disputes among citizens. But, when the the men still want to marry that girl with expesive moko dwory, he has to try to get a lot of money working hard or borrowing money from others.

-Many Problems CausedThe High Price Moko As Seen in Habollat, North Probur Village, Alor District. (Case Study).

The aim of this paper is to explore the marriage problem in some place in remote area, like in in Alor island, which caused of traditional patrilinial custom, is very very hard for many women to use their own will to live as their own right. The complicated wedding with dwory moko in Alor is not just a big problem for men but also for women. That's caused the poor girls from kampoong Habollat in North Probur, Alor district began to worry can't get married. That ethnic which use Kafoa language, also called as ethnic Kafoa. That ethnic ethnic minority, is almost extinct, although it has existed since the Megalithic era, as its population is only about 800 people. The entire population of Habollat is Christian and many of them work as crop cultivators. Whoever converts their religion must leave that kampoong.

The people of Habollat are still applying the wedding with bronze cups or'Moko's dowry 'which is very expensive for many Habollat men. That custom endangered the existing of Habollat ethnic and Kafoa language because of the women' migration from that area. Some Habollat girls have to get married with the men from muslim neighbour area, like Kelihibeng, who don't apply that wedding custom and forced to convert their religion. Several Habollat girls still survived in Habollat by accepting a Christian men from Habollat or outside that kampoong to be their 'future' husbands because, as long as the future husband not yet pay the 'moko dowry to the girls'parents, they were forced to 'live together' or they had not yet been officially married.

In that kampoong, the price of a girl's moko dwory must be determined by the price of moko received by her mother in her last wedding. If the mother girl's moko dwory for example '*cap pisau*' was 200.000 rupiahs, then when her daughter married that price reach about 4000,000 rupiahs, after 20 year. That happens if if the girl is the only one daughter of that mother. But if that mother has two or more female children, price of that dwory is divided equally according to the number her daugthers. But that price is still expensive for many Habollat men who just work as crop cultivators. One of the most respected custom' figures in Habollat village is the landowner Pak Karim, said that the most expensive mokos referred are moko'*cap kawat*' and '*cap tanah*.'

When the author conducted research on the Kafoa language and culture in kampoong Habollat, it found at least there are two couples who have lived together in without getting married because the man can't pay the dowry moko or the moko dowry not paid in full or in installment payment. Some Habollat' women choose to renounce their village, and custom to marry the moslem man from Kelihibeng, the neighboring village, who does not apply the marriage with 'dowry' moko and then convert their religion to moeslem and not use the Kafoa language any more because they move to the village of their husbands. If marriage problems with expensive dowry moko continue to occur, Habollat' ethnic and Kafoa language can be endangered and the habitans of Habollat people become decreased. If a women's decision to marry one is forced to sacrifice, religion, place of residence and ethnicity, of course it violates the woman's human rights.

2. Methodology

This study begins with empirical studies that attempt to qualitatively describe the existing data about marriage with dowry 'moko' that occurs in Alor society like in kampoong Habollat, district North Probur. Then, the author tries to use ethnophilosophy perspective as a part of the philosophy study which has its own reflexive research method to explore the topic. Ethnofilosophy is a study of ethnic forms, customs, world-views, elements of knowledge and beliefs and views of life (*weltanschauung)* possessed by a particular ethnicity, more than descriptions which is usually done by the empirical sciences, by using the system of philosophy. " Ethnophilosophy refers to the bodies of belief and knowledge that have philosophical relevance and which can be redescribed in term drawn from academic philosophy, but which have not being conscoiusly formulated as philosophy by philosophers. These bodies of belief and knowledge are manifested in the thought and action of people who share a common culture." (*https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/ethnophilosophy-african/v-1*).

Ethnophilosophy, in the the philosophical system can be used to understand culture, even if it is not not to apply directly ase solving problem. of a society and culture problems. The methodology of ethnophilosopical review can use many methods to get the depth understanding of many topic, such as,interpretation, comparison and description to explore the empirical data which show the research' problems.In this case, the description of the mariagge with moko 'dowry' must be explain with the cultural aspect of that ethnic clearfully.

3. Research Highlight

This study aims to explore the main problems of many women on the island of Alor, as happened in kampoong Habollat, who experienced 'violence' in determining their own marriage due to the expensive dowry moko which should be given by their future husband to their parents.

a) Marriage with dowry 'moko' is A custom from Alor's anscestors.

The marriage with dowry 'moko' has become a custom since the days of their ancestors. If marriage with dowry 'moko' removed, then the culture that uses custom objects such as moko, gong, etc. can be lost from Alor culture. " Moko dwory is the hallmark of our society from generation to generation, which we can not eliminate.The initial meaning of our ancestors was an exchange of mutual respect between two families, but over time, the culture grew and gained economic influence to the detriment of many things. Now, we want to return to the early essence of this custom tradition, "said Reverend Marthen Madjene, one of Alor community leaders." (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.htm)

b). Marriage with dowry 'moko' can cause violence against woman's human rights.

If marriage with dowry moko is maintained, it it will be many Alor' women choose to be a singgle women all the day of their life. They can also force to marry men from other ethnic with different religion who do not apply the dowry moko in marriage. If a women's decision to get married sacrifices their religion, place of residence and ethnicity, of course it violates the woman's human rights. " The wife,... also required total dedication to the male parents, should not return to her birth parents. When she has a problem with her husband she can not go backto her biological parents house. Marriage becomes a burden for her. Life is not a free

situation for her because she feel like being equated with objects." (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.html)

c).The marriage with 'moko' dowry undirectly can abolish one ethnic with their languange.

The difficulty married with dowry 'moko' cause some women from rural Alor such as Kafoa women who had been a Christian choose to marry men from other ethnic who are Islamic and must be abandoned Habollat village. This situation can decrase the number of female residents of kampung Haboolat and the people who use Kafoa language which endangered the Kafoa ethnic.

d).The marriage with 'moko' dowry can cause the un officially marriage or living together (*kumpul kebo*) in waiting the dowry moko could be paid to the girl's parents. When a marriage is legally difficult to accomplish, there is a couples who still want to married in a living together way.

4. Discussion

a). Marriage with dowry 'moko' is a heritage custom from Alor's anscestors.

Should the people of Alor eliminate the 'moko' dowry custom from their culture? It is not easy to do because that kind of marriage is an Alor custom that had become the ethnic cultural identity from their anscestors. However, the marriage with dwory 'moko' is one of the unchangeable identity traits of the Alor community. From ethnophiosophical perspective, according to Frederich Schelling, German philosopher (1775-1854), "man and things (nature), or objective world, constitute an equal position as subject to object. It means the object in this case 'moko' also give something active to human knowledge. Schelling reveals that man and nature are an equal subject for having one will. Through this thought he leads to the philosophy of identity in which the unity of the natural and the human subject is identical, as it is contained in his writings 'System des transzendentalen' (See: Simon Peter L. Tjahyadi, pp. 312-313 at https: //books.google.com/books?isbn=9792104607). The function of moko 'as a marriage dwory' become the identity of Alor people who consider the position of that thing as something equivalent to them. In Alor community someone who has a lot of moko is regarded as a respected person. A lot of people who want to get married will look after him to find the moko.

From ethnophilosophical perspective, Alor's ethnic assume they have ethnic property rights to maintain the marriage with 'moko dwory as the cultural heritage from their ancestral heritage. However, the patriarchal Alor community must also realize that marriage with dowry moko at this time sacrifices a lot of women's rights to choose their way of life and not determined by an object called ' moko.' The low appreciation of women lasted thousands of years ago when it began to establish what is called patriarchs-male supremacy. In modern times philosophers still see women as objects of male supremacy. "In his A Discourse on Political Economy (1755), philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau consistently views women as inferior and subordinated beings. The purpose of their life is only to serve men, therefore, they may or may not be leaders." (http://heriantisamsu.blogspot.co.id/2012/02/membaca-filsafat).

b). Marriage with dowry 'moko' can cause violence against woman's human rights

However, the high price of moko caused the impact of violence against Alor women who will get married. This circumstances clearly violate Habollat's woman' human rights. Some Habollat girls' force to married moeslem man from Kampoong Kelihibeng and convert their religion because there is no man from the same religion ask them to get married because the expensive moko dwory. Majority of the people of the neibouring village of Kampoong Habollat, such as, Kelihibeng are moslem and not aplly the moko dowry for marriage. Individual right as the freedom to choose the way of life is a part of human rights. Then girls from Habollat village must choose her husband according their own will and they must not forced converting their religion to becoming get married.

According to John Locke, the pioneering philosopher of human rights, any right including ethnic property rights, must prioritize the interests of human life including women in equality. " Every human are born free and equal, John Locke said in his book 'The Second Treatise.' So the issue of gender is not just the issue of men's subordination to women based on the custom of partricarhat but also the human problems that disturbed his human rights in determining his freewill. "Classical social contract theory and the broader argumen that ideally, all social relations should take a contractual form, derive from rev"olutional claim. The claim is that individuals are naturally free and equal to each other..." The assumption that individuals were born free and equal to each other meant that none of the old argguments for subordination could be accepted... might or force could no longer be translated into political right; appeals to custom and traditional were no longer suffucient; nor were the various argument from nature, whether they looked to the generative power of father, or to superior birth, strength, ability or rationality." (Carole Pateman, 268).

b). Marriage with dowry 'moko' can cause violence against woman's human rights

The payment of the moko dwory, signifies the release of the wife from her home after marriage to stay in the house of her husband. Thus, after marriage, the woman is already under the control of the groom's family. Another thing that is a problem is equality in the household." I often encounter the problem of domestic violence in congregations that follow the customary marriage rules with very high moko value. The men who give moko to the wife's family with a very expensive price often assume his wife must be subject to the husband's orders, also sometimes have to be told anything even the wife should accept beaten, because men feel they have bought a wife, "said Reverend Susanna Mauko,

The wife, is also required to devote totally to a male parent after get married in a patriarchat custom. She can't return to her biological parents when shte face a problem in her new habitans. She will not feel f free, and makes women feel anymore to decided what she wants. This could be happen after her owm family ask a high price for a moko' dwory. If while the male' family is not willing to pay or not accept the payment amount it could belead to the failure of the marriage. This often leads to disputes among citizens of Alor . It could be the people who had been harmonious, then have mutual dislike and trigger the problem. These problems can spread to other areas of society. According to one of the respected traditional figures in kampoong Habollat, the landowner Pak Karim, besides 'moko,' there are also gongs that are used as a customary object of marriage. When some one which at the time sounded indicates the woman has been out of his house and her husband can use his power over her. The husband was aware that they had paid her by the expensive moko.

Meanwhile, the education of children who also need a fee, will be ruled out. Education can not be the focus of society because of this. Another thing that is a problem is equality in the household."I often encounter the problem of domestic violence in congregations that follow the customary marriage rules with very high moko value.The men who give moko to the wife's family with a very expensive price often assume his wife must be subject to the husband's orders, also sometimes have to be told anything Even the wife should accept beaten, because men feel they have bought a wife, "said one of the local people Reverend Susanna Mauko. ((http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.html)

In fact, in the Alor way of life, the dowry moko is a price that elevates women valueAccording to Wiji Suprayogi, An Alor cultural activist " It (moko, red) is really a tribute to the woman of Alor', a' , true dwory is a form of barter and respect. ., one of the cultural characteristics of the farming community is to uphold women for domestic affairs (matrilineal) and to uphold men for social affairs (patrilineal)." He said that "when there is a marriage, the married woman will enter the male family, then her famiy "loses" one of its female member. To to honor the families who lost their daughters (female), the male family gave a valuable object of the moko. This is a form of respect, equality, and social harmony. This is a point of familial exchanges in the traditional marriege of mokobelis, a matter of high price." (." (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.html)

c). The marriage with moko dowry can cause the un officially marriage or living together (*kumpul kebo*).

When the author conducted research on the Kafoa language and culture in kampoong Habollat North Probur, Alor, it is found two couples who have been living together without getting married, because the dowry moko the dowry has not been paid in full or still in installment payment.The problem will come when that unmarired couple have a children because they need legal identity from the state. When the marriage is difficult to accomplish, that couples choose to 'live together' illegally. That couple will be difficult to have a birth certificate ,if they have a childred, which is very important for their child education.

Ussually they get married in mass weddings after man' parents have paid the moko dwory to the woman parents ."Indigenous peoples, governments, and religious circles (It called three community stones) held mass weddings after an equivalent price agreement of moko. There was a couple of grandparents married on the same time with their grandchildren in that wedding ceremony." (http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/188613-antara-alor-moko-dan-cinta.htm)

d). The marriage with 'moko' dowry undirectly can abolish one ethnic with its language.

The difficulty married with dowry 'moko' cause some women from rural Alor such as Kafoa or Habollat women who choose to marry men from other ethnic with moeslem religion who not apply marrige with dowry moko, and they must convert their religion**.** They must kampoong Habollat village which all the population must be Christian. This situation can decrase the number of female residents of kampung Haboolat and the people who use Kafoa language which endangered the Kafoa ethnic.

5. Conclusion

Marriage with dowry moko in Alor district, East Nusa Tenggara is an ancestral heritage that is difficult to remove. Customs (a*dat)* is a marker of ethnic identity which, according to the ethnophilosophy of Scheler, is equivalent to the ethnic society itself in its position as subject and not object. The ancestors of the Alor's tribe transmitted the custom of marriage 'moko' as their identity. Marriage with dowry moko is maintained as a hallmark of ethnic identities on the island of Alor. Of course, years ago, at the time of the wedding with the dowry moko was started to be held, moko is still easily obtained. Now, the price of moko is very expensive for most men of Alor who work as shifting cultivators. and peasants. Apparently, this high price moko caused by the businessmen who take advantage of the marriage moko. Moko kept in the houses made a business area for moko dealers.

The expensive dowry moko make many Alor Christian women must convert their religions to marry other moslem men, who do not apply moko dowry. They don't use their mother Kafoa language any more because they must leave kampoong Habollat. Then, the marriege with the dowry moko is endangered to the culture of Alor ethnic. For exemple, it can cause The Habollat ethnic becomes decrease and the Kafoa language become endanger because of the moko dwory.

The problem of marriage with expensive dowry moko obviously is very complicated to the couple of many ethnic Alor. To get better solution the traditional and religious leaders must intervene to deal with this issue. However, the patriarchal Alor community must also realize that marriage with dowry moko at this time sacrifices a lot of women's rights to choose their way of life which determine by an object called ' moko'. Every Alor's women must use their individual right as the freedom to choose their way of life as a part of human rights. It is necessary to make a change in the bussines of Moko dwory. The price of a moko should be reduced so that it can be reached by majority peasant of Alor who work a gardening, swidden cultivators and small fishermen. Local governments need to re-establish moko-making factories because the the people of Alor need a lot of moko as a custom things. Moko also can be used as a musical instrument drum as an art object. A lot of new moko will easy to find in the market. The high price of moko caused by the business that run some people must be stopped. The price of moko become very cheap because no one can raise the it. If moko is easy to get, the price of moko dwory becomes cheap. The couple can easily get married and not just living together. The parents of woman can't raise the price of moko dwory because the price of moko has been determined in the market. Thus Habollat women can defend their religion because it is easy to marry a man from their village or manwith the same religion and keep maintaining a marriage with a dowry moko. Of course marriage with dowry moko can still be the identity of Alor people.

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Meanwhile, the education of children who also need a fee, will be ruled out. Education can not be the focus of society because of this. Another thing that is a problem is equality in the household."I often encounter the problem of domestic violence in congregations that follow the customary marriage rules with very high moko value.

"Moko is the hallmark of our society from generation to generation, which we can not eradicate, the initial meaning of our ancestors as an exchange of mutual respect between two families, but over time, this is growing and getting economic influence to spoil a lot of things now we want to restore to the early essence of this custom tradition, "said Reverend Marthen Madjene, one of Alor community leaders on the sidelines of a community meeting to Beritasatu.com, in Kalabahi, Alor , NTT, Thursday (5/6)

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN: A VISUAL ANALYSIS OF MEME DESIGNS IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract

It is not uncommon for the creation and dissemination of memes aimed for amusement and humor through social media today to visualize images abusive of women and children. This form of visual harassment can be classified as symbolic violence and can be categorized as a violation of law. The regulation on this matter has been codified in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection. This study aimed to analyze the visual structure of meme designs to see how meme exhibit symbolic violence by using nonverbal communication theory through visual analysis of facial presentation and postural presentation contained within the images. The results of this study are expected to build public awareness while encouraging anti meme campaigns that harass women and children through social media.

Keywords: Symbolic Violence; Memes; Women and Children; Visual Analysis; Nonverbal Communication

1. Introduction

The advance development of information technology has provided many conveniences to the society in accessing and sharing information with little delay. However, these conveniences also have a negative repercussion to the society, especially when the information shared in the form of pictures or visual images violate the social norms that exist within the society. One of these social norms violations is in the form of nonverbal communications visualizing women and children as objects that degrade them. The nonverbal communications generally exist in the cyber space in the form of meme variations that were shared on the social media. People who interact within the cyber space mostly view meme as an entertainment to laugh and have fun.

Nevertheless, the creation and the sharing of meme that degrades or harass other people can be categorized as a form of symbolic violence.

Meme is a piece of still picture, a copy or newly created imageries that was modified with attaching text with the purpose of providing humor. Meme that violates the social norms that degrades or harass other people can be categorized into a non-physical sexual abuse. Nowadays, there were many memes in the social media exploiting women and children's body image. This exploitation can be categorized under the visual harassment, which is "Showing pornographic materials in the form of photograph, poster, cartoon, screensaver, or other imageries, or harassment through email, SMS, and other modes of electronic communications" [1]. Pictures with a connotation that harass women and children are regulated under the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection.

In social context, visual harassment of women and children can be seen as a form of symbolic violence since there exists the factor of "domination of patriarchy culture" and "power relation" of the male and the grownups attached within the meme. As stated by Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic violence is "The violence which is exercised upon individuals in a symbolic, rather than a physical way. It may take the form of people being denied resources, treated as inferior or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations" [2].

The dominating influence of patriarchy culture in the society affected society's points of view on seeing the representation of women where women's bodies are treated as a mere object. Meanwhile, symbolic violence on children can occur because of the poor understanding of the grownups about the needs in the psychological development of children.

This symbolic violence phenomenon through the use of meme on social media cannot be separated from the perspective of design and visual communications. In this sense, the visualization of meme that often contained harassment shows a visualization of women and children's facial and postural, space settings, and other supporting visual elements as an artifactual message such as clothing and accessories.

The effort to shed a light regarding this matter requires the understanding of visual signs as message. Hence, this study aimed to understand how the symbolic violence was being communicated through meme as a form of nonverbal communications. The analysis of the sample provided are expected to educate the society on how to read the messages through visual communications in the form of meme posted on the social media. Furthermore, the results of this study are expected to build public awareness while encouraging anti meme campaigns that harass women and children. Symbolic violence as a visual harassment needs to be readily anticipated by socializing the legal awareness underlying the phenomenon to the society.

2. Research Methodology

The discussion in this study refers to the theory of nonverbal communication as a study of visual communication design with a qualitative approach. The purpose of visual communication design is to influence the knowledge, attitude, and behavior of society [3], especially when messages are communicated, both verbally (audio) and nonverbally, through text and images. Communication design through meme is a form of nonverbal communication.

In Fiske [4] it is explained that nonverbal communication can take place through presentational codes, ie representational messages, including through body language and posture. According to Rachmat [5], the classification of nonverbal messages consists of kinesic messages, in the form of facial presentations and postural presentations, as well as the proxemic message, which is the space setting that also contains social values. In this facial and postural presentation there is also an artifactual message, a message that is expressed through the appearance of the body such as clothing and accessories.
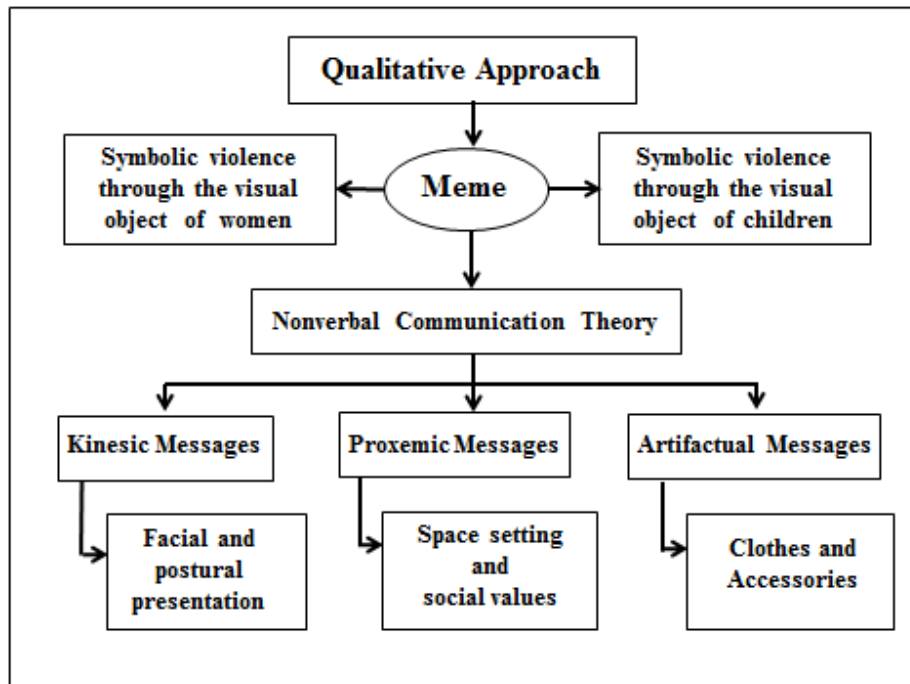
Figure 1. Qualitative approach with nonverbal communication theory

In the context of visual communication design, nonverbal communication messages can be read through visual elements, so that visual signs in memes that contain symbolic violence against women and children can be analyzed. In this case, the message in the meme visualization is designed primarily through facial and postural presentations, complemented by visual text as a support, thus reinforcing both connotation and interpretation.

3. Research Highlight

To discuss the phenomenon of meme on social media, this study took a random sampling by using Google search engine to be used as a case study. The sample that was chosen contained a visualization of women and children under the humor category based on the text accompanying the images. The meme used as a case study is a meme that portrays everyday daily life activities in the society.

Meme and Symbolic Violence

We need to understand what is symbolic violence based on Pierre Bourdieu's point of view, which is a violence that was done to an individual not in a direct physical manner but in a symbolical

manner in the form of treating an individual as an inferior being and limiting their aspiration. Thus, based on that understanding, meme with visual images that demeans other's dignities can be defined under the act of symbolic violence. Below are the meme samplings chosen containing women and children as an object with the tendency towards the act of symbolic violence:

a. Meme with visual object of women

Figure 1. Meme example with visual object of a woman in the kitchen.

Photo Source: https://newteknoes.com/gambar-meme-suami-istri-paling-gokil-lucu-kocak-terbaru/ gambar-meme-istri-pintar-masak/, last accessed 5th March 2018.

Figure 1 shows a meme containing the visualization of a woman cooking in the kitchen. The text "Istri yang bisa masak itu baru namanya real wife, kalo yang bisa ngangetin doang itu namanya microwife" was attached within the picture. The woman was visualized wearing tight tank tops showing her curvy body. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image compares the woman with cooking utensils.

Figure 2. Meme example with visual object of a woman in the washing area

Photo Source: https://www.brilio.net/ngakak/10-meme-gadis-desa-ini-bikin-kamu-pengen-buru-buru-nikah-1701058.html., last accessed 5th March 2018.

Figure 2 shows a meme containing the visualization of a woman pouring a bucket of water in the washing area. The text "Jika kau lebih memilih gadis kota yang kaya raya, apalah dayaku yang hanya gadis desa yang sederhana" was attached within the picture. The woman was visualized wearing tight clothes revealing some of her body parts. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image draws a comparison between city girls and rural girls.

Figure 3. Meme example with visual object of a woman shopping in the neighborhood

Photo Source: http://kumeme.com/meme/2016/10/pak-ada-obat-gatal-pare-terong.html/, last accessed 5th March 2018.

Figure 3 shows a meme containing the visualization of a woman shopping groceries in the neighborhood. The text was attached within the picture revealing the dialogue between the woman and the grocery seller written as "Pak, ono obat gatel?" which was pictured uttered by the woman and "Pare po terong?" which was pictured uttered by the grocery seller. The woman was visualized wearing tight clothes while scratching her back. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image draws a comparison of a vegetable as means to relieve the woman's problem.

b. Meme with visual object of children

Figure 4. Meme example with visual object of a child with her playmate

Photo Source: http://www.imgrum.org/user/alexmarchelsitorus/4142611870,
last accessed 5th March 2018

Figure 4 shows a meme containing the visualization of a child with her playmate playing outdoors. The text was attached within the picture revealing the dialogue between the children written as "Awas kalo sampe ketahuan ngelirik cewek lain tak betot nih Si Otong nyampe merah" which was pictured uttered by the girl and "Iya cayang...Ampuunn...ga lagi-lagi dech..." which was pictured uttered by the boy. The girl was visualized touching the boy's private parts with her hand while the boy was visualized wearing a shirt without pants. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image communicates a relationship between man and woman.

Figure 5. Meme example with visual object of children in class at school

Photo Source: http://jatim.tribunnews.com/2017/08/25/ada-ada-aja-berikut-10-foto-meme-kocak-tentang-qurban-jelang-idul-adha, last accessed 5th March 2018

Figure 5 shows a meme containing the visualization of children in class at school. One of the boys became a focus of the image. The text "Menjelang Idul Adha biasanya tiap kelas akan menyumbangkan teman yang gemuk untuk dikurbankan" was attached within the picture. The boy who became the focus of the meme was visualized having an overweight feature. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image draws a comparison between the said boy and sacrificial cattle for Muslim holiday celebration of Eid al-Adha.

Figure 6. Meme example with visual object of children in the home environment

Photo Source: https://www.kaskus.co.id/thread/58243e82de2cf2d7298b4583/lagi-kesel-nih-kumpulan-meme-anak-anak-kecil-yang-bisa-bikin-ngakak/, last accessed 5th March 2018

Figure 6 shows a meme containing the visualization of a child left hanging on fence covered with white fabrics. The text was attached within the picture revealing the monologue uttered by the child "Aku janji ga nakal lagi. Kasihani anakmu, Pak!!! Turunin donk Pa". The child was visualized crying with a face full of fears and sadness. Meanwhile, the text accompanying the image communicates a message that the child was being punished for being naughty.

Ethics And Rules

Based on the samplings chosen above, we can infer the intentional message that defames other people through images posted on social media, especially women and children. These images circulating around in our everyday daily life numb our perception and regard them as if they were a common occurrence. Thus, the creator and the disseminator of those memes are not readily sanctioned by legal rules even though the creator and the disseminator indirectly enabled the act of symbolic violence. This also concerns the ethics and norms upheld in the society.

The ethics regarding information sharing and pictorial message through electronic communications have been regulated under the Electronic Information and Transaction (EIT) law no. 19 of 2016 (amendment of EIT law no. 11 of 2008) article 45 clause 1 that every person intentionally and without the right to distribute and transmit and make accessible electronic information and electronic documents that have content that violates the morals as mentioned in the article 27 clause 1 can be sanctioned with criminal sanctions for a maximum of six years of imprisonment and a fine of 1 billion IDR as mentioned in the site https://web.kominfo.go.id/sites/default/files/users/4761/UU%2019%20Tahun%202016.pdf

The low level of ethics understanding became one of the contributing factors of the meme trend that defame other people on social media. In the context of symbolic violence, these trends could happen because of the disposition of habitus in the form of erroneous practices and assumption spread within the society as a consequences of familial background, socioeconomic status, and class and educational background among others [6]. The subjective practices from these meme creators and disseminators are basically can be put into a more objective perspective based on the social structure and the culture in society. This means that every member of the society is entitled with social responsibility to prevent actions that can violate the morals.

Symbolic violence with the visual object of women generally shows facial and postural connoting sexually. Images that can be filed under sexual harassment are those that intentionally expose sexual and private parts of women. This can be considered as discrimination against women. The Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women stated that all citizens are equal before the law and government, thus every form of discrimination against woman should thus be erased as it is not in conformity with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia [7]. In other words, no citizen, man or woman can mock other people's body as it is against human rights to live without fear of being discriminated.

The creation of meme that has a connotation of gender discrimination cannot be separated from the binary power relation within the dominating patriarchy culture that puts women as a subordinate. Patriarchy culture that puts man as a dominant group has become a system that deeply rooted within the society. This makes discrimination against women took place in all layers of society. Women are often viewed as only a visual object. This binary ideology based on

gender can alter the perspective within the society in regards to the work distribution, functional differences, and the relation between man and woman [8].

Meanwhile, the symbolic violence with the visual object of children generally represents children's innocence made into poor jokes. Indonesia has also regulated the matter regarding children's right under the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection (amendment of law no.23 of 2002) stating that all children have the right to life, to grow and develop and the right to protection from violence and discrimination as mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; and also regarding all children as a potential to continue the fight for the nation's aspiration with strategic role, traits and special nature so as required to be protected from all kinds of degrading or inhuman treatment that violates human rights [9]

Children's rights to be loved and to receive the support for their psychosocial development are also a main concern that needs to be addressed since the concept of the self is starting to be developed psychologically by the individual in this stage. The sense of self was influenced by social aspects, especially when children start to inject their self images and develop an understanding on how other people see them. This development of the concept of the self is becoming stronger and clearer along with the development of their cognitive abilities [10]. Thus, memes with the intention to degrade and demean children's dignity can obstruct this process and resulting in a negative concept of the self.

In the context of design, photograph or picture that was used to create degrading meme and virally transmitted through social media is a form of visual harassment. This study focused itself on the visual analysis of the kinesic and proxemic messages. In kinesic messages, every sign within the meme was analyzed by using the facial presentation through their expression, postural presentation through their gestures and the visualization of the body, and artifactual presentation through clothes and accessories worn. In proxemic messages, the analysis was done to see the setting and background space usage as a representation of social and cultural values upheld within the society.

4. Research Result

Analyzing the symbolic violence against women and children can be described as follows:

a. Meme with visual object of women

1) Kinesic Messages

a) Facial Presentation

In the meme visualizing women, the facial elements display a friendly expression of a beautiful face. Generally a beautiful face becomes the object of visual appeal. Facial friendliness also has a tendency to attract the attention of others, especially the opposite sex, so the meme deliberately chose the face of women who are considered to have advantages. Friendly expression of women can lead to connotations that "invite" the opposite sex.

b) Postural Presentation

In the meme visualizing women, postural messages are conveyed through sexy posture by showing open body parts, especially the chest and legs. Both parts of the body are generally the sexual attraction of women, causing the connotation that the image of women is only seen physically.

2) Proxemic Messages

a) Space As Setting

In the meme visualizing women, proxemic messages are conveyed through visualization of living space and the environment. The depiction of space as a background or setting raises the connotation of women's nature as a housewife with her homework duties, ranging from kitchen affairs, laundry, and shopping.

b) Space and Social Values

In the meme visualizing women, space messages indirectly sharpen social values in society, that women are destined to be helpless beings and have social limitations. The nature of women connoted is not for a career or seeking knowledge.

3) Artifactual Messages

a) Clothes Presentation

In the meme visualizing women, artifactual messages are displayed through women's clothes that tend to be tight and open, thus accentuating women's curves. Messages through these clothing can lead to the connotation that a woman's limited image displays a mere physical attraction, not by her skills or intellectual ability.

b) Accessories

In the meme visualizing women, there are no display accessories that can support elements of symbolic violence, because memes generally represent the lives of lower middle-class societies.

In memes, visual text also supports connotation. In the first meme, additional texts that equate wives with cooking utensils are very unethical. In marriage, the wife's role is not for cooking, but the husband's companion. Each has rights and obligations. Not only the husband's needs to be met, but also the needs of the wife. Comparing the skills of women in the kitchen with cooking utensils that can bring the happiness of the husband, such as degrading women's dignity in her role in family and society. The happiness of a marriage does not lie in the ability of a wife to "warm" her husband. The meme raises connotations about the role of wife who is seen as only a physical function.

Visual text in the second meme emphasizes the different roles of urban women with village women in their daily work. The description of women's activities in the washing areas is basically unrelated to their position in the community. Visualizing women wearing tight clothes in front of a well as village women can form a connotation of "sexy" village women. While urban women life is all the more easy and modern. Basically, the struggle and simplicity of a woman is not merely measured from her activities in the wash area at the well. The meaning of simplicity can be seen concretely or abstract through the way of thinking. This is reflected in the daily struggle of life. This is what makes everyone's struggle different, not least for women.

In the third meme, visual text that assumes the behavior of women who are scratching as the need to obtain inner satisfaction through the seller of vegetables is also very degrading to women's dignity. In the context of domestic life, every woman and man can obtain their inner needs through appropriate and compassionate ways, not merely using objects to satisfy the passions.

Based on the above discussion, it needs to be underlined again about the symbolic violence against women in society. According to Asmaeny Azis (2007), violence against women continues to occur due to the existence of capitalism. Women are repeatedly reproduced commodities of capitalism, until it is believed that this is how capitalist society views women. Exploitation of women's bodies continues because the women's struggle has been oriented only to the patriarchal system in the household and in the relationship of women to men, but does not see the powerful influence of capitalist power. The role of women connoted only to serve the desires of the owners of capital, the passion of the patriarchal system, and also the desires of men [11].

Therefore, it should be realized together that all forms of symbolic violence against women through the design of memes are included in the domain of human rights that have ethics and rule of law.

b. Meme with visual object of children

1) Kinesic Messages

a) Facial Presentation

In the meme visualizing children, generally displaying facial expressions of innocence and sadness. Children's innocence here is used to generate the connotations of children's "folly and helplessness." While facial expression of sadness tends to cause the connotation of loss of empathy. This is reinforced by visual texts whose messages undermine the children's self-concept. Memes with such tendencies indirectly diminish the rights of children to obtain the affection, respect and protection of adults.

b) Postural Presentation

in the meme visualizing children, postural messages are delivered through a half-naked posture, a fat posture, and a posture that is undergoing "punishment". This visualization is supported by text that reinforces the image display. The overall appearance of these children's posture elements creates connotations that undermine the dignity of children, especially about self-concept as psychosocial development.

2) Proxemic Messages

a) Space As Setting

in the meme visualizing children, proxemic messages are displayed through space around the house and in the school environment. The proxemic message here emphasizes again that symbolic violence can occur in the environment of the children themselves, ie at home and at school. Such visualization raises the connotation that children are less protected by the people closest to them.

b) Space and Social Values

in the meme visualizing children, the message of space as a setting also indirectly brings a message of symbolic violence in the absence of efforts to build educational social values in order to give children joy in the growth period, both at home and at school. This is further emphasized by visual texts that undermine the rights of the child.

3) Artifactual Messages

a) Clothes Presentation

in the meme visualizing children, artifactual messages are displayed through incomplete clothing, thus exposing the vital parts of children who should be part of a private body that no one else should touch. While other artifactual messages are cloth as a hanging device that covers the whole body of the child, making it look tortured. Both artifactual messages can cause connotations that undermine the child's dignity.

b) Accessories

In the meme sample, children's visualizations also do not feature accessories that can support symbolic violence elements.

For texts that also support the connotation of symbolic violence, the first meme shows a child's conversation containing messages about adult relationships between men and women. Visualizations that show the child's vital parts are added with connotations that can affect the thinking of children in their social environment. This can have an impact on their behavior as well.

In the second meme, visual text narrates the importance of sacrifice on Eid al-Adha but by making the fat "son" a "sacrifice". This visual text can encourage low self-esteem in children and affect self-concept for obese children. No one child, without exception, may be equal to the animal. Every child has the same rights and degrees to be respected as a human being.

Visual text on the third meme expresses a child's regrets that focus on the child's "mistake", so it deserves to be punished by his parents. The form of punishment that is visualized and consumed publicly is a form of symbolic violence that can induce a loss of empathy. This can also lead to the belief that punishment by hanging a child with a cloth on the fence is a funny and natural thing. In fact, this can lead to a traumatic experience in the child's self, and lose confidence to get protection and affection from his parents.

Based on the above discussion, it is clearly very important to prevent forms of symbolic violence against children. It is said by Dr. Sa'ad Riyadh, that the relationship of parents with children can basically be bridged through dialogue. The purpose of dialogue is to educate children, not to corner, emphasize mistakes, and to create fear. Children need a touch of feelings. Children need expressions that they are loved. Children also need to be motivated to continue achieving their true self [12]. Similarly, when having to dialogue about the child through the picture.

In principle, the Act has prohibited discriminatory treatment against anyone who degrades the dignity of others. Symbolic violence on memes with visual objects of women and children, such as creating and disseminating meme designs, may be considered a violation of human rights. The design of memes that harass others may lead to connotations of gender discrimination or injustice in society. It is a legacy of social and cultural values for the next generation. Symbolic violence also means neglecting the rights of the child, that is the need for affection, respect, and protection from the adults and the environment, which can have an impact on the psychological development of adulthood.

Prevention

Based on the examples of meme cases above, the researcher sees the importance of continuing socialization efforts to the community to participate in preventing the dissemination of memes

that connotes harassment of women and children. Prevention efforts include through the media campaign which is disseminated to educational institutions, as well as social media. In addition, people are also encouraged not to share the memes that connotes sexual harassment through communication devices such as cell phones, or social media. The public should be more concerned and understand that the act of disseminating memes with negative connotations is an act that can impact on false perceptions, as well as violate human rights. The socialization about the danger of symbolic violence through meme is part of public education, so that people can respect each other, and do not behave discriminatively, especially against women and children.

5. Conclusion

The results of this study conclude that the act of creating and disseminating memes that harass women and children is a violation of the law that should be sanctioned. This is in accordance with the rules codified under the law. Symbolic violence in memes by means of kinesic messages through facial presentation and postural presentation, artifactual messages, and proxemic messages through visualization of the background space has the potential to nurture gender discriminations, especially regarding the role of women in the society. Aside of that, memes with visual object of children can have negative psychological impacts on the children's development. All members of society, especially adults, need to have an understanding that children need a sense of appreciation, protection, and affection from the environment and the adults around them. The creation and dissemination of memes on social media aimed at making jokes should not display visual objects that undermine the dignity of anyone, including women and children. The results of this study are expected to educate and build public awareness about the impacts that can result from the creation and dissemination of memes on social media. The public's understanding of the visual language of memes that connotes harassment will encourage them to participate in preventing the dissemination of memes that degrade and demean women and children. The protection and elimination of discriminatory measures against women and children has a legal basis and needs to be continuously socialized as a part of the promotion and the protection of human rights.

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PAPERS IN PANEL
WOMEN, DEMOCRATISATION
AND FAMILY CHANGING
(FAMILY)

PROLOGUE

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This proceeding consists of papers in the Panel 4 "Women, Democratisation and Family Changing" as a part of panels in "The International Conference and Workshop on Gender: "Women's Leadership and Democratisation in the 21st Century Asia" held on 27-28 April 2018 in Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) Jakarta. There is a global phenomenon of increasing number of women national leaders worldwide since 1990s. Asian countries continue its democratisation, one of it signifies by rising trend of women's leadership in national and local level. Nevertheless women in the 21st Century Asia are facing more challenges faces such as social conflict across countries where women and children often becomes victims, increasing threat of terrorism and radicalism, discrimination for women in the name of religion and morality and feminization of poverty. These challenges have affect the family in Asia.

The family is widely considered to be the basic foundation block for society. The family as an institution garners much attention in the contemporary Asia, including Indonesia, raising questions about its continued resilience and forms of change and adaptation. Social changes together with reorientation of social values and increased participation of women in production of economic goods and services, migration promoted functional and structural changes in the institution of the family. As a consequence, the centrality of the family in the everyday lives and experiences of individuals is queried and piques interest.

Despite the conference theme covers Asia, most papers in this panel deal with issues surrounding the family in Indonesia, out of eight papers, only one focusing on family in India. Tan and Dommaraju paper examines how married women in Jakarta view the family in the face of major social and political upheavals. Their study revealed that in spite of seeing the family as important and central source of social support, many younger women were concerned about the decline of family ties because they see that the focus on building careers and pervasiveness of social media were undermining the quality of family relationships. Tan and Dommaraju pointed out that these findings contradictory to what Giddens (1991) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2008) suggest that modern society is geared towards the individual and not the group. While Martha's

study focusing on the implication of women as family head on family roles, family formation as well as domestic relationships. The study results suggest that todays' women no longer accept or expect the traditional family roles of their parents. Marriage and motherhood continue to be part of women's lives but they are remaking these family roles without giving up their self-identities.

The roles of women in the family are also addressed in two other papers written by Safitri, Riski and Dewi. Safitri's paper focussing on the position of urban women in the family. She categorized the position of women in her study into four. First, the position where women demand the husbands to be more active in the pattern of child care. These women belief that the role of father and mother should be balanced in parenting. Second, the position of women who take over the role of father in making a living, even though the father remains in the family and remains a companion of women's lives. Third, the position of women who dare to divorce their husbands and taking care of their children. Fourth, the position of women who succumb to the integrity of the household. Riski's paper addressing the emerging phenomena, the father involvement on bressfeeding in urban areas. Through a digital ethnography study on Ayah ASI's twitter feeds and e-book, her study revealed that women have an important role in father involvement. The wives' attitude on husbands involvement in their childcare are the main factor that can triggers, support, or even hinder a father to involve in childcare.

Bimantaras' paper analyze the social movement conducted by Indian muslim women to ban the practice of instant divorce. Based on the preliminary data and assumptions, he proposes two main arguments. First, that the practice of instant divorce in India is a manifestation of both structural and cultural violence against Muslim women within Indian Muslim community. This practice has put Indian Muslim women as gendered subalterns as they could not speak or act for themselves alone for their rights on divorce. Second, the movement born from Indian women's sympathy and solidarity for the victims represent the third world feminism discourse which tends to deviate themselves from their Western counterparts. By observing the way the movement was brought to and what principles they are trying to demand from the issue, the author believes it is Indian-styled movement.

The challenge facing by muslim women in Indonesia address by two papers written by Muntazory and Amzy, and Na'mah. Muntazory and Amzy paper focuses on the social changes regarding family value, especially for Muslim women in Indonesia by analysing the representation of Indonesian Muslim women in 30 television commercials aired in 2013-2017. Their study shows that there is a changing family value represented within the commercials. In 2013-2014 commercials the muslim women presented as mothers, while in 2015 commercials Muslim women as workers. Then in 2016-2017 commercials the image than shifted to muslim women as a human with freedom of choice. Na'mah paper addresses challenges faced by working women regarding the division of gender roles in the family. She pointed out that the Muslim community is often caught up in the rigid notion that men are the leaders of the family and the public authorities, so they are the sole responsible persons for the family. In some circumstances, women in charge of the family's livelihood are often perceived as aberrations and must play a ddouble roles. She argued that it necessary to reformulate *fiqh* (Islamic law) dealing with family leadership.

Rahmawati's study explores the Lived Experiences of Women as Social Media Entrepreneurs. Her study has two objectives; to investigate how female entrepreneurs define their own identities and to explore what are the challenges and obstacles for women entrepreneurs in managing both their domestic and professional lives. Her study suggested the proposition over Internet as a neutral, democratic and meritocratic sphere need to be contested. Although seemingly potential at first, she argues that the challenge and obstacle that faced by the women over centuries has remained relatively unchanged. These findings are similar with other studies across geographical locations, including the more gender equals countries such as the UK, New Zealand and Australia.❖

AN EXPLORATION OF THE MODERN FAMILY
IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Some Western intellectuals have questioned the value of the family: Anthony Giddens, for example, has referred to the family as a "shell institution" while Ulrich Beck dismissed it as a "zombie category". The family in Indonesia has faced a number of challenges in recent decades from both internal and external circumstances such as the labour migration of young adults, the *Reformasi* movement and the increasing Islamization of society. This paper seeks to examine how women in Jakarta view the family in the face of major social and political upheavals. The focus will be on the how these women regard the role of the family and what they see as the future of the family in Indonesia.

Keywords: Jakarta, family, social change.

1. Introduction

The family in Indonesia has faced a number of challenges in recent decades from both internal and external influences. The conservative doctrine of *Pancasila* was the cornerstone of many policies of Suharto's New Order for more than 30 years. This conservative doctrine, in which conformity was a key element, had profound impact on everyday life including marriage and the family especially the participation of women in society and increasing dual career families especially in the cities. The fall of Suharto's New Order in 1998 was preceded and precipitated by the Asian economic crises. Since then there have been a number of political developments such as the decentralization of government, democratic elections, and an anti-corruption drive.

There has also been a rapid expansion of the media and reports on the visible Islamization of Indonesian society. The proliferation of social media has changed the influences individuals are experiencing as part of everyday life. There has been greater individuation as individuals tailor their social sphere [1]. This paper will endeavor to establish how family is perceived among married women in Jakarta [2]. We focus on married women because they are the ones who are actively engaged in forming new families through marriage and childbearing. We are interested in who they consider "family", what the purpose of the family is, and what issues are faced by the contemporary family in Jakarta.

2. Research Methodology

The respondents are married women who were 30 years and older at the time of the interviews. This data is part of a larger project that involved conducting 100 semi-structured interviews of women in Jakarta during a four-month period between October 2013 and January 2014. Purposive sampling was used to locate women who were willing to share their views with us. We used age (30–39, 40 and older) and marital status (ever-married, never-married) as additional criteria for selection. The sample was made up of 30 older married women, 30 younger married women, 20 older single women, and 20 younger single women. Only women who were 30 and older were selected because we wanted women who would have been adults in Jakarta both before and after *Reformasi*. The focus of the project is on Jakarta because aside from the fact that it is both the political and economic center of the country, it is also at the forefront of social and cultural change.

The focus of the semi-structured interviews was on how these women organized their everyday lives and how they viewed their personal circumstances. It included questions about their personal situation and their views about family and society. The interviews were carried out by a team of 5 experienced interviewers from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences who given additional training for the project. The interview data were transcribed and analyzed using the software for qualitative data analysis, NVivo.

One problem that the interviewers faced was a number of the respondents initially expressed concern that they would not be able to answer the questions. The interviewers had to make serious efforts to reassure them that there is no right or wrong answer to the questions they would be asked and that we are only interested in their opinions. Another issue was that for some of the respondents, the questions about society were problematic. It seemed that they did not think about daily life in societal terms. They asked for examples and agreed with the interviewers' examples.

3. Research Highlight

This paper examines the views of married women in Jakarta about various aspects of contemporary family:

- While most of the women see the family as a nuclear unit, some women do not restrict their definition of the family to just people who are related by blood and marriage. There is evidence that some women define of the family in terms of the closeness of relationships instead.
- The importance of the family is seen in terms of its functions. The two main functions of the family that the women mention are raising and nurturing children, and providing its members with support and protection.

- In spite of the important functions of the family, many younger women see family bonds as weakening because of work and social media. This suggests that individualization is taking place and undermining the traditional family.

4. Findings

This section will examine three main issues: first, who do the women consider to be members of their family; second, what role do the women as see the family as having; and third, issues facing the contemporary family.

4.1 Who is family

The composition of households in Indonesia has traditionally varied greatly across the different social and cultural groups. In Java, the nuclear family forms the dominant pattern with newlyweds usually forming their own household after marriage. However, when social and economic exigencies of the modern world come into play this may not be possible. Dommaraju and Tan [3] show that only 58.6 percent of urban households in Indonesia are nuclear compared to 67.1 percent of rural households. Urban households are also slightly larger than rural households with adults accounting for this difference in household size.

This section reviews what the respondents in Jakarta consider to the makeup of the family. Does the nuclear or the extended family prevail in the perception of these married women? An overview of the responses shows that there is some variation in the people that the respondents said are part of their family, husbands and children form the main components of the family for both the younger and older respondents. More than three-quarters of both groups of women mentioned husbands and children. For some women, the definition of family became narrower after marriage. For example, one of the older respondents explained how before marriage, she included her parents, siblings, cousins, etc. However, her definition family changed after marriage:

> *Kalau keluarga itu kan kalau di sini ya berarti kan ya mama, papa, kakak, sepupu, ponakan, suami, anak gitu. Sekarang udah menikah, keluarga ya artinya suami, anak gitu…*

More of the younger respondents included parents and siblings in their definition of the family compared to the older respondents. Half of the younger respondents also included parents and siblings as part of the family. Fewer of the older respondents mentioned siblings and even fewer mentioned parents, 9 and 7, respectively.

In-laws were also mentioned by both groups of women. Not only were parents-in-law included in the family but also their husbands' siblings. However, slightly more of the younger respondents mentioned in-laws than the older respondents. Non-kin were also included in the family by about one third of the respondents in both groups—friends, colleagues and neighbors were considered part of the family. One older woman describes how she has come to consider office colleagues as her second family because of the long hours in office:

> *Keluarga? Hmm, orang-orang kantor aku anggap keluarga juga kok … Iya, karena kan waktu kita lama di kantor, dihabiskan di kantor kan. Jadi ya keluarga kedua deh, kalo yang pertama kan otomatis yang dirumah.*

This view that colleagues at the workplace is a second family is also evident among the younger respondents:

> *… keluarga utama … rekan-rekan kantor juga keluarga nomor dua … karena kan waktunya juga banyakan disini … malah kayaknya 'becandanya' enak disini dibanding di rumah…*

Certain members of the extended family and friends are considered part of the family by choice. One respondent describes how she is closer to her cousin than her sister because they get along better and so they are family, not because they are related by blood or marriage:

> *Terus, sejujurnya menurut 'gue',.. teman. Karena gini, kalau di Indonesia kan yang namanya keluarga itu tu kayak misalnya anggaplah kayak kakak ipar gitu … Cuman 'gue' nggak tau ya, menurut 'gue' sendiri yang namanya saudara itu 'elo' cocok sama ini orang, kayak saudara, gitu. Karena kan dianggap saudara seolah-olah 'deket', sementara kadang 'nggak' selalu 'deket' juga, kayak gue sama kakak 'gue' aja memiliki kepribadian yang sangat berbeda, itu jarang ngobrol. 'Gue' lebih sering ngobrol sama sepupu 'gue' daripada ke kakak 'gue' kandung. Jadi kalau dibilang keluarga, keluarga secara arti harafiah 'gue' bisa bilang itu kakak 'gue', tapi kalau saudara secara 'gue', 'gue' akan masukkan teman dalam saudara, karena kita cocok, gitu. Bukan karena kita sedarah atau mendadak menjadi saudara karena pernikahan.*

The nuclear family appears to be the mainstay of the family for the respondents but it is by no means the only pattern. Parents, siblings and in-laws continue to be part of their understanding of the family. For some respondents, the definition of the family was extended to friends, colleagues and other non-kin. There is some indication that the definition of the family transcends biological ties and is extended to other close relationships.

4.2 What is family

The idea of the family in Indonesia has been heavily influenced by the state ideology of the New Order that emphasized women's domestic role [4]. In this section we examine how the respondents think about the family fifteen years after the fall of the New Order. The explanations the respondents provide about the importance of the family focuses on the functions of the family: raising children, and providing individual with support and protection. More of the younger women mentioned the functional role of the family compared to the older women.

One of the central themes is the role of family in raising children. One younger respondent explained that the family has to play a strong role in teaching their children so that they will be able to face the varied influences of the outside world:

> *.Aaa … kalau untuk di dalam pendidikan keluarga … bagaimana … [saya] menekankan bahwa anak-anak tu harus kuat bahwa karna kan di Jakarta tu pergaulannya tu banyak pilihan seperti-seperti itu tu. Nah itu gimana? [Saya] percaya ngga bahwa ya dari keluarganya harus dikeluarkan supaya anak juga kuat menghadapi dunia luar atau apa?*

An older respondent explains that the child will not thrive without the guidance of mother and father:

> *… pentingnya, misalnya gini … kalo untuk masa depan, untuk anak, kalo ibu tidak berperan kan dia gak bisa jadi apa-apa … kalo ibu tidak berperan, anak-anak mau kemana kan tidak diarahkan, kalo bapak-bapak kan kurang gitu … maksudnya saya gitu … kalo tidak ada ibu, gak bisa maju itu anak.*

Throughout the responses, there is reference to concern about the influences of the internet and social media. One of the older respondents describes how accessible the whole world is today—just a click away without having to leave one's room:

> *Pergaulan sekarang ini luar biasa … Ya, kita anak kita di kamar … Alhamdulillah tenang, tapi dia sudah menjelajah dunia, kita 'enggak' tahu dia, di kamar ooo … lagi bobo nak aa …, kita tahunya kan gitu … Klik aja sudah sampai Amerika … Klik, mau gini, model apa, model apa, apa yang 'enggak' bisa dicari di sini...*

Another younger respondent makes a similar point about the importance of the family and the greater role that parents have in a world where all kinds of media are easily available including pornographic videos:

> *Penting sekali, sangat penting, peranan orang tua. Malah sekarang banyak film-film apa lagi lebih mudah untuk dapet film-film, kayak film-film porno. … Barang-barang terlarang itu lebih, lebih mudah, mudah didapet. Jadi peranan orang tua lebih penting, Insya Allah saya jadi orang tua yang bener.*

A second theme that emerges in the responses is the role of the family as a haven that provides support and protects. One of the older respondents attributes the importance of the family to the influence of eastern culture and how the family provides a haven in times of difficulties from the time of birth until adulthood:

> *Kita kan masih menganut budaya ketimuran, jadi apapun yang terjadi itu mau susahnya kayak apa pasti larinya ke keluarga. Karena didalam keluarga itu kan dari awal kita dilahirkan sampai kita besar itu kita banyak belajar dari situ, kasih sayang, menghormati. Ketika dia keluar, dia pasti merindukan suasana seperti itu.*

An older respondent emphasizes the importance of the family in times of difficulties. She explains that no matter how mischievous a child is the family is where he will turn to. And that no matter how much we participate in the outside world, we will always return to the family:

> *Sebenarnya semuanya itu akan kembali ke keluarga. Senakal-nakalnya seorang anak, itu mestikan keluarganya yang dicari. Jadi arti penting keluarga itu harus ditonjolkan disitu. Misalnya kita sakit apa apa kan yang dicari mana ayah- ibu atau mana saudara terdekat. Tidak mungkin mana tetangganya. Jadi penting sekali sebenarnya peranan seseorang dalam keluarga. Kita harus sadarkan juga ke anak, ke suami kalau keluarga itu yang utama. Kalaupun kita berkiprah diluar sana nantinya juga kembali ke kekeluarga.*

The difficulties of life in Jakarta are another reason that a younger respondent gave when explaining the importance of the family. She explained that it is necessary to have strong parent-child bonds. The influence of technology and easy access of information makes it difficult for parents to shield their children from the threats of the outside world:

> *Di Jakarta keluarga itu penting banget, karena apa, karena kehidupan di Jakarta udah keras banget. Kedekatan antara anak dengan orangtua itu harus dan wajib banget. Karena apa? 'Loss' sedikit ya kita akan punya masa depan, generasi penerus yang enggak, maaf, tidak terdidik, dalam tanda kutip lah. Karena teknologi, informasi udah gampang banget didapet, gadget dimana-mana, anak udah punya sendiri, ya kalo enggak ada tameng dari orang tua salah satunya kedekatan, ya anak bisa 'loss' gitu aja. jadi penting banget.*

Both younger and older respondents describe the importance of the family in the role it plays as nurturing and raising children, as well as being a source of protection against the outside world which is characterized as increasing hostile. The two themes discussed are related in that they both juxtapose the family with the outside world.

4.3 Issues facing the contemporary family

The relevance of the family in modern times is an issue both Giddens [5] and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim [6] grappled with. They questioned the long-standing attachment to the family in spite its fragility in modern times when individualism is on the rise. They both argue that perhaps the family no longer has the central role it had in the past.

This section examines how the respondents view the how the family has changed in post-Reformasi Indonesia. Since the fall of the New Order government, there has been a great deal of economic, political and social liberalization. The perceptions of the respondents will give some indication if this liberalization has affected the family.

While both younger and older married respondents shared the view that the family provides the individual with the skills and support to face the outside world, the younger women appeared to have more to say about how the family was changing. The views they expressed about how the family has changed tended to be more negative than positive. Even though they talk about different things, the overall themes are about weakening family ties and the influence of the internet and social media.

One younger respondent describes how neither her family nor her husband's family get together much anymore. Even though her husband's relatives live near each other they don't seem to meet up as much as in the past:

> *… kalau dulu biasanya sering ngumpul, saya rasa sekarang jarang … kayaknya*

> *hubungannya 'enggak' seperti dulu lagi memang … tapi itu kalau dari [keluarga] saya ya … tapi dari keluarga suami saya juga begitu 'kayaknya' … jarang ngumpul-ngumpul, adanya … cuma ribut hahaha … kan keluarga suami saya di situ juga ya..jadi dekat disitu semua ya … saudara-saudara suami saya dekatan rumahnya, kayaknya gitu juga deh sama aja …*

The changes in the family are very evident to one of the younger respondents. She sees the demands on the family and the economic difficulties requiring both the husband and wife to work at the expense of family life:

> *… perubahannya sangat amat terlihat, perubahan keluarga sekarang adalah karena tuntutan, apalagi ekonomi yang semakin sulit, akhirnya membuat memutuskan untuk suami dan istri itu bekerja. Tadinya keluarga itu bisa normal, bisa berkumpul, tapi sekarang karena kondisi pekerjaan juga jadi jarang berkumpul. Bapaknya yang meeting, ibunya yang keluar kota, anaknya yang kemana gitu. Hingga akhirnya keharmonisan di keluarga itu sudah tidak terasa, gitu. Perubahannya lebih kesitu.*

One responded described the greater importance given to material things at the expense of relationships. It is more important to be friends on Facebook. She clarifies that while the use and availability of internet are appropriate for this time, there is just too much emphasis on them—the problem is people and their values:

> *Iya karena itu … karena arus tidak terkendali. Barang-barang menjadi materialistic, dalam artian barang-barang itu menjadi focus, bukan relationship yang menjadi focus tetapi barang. Kita berteman di Facebook, yang penting kan … gadget nya harus ada, bukan orangnya di sana. Jadi semua relationship itu tergantikan dengan alat. Dulu kan kita harus wawancara dengan narasumber, sekarang sama google. Bukan aku menyalahkan Google karena Google kan baik juga untuk saat ini. Tapi untuk memudahan, nah itu ada yang 'kebablasan'..disalahkaprahkan. Harusnya proporsi-nya harus segini, tetapi dilebarkan. Gadget porsinya untuk ini, dilebarkan jadi lebih. Kalau sejak kapan, ya sejak arus informasi ini, terus terjadi eforia terhadap barang barang dan eforia itu menjadi kebablasan . Jadi yang salah bukan barang atau produk yang 'digitukan'. Bagi aku tetap orangnya, jadi orangnya, value nya menempatkan orang pas.*

Another younger respondent also lamented the decline of family values. She attributes this to the surrender of the teaching of to the schools and other institutions because everyone is too busy. Affection is now shown via SMS chatting—hardly anyone gives hugs anymore:

> *… udah masuk ke nilai-nilai keluarga udah agak bergeser ya secara tradisional juga, jadi gini, pelembagaan nilai apa penanaman nilai-nilai keluarga itu diserahkan ke pihak sekolah, lebih ke arah di institusi lain gitu. Nah perempuan itu juga ikut andil makanya kenapa selalu mencari sekolah yang ooo … yang bagus, yang … apa namanya pengajarnya itu baik apa nanti maksudnya kan ya lu lah yang masukin itu jangan, jangan saya lah, jangan keluarga, saya sibuk di jalan aja udah habis dua jam, empat jam, empat jam sehari udah habis di jalan, di kantor 10 jam, 14 jam, anak tidur lapan jam paling ketemu anak cuma dua jam sehari kan. Jadi itu diserahkan ke institusi yang lain gitu. Itu 'udah' mulai bergeser ke sana, 'udah' apa namanya … tatap muka udah jarang, alat informasi udah digantikan sama gadget ya kan? Hah itu apa namanya afeksi itu lewat gadget aja, lewat SMS cating gitu, misalkan meluk gitu udah jarang.*

For the many of the younger respondents, there is great concern that economic pressures and technology especially social media are weakening family relationships. Older women, on the other hand, had less to say about changes in the family. They had to be prompted a lot more than the younger respondents. They tended to mention a weakening of the normative control the family had over its members especially the increase in divorce. For example, one older respondent

shared that in the past the focus was on material things but now with globalization that has brought a lot of information, needs have become high. Lifestyles have exceeded incomes which has sometimes resulted in corruption:

> *Dulu gak terlalu banyak ya..kalo kita melihat masih ada nilai-nilai keluarga ya…kalo dulu mungkin yang dikejar materi ya,,,tapi sekarang karena era globalisasi terus informasi banyak macem-macem.. jadi kebutuhannya tinggi, misalnya nih contoh..perempuan 'ngantor', dia punya suami dengan gajinya segini tapi gaya hidupnya lebih tinggi, jadinya kan menyeimbangkannya susah.. bukannya harusnya dia menurunkan gaya hidupnya ke suaminya tapi dia pengennya suaminya yang 'berubah' kaya dia..nah kadang-kadang suaminya jadi korupsi…nah kalo yang perempuan kalo suaminya tidak bisa trus dia cari keluar..nahhh …mungkin kalo dulu, era-era informasi kan gak banyak orang udah punya hp satu pengen dua, punya dua pengen android, trus gak pernah puas … nah itu gak selesai selasai..nah kadang itu 'ngimbanginnya' juga susah.*

Another older respondent also talks about divorce resulting from poor communication:

> *… banyak perubahannya. Banyak perceraian sekarang. Karena itu kesalahpahaman, ya itu komunikasi kurang bagus itu kayaknya. Jadi gini kayaknya punya indikasi yang gini, kayak menduga-duga oh kayaknya selingkuh padahal nggak. Kan nggak melihat sendiri, gitu loh … dulu jarang, ya kurang tahu ya kalau kurang terekspose ya tapi kan jarang terjadi ya. Dan sekarang banyak yang menggoda. Perempuan kan banyak yang menggoda sekarang apalagi laki-laki banyak duit.*

Overall, both younger and older respondents saw the family as changing. Only four older and two younger women mentioned that they did not notice much change in the family. However, if appears that the older women had difficulties articulating their views as they had to be prompted quite a bit to find out what types of issues the family was facing. They tended to mention noticing increasing incidence of divorce. The younger women, on the other hand, were most concerned about weakening family ties as parents became busier with work. They also saw the internet and social media as playing a significant role that drew family members away from the interacting with the family.

5. Conclusion

Indonesia has undergone a major transformation since the 1998 Asian economic crisis followed by the fall of the Suharto's New Order regime and the emergence of the *Reformasi* movement. There have been numerous political and legal reforms that have resulted in greater individual freedom and much less regulation of everyday life than was previously allowed. *Reformasi* also meant the end to the media crackdown that was part of the New Order's control of information [7]. All these changes have had an impact on the lived experiences of the respondents right down to how they understand the family.

The main people the respondents from Jakarta include in the family are husbands and children. Thus, the majority of the respondents understand of the family as the nuclear unit even though there is a smaller proportion of nuclear families in urban areas in Indonesia compared to rural areas [8]. Many respondents included parents and siblings as part of the family with more of the younger respondents than older respondents doing so. A few women also included their in-laws as family. There is evidence that the family is also being defined by some respondents in terms

of closeness of relationships and not just by kinship. Some respondents considered colleagues in the workplace as a second family because of the amount of time spent at work. Thus while the respondents see the family as mainly nuclear, some respondents extend the definition beyond kin. The existence of an additional criterion for who is family that is not based on kinship is significant.

For these women the importance of the family is seen in terms of its functions. The role of the family is on nurturing and raising of children. This role is seen as increasingly challenging because of the Internet and social media. Both older and younger respondents worry that family may not be up to this task. Another role of the family is to provide support and protection to the individual. In spite of their concerns of growing individualism, for these women, the family is the ultimate protection from the cruel world. Their views echo Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World* [9]—the family is where children are prepared to deal with the outside world and once they are grown, the family is what continues to provide succour from the hostile world.

In spite of seeing the family as important and a central source of social support, many of the younger respondents were concerned about the decline of family ties because they see that the focus on building careers and the pervasiveness of social media were undermining the quality of family relationships. These apparently contradictory views, suggest that the questions Giddens, and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim that raise how modern society is geared towards the individual and not the group, and the consequences this may have for family in Indonesia in general and Jakarta in particular, needs to be further explored.

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WOMAN AS FAMILY HEAD:
CHANGING ROLES OF WOMAN IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Emancipation of women in various areas of life has been discussed lately. Achievement and skill pointed out by women nowadays make us consider that women and men are not much different. It first depicts the development of family forms in Indonesia, with a focus on the de-standardization of the family life course and the interplay between the changes in family forms and in gender roles. It proceeds to describe the relationship between women's and men's new roles and family dynamics, and the implications of the changes in gender structures on the transition to parenthood. This is followed by two chapters which focus on the implications of these changes on intra-family organization, namely on changes in gender roles in doing family and on coping strategies of families under conditions of uncertainty and precariousness.

This study aims to find out how women as family head changing family roles, family forms and domestic relationships as well. The issue around marriage and family organization will be discussed. Issues such as whether to respect the marriage institution, comply the law of Islam, what the implication extends beyond individual families are explored. These issues are interesting since Indonesia culture is well known for the religious and patriarchal culture. Islam norms for Indonesian always turn into guide in their daily life which implies that a leader must be a man.

Keywords: Woman's Leadership; Family Head; Family Roles; Islam Norms; Patriarchal Culture

Introduction

Family is a basic unit of society where individuals both cooperate and compete for resources. It is also a primary place where in which individuals confront and reproduce societal norms, values, power, and privilege. Gender norms expressed within the family are reinforced and reflected in larger institutions of society. "Gender relations are not confined to the domestic arena — although families constitute an important institutional site on which gender relations are played out — but are made, remade and contested in a range of institutional arenas" (Kabeer 1997). In other words, this is not simply a story of the household and its members, but about

the shaping of gender identities by larger institutions, and the ongoing participation of family members in creating new gender norms. The household is an institution that is strained and in flux. Vast economic, social, and political restructuring has not —with few exceptions— translated into increased economic opportunities for the poor. Under increasing economic pressure, men in many parts of the world have lost their traditional occupations and jobs, and women have been forced to take on additional income earning tasks while continuing their domestic tasks.

As the progress the world recently, modernization and globalization of informational technology as well as feminism emancipation movement have shifted the women role in political affair. In addition, women not only set as a house wife but also as multi actors, in political or economic life. Currently many men's roles are also conducted by women. However, access to paid positions in the labour market is often restricted to women in Indonesia, as they are seen by most as incapable of work. Women are often associated with phrases like "sumur-dapur-kasur" which translates to "well-kitchen-bed" in English.

The major trends in family structures and their shifts over the past decades are well known. These changes have led to increasingly complex family compositions and to a growing diversity of family forms and relationships over the life course. The new family trends and patterns have been paralleled by changes in gender roles, especially an expansion of the female role to include economic provision for a family, and lately also transformation of the male role with more intense involvement in family responsibilities, especially care for children. We recognize that the family is a dynamic entity, with increasing complexity with respect to decision-making processes regarding transitions over the family life course and organization of family life.

Indeed, the family cannot be described simply as a set of well-defined roles any more, it is negotiated on a daily basis, constructed by interactions between partners at the micro-level and influenced by macro structures in the political and economic sphere. Work and family lives increasingly influence each other as both women and men engage in earning as well as caring activities, often reinforced by employment instability and precariousness. Gender relations and related values and attitudes have become more fluid, changing dynamically over the life course in the context of blurring boundaries of family and work life. In this work package we also aim to shed more light on the impact of different policy contexts on new constructions of gender in doing family. In the report we present an overview of the main research findings, as well as both theoretical and empirical advances, relevant to our research in this work package.

Research Methodology

This research is a qualitative research with case study, the one conducted intensively and in-depth to a case in certain social environment (Yin, 1981; Denzin & Lincoln Eds, 2000). The case study selected was intrinsic case study meaning to study the case specifically. In line with the objective of research to find out the role of family in bringing the elderly well-being into reality in rural area, this research was conducted in Cibinong District, Bogor City Indonesia. The theory of planned behaviour (TPB), from the field of social psychology, has also been applied in the literature of reproductive decision-making. It can provide important insights concerning the impact of uncertainty on family formation. As suggested by Ajzen (1991), people integrate past experiences such as occupational uncertainty, family relations and living conditions as major background factors into their reproductive decisions.

The qualitative research assessing complex conditions for activities and practices that create well-being, decrease, or increase well-being. We aim to identify everyday practices that boost stress or decrease satisfaction. In addition, we want to investigate how and when wellbeing is meaningful to individuals. Being well off may have a different meaning under different settings. We also aim to disentangle how everyday well-being is intermingled with an overall life satisfaction. Short-term happiness may be not always related to long-term satisfaction and wellbeing is maybe not expected in every situation. We seek to explore on a more complex level how individuals build their expectations towards economic well-being, relationship satisfaction or happiness and how those expectations influence people's family behaviours and lives. Concerning new roles of men and women, we try to trace how the transformation or also the re-traditionalization of gendered positions affect hierarchies between the sexes, the stability of relationships, the intensity of family ties or the creation of new family forms. These processes are interlinked with the happiness or unhappiness of individuals. By analyzing the development of family forms and essential transitions in the family life course in different social, economic, and institutional contexts, and by substantiating these processes through in-depth ethnographic research will be able to depict and disentangle the processes of the production of well-being within family life course of different social groups and across different Indonesia contexts.

The data collected in this research derived from the primary data including woman as family head and secondary data including district monograph. Meanwhile the quantitative data became the supporting data in this research. The sampling method used in this research was purposive and snowball sampling techniques to represent the population. Techniques of collecting data used in this research were in depth interview, interview guide, direct observation and documentation. The data obtained from the field was then analyzed qualitatively using an interactive model of analysis encompassing data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Research Highlight

Indonesian households, the former may be a woman and the latter a man. For example, in a significant number of households in Indonesia the husband will relocate to seek work. In these circumstances, the wife becomes the de-facto head of household, especially in those cases where the husband has left the family for a long period of time and does not provide any support to the household. This has implications for policy planning and implementation, particularly for Indonesia's pro-poor poverty alleviation programs, that should benefit female heads of household as well as male heads of household and their families. In 2010, the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (BPS) estimated that there were 65 million households, 14%, or 9 million of which are headed by women.

The BPS definition of the head of a household currently allows for two different people to be considered as the head of a household: (i) the person who is actually responsible for the daily needs of a household or (ii) the person who is considered the head of the household. This definition is confusing, as only one person can be named as the head of household through the BPS national survey process. It is therefore probable that there is an under-estimation of the number of female-headed households in Indonesia. This has implications for policy planning and implementation for Indonesia's pro-poor poverty alleviation programs that benefit female heads of household and their families. The head of a household to be defined as the person who is responsible for the daily needs of a household and not by reference to cultural norms in relevant legislation (e.g. the Marriage Law), and gender equality in household roles.

In the literature addressing reconciliation of work and family life, "blurring boundaries" is a frequently applied concept (Gottschall & Voß, 2003). It is closely linked to de-traditionalizing gender relations, that is, the changing meaning of paid work and its spilling over to private life. This may further challenge gender relations, especially as increasingly uncertain occupational biographies for men (Oppenheimer, 1997), seen in more precarious forms of employment and in a decline of the male breadwinnership (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003), may force more women to become breadwinners (Crompton, 1999; Maetzke & Ostner, 2010). This in turn challenges traditional distributions of power and money in intimate relationships (see Wimbauer, 2003; Ruiner, Hirseland & Schneider, 2011; Lennon, Stewart & Ledermann, 2012).

Both in sociology and in economics, it has been argued that the preference structure of men and women tends towards educational homogamy ("like marries like") in the absence of gender role specialization. Until relatively recently however, labour market and domestic activities were more or less divided by gender, making gender-role specialization a basic paradigm in micro-economics (see Becker, 1991). In a traditional marriage market, a good education has been considered particularly important for men because their income and occupational prestige largely determined the socio-economic status of the family. Therefore, women have tended to prefer men with a high(er) level of educational attainment (Kalmijn, 1991; Kalmijn, 1994; Blossfeld & Timm, 2003; Blossfeld, 2009; Dykstra & Poortman, 2010). Men have ambiguous preferences. On the one hand, they are prone to prefer spouses with a similar level of education as they have. On the other hand, from the perspective of the traditional division of labour, they prefer wives who assume the bulk of domestic tasks and who would therefore not invest too much in their own career resources. Hence, women would tend to marry upwards (hypergamy) in terms of education while men are expected to marry downwards (hypogamy).

In the diffusionist perspective, highly educated women are often regarded as trendsetters with regard to family formation and partner relations (Salvini & Vignoli, 2011). Research has indicated that a stronger commitment to the labour market exposes women with higher education to a stronger conflict between work and family life than their less educated counterparts. For instance, the largest discrepancy between ideal and actual family size occurs among the highly educated (Testa, 2012).

If well-educated women are considered as trendsetters, their childbearing behaviour is likely to influence fertility levels for the rest of the society. Hence, their behaviour may be related to overall fertility levels, which indeed seems to be the case. In countries where highly educated women have high progression ratios to second births, total fertility tends to be relatively high, unlike in countries with low progression to a second child among the more educated (Van Bavel &d Rózaňska-Putek, 2010).

As for marital stability, the role of women's social and economic independence has been of interest for social scientists in response to growing female labour force participation and increasing divorce levels. Economic models of marriage assume that women's employment destabilises marital unions because it endangers role specialisation within a couple (Becker, Landes, & Michael, 1977). Recently, however, as women have been increasingly been present in the labour market, the negative effect of women's employment on marital stability is less clear. It has been argued that in modern societies, decisions to remain married depend more on the satisfaction with the quality of the union and that similarity of economic activities and interests may improve the understanding between spouses (Jalovaara, 2002; Schoen et al., 2002; Sigle-Rushton, 2010; Simpson & England, 1981). Moreover, the additional income provided by a woman leads to

higher living standards and thus should reduce marital strains (Cherlin, 2000; Raz-Yurovich, 2012; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2007). Also, the change of the gender norms leaves men who adhere to gendered work-family views with fewer possibilities to find a partner who would be willing to specialise in household production (Sigle-Rushton, 2010).

Research Result

More married women than married men viewed their marriages as composed of two separate people rather than being a couple and married women were also lessclikely to view marriage as the basis for their social validity (Douvan, Veroff and Kulka in press). Since most young woman expect to marry, these findings demonstrate an increasing awareness of the eventualities of marriage-financial pressures, divorce, widowhood, and, 20 years or more of employment eligibility following their children's departure from home. Rather than a passive awareness though, these women's actions imply self-conscious planning both in relationship to the roles they expect within the family and within the labor market. In comparison, the 1976 single women showed the greatest decline of any group of women in the number who placed a positive value on marriage. They were much more accepting of women who chose to remain single and were substantially more likely than their 1957 counterparts to view marriage as restrictive and burdensome (Douvan 1978). Instead of the idealistic and perhaps over-conformist stance of single women in 1957, the 1976 single women appeared to be more critical of the options provided by marriage.

Women's participation in paid work, in fact, usually provides the monetary basis which enables a person to set up a household, ensures her own and her family's livelihood and grants economic independence and welfare protection over the life course (Neyer et al., 2013b). The de-standardization (and possible re-standardization) of the family life course in Indonesia (and elsewhere in the industrialized world), the significant knowledge gap on new forms of family life, transitions between old and new family forms and within-family relations, and the lack of explanations for the new patterns pose considerable challenges to policy-making. As pointed out by the FamilyPlatform, much remains to be known of the multiple ways in which women's increasing educational and economic attainment and men's declining economic position in many other countries shape family lives, the decision-making processes about work and family, parenthood, the use of time in families and the daily and biographical practices of 'doing family' in old and new family forms in different policy contexts (Uhlendorff et al. 2011).

In this research, we will address the research gaps discussed above. We investigate the complex interplay between the new social roles of women and men and the diversity of family life in contemporary Indonesia in terms of (a) family formation and dissolution as well as parenthood, that is, transitions over the family life course, and (b) the organisation of family life (reconciliation of work and care). Increasing diversity of family forms is rooted in more diverse demographic behaviours, constitutive for the family life course, and in a gender divide of paid and unpaid work at the household level, both strongly related to changing gender roles. Besides in-depth studies on these processes, our focus is also on the parent-to-child relationships within diverse family forms, evolving family patterns of work and care, and strategies adopted to deal with insecure work conditions. Within this complex frame of research it is possible to explore how these processes intervene with wellbeing, on a macro-level, on the micro-level and in addition how macro-level and subjective well-being are interconnected. Macro-level well-being is operationalized as general socio-economic conditions, measured in terms of, e.g., welfare regime, job security or gendered division of labour.

Therefore, we investigate the influence of (a) economic uncertainty/stress, (b) unequal division of labour by gender, and (c) transformation of welfare regimes on the family related processes under consideration. In particular, the following will be examined: (a) the influence of precarious work conditions on fertility intentions, union formation, and family life, (b) the influence of (socio-material) living conditions on gendered division of labour, and (c) the impact of policy transformation and general political perspectives on family transitions.

Each of the major areas i've addressed, delaying marriage, planning children, taking on jobs, and heading families, indicate changes in the way woman are relating to marriage, to family, and to themselves. Woman no longer accept or expect the traditional family roles of their parents. Marriage and motherhood continue to be part of women's lives but women are remaking these family roles without giving up their self-identities. They are developing a sense of autonomy and are no longer uncritically responding to traditional patterns and institutions. Burden and responsibility of a family head is more than responsibility of man as woman has double play either for being a mother in the household or a woman in the other womanly responsibilities. Equality between men and women will not be a waste of time effort if women act upon her ability to be competitive with men to their womanhood.

Conclusion

Findings on the relationship between the work status of women and the division of household work are somewhat mixed. Many studies suggest that women still do the bulk of housework regardless their working arrangement (see Grunow et al., 2012; Zabel & Heintz-Martin, 2012; Bianchi et al., 2000). There is no uniform evidence that full-time working women have a more egalitarian division of household duties than part-time working women do (Wengler, Trappe & Schmitt, 2008; Keddi & Zerle-Elsäßer, 2012), nor is there consistent evidence that breadwinning women refuse to follow a traditional role segregation with regard to household tasks (Klenner, Menke & Pfahl, 2012; Klammer, Neukirch & Weßler-Poßberg, 2012). So far, there are still research gaps as to how they deal with the multiple burden of work and household, family life and/or fertility decisions, in particular under conditions of new forms of family life and multilocal families, and how they handle the every-day challenges in practice (Knijn & Smit, 2009; Rijken & Knijn, 2009).

As women are more active in the labour market and are increasingly highly educated, their expectations about fathering and fathers' behaviour concerning the reconciliation of work and family are changing. Studies on "new fathers" suggest that young families strive for an equal (or more equal) division of labour (S. Lewis, 1997; Fthenakis, 1999; Bianchi et al., 2000; Zulehner, 2003; Matzner, 2004; Zerle & Krok 2008; United Nations, 2011). Parental leave uptake by fathers, flexible work practices and how they include care-giving in their construction of masculinity have been studied by Brandth and Kvande (1998, 2001, 2002) and by O´Brien, Brandt and Kvande (2007).

In investigating the relationship between parental leave policies and gender equality, more specifically how parental leave policies contribute to shape gender relations, the 'gender structure' (Risman, 1998, 2004, 2011) appears a useful approach. The gender structure is defined as a multidimensional system, which creates a differentiation between men and women and organizes unequal social relations on the basis of that difference. It has consequences on three levels: the institutional level (laws, rules and ideological discourses distribute resources and constitute men and women differently), the interactional level (men and women face different cultural norms within social interactions) and the individual level (men and women develop and construct gendered identities and selves). At the institutional level, scholars argue that parental

leave schemes are based on ideological assumptions about motherhood and fatherhood and that they contribute to define what is considered a normal or good family organization (Hojgaard, 1997; Rostgaard, 2002). At the interactional level, leave uptake by fathers is expected to increase fathers' involvement with their children both in the short and longer run. At the individual level, the focus is on the variety of experiences fathers have related to their leave uptake and their solo care for the child, and its impact on their fatherhood identity (Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Trellu, 2007; 2010; Höfner, Schadler & Richter, 2011).

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THE POSITION OF URBAN WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

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Abstract

A viral message containing prose about Mother as master of all knowledge is always circulating at the Mother's Day. The prose describes the position of urban women in the family. Therefore, the author is interested in further examining the position of urban women in the family, whether as described by the prose or is there any other findings. Using a phenomenological approach, this study obtained four results. First, the position of women in the family, in demand more dominant than men to be more active in the pattern of child care. In fact, the role of father and mother should be balanced in parenting. Second, the position of women who take over the role of father in making a living, even though the father remains in the family and remains a companion of women's lives. Third, the position of women who dare decide to divorce and take care for their children. Fourth, the position of women who succumb to the integrity of the household.

Keywords: Women, Family, Dominant, Child Care

Introduction

To get an idea of the role of mothers in the family, the author is interested to caption an unknown article, but widely circulated in social media. Here is the text:

Ibuku punya gelar unik, yakni MSi: Master Segala Ilmu. Tidak terbayang, bukan? Menjadi ibu yang baik itu harus banyak belajar dan terus belajar. Long life education, istilahnya. Ibu harus belajar akuntansi, agar bisa mengurus pendapatan keluarga dan mengelolanya untuk kebutuhan rumah tangga, tabungan, serta menata pemasukan dan pengeluaran agar seimbang. Ibu harus belajar ilmu tata boga, chef, atau perhotelan, belajar mengatur masakan keluarga dengan kreatif, supaya tidak bosan. Ibu harus belajar ilmu keguruan. Ia harus menguasai ilmu yang diajarkan di sekolah dasar, agar bisa mengajari anaknya bila kesulitan dengan PR-nya. Ibu harus belajar agama, karena ibulah yang pertama kali mengenalkan anak pada Tuhan, membangun akhlak yang luhur serta iman yang kokoh. Ibu harus belajar ilmu gizi, agar bisa menyiapkan makanan bergizi bagi keluarga, setiap

hari. Ibu harus belajar farmasi, agar dapat memberi pertolongan awal pada keluarga yang sedang sakit dan menyediakan obat-obatan ketika keadaan darurat. Ibu harus belajar keperawatan, karena beliaulah yang merawat anak/suami ketika sakit. Yang menyeka tubuhnya ketika tidak diperbolehkan mandi, mengganti kompres. Ibu adalah perawat yang handal. Ibu harus belajar ilmu kesehatan, agar bisa menjaga asupan makanan, kebersihan melindungi anggota keluarga dari gigitan nyamuk, dll. Ibu harus belajar psikologi, agar bisa berkomunikasi dengan baik saat menghadapi anak-anak di setiap jenjang usia, juga sebagai teman curhat suami yang terbaik, ketika suami sedang mengalami masalah. Seandainya Ibu harus kuliah dulu, butuh berapa lama? Bisa jadi lebih dari 9 jurusan di atas tadi. Begitu luar biasanya seorang ibu, dengan multi talentanya, kesabarannya merawat, mendidik dan menemani anak-anak dan suami tercinta. Sudahkah kita memberikan yang terbaik untuk ibu kita? Seorang ibu bisa merawat 10 anak, namun 10 anak belum tentu bisa merawat 1 ibunya. Mari kita sayangi ibu kita dengan segala apapun yang kita miliki.

The text that became viral at the time of the mother's day, is a text that has various meanings. If we analyze the text above with general 'eyeglasses', the text above tells the role of a truly noble mother. The role, obtained because the mother has done so many roles at one time. These roles, among others, are mothers can act as family accountants, chefs, teachers, pharmacists, nurses, doctors, psychologists, communicators, and many more. But if we examine in the eyes of gender, will be a lot of critical questions are thrown.

Among the critical questions that will be ejected, approximately is, the mother looks great can do all the roles. But, whether it does not make, there is an element of exploitation in it. The demands given to mothers so much. Then the father role? Why should everything be done mom? Does not anyone help her? Although there is a last sentence that invites to sing the mother, but still it's just an invitation sentence.

Calling sentence in the sense of denotation is a sentence that invites a person to do something. Usually the purpose of inviting, because it is still at least participate, so it needs to be invited and influenced to be involved. Thus, the invitation to love the mother, comes from the lack of awareness the children to love his mother. Or if in critical thinking, still the lack of awareness of the child to treat the mother properly. Whereas in a whole family, children not only have a mother, but also a father.

In the family also, father and mother have an important role in parenting. Why? Because the role of both will produce the same effect on the child's behavior. One of them is the child will experience the case as Diana said in Safitri (2017). Diana said that when the role of father in the family is lost, then it can develop psychopathology.

According to Diana, children who lost the father figure in the family, will be very vulnerable to victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Therefore, Father and Mother must work together in the care of their children. This is because both have the same role in raising children.

Furthermore, Diana says that children should be educated in balance. From the father, the child will learn about the strength and also the wider experience. While from Mother, Children can learn about the softness and the details. The presence of father and Mother is important for the development of children's mental health. And also to balance the dominance in nurturing. But in fact, the high divorce rate that happened lately, make the role of father and mother become unbalanced.

Imbalances in the role of father and mother in child care, very visible to the urban community or urban community. Based on research Safitri (2017), found the result that the role of father

care in urban families, less in the family. This is caused by the unharmonious communication between mother and father around parenting. This also ultimately affect the style of parenting. And the worst result is that children are trapped into drugs and become victims of divorce from both parents.

Short case exposure above, background of the author to further examine, the position of women in urban society. This is due to the role of women in the care of children more. In addition, the author will also focus on the position of women in the family in urban communities. From that position, the author will make a model about the position of women in urban society.

Research Methodology

This research uses phenomenology approach. Phenomenology approach is the approach used to create a picture of how individuals interpret the phenomenon experienced themselves. This approach attempts to describe in depth the experiences experienced by individuals in their own views as research respondents. According to Cresswell (2014) the study of phenomenology, used to find out the same experience and has an important meaning or beneficial to a group. Therefore, the focus of phenomenology studies is to find out the meaning of the same experience of some individuals to interpret the experience in their lives. In this study, phenomenology is used as a method to describe women's life experiences as an important part of the family in Urban society. The study was conducted on eight respondents representing urban women in Central Jakarta. Women who became respondents in this study were trainees of family communication held by researchers. In addition, they have a role in the family is very influential and complex.

In Giorgi & Giorgi in Fuadi (2011: 196), phenomenology research aims to clarify the situation experienced in one's life on daily experience. The research subjects in this study had criteria (a) of married women, and (b) had children aged 1-10 years, and (c) lived in Central Jakarta. Informants in this study were 7 women selected based on the level of activity in the event of community service that researchers conduct. Technique of collecting data in this research is done by observation, interview and documentation.

The data analysis in this research is taken from Moustakas (1994) in Fuadi (2011: 197) which performs data analysis with procedure of data analysis and interpretation with the following steps: (1) The research is done by making a description about the researcher's experience on the research phenomenon, (2)) The researcher makes the research question in the form of interview guidance with the aim to know how the informant experienced the phenomenon, and developed the list of statements, (3) Statement obtained from the informants grouped into units of meaning, then the researchers made a list of the units of meaning derived from experience of the informant, then write the textural description of the experience, (4) The researcher made a reflection based on the description of the informant using the structural description. In this process, researchers seek to find all possible meanings with diverging perspectives. This is done with the aim of enriching the framework of understanding of the phenomena, and making a description of the phenomenon, (5) The researcher makes the overall description of the meaning and essence of experience, (6) The researcher makes a description of the textural-structural based on the meanings and essence of the informant's experience , thereafter integrating all individual structural descriptions into a universal description of experience, representing the informant as a whole.

Research Highlight

This study highlights the role of housewives in the family. Housewives are known as mothers who do not work. In fact, the housewife's duties at home, no less crowded and busy. Housewives have the duty to take care of children, take care of the house, children, and husband. Domestic work is not easy work, from start washing, scrubbing, cooking, sweeping, mopping and preparing for the needs of husbands and children. In addition, housewives in the urban community, it has many social duties, such as being asked actively in RT or RW activities and active in school activities of her children. This social task becomes increasingly complex, if the housewife has been made a leader or chairman by other housewives. Housewives have a burden to take care of the environment and take care of their families. And the problem of housewives is also widening, not just about children, but also husbands and friends who obtained from social duties.

Research Result

Broadly speaking, seven informants described how the role and position in the family, accompanied by problems faced concerning family problems, especially in conducting family communication. From the description of the seven informants, the researchers obtained the results there are four positions of women in urban families. First, the position of women in the family, in demand more dominant to be more active in the pattern of child care than men. In fact, on the background of the problem, it is explained that ideally the role of father and mother, should be balanced in parenting.

Second, the position of urban women who took over the role of father in making a living. Although men who have father status also work, but tend to have a lower salary than his wife. And tend to have non-permanent jobs. It thus makes men as a complementary position in terms of funding to the needs of families, especially in financing the cost of children's and daily needs. The position of men as fathers, is still a companion of women's lives. One of the reasons, so that children do not lose the figure of the father is at home.

Third, the position of women who dare to make decisions for themselves and take care of children from the results of previous marriages. This woman decided to live independently and dare to part with the man who previously became her husband. However, they remain in contact with the man who became her ex-husband. Just to fulfill the demands of the children to stay in touch with their father at any given moment.

Fourth, the position of women who succumb to the integrity of the household. The figure of this woman is a woman who actually was tired of the state of his household. But he persisted, for reasons still love the man he had chosen as husband. And willing to sacrifice feelings for the man. Although he knew, his position was not comfortable in the household. But for the sake of a promise, this woman persisted in her household. Another reason is for the sake of the child, and for the self-esteem of the extended family.

Four positions above, in getting from some problems that occur in a household. Among them, the limited space and time to establish affective communication in the household. Especially, when they are inside the house. The average respondent said difficulty to establish communication with spouses and children.

The example is, when women are with their spouses, they demand a lot of women. So, if they are both inside the house, men tend to give a reprimand or criticism of something judged less than the person of his wife. On the one hand, the wife feels less receptive to criticism and criticism

from her husband. Due to the existence of such communication problems, make the atmosphere of the house is not harmonious. Not to mention the added problems of children, while at home. In addition to problems with couples, urban women also have problems with children. Especially in communicating his wish to his son. So that desire turned into a demand.

On the one hand, the demands given by the mother to the child, make the child take other action. Children also tend to be rebellious children, because they do not want to obey the demands of his mother. In fact, sometimes, children deliberately do it to see her mother angry. One of the behaviors that the child deliberately does is to be a difficult child to fulfill the five day prayer obligations, when at home.

And for families who are experiencing problems, or are in the process of divorce, children are not only troubled at home but also at school. As one of the respondents said:

> "Children seem to know that their parents are in trouble, or are happy. My child, when my household is still okay, is a good boy and has never done anything naughty in school. But when I had a conflict with his father, he became a very naughty boy, even at school. I also became endless thoughts and crying. And finally, forced to give in, "he said.

While urban women who claimed not to have problems with their spouses, also admitted to feel difficult to be able to remind children to study back at home after getting a lesson at school. In addition, many things the informant wants to his son, but he is difficult to ask his son to obey it.

The informant confessed that the demand was born from his concern for the various phenomena he received through social media. As anxious children will be addicted to the cafe, so they forbid children to go spend time playing to go to the cafe. Sense of anxious informants also aimed at the association of children with peers. The informant is concerned about the surrounding environment, which he thinks is very dangerous for the child's personality.

According to the respondents, many of the behavior of children who are not good, can be from the environment outside the family, especially from peers who live in the neighborhood where he lived. So he forbade his son to leave the house, for fear will bring bad influence. Alternatively, be replaced with smartphones for children. But it brings new problems, namely children become addicted to games that exist on the smart phone. Moreover, she is a working mother so there is no time to keep an eye on her child while at home.

The informant's concern for the environment at his residence may have a negative effect, also triggered by family communication problems caused by the role of father in poor care. Women who work, if at home are required to continue to take care of children, and pay attention to children. And when he came home to work, he also felt good. So the solution is to give a smart phone to the child. With purpose, mother can rest.

While women who have unharmonious communication in the household with a partner, often showing how they quarrel. And it's done anywhere, can be in front of the child, even in front of the house, and shown neighbor. Sometimes these emotional outbursts are blasted also in social media. And the worst consequence is the divorce and family runaway to the drug.

For the drug case, an informant said that her husband is a drug addict and often shows injecting injections in front of the child. But he persisted, for reasons still love, relented and other reasons. While informants who dare to decide to divorce their husbands, also remain in the position of succumbing to the child, when the child wants to meet their father.

Based on the above description, the author makes a model of how the position of women in urban families. Their position is still in the position of the defeated party, although they are some who have separated from her ex-husband. In women who have a whole family, the position of women is the mother figure in the family and mother in the community.
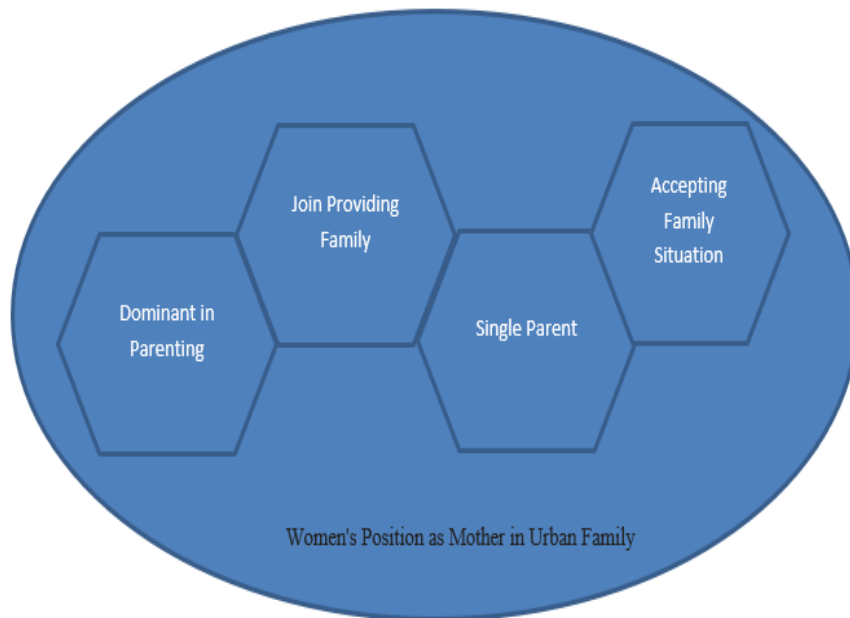
Figure 1. Position Model of Women as Mothers in Urban Families

The female position model in the picture above shows there are four beehives seen in an egg shell. The form of a honeycomb that intersect with each other, means that the position of women in the family, also mutually to each other. They are not just mothers who bear children. But within the rules of Indonesian society in general, Mother is also burdened with the duty to care for her child well. Within the rule, Mothers, especially those with school-aged children, are asked to pay attention to their children's activities, control child activities, and guide children into good children.

In running the various tasks above, sometimes there are a number of problems in communication. Mother becomes a figure that many rules, and to be a figure who almost lost the respect of children, because many words of mother who is not obeyed by his son. This happens because of the wrong way and the pattern of communication from the mother. Though the mother was trying to be a good mother. From starting to take care of the child's needs while at home, dropping off to school, taking part actively in school activities, trying to meet the children's needs for school and other efforts to enable children to perform well at home and at school. Therefore, the demands as a housewife, not only take care of work at home but also take care of the needs and affairs of children and husbands.

Meanwhile, the role of husband in nurturing, felt less by housewives. The husband only went to work to earn a living, while for the affairs of children and schools handed over to housewives. When the husband at home, sometimes not much help mother in parenting. If you are tired of problems with children, sometimes your husband does not care. This then caused a commotion between husband and wife.

This commotion sometimes happens in front of the child, so the atmosphere of the house becomes unpleasant. Children are also not comfortable at home. They prefer to spend time with friends, whether it's a schoolmate or a playmate at home. Various conflicts and unpleasant situations and occurrences within the home, making the position of urban women in the family become difficult. When the child is in trouble, the most highlighted is his mother, but the best parenting done by the father and mother. In this case, women are still being oppressed.

The position of women as a mother figure in the family, not only as a mother who gave birth to children. But within the rules of Indonesian society in general, Mother is also burdened with the duty to care for her child well. In the rule, Mothers, especially those with school-aged children, are asked to pay attention to their child's activities, control child activities, and guide children into good children. In carrying out the task, sometimes there are a number of problems in communication.

Mother becomes a figure that many rules, and to be a figure who almost lost the respect of children, because many words of mother who is not obeyed by his son. This happens because of the wrong way and the pattern of communication from the mother. Though the mother was trying to be a good mother. From starting to take care of the child's needs while at home, dropping off to school, actively participating in school activities, trying to meet the children's needs for school and other efforts to enable children to perform well at home and at school. Therefore, the demands as a housewife, not only take care of work at home but also take care of the needs and affairs of children and husbands. And the role of husband in nurturing, felt less by housewives.
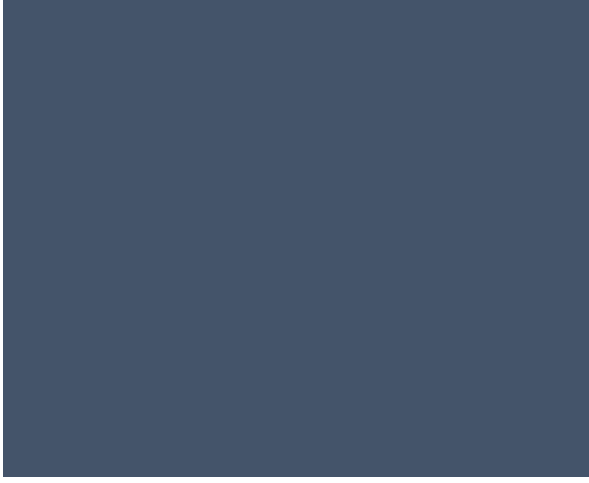
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Conclusion

The role of women as housewives in urban families, has its own challenges. These challenges if not properly implemented will also cause problems in family communication. The results show there are four positions and challenges faced by urban women. First, the position of women in the family, in demand more dominant than men to be more active in the pattern of child care. In fact, the role of father and mother should be balanced in parenting. Second, the position of women who take over the role of father in making a living, even though the father remains in the family and remains a companion of women's lives. Third, the position of women who dare decide to divorce and take care for their children. Fourth, the position of women who succumb to the integrity of the household.

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WOMEN'S ROLE IN FATHER INVOLVEMENT IN INDONESIA: LESSON LEARNED FROM A DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY STUDY ON AYAH ASI (BREASTFEEDING-SUPPORTING FATHERS)

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Abstract

Women engagement in the workforce is not only beneficial for their own self-actualization [1] but also valuable for the state's economic growth [2]. Nevertheless, many women are leaving the workforce because of their roles as a mother is conflicting with their career [3]. One way to resolve this conflict is by involving the father of the child to take care of the child [4] [5]. Many research also suggests positive outcomes from father involvement such as promoting gender equality and it may improve women's labor force participation [6] [7]. Meanwhile, Indonesia customarily is a patriarchal society and caring is seen as the responsibility of the mother [8] [9] [10]. However, there are several communities of fathers such as Ayah ASI (Breastfeeding-Supporting Fathers) and Bapak Rangkul (Volunteer Fathers from "Our Family" Community) that promote father involvement, which may be a sign of social change in Indonesia. This research explored factors that influence father involvement in Indonesia through a digital ethnography study on Ayah ASI's Twitter feeds and e-book. The result shows that women have an important role in father involvement, either positively by encouraging their spouses to involve in child care or negatively by not trusting them. Further intervention and policy are also needed to increase father involvement in childcare in Indonesia.

Keywords: Women's Labor Participation; Father Involvement; Digital Ethnography; Ayah ASI

Introduction

There are personal reasons and benefits that women can receive from being involved in the workforce. Bezzina, *et all.* study's found that the main factors which motivate women to work are to gain 'social and economic well-being' and 'personal and professional development'[11]. Moreover, Bennetts argues that working women are more psychologically contented and more

physically fit [12]. In Indonesian context, Sakai and Fauzia discover that the increasing standard of living cost and the urge to have consumer-based urban lifestyle also have driven more women from lower-middle class to work, meanwhile only upper-middle-class women with the steady income who can opt to stay at home and take care of their families [13]. However, women engagement in the workforce is not only beneficial for their financial situation or their own self-actualization but also valuable for the state's economic growth.

Indonesia is facing a massive gap between the necessity and the availability of skilled worker. McKinsey Global Institute's report predicts that Indonesia's developing economy will require more professionals to uphold its advancement [14]. To fulfil the need for skilled labor, Indonesia has to figure out how to increase the number of graduates and encourage women participation in the workforce [15]. Although Indonesia has a demographic dividend, the employment rate is comparatively small, especially for women. Based on the World Development Indicators 2016 by the World Bank, only 50.8% of the female population in Indonesia who are participate in the work force [16]. It is relatively lower than the males that reach 82% and lower compared to other developing countries [17].

In spite of the inevitability of female participation in the work force, many women leaving the workforce because of their roles as a mother conflicting with their occupation [18]. AIPEG's report shows that in Indonesia, the rate of female participation in the workforce is tend to fall in the time of their fertile years [19]. Comola and de Mello also found that the lowest rate of workforce participation in Indonesia belongs to married women and women with dependent children [20]. Moreover, the highest rate of employment for women is held by the young single women aged 15 to 24. This phenomenon might occur because Indonesian women are hoped for getting children right away after they got married, so they tend to resign although they have not become pregnant [21].

In Indonesia, child care traditionally is regarded as a mother's duty [22]. Utomo says that although in large cities Indonesian women have more chance to access higher education and expected to work afterwards, they considered as a second earner and the primary breadwinner is the men [23]. A combination of allegedly Indonesian culture, religious commentaries, and principles which propagandize by the state resulting in this gendered expectation [24]. In consequence, fathers are only seen as the main breadwinners by policymakers and fathers find it hard to be more involved in parenting because the employment policies hinder them [25].

Father involvement in child care is one way that may help women to achieve work-life balance and enhance their participation in the economy [26]. Father involvement has many positive impacts psychologically, not only for the mothers but also for the children and the fathers themselves [27]. For that reason, there are increasing number of fathers who spent more time with their children in developed countries, particularly Scandinavian countries [28]. Their government also support this act by giving them paid paternal leave [29].

Although previous research shows that Indonesia is traditionally patriarchal, there are communities of fathers that advocate father involvement such as Ayah ASI (Breastfeeding-Supporting Fathers) and Bapak Rangkul (Volunteer Fathers from "Keluarga Kita" / "Our Family" Community). This could be an indication of a social change in Indonesia. According to Inhorn, Chavkin, and Navarro, the contemporary notion of fatherhood that more participated in parenting may have been disseminated to the world through globalization [30]. The portrayal of involved fathers' manifests in various forms of media, including the internet [31]. However, the religious, historical, and sociological context of the fathers also may affect the practice of parenting and

gender relation in their family [32]. Therefore, this study is aimed to explore the phenomenon of Ayah ASI, to identify factors that influence father involvement in Indonesia.

Research Methodology

Considering that the community of fathers that I wanted to explore is based on social media, I decided to analyze the data that available on the community's social media account. A qualitative approach, specifically ethnography, was chosen to answer the research's question, which to explore the community of Ayah ASI. Day and Lamb believe that father involvement is more advantageously studied with qualitative research [33]. By paying attention to the fathers' narrative on their experience as a man and a father, we are able to study the factors that may affect father involvement [34].

This study used an ethnographic approach in social media research, which has been named by several terminologies such as 'virtual ethnography' [35], 'netnography' [36] [37], and 'digital ethnography' [38]. Stewart suggests that although most of the social media research were using big data and quantitative approach, qualitative and ethnographic approaches have begun to be adopted in social media research [39]. This happens because there are customs from the real life which have been manifested on the internet and the cyberspace also has its own culture [40].

Digital ethnography involved analysis of the community's 'digital artefacts'. Kozinet defined digital artefact as every texts, images, voice recordings, and videos that have been broadcasted by internet users on their social media handles [41]. In the context of this research, the digital artefacts that I analyzed were the community's writings on Twitter and the e-book that they published on Google Play Books which titled Catatan Ayah ASI (Memoirs of The Breastfeed-Supporting Fathers).

Despite the fact that many studies that have been done on social media were focused to study one social media platform (single platform research) [42], I decided to do a multiple platform research. McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase observe that today social media users mostly using more than one platforms [43]. Mayr and Weller also believe that the use of multiple platforms is to complete the need of the user because every platform has a different utility [44]. Furthermore, users may discuss a certain topic on several different social media platforms [45], as is done by Ayah ASI.

Ayah ASI's activity on the internet can be traced in a few social media account, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and they also published an e-book on Google Play Book. Considering that Ayah ASI was first established on Twitter, I selected Ayah ASI's Twitter account to be studied in this research. Moreover, I also analyzed Ayah ASI's e-book because the creation of the community's Twitter account is related to the publication of this e-book. Ayah ASI's administrators describe on their website that prior to the creation of their Twitter account, they were planning to share their discussion and their experience on supporting breastfeeding into a book [46]. Nonetheless, when they brought this idea to a publisher, the publisher was unsure about who will read this book and they created this Twitter account to assess people's interest [47].

Twitter restricts the data retrieval from an account up until 3200 latest tweets [48]. Consequently, I only managed to gather about 3197 tweets which were posted by Ayah ASI between the 17th of August 2015 to 4th of August 2017 with the assistant of a third-party website, Socialbearing (www.socialbearing.com). I qualitatively analyzed the 3197 tweets and created a simple list of themes based on these tweets. However, this analysis is limited to the predominant

themes that arise from the 3197 tweets and have not accommodate a more complex analysis such as discoursed theory.

I also utilized another third-party website, Socialbakers (www.socialbakers.com), to compare the increase of Ayah ASI's number of followers with other Twitter accounts in Indonesia. Furthermore, I collected descriptive statistics of Ayah ASI's Twitter account from other third-party websites, Twitonomy (www.twitonomy.com) and Klear (www.klear.com). These third-party websites, socialbearing, Socialbakers, Twitonomy, and Klear, are allowed to access data from Twitter through an application programming interface (API) or through a third party engine which has been permitted to use the API, so that they can provide statistics profile of a Twitter user [49].

Along with the descriptive statistics of Ayah ASI's Twitter account, I obtained the descriptive statistics of Ayah ASI's e-book from Google Play Books (play.google.com/books) and Goodreads (www.goodreads.com). Google Play Books is a website and mobile application powered by Google that allow people to purchase e-books and audiobooks online, where Ayah ASI's e-book was distributed. The platform has a feature that allow their customer to give ratings and review the e-book that they have been purchased. Meanwhile, Goodreads is a platform for readers that allow them to create and share reviews of the books that they have read, which has become the source of recommendations for other readers [50]. For the qualitative analysis, I also developed a basic themes list based on the e-book.

Research Highlight

- Breastfeeding process can be a doorway for a father to involve in childcare
- How mothers persuade and encourage fathers to involve determines father involvement
- Analysis on Ayah ASI's Twitter and e-book shows that Ayah ASI successfully promote father involvement
- The range of Ayah ASI's approach still limited to the young, educated, urban, middle-class fathers
- Religious approach, supporting policy, and further research are needed to promote father involvement

Research Result

Introduction to Ayah ASI

a. How was the establishment of Ayah ASI?

Based on the information that I obtained from Ayah ASI's website (www.ayahasi.org) and book, Catatan Ayah ASI (Memoir of the Breastfeed-Supporting Fathers), the idea to establish the community was emerged from a conversation on Twitter between Farahdibha Tenrilemba Aditya and some fathers. Farahdibha, the General Secretary of AIMI (Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia) or the Association of Indonesian Breastfeeding Mothers, was twitting about breastfeeding and how fathers can take a role in the process. Some fathers replied her tweets and they decided to meet in person to discuss about this topic further. One of the fathers, Shafiq Pontoh, suggested them to put the result of their discussion and their experience on breastfeeding into a book. Although their idea was well welcomed by a publisher, the publisher was unassured about who will read this book. Therefore, the fathers created this Twitter account to assess people's interest and to share their experience [51].

Ayah ASI's Twitter account, @ID_AyahASI, was established on 27th September 2011 [52]. Not long after Ayah ASI launched the Twitter account, they received positive response from the netizen of Indonesia. @ID_AyahASI acquired 2000 followers in two days and 3000 followers in a week after the launching. Ayah ASI finally published their memoir, Catatan Ayah ASI, in 2012, one year after they launched @ID_AyahASI. Nevertheless, Ayah ASI continually tweeting to promote breastfeeding and father involvement using their Twitter account, @ID_AyahASI, up until now.

b. Who are the people behind Ayah ASI?

Ayah ASI in their memoir, Catatan Ayah ASI, stated that the founders of Ayah ASI are Shafiq Pontoh, Pandu Gunawan, A. Rahmat Hidayat, Sogi Indra Dhuaja, Aditia Sudarto, Syarief Hidayatullah, Dipa Andika Nurprasetyo, and Ernest Prakasa, [53]. Based on my investigation, most of the founding fathers of this community are engaged in the media industry. Sogi Indra Duaja and Ernest Prakasa are comedians and actors [54] [55]. Besides that, Sogi is also an MC, and Ernest is a movie director. Shafiq Pontoh works at Provetic as a Chief Strategic Officer and Provetic is a 'data-driven strategic consultant' agency [56]. Syarief Hidayatullah works at a company that involved in content marketing and advertising as a Head Creative Content [57]. Dipa Andika Nurprasetyo owns an agency for stand-up comedians, but he was a digital marketing manager before [58]. In the meantime, founders who have different kinds of professions are only Pandu, Aditia, and Rahmat. Pandu Gunawan is employed by a law firm [59]. Aditia Sudarto has a job in education related field as a Human Capital Strategic Development Senior Manager at a private organisation [60]. A. Rahmat Hidayat works at an NGO that advocating people with HIV as a Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Manager [61]. Therefore, I conclude that the skill and knowledge of the fathers who founded Ayah ASI in the media industry might help them to create appealing contents for their tweets and their book.

On their book, Ayah ASI declare that they are 'not the experts' and they 'just want to share' [62]. They also state that the book and the online community itself as 'an initiative of Indonesian fathers'. In the foreword, they say that the online community is only a small example of the expanding awareness in Indonesia on the importance of father involvement, particularly in the process of breastfeeding. They assume that other than themselves there are many Indonesian fathers who know about their role and taking part on the caregiving. However, there were no access to information and way to communicate among fathers. Therefore, they established the Twitter account as a way to communicate and published the book as a source of information for Indonesian fathers.

c. Who might be the target market for the book and the Twitter account?

Ayah ASI's book and tweets were wrote in informal Indonesian language. The use informal language in Indonesia is usually marked by taking up words from English and local languages, also utilizing abbreviations [63]. According to Lauder, the educated Indonesians are the ones who typically do the act of sprinkling English terms in Indonesian sentence, and it is perceived as an indicator of urbanity [64].

The incorporation of English words in an Indonesian language sentences can be seen in Rahmat Hidayat's description on how he managed to reject the suggestion of using formula milk for his child:

"Kami berdua juga sudah sepakat untuk nggak sama sekali memberikan susu formula buat bayi kami. IT'S A BIG NO-NO, apapun alasan "logis" yang keluar dari mulut orang-orang pintar sekalipun." [65]

That is translated into English as: "We both had come to term that we will not feed our baby with any formula milk. IT'S A BIG NO-NO, whatever the "logical" reason that comes even from a smart person's mouth."

There is also one Tweet on Ayah ASI's Twitter feed that shown the combination of English and Indonesian language. It is in their congratulatory Tweet for Ringgo Agus Rahman (@ringgoagus), an Indonesian actor, who at that time just became a father and showed his interest in this community:

"Gak nyangka buku iseng mimin dapat mengubah pandangan pasutri jd peduli ASI. Welcome to parenthood aa' @ringgoagus!" [66]

Which means: "We did not expect that our book that we wrote for fun will be able to shift married couples' ground on breastfeeding and make them more concern. Welcome to parenthood, Brother @ringgoagus!" in English.

Smith-Hefner observed that the application of informal language in Indonesia is usually for publicity that aimed at young middle-class people [67]. According to Smith-Hefner, the practice of using informal Indonesian language is depicting equality and uniqueness at the same time [68]. Besides that, playful writing expressions applied in Ayah ASI's book and tweets. Thought-provoking infographics and cartoons about breastfeeding are distributed in every chapter of the book and shared on their Twitter account page. Considering the application of entertaining ways of expressing their ideas through informal language and cartoons, I assume that the Twitter account and book are targeting educated, middle-class, Indonesian young adults who just have become parents.

'Memoir of Breastfeed-Supporting Fathers' (*Catatan Ayah ASI*)

Catatan Ayah ASI is divided into five chapters. Every chapter consist of two stories which are written by two separate writers. Only chapter four and five that only have one story in each chapter. The chapters are titled and categorized by children's developmental stages, starts from pre-natal stage until six months-old to one-year-old. Whereas, there is a special chapter about tandem breastfeeding (breastfeeding siblings) and breastmilk donation as the last chapter of this book. The book is written in informal Indonesian language and I translated some excerpts from the book for this research purposes.

Although the book is written in a playful way, Ayah ASI complemented their stories with reliable sources, such as WHO and professional health workers, such as dr. Wiyarni Pambudi, SpA, IBCLC., (@drOie). She is a pediatrician who holds an international certificate as a lactation consultant [69]. The infographics in the book also based on these reliable scientific resources. Therefore, the book might become a self-help book for first-time parents to guide them through the breastfeeding process, and not only a memoir.

Other Indonesian professional breastfeeding practitioners, such as the Chairwoman of the Taskforce on Breastfeeding in Indonesian Pediatric Society (IDAI) 2011-2014, Dr I Gusti Ayu Nyoman Partiwi SpA, MARS, and the Chairwoman of the Association of Indonesian Breastfeeding

Mothers (AIMI), Mia Sutanto, also involved by giving the book testimonials. Dr Partiwi says that the book gave Indonesian health workers and hospitals feedback on handling new born babies and breastfeeding issues, so they can work better in the future [70]. In addition to that, Dr Partiwi acknowledges that the book will be very useful, not only for the first-time parents, but also for aspiring parents, parents who already have children, grandparents, and businesspeople in order to comprehend that everyone has a role to succeed the breastfeeding process [71]. While Mia Sutanto considers that the book is outstanding from other books on breastfeeding because the book is relatable for fathers and easy to understand by them [72].

The content of the book in linked with Ayah ASI's tweets. Some of the information that they tweeted and their interaction with their followers are included in the book. For example, they inserted the result of surveys that they conducted on their Twitter account about who and when a family should acquire information about breastfeeding [73].

I observe that there are three themes in the book which associated with father's involvement in childcare. These three themes are the determinants that get the fathers involved in child care in the first place, the determinants that encourage them to continue involved in childcare, and the determinants that might become the obstacles for them to involve.

a. What are the determinants that get the fathers to involve in child care?

In their stories, the fathers told that being aware of the importance of breastfeeding for their children and their wives have made them start to support their wives and involve in childcare. Their wives were the ones who ardently convince them to learn and carry out research about pregnancy, birth, childcare, and breastfeeding. Aditia tells in his story:

> "(My wife) said, "I want to breastfeed our baby (appropriately).". At that moment I nodded right away. Actually, (at that time) I didn't really care on how our baby will be fed, either with breastmilk or formula milk. The most important thing for me is that my loved ones must be free from harm, happy, and healthy. Soon after, my wife convinced me to subscribe to a few mailing lists and read articles on the internet related to breastfeeding." [74].

Most of the fathers conducted their research on breastfeeding and childcare by browsing the internet, reading books, and consulting with obstetricians and paediatricians. Friends and co-workers also became the fathers' referee beside the reading materials, the internet, doctors, and their wives. For example, Ernest initially received the knowledge on breastfeeding from his friends who already have children first.

Another resource of information on breastfeeding for the fathers is associations like the Association of Indonesian Breastfeeding Mothers (AIMI). The association organize classes on breastfeeding regularly, and two of the fathers, Rahmat and Dipa, attended the class. Rahmat and his wife attended the class when she was still pregnant with their baby. Remarkably, Dipa attended the class alone when he still dating his now-wife. His profession as a broadcast producer on a female radio station brought him to notice about the topic and the class. Another father who also has been introduced to breastfeeding issues by his occupation is Syarief. He met a breastfeeding support association because of his assignment in the media industry. After the meeting, he was excited to share what he learned from the meeting with his wife. As Syarief told on his story:

> *"It was ironic because I met a breastfeeding support community for my work just when we have substituted the milk for Anya with formula milk. I began to learn about the significance of breastfeeding. I eagerly told my wife about it, but she only answered playfully "Have you been living under a rock?" … I felt like a dumb. Soon after, I determined to learn more about breastfeeding. It was not too late because we were planning to have a second child."* [75]

Based on Dipa and Syarief's stories, I conclude that fathers might get information from a various source, including their relation to the workplace. It is also proved that campaign from women's organization to support breastfeeding in Indonesia has influenced the fathers' movement.

b. What are the determinants that encourage the fathers to continue involved in childcare?

Apart from being the main figures who make the fathers keen to get involved in childcare in the first place, their wives also play an essential role to keep them interested in getting involved. Syarief describes how his wife makes him enjoys his engagement in supporting the process of breastfeeding and childcare:

> *"She asked me to make her position comfortable for breastfeeding our daughter. … (My wife) involving me without being too demanding. Bit by bit, I carried out my duty as a father who cares for my child's breastfeeding process. Gradually, I became familiar with it and appreciate my new position as a father."* [76]

Syarief's description conforms Sary and Turnip's findings that the wife's attitude will affect the continuity of the husband's involvement as a father [77].

Friends and support groups also might help the fathers to stay motivated and keep them informed on breastfeeding issues and childcare. For instance, Rahmat put out his and his wife's (@adamayantie) worry about her breastfeeding difficulties on Twitter:

> *"When we run into trouble, I posted about it on Twitter. We received many words of encouragements from @aimi_asi's followers.[1] My reasons to post it on Twitter were to get help for @adamayantie and make her less lonely."* [78]

Ernest also sought out for suggestions from his friends when Meira endured pain on her first days of breastfeeding:

> *"… Meira felt an intense pain in her hips. However, our doctor told us that it was usual, so Meira had to continue breastfeeding even though she was frowned and even cried in pain. I asked around my friends, and they have a similar experience with different intensities. I was hopeless because I was unable to do anything except stroking her back and encouraging her with words."* [79]

c. What are the obstacles for the fathers to involve in childcare?

The long-established gender bias in Indonesia might become the first obstacle for the fathers to involve in childcare. Aditia confessed that he was reluctant to take care of the children when his wife told him to do so. He says *"It seemed that I became hesitant if my wife orders me to do*

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[1] *Twitter account of the Association of Indonesian Breastfeeding Mothers (AIMI)*

it. It felt humiliating for me as a man to be ordered around by a woman. [80]. Ernest also tells a complementary opinion about it.:

> *"There is a general perception in the society that there are distinctive duties for men and women, that fathers are the breadwinner and mothers are the caretaker of the children. This division of labor makes men, whether they had become a father or they would have become a father, did not aware that they should have also cared (for their children).* [81]

The fathers' working arrangement also might become the obstacles for them to involve in childcare. For instance, Sogi and his wife both working, so they needed to employ a babysitter for their children:

> *"Following the birth of Sam up until today we depend on the assistance of a babysitter. Although it is expensive, having a babysitter is Sam's right because we could not always stay with him. I realized that our presence for our child is irreplaceable. Nevertheless, he is with someone who we can trust."* [82]

Syarief, by contrast, has a flexible working job, and therefore he can cook complementary food for his child. *"… my occupation does not obligate me to depart from home in the early morning, so I have the time to experiment with juices and purees."* [83]

Does this book have managed to increase father involvement in Indonesia?

Sales figures of the book might illustrate the achievement of the book in popularizing father involvement in Indonesia. Nonetheless, the system of Google Playbook did not allow the public to attain the sales figures of the book. Another way to assess the popularity of the book is by looking at the rating and comments that people give to it. On the other hand, not everyone gives any stars or comments after they purchased the book.

By the 10th of August 2017, forty persons rated the book and eleven persons left comments for the book in Google Play Books. The book received 4.6 stars on average and several positive comments. On the 17th of July 2015, a woman said that she had a good laugh reading the book. She said she likes the book because it feels genuine, easy-to-read, and entertaining, yet still educational. Another purchaser, a man, left a comment on the 25th of March 2015, that he thinks the book is very beneficial, specifically for the first-time parents who are planning to breastfeed their babies exclusively on their first 6 months.

Goodreads also provide ratings as a method to assess the public acceptance of the book. Nakamura defines Goodreads as a social network website that designated for avid readers [84]. Therefore, Goodreads has the power to influence the readers' choice. Until the 10th of August 2017, Indonesian members of Goodreads who joins the Indonesian group has reached 19,256 members.

By the 10th of August 2017, the book has reached the 92nd on Indonesia's Best Non-Fiction Book of All Time list in Goodreads among 292 books. Approximately, 423 people voted for the book. An Indonesian male user of Goodreads created this list on the 3rd of July 2009 and allowed other users to edit it. Every Goodreads' user can add new books to the list and votes for the book that they consider as the best. The book earned about 3.98 stars from 89 votes and 27 users left comments for this book. There are also features in Goodreads that allow users to interact which

are virtual bookshelves and to-read lists. Roughly, until the 10th of August 2017, there were 220 users added the book to their virtual bookshelves and 106 users added it to their to-read lists.

On the 11th of August 2015, a male user left a positive comment about the book and gave the book 5 stars. The user said:

> *"In the beginning, I noticed about Ayah ASI's campaign on Twitter because some people that I follow retweeted their tweets. I was not paying attention to them up until I eventually encounter it myself, the bewilderment of dealing with my wife's pregnancy and preparing for the birth. I was not paying attention to them up until I eventually encounter it myself, the bewilderment of dealing with my wife's pregnancy and preparing for the birth. Then I realised that the founders of Ayah ASI wrote this book. So I pray that I was not behind in figuring out and preparing everything that we need for our baby."*

Nevertheless, one female user left a negative comment on the book. This book contains biased views. She said that *"This book contains biased views.".* On the other hand, she did not mention further about which section that she considered as biased.

Twitter Timeline of Ayah ASI (@ID_AyahASI)

I acquired 3197 tweets of @ID_AyahASI from the 17th August 2015 until the 4th August 2017 with the help of Socialbakers. After that, I created a simple list of themes based on the tweets that I retrieved from Socialbakers. Therefore, the analysis down below is limited to the predominant themes that emerged in the tweets and does not involve more complex analysis such as discourse analysis.

Theme	Concept	Description	Example
Educational	Tips on Breastfeeding, Breaking Superstitions around Breastfeeding, Government Law on Breastfeeding, Empirical Findings on Breastfeeding, Surveys with Small Samples	Tweets that contain information which aimed to educate the followers in the form of mini-surveys, online lectures, and infographics.	Article 128 paragraph 1 Law on Health No.23/2009 is regulating children's right to be exclusively breastfed (until 6 months old). [85]
Assistance	Questions and Answers Sessions, Sharing Information and Request on Breastmilk Donations, Retweeting Tips on Breastfeeding from The Followers	Tweets that intended to facilitate interaction with and among the followers, by answering questions and retweeting information or request from the followers.	RT @xxxxx: Good morning @aimi_asi @ID_AyahASI, I need a breastmilk donor to help a one-month old baby girl, located in Bintaro. Thanks. (@xxxxx, 2015)
Advertisement	Promoting Books, Announcing Events, Announcing The Founders Appearance on TV Shows, Advertising Merchandise (T-shirt)	Tweets that addressed to promote the community and their movement by announcing events and selling merchandise.	100% of our royalty from the book will be used to support our campaign on breastfeeding in Indonesia [86]

Based on the analysis that I have done to the acquired tweets, the themes that emerged from the tweets are not precisely connect with my research questions on the determinants that attract fathers to involve, that might become their obstacles, and that might keep them to stay involved in childcare. On the other hand, the recurring theme that emerged from the tweets are the educational and assistance tweets. I observed that many followers kept asking technical questions on breastfeeding that should have been covered in the book or on the articles in Ayah ASI's website. I also noticed that this made Ayah ASI suggested them to buy the book or sent them the link to the writing. I assume that this relates to Indonesia's lack of reading culture. According to Miller and McKenna, Indonesia's literacy rate is on the 60th among 61 countries. [87].

Does this Twitter account have managed to increase father involvement in Indonesia?

Ayah ASI has turned to a great community in the cyberspace since its establishment in 2012. It has several branches in several cities in Indonesia. Every local Ayah ASI also created Twitter accounts. Therefore, Simanjuntak dubs Ayah ASI as a powerful movement [88]. To confirm this claim, I have done a Twitter profile analysis with the help of third-party websites such as Socialbakers.

By the 10th of August 2017, Socialbakers' statistical report showed that Ayah ASI is on the top five NGO Twitter account with the most followers. The report also showed that Ayah ASI acquired roughly 366 new followers per day and it made Ayah ASI reached the second position for the fastest growing account category among NGO Twitter account. By the 10th of August 2017, the number of Ayah ASI's followers has reached 413972 followers.

Socialbearing presents a different kind of statistical analysis on a Twitter account profile from Socialbakers. Socialbearing produces 'reach' and 'impressions' analysis of data from a period. 'Reach' is the approximate calculation on a single tweet from an account may reach how many people [89]. On the other hand, 'impressions' is the approximate calculation on a single tweet from an account may be seen by how many people based on the tweet likes or retweets [90]. A Twitter account power to persuade people is measured based on these points. The higher the number that a Twitter account get the more powerful it is [91]. By the 10th of August 2017, the statistical analysis from Socialbearing showed that Ayah ASI has a good score in both 'reach' and 'impressions'. Ayah ASI's 'reach' points were 413877 and its 'impressions' points were 962732390. Thus, Ayah ASI can be said as a powerful Twitter account.

Furthermore, the quality of a Twitter account also can be analyzed with the help of Socialbearing. The unit for measuring the quality of a Twitter is TUQI which stands for Twitter User Quality Index. To obtain the score for TUQI, Socialbearing calculated the number of tweets that have been posted by the account, the number of its followers, its level of activity, and other data [92]. The higher the TUQI score that an account has, the better the quality of it. A Twitter account with a high TUQI score is more likely to be active and engaging [93]. On the contrary, a Twitter account with a low TUQI score is more likely to be inactive or even a spam account [94]. The TUQI score that Ayah ASI obtained by the 10th of August 2017 was 32.25, and it was considerably high. Accordingly, Ayah ASI is indeed an active and engaging Twitter account.

Another quality of a Twitter account that Socialbearing can measure is the 'sentiment' of it. 'Sentiment' is the emotional part of the content from a Twitter account, how the followers might perceive the content [95]. There are five scales of 'sentiment' according to Socialbearing; terrible, bad, neutral, good and great. By measuring the 'sentiment' of a Twitter account, we might get the social context of it and how a certain topic can be perceived by its followers. By the 10th of

August 2017, Socialbearing calculated that Ayah ASI was considered to be 90.5% good by their followers. By the 10th of August 2017, Socialbearing calculated that Ayah ASI was considered to be 90.5% good by their followers. It means that the followers of Ayah ASI have a positive perception towards Ayah ASI's content.

Conclusion

Statistical analysis and qualitative analysis on their book and their Twitter account has proven that Ayah ASI has become a powerful online movement on father involvement in Indonesia, specifically on the issue of breastfeeding. By gaining many followers on Twitter, Ayah ASI has the power to reach many people and popularize their values with their tweets. Their TUQI score and sentiment measurement also proved that they have created quality contents and received positively by their followers. The book also well-received by the readers, proven from the good ratings and reviews that it gets on both Goodreads and Google Playbook.

Ayah ASI managed to deliver the messages in an entertaining way. They also managed to create an egalitarian relationship between them and their followers through their writing style. However, the audience of Ayah ASI might be still limited to the young, urban, middle-class fathers who have access to use the internet. Despite Ayah ASI's appearance on the news, on both television and newspapers, Ayah ASI's style and approach might not be ideal for other categories of fathers, such as working-class fathers in rural areas. Meanwhile, intervention on breastfeeding [96] and father involvement [97] is crucial for all people in Indonesia.

Behind the success of fathers in Ayah ASI's movement, the establishment of the community itself was inseparable from women's role. Tweets from Farahdibha Tenrilemba Aditya, the General Secretary of AIMI (Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia) or the Association of Indonesian Breastfeeding Mothers, at that time, triggered the conversation among fathers who became the founders of Ayah ASI. Their wives also the ones who introduce them to the importance of father involvement through their relentless effort to give the fathers information about it. Moreover, their attitude toward the involvement of their husband in childcare affected the continuity of the fathers' involvement. When their wives gave them a positive response, the fathers became more active in taking care of their children and vice versa. Therefore, women's role in father involvement is significant as the triggers, the supporters, but also may become the inhibitors of the fathers to involve by giving them a negative response.

Another determinant that might help to inspire the fathers to involve in childcare is widespread of information on the importance of father's role. Based on their story, the fathers received information about breastfeeding not only from their wives but also from their friends and colleagues from work. Later on, breastfeeding became the opening path for the fathers to involve more in childcare.

Nevertheless, based on the fathers' story, men's pride and traditional gender roles in Indonesian society still became the obstacle for fathers to involve in childcare. Therefore, other social approaches may be needed to alter the gender expectation in the society, including religious approach. [98]. I observed that there are other campaigns on father involvement in Indonesia, such as Bapak Rangkul (Volunteers Fathers of Keluarga Kita/ Our Family) by Najeela Shihab, Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (New Men's Alliance, Sahabat Ayah (Fathers' Best Friend) by Ustadz Bendri Jaisyurrahman, Yayasan Pulih's campaign, and Rutgers WPF Indonesia's campaign. Working together with other movements might be mutually beneficial for all.

As they mentioned in their story, another factor that might hinder the fathers to involve in childcare is their working hour arrangement. Although there has been The Law No. 13/2003 on Manpower that regulates fathers' leave, it is only for two days after their wives gave birth. Thus, advocation on fathers' right for parental leave in Indonesia might also crucial for increasing father involvement in child rearing. More research is certainly needed to develop an appropriate intervention and policy on father involvement.

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STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE BEHIND TRIPLE TALAQ IN INDIAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the practice of triple talaq in Indian Muslim community. This practice has been misused unilaterally by many Indian Muslim husbands to irrevocably divorce their wives. As results, many widows' post-marital rights such as maintenance fund, child custody, and parts of community properties are neglected. Moreover, further research found that other factors such as cultural violence (e.g.: patriarchal distortion within Islamic teaching and the rise of Islamic conservatism) and structural violence (e.g.: discriminatory legal basis and patriarchal political system) also play some important roles behind the Islamic marital discourse as a whole. There are at least two consequences for these widows. First, their post-divorce welfare become threatened as Indian patriarchal society barely spoils Indian women. Second, they are unable to speak or even act for their own rights because the institutionalisation of Islamic marital institution in India positioned them as gendered subaltern.

Keywords: triple talaq, structural violence, cultural violence, gendered subaltern, Indian Muslim

1. Introduction

Shayara Bano, an Indian 35-year-old widow from Kashipur, Uttarakhand, filed a lawsuit to the Indian Supreme Court in February 2016. She demanded to the Court that the triple talaq pronounced by her former husband be declared void. She was instantly divorced by her former husband through letter in October 2015 and denied access for her two children by her former husband. Her dislike toward the practice (and other discriminatory ones) as she no longer believed in marriage (Rashid, 2017).

The similar problem also happened to other four Indian Muslim women. Afreen Rehman, a 25-year-old widow from Jaipur, Rajasthan, who got married in 2014 was domestically assault by his husband and asked to leave the house months afterward (ANI, 2016). Ishrat Jahan from West Bengal alleged her husband for keeping child custody for himself and denied her right

for maintenance after pronouncing triple talaq in April 2015. She even claimed that her former husband "insulted and harassed" her during marriage period (Huffington Post, 2017). Atiya Sabri from Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh, had to realized that her two-and-a-half-year marriage ended when her former husband pronounced triple talaq through a letter in 2016. She also claimed a similar mistreatment her former husband had done to her like Ishrat Jahan (Amarujala, 2017). Gulshan Praveen who married in 2013 was instantly divorce by her husband through triple talaq which is written on a stamp paper (Live Hindustan, 2017). Generally speaking, they similarly claim that this practice has violated fundamental right of Muslim women, especially when it comes to marital right.

These four widows followed Shayara Bano's step to approach the Supreme Court and asked it to legally forbid the practice. Those lawsuits had been filed sporadically since 2016 and quickly gained huge public support in early 2017. It can be seen by a petition spearheaded by Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan (BMMA), a secular mass organization for Muslim women right protection, titled 'Muslim Women's Quest for Equality,' which had gained more than 50.000 signatories (Dhawan, 2016). Even the petition also started by the Muslim Rashtriya Manch (MRM), an Islamic organization affiliated with the right-wing Hindu group Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), claimed to have over a million signatories (Suri, 2017). These petitions spilled over into nationwide social campaign throughout the first semester of 2017.

Given recent social background above, this paper aims to explicate the phenomenon of triple talaq as a practice which commonly takes places in Indian Muslim community. The research will be focused on its practice in India as a manifestation of imbalance gender relations within Islamic marital institution. Further analysis will try to address questions as follow: What is triple talaq? Why can it flourish in Indian Muslim community? Why is it justified by such community? How does this practice affect Indian Muslim women, especially their position within the community?

Based on such preliminary data and assumptions, there are at least two main arguments I would like to present. First, the practice of triple talaq can flourish because there are both cultural and structural factors. The cultural factors comprise from debates regarding Islamic *fiqh* (legal jurisprudence), the historicity of the spread of Islamic teaching in India, and the construction of contemporary Islamic community in India. The structural factors, on the other hand, reveal patriarchal political system and its legal product which discriminate Indian Muslim women and neglected their rights as equal citizen. Second, those factors lead to abominable consequences for Indian Muslim women. Many Muslim widows's welfare will be volatile as Indian patriarchal society often spoil their male counterparts. Their rights were systematically derogated and they often get rated as "burden" for the community. They will be socially and economically gendered subaltern.

II. Research Methodology

This research is conducted in non-positivistic feminist way. According to Mary E. Dankoski, feminist researches should focus its ontology with the question of power relations not only based solely on gender but also sexuality, race, class, and therapist/client relationships. They also should be directed to give better, broad, and deep ways of understanding about gender-related issues so there would be better chance for improvement of the lives of women and other marginal groups (Dankoski, 2000). Because of their focus on exploring ways of understanding as many as possible, feminist researches are usually prone to non-positivism, although some feminist researches are conducted in positivistic way. In this context, feminist researches are familiar to both qualitative,

quantitative, or mixed methods. In order to accommodate such intention, this research uses a single case with deductive logic. Instead of developing, verifying, or even falsifying any theory in any meaningful way, this method only tries to "deduce" theoretical explanation regarding a studied case (Ruzzene, 2014).

Therefore, this research focuses on violence against women in marital institution through the practice of triple talaq. Because this research aims to analyze its existence and causal factor, the practice of triple talaq as a phenomenon is considered as a dependent variable which its independent one is about to be seek. Johan Galtung's concepts of cultural and structural violence is used to identify "violent compounds" which cause the practice's development. However, in order to provide historical basis for the analysis, I combine my feminist analysis in this research with post-colonial perspective. In this context, the concept of gendered subaltern (from post-colonial studies) is helpful to position women (as victims of triple talaq) in the midst of patriarchal Indian Muslim Community throughout history. The analysis is contextualized on Indian Muslim community as an example where the practice has been in common. Besides, the case is quite recent as it had gained publicity for the last two years thanks to Shayara Bano's case followed by other similar acts by individuals and collectives through a sporadic social movement. Thus, literal (e.g.: academic books and journals and religious textual sources) and online sources (e.g.: online news, organizational websites, and statistical data) regarding the discourse of the phenomenon (e.g.: practice, history, legal foundation, and institution of triple talaq) and the theoretical framework.

This paper is divided into five parts. Given social background of the case study, the first part will be an introduction for the urgency of the research followed by my main arguments. The second part details the methodology, methods, and conceptual framework taken for the research purpose. After highlighting the overall main points in the third part, this paper will continue to give results of the research. This part will be divided into a couple of parts: the general explication of triple talaq and the analysis of its violent nature. A conclusion will be given eventually.

III. Research Results

2.1. The Practice

One of many social problems, especially for Muslim community, in India is divorce. Despite the fact that India's low divorce rate compared with other countries, especially Western counterparts, Muslims are more likely to be divorced than other religious community, especially Hindus. This claim is based on Indian census held in 2011 which found out that the divorce ratio for Hindus is 2 people out of 1000 married Hindus and for Muslims 3,7 people out of 1000 Muslims. Moreover, if we separate the muslims based on their gender, the divorce ratio for Muslim men is 1,6 people out of 1000 Muslim men and for women 5,6 out of 1000 Muslim women (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2017).

This condition is easily affected by the existence of triple talaq or instant divorce or talaq-e-biddat (later I will use triple talaq only). It means that Muslim husbands are allowed to divorce their wives by only pronounce the word talaq (repudiation) three times in one act. Generally recommended by Islamic sharia, a couple only pronounce first and/or second talaq because of the possibility to reconcile. It is written within following Quran verse:

"Divorce is twice. Then, either keep [her] in an acceptable manner or release [her] with good treatment. And it is not lawful for you to take anything of what you have given them unless both fear that they will not be able to keep [within] the limits of Allah. But if you fear that they will not keep [within] the limits of Allah, then there is no blame upon either of them concerning that by which she ransoms herself. These are the limits of Allah, so do not transgress them. And whoever transgresses the limits of Allah - it is those who are the wrongdoers." (QS 2:229)

In Islam, because once you pronounce the third talaq, it is irrevocable and it is forbidden for them to reconcile unless the widows consummate another marriage with other men as their husbands and then divorce. In other word, triple talaq is an "innovation" to instantly make a separation irrevocable. Some husbands (sometimes with their wives' consent) choose this path because their relationship cannot be reconciled anymore. Other reasons comprise the religious court's decision after some legal considerations, the inability of one to provide sustenance toward another, and intentional de-commitment.

There are some debates whether this practice is allowed or not. For some people who support it, they refer to following legitimate (shahih) hadeeth reported by Ibn Abbas:

"lbn e Abbas says. In the time of the Holy Prophet and during the time of Abu Bakr and also during the initial two years of Umar's caliphate, triple talaq were considered as one. But Umar said: people have begun to make haste in a matter in which they were given an opportunity to think. So why should we not make it applicable. So, he applied it on them" (Efendi, 2007)

The problem with this hadeeth is that the effectiveness of the practice as it was reported depends only on decision of Rasulullah SAW's successor, Caliph Abu Bakr and Caliph Umar. In fact, during his time, Rasulullah SAW was also reported in anger when he heard about the practice. The following legitimate hadeeth was reported by An-Nassai based on Mahmud bin Labid's witness.

"Mahmud bin Labid says: the holy prophet (sallallahu alaihiwassam) was informed that a man has given all the three talaq to his wife. Hearing it he became very angry, he said: Are they playing with Allah's Book even while I am among you? A man got up observing his anger and said: O Prophet of Allah! Should I not kill him?" (Efendi, 2007)

The second hadeeth above explicitly states that the practice is just like playing with Allah's Quran. It can be considered as a sinful act. Given that inference, there comes up an important question: How could Caliph Abu Bakr and Caliph Umar make decision which contradicted their superior predecessor's? This hadeeth is often used by people who denounce triple talaq.

There are still some hadeeths provided by triple talaq's supporters. For example, there is a legitimate (shahih) hadeeth of Fatimah binti Qais reported by Muslim, which said:

"Fatimah binti Qais says: Abu Umru bin Hafs gave her Talaq Battah (a talaq which makes them separate) and he was not then present. So, he sent his wakil (agent) with some barley. Fatima became angry at that. Then he said:"By God, you have no right whatsoever upon us". Fatima went to the holy Prophet and narrated the events. He said your nafaqah (maintenance) is not due on him". (Efendi, 2007)

Another example is a hadeeth shahih of Abdullah bin Umar also reported by Muslim, which said:

> *"lbn Umar relates that in the time of the Holy Prophet he had given a talaq to his wife when she was in her period (of menstruation) Umar inquired about it from the holy prophet who replied that: tell him to revert to his wife and then leave her in that state until she becomes clean. Then when she, once again, becomes clean after her next period he may either retain her or divorce her before copulation. This is the period of iddat about which Allah has ordained concerning talaq to women." (Efendi, 2007)*

However, neither the effectiveness, direct mention, nor direct order regarding triple talaq, according to Shams Pirzada (1996), can be cited starkly from those previous hadeeths. This hadeeth can be easily denounced by following Abu Daud's report about Abu Rukanah's conversation with Rasulullah SAW:

> *"Abu Rukanah said: O Messenger of Allah! I have given her three talaq. He said: I know it. You go back to her" (Pirzada, 1996)*

The hadeeth above clearly states that Rasulullah SAW only considered Abu Rukanah's pronouncement as one talaq so he could reconcile with his wife. Despite of unclearly statement whether Abu Rukanah technically used triple talaq, this hadeeth is more than enough to support the effectiveness of one talaq. Those differing hadeeths I have mentioned above and their interpretations among ulama make them divided into two camps. On the one hand, the first camp belongs to people who support the practice by recognizing it as permitted (mubah). On the other hand, there are people in the second camp who consider it as an unlawful "innovation" (bid'ah), therefore not approved and sinful (Niaz & Soman, 2015). It remains in that way as many ulama proclaimed that the chance for ijtihad had been foreclosed many centuries ago. The main point of the explanation in this part tries to infer that these debates affect the uncertainty of sharia enforcement regarding triple talaq, especially in Indian Muslim community where there is no arbitrary religious court. The consequence which turns violent against Indian Muslim women will be explicated afterward.

2.2. The Violence

In order to answer why triple talaq—with its controversy among ulama—does violate Muslim women's right, especially in Indian Muslim community, we need to talk about the nature of violence itself and how it can happen. According to Galtung (1969), violence is sort of influence which causes human beings cannot actually reach their potential somatic and mental realization. This wide concept implies that we can determine something as violent based on many factors, such as its form (physical or psychological), approach (positive or negative), the presence of acting subjects and hurt objects, intention, and existence (manifest or latent). We can simplify these characterizations into 3 typologies: direct, structural, and cultural (Galtung, 1990). Direct violence is violent activity which serve to threaten life itself or derogate one's ability to meet basic living needs. Killing, maiming, bullying, sexual assault, and emotional manipulation can be considered as this type. Structural violence means any form of system, structure, institution, or even order within society which may harm people to fulfill their basic needs. This typology usually manifests in legal framework (e.g.: constitution and policy) which discriminate certain groups of people within a polity. Cultural violence represents any form of culture that can be

used to justify and legitimize two previous typologies. "Culture" comprises religion, ideology, language, art, empirical and formal science, and cosmology. A violent act, Galtung added (1990), can comprises all typologies simultaneously if there is a direct even which is proceeded structurally and culturally invariant. One of prominent examples for this argument is the famous Karl Marx's formulation of base-superstructure which, he claimed, perpetuate capitalism within industrial society (Marx, 1904). For later purpose, however, I only want to focus on structural and cultural violence which manifest mostly within the practice of instant divorce in India.

2.3. Cultural Violence

Whether triple talaq is a permissive act or unlawful innovation, there is fact that it exists. It has been practiced since and alongside with the spreading of Islamic teaching by Rasulullah SAW in the Arab peninsula. The former leader of All Indian Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB), Kapil Sibal, for example, even argue that triple talaq has been part of Islamic faith and tradition for at least 1.400 years old (Times of India, 2017). The spreading of the teaching itself showed unprecedented achievement as Islam was brought by Muslim travelers and traders to Indian subcontinent during the 7th century through trade relations with Indians (Rawlinson, 2001). This phase continued during Umayyad and Abbasid's conquest from 661-1000 (Avari, 2013). For many centuries afterward, these cultures have assimilated, if not accommodated, with not only Indian local wisdoms but also Persian during the reigns of Turco-Afghan (1000-1206), Delhi Sultanate (1206-1556), and then Mughal Empire (1556-1765) (Avari, 2013). The result was a new Indian Muslim community with the mixture of predominant Arab and Indo-Persian culture.

According to Suad Joseph (1994), Arab culture which was brought to India was shaped in patriarchal construction, in which the rights of males and elders (including women elders) are prioritized within kinship values and justified by religion. As religion, particularly Islam, is sometimes regarded as civil status in Arab communities, their citizens are bounded to its law (Joseph, 1996). Because sharia in practices gives power, authority, and legitimacy only toward male and elder cleric, women have no power to affect that predominant structure. Consequently, Muslim female in Arab civilization tend to have fewer rights than their male counterparts. Contextualized with marital institution, Arab patriarchy undermines wives' rights under husbands' authorities within families as its basic social unit. Linked to the practice of triple talaq as a religious action in marital affairs which favors husbands over wives, its existence can be traced from the logic of such Arab religious patriarchy.

The historicity of triple talaq explained above are sometimes used by many Islamic conservatives in Indian Muslim community to support their claim regarding the practice. They have spread and proliferated their ideologies to several parts of Indian Muslim community in India. For example, Salafi organization Kerala Nadvathul Mujahideen in Kerala have been around since 1950s. Their aims included the "purification" of Islam from any cultural influences impacting Muslim practice (Raman, 2015). Another is Al-Jamiya Al-Islamia in northern Kerala. Their similar agendas are even funded by Saudi Arabia's monarchy through building many Islamic schools (madrasas) and mosques in which Salafism and Wahhabism can be taught publicly (Raman, 2016). The growth of the ideology in India preoccupies especially in Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, and Karnataka.

AIMPLB can also be considered as an Islamic organization in India which try to monopolized Islamic affairs in India. Despite of their absence of affiliation with Islamic conservatives, they somehow protect within Indian Muslim's orthodoxy (we will return to the explanation of this organization later). Contextualized with the case of triple talaq, they are strong opponent of the

ban of triple talaq in the name of right of religious right as personal affairs in which state cannot interfere. Besides their rights of 1400-year-old practice, AIMPLB argued that the criminalization of the practice will harm women as they claim that Muslim widows will need their former husbands—who will go to jail—to maintain their post-divorce welfare along with children left behind (PTI, 2017). In the end, they put the upcoming bill of banning triple talaq as a violation against constitution.

Several advocacy for the banning of triple talaq, on the other hand, occurred. All Indian Muslim Women Personal Law Board (AIMWPLB), a "balancing organization" to rival AIMPLB, who was founded in 2005, try to reclaim the right of ijtihad before conservative, male-dominant ulama so they can interpret Quran and hadeeths in woman-friendly way (Vatuk, 2008). The expected implication is that they can systematically reform the Muslim Personal Law which, according to Islamic feminists, is the source of religious patriarchy, especially manifested in the support of triple talaq. Despite of many criticism from their male "rival" for having insufficient scholarly credentials yet too many "political motives," AIMWPLB then gained many supports from other similar organizations such as Aawaaz-e-Niswaan (Women's Voice), All Indian Muslim Women's Rights Network (MWRN), Women's Research and Action Group (WRAG), and BMMA. These movement's approaches include social campaign and both individual and collective legal lawsuit (Agnes, 2012).

So far, we have identified two cultural factors behind triple talaq as a violation against Muslim women in India. The patriarchal culture brought by Arabs alongside with the spreading of Islamic teachings throughout history crystalized within Indian Muslim community. The recent rise of conservatism is a catalysator of the predominant patriarchy in the name of Islam. The next explication should discuss about the structural factor in which those cultural violence explained above are institutionalized further.

2.3.1. Structural Violence

The practice of triple talaq is shaded under Muslim Personal Law. According to the law, any religious affair (e.g.: marital institution) is considered under personal sphere so the state cannot interfere. The affairs are then regulated under religious institution which represents the religious community (institution does not always mean organization). This personal law coexists with similar others referred for particular religious community (e.g.: Hindu and Christianity), marking the hybridity of Indian legal system in which they coexist with other national civil/common law (Esposito & DeLong-Bas, 2001). Muslim Personal Law is based on Islamic sharia in which consists of Quran and the teachings and practices of Prophet Muhammad (hadeeth). Its legal interpretations are left openly to the Islamic legal scholars (ulama). Due to diversity of schools of thought (madhhab) within Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), every ulama can differ their interpretations regarding Quran and hadeeth in every religious issue, including marital relations. In other words, the nature of the Law itself is exclusively flexible.

There are several problems regarding the legal framework of the practice. First of all, the husband can pronounce triple talaq arbitrarily. According to sharia, only a husband can pronounce talaq despite of wife's right to sue for it to him. However, this privilege sometimes can be misused. Some husbands, who has a better position, power, and authority in family institution, can pronounce triple talaq without their wives' consent. They can even practice it without any obligation to meet face-to-face with their wives thanks to advanced instant messaging technologies.

Linked to the previous statistics about divorce rate in Indian Muslim community, no wonder why Muslim women are likely to be divorced by their husbands.

The second problem comes from its legal system. Previously mentioned, India is one of many countries in the world which adopt hybrid legal system (civil/common law and religious law). To be compared, for example, Indonesia also adopt similar system. The difference between two countries is that in Indonesia, the hybridity is based on the structure level which affect the legal agency within the state. Indonesia does not have codified law regarding religious affairs, especially in Islam. They only emphasis the state reification guaranteeing religious rights of citizens within the constitution. That is why the state provide religious court (only for Islam) as religious dispute settlement mechanism. The legal interpretation of the sharia is left to the court with ulama's consideration. India, reversely, based its hybridity on the codification level. India inherit British colonial legal products (for Hindu, Islam, and Christianity) and consider it within personal sphere. Because its implementations are left to the local religious authority, the state cannot interfere. The problem with this type of hybridization is that such abuse of religious affairs, especially the misused of triple talaq, sometimes cannot be settled with assured by state. Although there are some non-state dispute settlement mechanisms provided by AIMPLB such as dar ul qaza and Imaarat Shariah, their functions are only as mediators and/or sponsor of non-arbitrary forum (Redding, 2012). No binding legal certainty can be guaranteed by state authority. This is why many husbands can extra-judicially divorce their wives through discriminatory triple talaq.

The consequence of the previous factors leads to the third problem. As Muslim women can be divorced arbitrarily and extra-judicially, their post-divorce rights are undermined. Contrary to AIMPLB's argument that the criminalization of triple talaq will harm widows and children because husbands cannot fulfill the sustenance in prison, I argue that remaining triple talaq exists will not make any difference toward women and children's welfare. Based on stories of five women who became victims of triple talaq, their rights of maintenance were neglected and they were even alienated from their children. Some of their previous relationships were even seasoned with domestic assault by husbands toward their wives. After such unilateral divorce, women cannot negotiate with their former husbands regarding maintenance, child custody, and post-divorce property share. It prevents them to deal with their former husbands in an equal position and manner. Given the circumstances, Muslim women are the most disadvantaged in such patriarchal institutions.

Political system which lay out the legal framework also contributes toward the practice of triple talaq and its consequences. Being unable to interfere religious affairs of its citizens, India seem to be depended toward AIMPLB regarding the legal enforcement of the Law. As the most dominant non-governmental organization in related discourses, AIMPLB claim to represent the overall Muslim population in India in order to rally points for conservative Muslims (Patel, 2009). It apparently gives AIMPLB sufficient access to monopolized related decision-making process in governmental level. The problem is that that veiled claim tends to be falsely trumped up. Even Syed Ahmed Bukhari, the Shahi Imam (head priest) of Delhi's Great Mosque suggested Indian Muslim to denounce that organization. He added that AIMPLB always ignore many feedbacks from their own constituents for the sake of their own advocacy, especially regarding instant divorce issue (Bukhari, 2018).

Another under-representative problem also lies within the role of women inside AIMPLB. Only 8% of the overall executive members of the organization (50 people) and 18,6% of the overall general members around India are women (All Indian Muslim Personal Law Board, 2017). Most

of their prioritized agendas move women's aspiration aside. For example, during Shah Bano Case, AIMPLB strongly opposed the initiate verdict that favor Shah Bano's right for long-term alimony from her former husband due to the sharia's statute to limit the alimony for only 90 days or during the period of waiting (iddat)—regulated under The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act (1986) (Agnes, 2012). The fact that the verdict was nullified under Rajiv Gandhi's administration made it obvious that AIMPLB could give political pressure toward government in return for their voting power as they can influence and even mobilize Indian Muslim for the next election (Patel, 2009). It can be inferred that the politicization of religious affairs brought by AIMPLB has sacrificed the rights of Indian Muslim women to be equal before men.

2.4. The Subaltern

It can be implied from explanation above that the very existence of triple talaq is caused by historic cultural and structural factors which violate Muslim women's rights, especially in marital institution. It shows us how patriarchal Indian Muslim community where Muslim women are living within. But what does it mean for them? It actually implies their status in such community as a gendered subaltern. Adopted from Gayatri Spiyak, Subaltern itself can be understood as a group of persons which are marginalized under the hegemonic power structure. According to Spivak, subalterns cannot express their subjectivity in their own way or stand for themselves due to hegemon's excessive ability as "Subject" to make the subalterns as "Other" (Spivak, 1988). Subalterns with their "Otherness" is irrelevant within the world where the reality is determined by the sole "Subject." In order to be heard and known, subalterns must adopt hegemon's ways of life. The additional "gendered" redefines the original concept to fit with gender relations.

Contextualized with the case of triple talaq, the main "Subjects" here are men and male-dominant ulama who interpret Islamic teaching for their own stability within community. They try to strengthen their position as patriarchs which dominate, if not hegemonize, Muslim women and wives. The practice can be seen as a "tool' for those hegemons to demonstrate their power within the Islamic marital institution. As women and wives have been alienated from their rights, power, and authorities, their existence become irrelevant within the social structure. They have turned into "Others." Even if they want to speak and stand for their rights within Islamic marital institution, they barely have options because the system itself is hegemonized by the same patriarchs. It is also very ironic for Muslim women to hear that, for example, AIMPLB's opposition to the bill to reform Muslim Personal Law. Their claim about bad consequences of banning triple talaq for women and children left by their criminalized husband implies that their stories have been marginalized by religious authority (or even state as decision-maker) until know. In other words, it is very difficult for Muslim women and wives to speak for themselves as long as the patriarchal structure which binds them still remains. The historicity of Muslim women in India since the first proliferation of Islamic teachings alongside with patriarchal Arab cultures many centuries ago can confirm the conditions.

IV. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the political gravity of triple talaq for Muslim community in India. Undoubtedly, Triple talaq has been a manifestation of both cultural and structural violence against Muslim women in India for many centuries. On the one hand, the cultural factors show us the interpretation of Islamic teachings which were not women-friendly in order to perpetuate males

and male-dominant ulama within long-established patriarchal community. This condition is even catalyzed by the rise of Islamic conservatism and epistemic orthodoxy. On the other hand, the structural factors comprise the institutionalization of those cultural violence into patriarchal political system which lay the foundation of Muslim Personal Law as a gender-discriminatory legal product. Both violence affects the position of Indian Muslim women in India alienated into gendered subaltern within the community. They burden economic impact from abominable way of divorce and social shame. They cannot even articulate their aspirations, rights, and even subjectivity. I also believe that triple talaq is only one story of many other discriminatory practices regarding marital institution or even bigger patriarchal problem in Indian Muslim community.

Is there any way to set themselves free? I believe there is. The first they should do is that they have to create alternative paths to sound their voices. The first step would be a regain of rights of ijtihad within Islamic community. In this case, Muslim women must collectively literate themselves with many critical knowledges in order to repair any epistemic violence their patriarch counterparts have committed. Another attempt, if internal pressure within the political system cannot guarantee any change, would be a massive social movement demanding both political and legal reform which can assure the abolition of religious discrimination against Muslim women in India. Whether state reification in religious marital institution to guarantee marital rights between husbands and wives such as in other countries would be an option. The point is that such reform must make sure that any political and legal system newly created regarding this issue will be inclusive and fair toward any religious agencies and aspirations. Within family, it is time to reconsider marriage not as a submission of wives toward their husbands but as a just, sacred social cooperation (or contract) between equally men and women who are in are willing to compassionate, educate, develop, respect, and love each other for their own better future.

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THE CHANGING FAMILY VALUE: A REPRESENTATION OF INDONESIAN MUSLIM WOMEN IN TELEVISION COMMERCIALS 2013-2017

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Abstract

Globalism and popular culture brings about a realization of the body image and the existence of self-identity. Television commercials as cultural product thus played a strategic role in representing the formation of the image and identity within our everyday life. Visualization in television commercials become something capable of producing cultural identity in society through the representation of "who we are" and "what we've become". This paper aimed to understand the social changes regarding family value, especially for Muslim women as a majority in Indonesia by analysing the representation of Indonesian Muslim women found in 30 television commercials aired in 2013-2017 using visual analysis with Peirce's semiotic approach in the form of intersign relation of metaphor-metonymy. The result shows that there is a changing family value represented within the commercials from the conventional "Muslim women as a mother" in 2013-2014 commercials, "Muslim women as a worker" in 2015 commercials, to the concept of "Muslim women as a human with freedom of choice" in 2016-2017 commercials.

Keywords: Family Value; Representation; Indonesian Muslim Women; Television Commercials; Visual Analysis

1. Introduction

Globalism and popular culture brings about a realization of the body image and the existence of self-identity. LeFebvre said that these problems reflects the urban society in the form of how the social existence of human being is produced [1]. Television commercials as cultural product thus played a strategic role in representing the formation of the image and identity within our everyday life. Visualization in television commercials become something capable of producing cultural identity in society through the representation of "who we are" and "what we've become" [2]. The presence of television commercials showcasing Muslim attire as fashion styling is a cultural product that arises due to the phenomenon that occurs in the community.

This phenomenon can then be seen as an effort to bring social changes to the Indonesian people, especially Indonesian Muslim women.

The social changes in Indonesian women, especially for Muslim women as majority in Indonesia started to become a noticeable phenomenon after the existence of Hijab Hunt 2012 [3]. Through the discourse of "*bergaya tanpa harus terbuka*" (stylish and fashionable while being modest), Hijab Hunt 2012 introduced Muslim attire into the realm of a popular culture, bringing changes to the society, especially for the Indonesian Muslim women. Wichelen (in Hasan and Abubakar) stated that the phenomenon of Muslim fashion is generally divided into two, those who view it as a symbol of ideology and as a symbol of style [4]. This phenomenon brings a unique situation because Muslim attire was viewed not only as a part of religious article, but also as a form of trending article. This changing situation then was imprinted within the television commercials, along with the set of ideology contained within the visuals.

One of the changing ideology that is being visualized within the television commercial is how Muslim women sees the family value as a part of being a Muslim and a woman. This paper aimed to understand the social changes regarding family value, especially for Muslim women as a majority in Indonesia by analysing the representation of Indonesian Muslim women found in 30 television commercials aired in 2013-2017 using visual analysis with Peirce's semiotic approach in the form of intersign relation of metaphor-metonymy.

2. Research Methodology

Rose stated that visual images in cultural products are capable of representing social and cultural change because cultural products are not just illustrations but a construction site [5]. Daily activities which revolved around the viewing of television commercials can construct new mindsets and activities in society. This is because viewing television commercials as a routinity in the daily life can be imagined and then transformed as a collective memory in the society which then can be perceived as a truth [1]. Thus, visual imagery becomes an important part of relaying messages in television commercials.

Seeing television commercials as a site of construction related to social changes can be done using visual methodologies with visual analysis based on Peirce's semiotics of intersign relation and its qualities. In analysing the social changes regarding family value, especially for Muslim women as a majority in Indonesia, this research collected television commercials aired in 2013-2017 post Hijab Hunt 2012 and chose 30 television commercials featuring Muslim women wearing Muslim attire as the leading role. The 30 observed commercials featuring Muslim women as the leading role will be analyzed through the four stages of visual analysis related to the consumption of visual representation: description, interpretation, evaluation, and theorization [6].

The description stage breaks down the data in the form of television commercials into a set of visual data in the form of storyboard according to how each of the narration in the commercial progresses. The interpretation stage then further sees the visual data and divide them based on the sign quality using Peirce's trichotomy of icon-index-symbol to see the representation coded within. Afterwards, using metaphor and metonymy as tools of evaluation we can see whether or not there is a transfer of ideas and concept contained within the iconic and indexical relation in terms of image production and construction. The evaluation is divided into three televisual analysis consisted of ideation, inter-personality, and textuality analysis. Lastly, the theorization stage was done to validate and summarize the findings.

3. Research Highlight

The commercials featuring Muslim women as the leading role depicted with women wearing hijab or muslim attire in 2013-2017 can be divided into three distinct periods: Commercials period of 2013-2014, commercials period of 2015, and commercials period of 2016-2017 [3]. The 30 television commercials aired in 2013-2017 that were chosen based on the leading role featuring Muslim women wearing Muslim attire, based on their distinct periodization, are:

a. Commercials period of 2013-2014 consist of: King Indonesia: King Deals Interview, Susu Jahe SidoMuncul, Ever E250, KOBE Tepung Tempe Goreng Kriuk, Lifree, Sabun Sirih Purbasari, and Teh Kantong SariMurni (ver Inneke Koesherawati).

b. Commercials period of 2015 consist of: AXA Mandiri, BPOM Label, Bina Sarana Informatika, Citilink (ver Indah Lestari), Citra Pearly White, Citra Wakame Gel Lotion, Hit Lily Blossom (ver Lula Kamal), Imunisasi Dasar Lengkap, Indosat ooredoo, Garnier Sakura, Purbasari Lipstick Color Matte, Lifebuoy Shampoo Hijab, Nourish E (ver Ira Wibowo and Nuri Maulida), Pond's White Beauty (ver Raisa, Dea Valencia, and Zee Zee Shahab), Pure It Unilever (ver Dude Herlino and Alyssa Soebandono), Traveloka, Vege Blend 21 Junior (ver Lula Kamal), and SANKEN Full Auto.

c. Commercials period of 2016-2017 consist of: Garnier Light Super Essence, Fair & Lovely, Total Almeera, Softex Daun Sirih, and Softex Daun Sirih (ver Lebih Bersih dan Sehat).

One of the prominent elements featured within the television commercials was the settings for the background used in the television commercials. Table 1 sees which setting was featured within the television commercials in the three distinct periods.

Table 1. Settings and their sign qualities found within the 30 television commercials

No.	Setting	% Frequency (s)	Sign Qualities	Representation
	2013-2014:			
1.	Family Room	55s (47%)	Index Symbol	House, Indoor Togetherness, Familial bond
2.	Kitchen	15s (11%)	Index Symbol	House,Indoor Household, Female subordination
	2015:			
3.	Family Room	85s (15%)	Index Symbol	House, Indoor Togetherness, Familial bond
4.	Working Space	99s (18%)	Index Symbol	Office, Indoor Profession, Career, Job
5.	Garden	117s (21%)	Index Symbol	Building, Outdoor Openness, Communal, Public/non-private

	2016-2017:				
6.	Garden	97s (38%)	Index Symbol	Building, Outdoor Openness, Communal, Public/non-private
7.	Family Room	48s (19%)	Index Symbol	House, Indoor Togetherness, Familial bond
8.	Bedroom	31s (12%)	Index Symbol	House, Indoor Privacy, Hidden things

The settings listed in table 1 were chosen based on the frequency of appearance across all the commercials aired within the same period. The table listed the setting that has more than 10% frequency of appearance to be further analyzed. In the commercials period of 2013-2014, one of the most prominent settings found within the commercials are the family room and the kitchen. In the commercials period of 2015, one of the most prominent settings found within the commercials are the working space, garden, and the family room. The commercials period of 2016-2017 featured garden, family room, and bedroom as the most prominent settings.

4. Discussion

Each period featured a unique representation of Muslim women regarding their value and identity. On ideation analysis, commercials period of 2013-2014 featured sign qualities symbolizing the warmth of a family. The prominent settings of family room and kitchen as seen on picture 1 further capture the family value represented in this period's commercials. Family room and kitchen each has a sign quality of index indicating a place in the house and an indoor area. The commercials period of 2013-2014 featured this indoor area prominently to show how the women, especially Muslim women was portrayed in the period of 2013-2014 which was limited to the activity inside their house.

Picture 1. The settings for television commercials period of 2013-2014

Aside of that, picture 1 also shows the prominent setting of kitchen which has a sign quality as a symbol of household and female subordination. This means that in the commercials period of 2013-2014, Muslim women was portrayed as a mother or a wife. What entails is that there is a constructed message that being a Muslim woman equals being a good housewife. Furthermore, on inter-personality and textuality analysis, the commercials show a metaphor of trendy Muslim women with little to no dialogue found uttered by these Muslim women in the commercials period of 2013-2015. Qeis noted that the use of gesture without dialogue is one of the characteristics

of visual seduction through sexual persona [7]. In this case, Muslim women in the television commercials period of 2013-2014 experienced an objectification in which Muslim women were not treated as subject which exudes personality but only seen as a commercial object. They show a metonymy with the concept of happiness and hospitality bound within the sign quality symbolizing female subordination. Thus, in this period, the family value that was constructed by the visual elements found in the television commercials objected Muslim women into the role of a stay-at-home mother or a housewife.

In the commercials period of 2015, the featured sign qualities mainly symbolizes the shift from home to career-oriented women. On ideation analysis, the equal settings of indoor and outdoor as seen in picture 2 visually captured the shifting idea of stay-at-home mother to the career-oriented woman. The setting featured in the commercials period of 2015 captured the balance between the indoor setting visualized by the working space and the family room with the outdoor setting visualized by the garden.

Picture 2. The settings for television commercials period of 2015

Picture 2 also shows the prominent settings of garden which has a sign quality as a symbol of openness and working space. Immediately, we see the changes happening from the commercials period of 2013-2014, where Muslim women are confined within the house. Here, they were pictured as being out in the open area and working outside of the house. On inter-personality analysis, the commercials period of 2015 shows Muslim women appearing alongside of a female friend. These "friend" characters often portrayed as someone who has a long black hair and not wearing Muslim attire. This portrays a dynamic interaction of Muslim women outside the house and sends a message that you can be a Muslim woman and have a career and enjoy a friendly relation with colleagues.

On textuality analysis, Muslim women featured in the commercials period of 2015 show a metonymy with the concept of expressive women. They also show a metaphor of glamour women with some lines uttered within the commercials, albeit it was limited to promoting the product. The lines uttered were devoid of any personal value, thus Muslim women were still being seen as a commercial object rather than an individual. In this case, Muslim women are still being objected to fulfill a certain role in the society. Regarding the family value constructed within the commercials, the objected role of being a stay-at-home mother and a housewife in the commercials period of 2013-2014 has shifted into a career-oriented glamour women in the commercials period of 2015.

In the commercials period of 2016-2017, the featured sign qualities mainly symbolizes the internal struggle of Muslim women being a woman. On ideation analysis, the setting showing bedroom as seen in picture 3 is coded with sign quality expressing individuality and private space supporting the notion of internal and private struggle of being a woman. The settings featured in

the commercials period of 2016-2017 captured the shifting ideas of questioning oneself on what should they do as a Muslim woman.

Picture 3. The settings for television commercials period of 2016-2017

We can see from picture 3 the changes happening in the commercials period of 2016-2017. Here, the equal setting of indoor and outdoor listed in table 1 shows a unique visual element not found in any other period which is the bedroom. The contrasting representation of openness versus hidden things and togetherness versus privacy is the main feature of this period's commercials. On inter-personality analysis, Muslim women featured in the commercials period of 2016-2017 often shown lost in thoughts alone or discussing things with their friends. The "friend" characterization retains the same visuals and sign qualities as those found in the commercials period of 2015, a female with long black hair.

On textuality analysis, the commercials aired in 2016-2017 show a metonymy with the concept of emotion and personal experience. They also show a metaphor of independent modern women with lines uttered within the commercials talking about personal values and dreams. Here, Muslim women are no longer treated as an object, but rather, as a subject, a human with their own values. The changes in discourse shown in the television commercials are moving towards the notion of liberal feminism showing the freedom to choose and form an opinion; women's choice of family over career was entirely voluntary [8].

5. Conclusion

The social changes regarding family value in Indonesia can be observed through a visual analysis of television commercials. The analysis of 30 television commercials aired in 2013-2017 show that there is a changing family value in the society, especially in representing the value and idea amongst nowadays Indonesian Muslim women. The significance of Muslim women was shown by the frequency of appearance within the commercials. In the period of 2013-2014, the frequency of appearance is around 58% of total characters appearances. Despite the high frequency of appearance, there is no single line uttered by Muslim women in this period's commercial. In the period of 2015, the frequency of appearance is around 42%. Although there is a decline in the frequency of appearance, the Muslim women in this period have lines of dialogue uttered within the commercials, albeit still revolving around promoting the product. In the period of 2016-2017, the frequency of appearance is around 46%. In this period, Muslim women featured in the commercials have lines of dialogue concerning their own point of view. These show the changing images of Muslim women in Indonesian society, from an object to a subject.

The discourse of objecting Muslim women to be a stay-at-home mother or housewife in 2013-2014 slowly shifted to the discourse of pursuing their own dream and choices in 2016-2017. This changing family value is especially observed in the "*Fair and Lovely*" 2016 and "Total Almeera"

2017 commercials that draw a comparison and trying to solve the question balancing between the conventional role of being a mother or wife expected from being a Muslim woman and the freedom to be independent and to pursue their own life. These commercials show the social changes happening in Indonesia, especially for Muslim women regarding the family values. The once conventional role of being a stay-at-home mother encouraged in the Islamic Syar'i teachings was shifted by the trend of career-oriented women in 2015. In 2016-2017, the notion of liberal feminism that is a freedom to choose their own path is slowly being constructed by the existence of television commercials that represent the idea of an Indonesian Muslim woman who adheres to the Islamic teaching while also working to have an impactful contribution to the society. This mixture of Islamic Syar'i teachings and liberal feminism values formed a unique identity that represents nowadays Indonesian Muslim women.

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FEMALE WORKERS VERSUS FAMILY LEADERSHIP IN MUSLIM COMMUNITY

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Abstract

Modernity has posed challenges for female workers. On one hand, - modernity provided an opportunity of full employment for women, on the other hand, it may triggered issue on the division of gender roles in the family. Interestingly, this issue not only objected by men, but also is questioned by women. Even if a wife is working and the husband is not, the public often remains putting men as the leader of the family, i.e., a husband is considered as a sole decision maker in the family, without asking a wife's opinion. Female workers are still considered inferior and such a view has put wife in disadvantaged position. This issue needs to be addressed properly, in order to give benefits for both husband and wife in a family. To do so, in Islam we do not need to be stuck on the concept of male-female power relationship, the important issu is the main goal of a family relation should end with *saki>nah*, *mawaddah*, and *rah}mah*. Considering the fact that a family is a nation capital, a family living in *saki>nah*, *mawaddah* and *rah}mah* is a decisive for creating a peaceful and harmonious society. The term "harmony" does not mean a lazy life without any progressive target, rather a harmonious family which is far from domestic violence. Therefore it is necessary to reformulate *fiqh* dealing with family leadership. How should *fiqh* solve this problem? This question is then further discussed and analyzed.

Keywords: Female Workers; Family Leadership; wife; husband; *fiqh*; *saki>nah-mawaddah- rah}mah*

1. Introduction

Various stereotypes and social constructions that have long formed about women, make some women affected by pointing sex as a barrier. Being born as women, they are born with a limitation in realizing their dreams and hopes. Many women who still think that a woman place is in the kitchen so they do not deserve to dream anything more, it is their destiny as women.[1] This view is may also occur among women workers, they continue to believe that a woman not suppose to work to support their families. Rather, it should be men who have the obligation to

earn a living, not women. This belief is briefly generated by the patriarchal ideology, in which men have a strong belief that only men have the right to dominate the public sphere. Although, in some circumstances, men are completely incapable of mastering it, and - women have to take over . Ironically, women who participate in the public sphere do not have bargaining posistion in determining family policy. It is very unfortunate and really superficial and stagnant thought. These views have brought some social difficulties and problems such as husband-wife conflicts and even the problem of high divorce rates that recently can not be lowered.

Bruce et al. –as cited by Felix M. Berardo and Constance L. Shehan- have noted several worldwide trends affecting families, including unwed motherhood, rising divorce rates, smaller households, and the feminization of poverty. They call particular attention to the rising role played by women throughout the world in providing economic support to family members. Families are becoming increasingly dependent on mothers' paid work. Indeed, social scientists generally agree that rising economic status of women, along with shifts in the gender-based division labor, has played a major role in trigerring many worldwide changes in the family. In very real sense, the changing roles of women are redefining family relationships, and this ongoing process must be factored into the evolving and shifting international perceptions of family problem.[2][2] It more emphasizes and seeks to analyze this problem of working women in the context of family and housekeeping from the ideological, doctrinal and social aspects. The problem also includes the high case of divorce initiated by wive in the context of the full employment opportunities for women. It is important to be analysed because of the notion that family is social construction, and therefore its definition is not limited to that posed by the political, religious, or other institusional system. It allows for variant shades of meaning, allegiance, and authority, as well as encompassing differential membership in kinship system.[3][3] How about Islam with the sacred verses surrounding it that is very strong believed to be enforced in the whole life of the Muslim community? Can Islam agree on the view that family is social construction?

2. Research Methodology

a. The Basic Character of Fiqh

Based on the background above, the author study it from the ideological side of the Muslim community. Of course, the ideology leads to the doctrine and teachings of Islam, precisely from the understanding of Islamic law (*fiqh*). The Muslim community is often caught up in the rigid notion that men are the leaders of the family and the public authorities, so they are the sole responsible persons for the family. In some circumstances, women in charge of the family's livelihood are often perceived as aberrations and must play double roles. There is a forgotten understanding, that life and family leadership, is a form of *mua>malah* which accepts changes according to the demands of circumstances (*ma'qu>l al-ma'na / ta'aqquli*). Family life is a multi-relationship life (*mua>malah*) that emphasizes on realizing the function of the role standardization.

The first and foremost source in the teachings of Islam is the Holy Qur'an. It covers many and varied provisions. Some of these provisions are about beliefs covered in the science of monotheism, attitude (*akhla>q*) covered in morality and tasawuf, and the practical provisions relating to the words and deeds of *mukallaf* (proficient of law) covered in the science of *fiqh* and *us}u>l al-fiqh*. While the *fiqh* coverage itself includes worship and *mu'a>malah*. The provisions on family life known as *ah}wa>l al-shakhsiyah* are covered in the *mu'a>malah*.[4][4]

Jasser Auda explains that the most recent United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) Annual Reports show a Human Development Index (HDI) on the lower side for most countries with majority of Muslims. The HDI is calculated based on a number of factors, which include literacy, education, political and economic participation, women empowerment, in addition to standart of living. Some wealthy Arab states, which rank exceptionally high in term of justice, women empowerment, political participation, and equal oppotunity. Related UN reports also point to various forms of human right violations and corruption in most countries with majority of Muslims, as well as dilemmas with coexistence and citizenship of Muslim minorities in their societies. In summary, Muslims everywhere are currently facing major development challenge, which are posing a large number of serious questions and problems.[5][5]

The similar questions and problems to the UNDP annual report above occur also in Indonesia. Specifically, they are related to the issue of women workers and family leadership. In this case the stereotype has been embedded in women in the Muslim community and has given rise to gender inequalities as well as the irony of household life. Yet, Islamic concepts and doctrines idealize the harmonious family life (*saki>nah*, *mawaddah*, and *rah}mah*). However, since the understanding of sacred verses through *fiqh* considered fixed and no accepting change, it leads husband-wife relationship to conflict and divorce. Thus, it can be stated that *fiqh* actually causes problems.

It is different from the above conclusion, Jasser Auda even stated that *fiqh* plays an important role to provide the solution. In this case, Auda assumes that *fiqh* (Islamic law) to be a drive for a just, productive, developed, humane, spiritual, clean, cohesive, friendly, and highly democratic society. But, he does recognize that the overall values are difficult to find in solving problems within the Muslim community anywhere. Therefore, he further questioned "where is the Islamic Law (*fiqh*)? How could it play a role in this crisis?" So that, he thinks that it must be differed whether the meaning of Islamic law is *shari>'ah*, *fiqh*, or *fatwa>*?[6][6]

Actually –as Auda said above- having lost its role and function is not caused by the *fiqh's* own errors, rather how *fiqh* to be handed down (in Bahasa: difatwakan). *Fatwa>* is the application of *shari>'ah* or *fiqh* to Muslims' real life today. While *shari>'ah* is the revelation that Muhammad PBUH had received and made practicing it the massage and mission of his life, i.e., the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition. While *fiqh* itself is the huge collection of juridical opinions that were given by various jutists from various of thought, in regards to the application of the *shari>'ah* to their various real life situations throughout the past fourteen centuries.[7][7]

The description of the phenomenon above can be seen in the tradition of *al-masa>'il* in Nahdhiyin (NU) Muslim community in Indonesia. They often solve or answer the problem by laying on several books of *fiqh* as a classical scholars product by taken for granted. This started from one of the decisions of the first NU Congress held in Surabaya on October 21, 1926. The decree stated about the obligation of following one of four great schools jurisprudences (H{{anafiyah, Ma>likiyah, Sha>fi'iyah, H{anbaliyah). Furthermore, the decision of NU Congress of 1926 also received confirmation in the 14th NU Congress which was held on July 1st, 1939 in Malang. It stated that the reason for following one of the four schools of jurisprudence is the act of caution (*ih}tiya>t}*). Precisely, it is required to follow four great schools of jurisprudences because Muslims are feared to confuse the right and wrong, slip in to wrong, or take an easy opinion.[8][8]

Based on the description of the phenomenon, the dysfunctional of *fiqh* is clearly not the fault of *fiqh* or the Islamic schools of law's wealth of heritage. There is nothing wrong , generally speaking, with juridical reasoning carried by scholars for their own environments and times. It is true that some individual scholars had made mistakes and/ or had taken controversial positions

on issues. However, this is the nature of juridical research. The role of scholars, at all times, is to correct each others and participate in the ongoing debates.[9][9]

In other words, in case of *fiqh* to get its role again, it must be based on the relationship between legal theory (*us}u>l al-fiqh*) and community change. Related to the legal theory, then it should be raised what is called the aspect of the method. It becomes a necessity to gradually move on to a developed method to complement the four sources of law theory (al-Qur'an, al-Sunnah, *Ijma>*', and *Qiya>s*). In addition, it is very important to fill the empty void that has not been fulfilled by the four sources of law. Thus, all the rigid and textual perspectives that always lead to *Qiya>s* rules are replaced by the perspective or method of *al-istih}sa>n, al-istis}la>h }*and *siya>sah shar'iyah*.[10][10] Furthermore, it greatly avoid the reductionist and atomistic approach that fundamental methodology usually takes.

The atomistic approach often relies on one verse (*nas}s*}) to solve the cases, regardless of the view of another related verses (*nus}u>s*){. Furthermore, criticism of the atomistic approach is inevitable. One of them is the criticism of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi. As quoted by Auda, al-Razi argues that any single linguistic evidence (*dali>l khit}a>b*) of *nas}s }*could only be *"probable"*. This is caused by some reasons, amoung of them are:[11][11]

1) There is a possibility that the ruling that we conclude from the single *nas}s}* has been restricted to certain circumtance, without our knowledge.

2) There is a possibility that the expession of the single *nas}s }*is metaphoric.

3) There is a possibility that one or more of the words of the single *nas}s}* have multiple meanings.

4) There is a possibility that a ruling that we conclude from a single *nas}s}* is at odds with "reason". In such case (al-Razi says), if both reason and narration are confirmed, then one of them is wrong. Moreover, reason has precedence over narrations. Thus, we should follow reason, in such cases, and not the linguistic evidence of the narration.

5) There is a range of possibilities for the "interpretation" of any single *nas}s}*, which affects the way we conceive its meanings and implication.

6) Etc.

The paradigm above –subsequently- is well packed in approach and analysis of *maqa>s}id shari>'ah* (purposefulness) or *maqa>s}idi>*. In conclusion, hence the process of ijtihad becomes, effectively, a process of realising *maqa>s}id* (purposefulness) in Islamic Law.[12][12] Thus, either *shari>'ah* or *fiqh* must be handed down by validation *maqa>s}id shari>'ah* that it contains of, whether in it already contained *maqa>s}id* or not yet. Considering the effectiveness of a system measured by the level of achievement of its purpose, then the effectiveness of Islamic legal system is judged by the level of achievement of its *maqa>s}id shari>'ah*. In other words, how far its problem solving is geared towards the certain problems: whether it is more effective, more efficient, and leads to greater benefits for the people and humanity.[13][13]

A *maqa>s}idi >*or *maqa>s}id shari>'ah* approach to *fiqh* is a holistic approach that does not restrict itself to one narration or partial ruling, but rather refers to general principles and common ground. Implementing the "higher" purposes of unity and reconciliation of Muslims has a higher priority over implementing *fiqh* details. A *maqa>s}idi* approach takes the issues to a higher philosophical ground and, hence, overcomes differences over the political history of Muslims and encourages a much-needed culture of conciliation and peaceful co-existence.[14][14]

The implications of the *maqa>s}id shari>'ah* approach are no doubt that Allah's revelation covering the sacred verses or His scriptures, laws, and His purposes are well-preserved from all faults and inaccuracy (*ma's}u>m*). However, the activity of understanding and taking the law (*istinba>t}*) from His is not preserved from error and inaccuracy. On the contrary, such activity is a form of endeavor and earnest (*ijtiha>d*) as well as a mere human effort that may be right or wrong. Furthermore, these activities produce what is called *fiqh*. Thus *fiqh* is a product resulting from a combination of revelation, the condition of the society at that time, and the condition *faqi>h* who did *ijtiha>d* and *istinba>t}* at a moment's notice. It is possible that the results of the same scholars at different times also result in different laws. Therefore, a *mujtahid* and *faqi>h* are required to constantly review their *ijtiha>d* products (*fiqh*), in order to meet the level of problem solving on certain issues by always considering its *maqa>s}id shari>'ah*.[15][15] Thus, it can be emphasized that the basic nature of *fiqh* is ability to accept change, in accordance with the rule of *al-h}ukm yadu>r ma'a al-'illah wuju>da>n wa 'adama>n*.

b. Ideology and Social Change

Various aspects of thought in ideology affect someone's opinion of a thing, especially about social life and social concepts. In general, the concept of ideology influences social, cultural, science and knowledge, as well as material and non-material views. Such aspects are influenced by personal idealism applies to oneself, not to others. This self-opinion is based on ideology itself, in other words, ideology forms opinions and views on various aspects of life.[16][16]

As for something quite broad is the social aspect, in which the social concept of a personal's self is fully based on his/ her idealism. His idealism derives from his own thinking, which is his own thought as a compatible thought with the creator of the related idealism. Because the thinking of every human being is clearly different from each other, there are no two identical and similar idealisms. Differences in ideological views are unavoidable, and a mismatch between idealism itself is inevitable.[17][17]

The embedding of ideology and self-idealism is often done by a person to change his social aspect, so it is in accordance with the concept embraced by the idealism whisperer itself. The embedding of this idealism is a form of compulsion and inappropriate. This is because the distinction between each idealism is unique, and that difference cannot substitute someone's position of idealism or alter it except by the free and unanimous agreement between the two sides.[18][18]

Along with the role of "purposefulness" (*maqa>s}id*) in determining *fiqh* capacity of problem solving, so the workless rules of *fiqh* is also influenced by the ideological mismatch. As it is realized that in the social aspect, many ideas are circulated and are therefore often colored by differences and debates. Furthermore, the differences and debates are worthy to be researched by ideological theory.[19][19] Fundamentally, ideology relates to the process of justification of power relations that is not symmetrical and related to the process of the justification of domination. Such meaning is called the "*conception of critical ideology*". Nevertheless, ideology can bring a positive spirit if it is in the context of a more general social theory.[20][20]

As it is quoted by Margaretta Tobing, the social change according to Kingsley Davis is a change that occurs in the structure and function of society. For example, the organization of labor causes changes in the relations of workers and employers. Meanwhile, according to Mac Iver, social change is a change in social relationships or as a change to the equilibrium of social relations.

In addition, according to Gillin and Gillin, social change is a variation of accepted ways of life, either because of changes in geographic conditions, material culture, population composition, ideology and diffusion or new discoveries in society. Thus, it can be concluded that social change is a normal and universal shift. It means that change is important and inevitable in any society and elsewhere as a variation of accepted ways of life, either due to changes in geographical conditions, material culture, population composition, ideology or diffusion or new discoveries in society.[21][21]

However, sometimes social changes related to ideological factors are not directly proportional to social change or vice versa. When this happens, then some forms of deviation –as social change- are inevitable. Social change could have a positive and negative impact. The positive impacts of social change include the existence of new values and norms that are in line with the development of the times; the existence of new and more humane structures and new social relationships; the existence of new social institutions that are more likely to meet the needs of life in accordance with the demands of development era; and the existence of various advances in the field of social, economic, political and cultural. While the negative impacts include the disorientation of values and norms; the emergence of both vertical and horizontal conflicts; the non-functioning of normal existing social institutions; the occurrence of various environmental damage; and the emergence of multidimensional crisis (social, economic, political, cultural and security) resulting in a process of impoverishment and the fading of the legitimacy of political community leaders.[22][22]

Many people say that the conversation of ideology is considerably out of the date because it is no longer a time filled with ideological struggles like the 20th century. It is also mentioned that ideology is dead, and now man has entered a new age in which absurdity and moderatism become the empirical single principle. Of course, this opinion is not absolutely the truth.[23][23] Especially in the sphere of family life, ideology is very influential on the form of family relationships with the risk of conflict that must be borne by a family. Hoschild –as quoted by DeBiaggi- says that gender ideology has indeed permeated husband and wife relations. Some ideologies of marital roles can be formulated as follows:[24][24]

1) *Pure Traditional* –the woman wants to identify with her activities at home while her husband is concerned with work (*men are the sole family breadwinners*); she wants less power than him and the man agrres. In this case, the value of patriarchy has been internalized by woman.

2) *Pure Egalitarian* –some couples might want to be jointly oriented to the home, others to their careers, or both of them to jointly hold some balance between the two.

3) *Transitional* –a typical transitional woman wants to identify both with caring for the home and helping her husband earn money but wants her husband to focus on earning a living. A typical transitional man is an favor of his wife working but wants her to take the main responsibility at home.

The current phenomenon is –though unnoticed- the phenomenon of married life based on transitional ideology, since traditional ideology is *de jure* still firmly expressed as an ideology believed. The phenomenon of marital relationship that has little to accept the pattern of modern life is not accompanied by a change of beliefs between husband and wife. It should be the pattern of modern relations or lead to a modern pure egalitarian ideology. Otherwise, multiple roles and burdens will often cause tension problems and even marital rift. Thus, it lies the linkage between ideology and social change in question. Furthermore, the question that can be raised is how to

overcome the mismatch between ideology and social change ? How to embed an ideology that should be embraced? What process might be done? Considering the high rate of divorce –as a problem of gender relations in family life- in Indonesia is already at an emergency.

3. Research Highlight

a. The concept of "Obligatory" in the provision of family livelihood

A family's livelihood is an obligation (*wa>jib*) that is placed solely on the husband and it is absolute. This conclusion is derived from the *fiqh* understanding based on several verses on family living. Some of these verses have been concluded to contain the husband's obligation which means that if not executed, then the wife may sue. The conclusion "*wa>jib*" begins with the command word (*al-amr*) in those verses. Speaking of the meaning of command in the Qur'an, there are several kinds, including: *wa>jib*, *sunnah*, may (*muba>h}*), threats (*tah}di>d*), clues (*irsha>d*), attenuation(*ta'ji>z*), prayer, and so on.[25][25]

The existence of some meanings of command above also get into the debate among the scholars. In order to be able to define a particular meaning to the command, it requires the existence of supporting evidence (*qari>nah*) that lead to that one meaning. In other words, whether do the command have a real meaning or not? However, it can ultimately be agreed that the meaning contained in the command is not the true meaning (metaphoric meaning) if the intended meaning is other than meaning of must (*wa>jib*), recommended (*sunnah*), dan may (*muba>h}*). Thus, there is still a debate in the determination of the meaning of command to *wa>jib, sunnah*, and *muba>h}*. Does command contain all three meanings (*wa>jib, sunnah, muba>h}*) at once, or in part, or one meaning expressly?[26][26]

The opinion of the scholars split into 4 kinds, as follows:[27][27]

1) That command implies together (*mushtarak*) among the obligatory, sunnah, and *muba>h}*. Therefore, they must choose one of the three very accurately. Such as in the character of the term *mushtarak* (one term contains more than one meaning).

2) That command implies together (*mushtarak*)) between the obligatory and the *sunnah*. Furthermore, it should be chosen its exact meaning based on *qari>nah* (supporters) that exist.

3) Al-Ghazali –one of them- argues that it can not be understood for certain whether only *wa>jib*, or *sunnah*, or whether they are together which is the true meaning. Furthermore, under such conditions it can not be expressed (*mawqu>f*/ being suspended) the legal meaning contained by a command verse, unless there is a *qari>nah* that can lead to the selection of one of the meanings contained. Under such conditions, the verse containing "orders" that contains several possible meanings is categorized as the *mujmal* verse (not detailed in detail).

4) The majority of scholars are more inclined to argue that command has only one true meaning, the meaning is *wa>jib*. The other meanings are categorized as metaphoric meaning. In addition, the other scholars argue that the true meaning is *sunnah*, and the others opinion, is *mubah*.

From the explanation of the different opinion of scholars in understanding the meaning of command contained by a verse above, so it is very few verses that do not contain some choices

of meaning. It is appropriate to use the *maqa>s}idi>* approach in choosing one of the possible meanings in order not to deviate from the universal values contained by the Qur'an and to perform its role as *problem solving*.

As for understanding the livelihood of the family, it must first be known about the categorization of obligation. It must be reviewed in terms of whether or not the provisions have the level and limitations. Based on that categorization, it is known as *wa>jib muh}addad* and *wa>jib ghair muh}addad*. *Wa>jib muh}addad* is an obligation that the limits of the execution and the provisions of the levels are affirmed by Allah SWT, such as the obligations of *zakat*, trade, *diyat*, and so on. The implication of the obligation of *muh}addad* is the existence of *dhimmah* (bail), in fact that someone –who is entitled- may ask for *dhimmah* fulfillment without depending on the existence of permission or judge decision or agreement between them. Likewise, someone can not be free from the *dhimmah* that it bears, even if the person entitled to it has given it away. In other words, a *mukallaf* (proficient of law) can only be freed from the bail (*dhimmah*) by performing or fulfilling the *dhimmah* in accordance with the provisions and decrees of Allah SWT.[28][28]

While the *ghair muh}addad* obligation is the obligation which the level and limitations of its implementation are firmly not determined or declared by Allah SWT. The implication of the obligation of the *ghair muh}addad* is that the rightful person has the right to demand the fulfillment of the *dhimmah* owed after obtaining a consent or judge's decision and or agreement between the two sides. In other words, a *mukallaf* can not be declared to have a dhimmah before it is decided by a judge or before an agreement on the degree and boundaries between the rightful and the *dhimmah* stakeholders. Similarly, a person can be freed from *dhimmah* only by the willingness of someone who is entitled to it. This is all due to the level of *dhimmah* that must be met in each person is different.[29][29] What need to be underlined in the explanation of the obligations of *ghair muh}addad* is the existence of a law hanging on the agreement between the two parties involved.

According to H{anafiyah, the role of family livelihood in a family carried by a husband is a form of obligation *ghair muh}addad*. In this case, Allah SWT does not determine how much a living cost should be provided to the child and his wife. Meanwhile, according to other view, as Sha>fi'iyah, the livelihood obligations lay on the husbands is the form of *muh}addad* obligation. Therefore, if the livelihood stops, then instantly it becomes debt and *dhimmah* that must be remain paid unlimited time. This is due to the argument that the extent and limits of livelihoods have been determined, i.e., limited to the ability of the husband.[30][30]

In fact, between the arguments of H{anafiyah and Sha>fi'iyah can be combined with the understanding that the obligation of living on the shoulders of the husband is a form of obligation *ghair muh}addad*. It is because the obligation of living depends on the husband's spaciousness condition that the level of spaciousness is also still abstract (there is no limit). Thus, in this family living subsection is very appropriately approached with the *maqa>s}idi>*.

The *maqa>s}idi>* approach on some verses of living is to relate them to the universal verses that underlies the formation of a family life which is *sunnatulla>h*. Some of the universal verses are as follows:

- ومن اياته أن خلق لكم مّن أنفسكم أزواجا لتسكنوا إليها وجعل بينكم مَودّة وّرحمة إنّ في ذٰلك لايات لقوم يّتفكّرون (الروم: 21)
- ...ولهن مثل الّذي عليهن بالمعروف، وللرجال عليهن درجة، والله عزيز حكيم (البقرة: 228)

Based on QS. al-Ru>m (30): 21, the purpose of God made man in pairs is to create peace and compassion for one another. While based on QS. al-Baqarah (2): 228, it is explained that both husband and wife have rights and obligations that are equal to each other by ma'ru>f (good or in accordance with'urf/ prevailing habits).

In addition, some verses of livelihood should not be understood as containing of the meaning wa>jib absolutely. This is because –based on QS. al-Ru>m (30):21 and al-Baqarah (2): 228- the division of duties of each husband and wife is done according to good practice. As explained that the husband has one level (*darajah*) is a bit higher than women in QS. al-Baqarah (2): 228, according to Quraish Shihab is the husband's spaciousness to his wife to ease some of the wife's obligations. The point is a suggestion for husbands to treat their wives with praise, in order that their husbands can attain that level.[31][31] Some of these subscriptions are as follows:

- لِيُنْفِقْ ذُو سَعَةٍ مِّن سَعَتِهِ، وَمَنْ قُدِرَ عَلَيْهِ رِزْقُهُ، فَلْيُنْفِقْ مِمَّا آتَاهُ اللهُ، لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا مَآ آتَاهَا، سَيَجْعَلُ اللهُ بَعْدَ عُسْرٍ يُسْرًا (الطلاق:7).
- وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُتِمَّ الرَّضَاعَةَ، وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَ كِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوْفِ (البقرة: 233)
- أَسْكِنُوهُنَّ مِنْ حَيْثُ سَكَنْتُمْ مِّنْ وُجْدِكُمْ وَلَاتُضَآرُّوهُنَّ لِتُضَيِّقُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ (الطلاق: 6).

Based on QS. al-T{ala>q (65): 7, it is explained that the livelihood is adapted to the gift of the giver, for God does not give the burden/ dhimmah beyond the limits of his ability. While QS. al-Baqarah (2): 233 describes the division of roles between husband and wife. Contextually, the wife takes on the role of breastfeeding (ASI) to her children and the husband assumes the role of logistics provider (nafaqah) based on good habits. So, QS. al-Baqarah (2): 233 should not be understood as the originator of the rights and obligations, but rather the division of roles for the sake of the realization of a harmonious family life, saki>nah, mawaddah, and rah}mah. Similarly in QS. al-T{ala>q (65): 6, it is explained that the provision of a house or facility for the wife is also performed in accordance with the ability of the husband.

The existence of QS. al-Nisa>' (4): 34, آلرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُوْنَ عَلَى النِّسَآءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَآ أَنْفَقُوْا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ, which often leads to an understanding that husbands as the family living provider and wives as housewives, are merely giving exemplary patterns of family life roles. This is because in time later when the husband cannot become *qawwa>m* (managerial leader) because no longer able to provide a living, it will be replaced by his wife. In a sense, married couples must carry out housekeeping duties together, not charged to one person alone (husband or wife only).

With cooperation, each other can have a sense of belonging, bound and soul, so saki>nah, mawaddah and rah}mah can easily cover their family life. In other words, the division of the household roles is a medium to foster the existence of saki>nah, mawaddah and rah}mah. On the other hand, it is not to trigger a conflict by being stuck on the demands of the fulfillment of rights

and the enforcement of rigid and non-contextual obligations. In fact, the obligations contained in the verses above are *ghair muh}addad* that demands the determination of the limits of the implementation of burden (*dhimmah*) contained in. The determination of such limits depends on the consent or decision of the judge and/ or by agreement between husband and wife. In other words, the content of the obligation is not absolute and more on the division of roles contextually.

b. The Phenomenon of Household Life of Female Workers

In the previous study, the author has made one conclusion that the standardization of the roles of husband as family living provider, has led to high divorce rates initiated by women.[32][32] In a husband-wife relationship, as an economic relationship, the wife can manifest her power. In a sense, both through traditional and transitional ideologies, women may well use the identity of the husband as a family living provider to dominate and oppress men. This form of dominance appears when –in conditions of economic difficulty- the wife demands her husband to be able to immediately meet the needs of the livelihood in accordance with her wishes. At the same time, it turns out that the husband cannot meet the demands of the wife, then –subsequently- there will be a conflict that is coloured by forms of psychological function and also resistance, until finally the relationship breaks (as the peak of unresolved conflict). Unlike the case, if the relationship is coloured by egalitarian ideology, then if there is family economic difficulties will not threaten the husband-wife intimate relationship. Indeed, each will be hand in hand with each other, because in this context the livelihood is not the obligation of one partner, but the contextually mutual obligation of married couples, so there is no mutual action demands rights and obligations or mutual domination and oppression.[33][33]

In addition, the author also find the fact that the working women in their status as wives has been blamed for causing high divorce from the wife side. In this case can be raised the question of *Kediri Jaya* which charged to the Task Force Chief Section Islamic Religious Affairs *Kemenag* Kediri, Mr. Muamal, related to the dominance of divorce occurred among the civil servant (*PNS*) in Kediri that whether the "increase in divorce rate is related to the increase in wife's income of the certification allowance?"[34][34] Besides, there are also some headline media titles, such as" Women's Officer Asked for Divorce"[35][35], "Happening Rush, Professional Teacher Initiate Divorce to Husband",[36][36] and "Masya Allah, Many TPP Teachers Files for Divorce".[37][37] All such questions or statements, indirectly allege a woman's career as the cause of the divorce, by denying the existence of non-working women who are also not few –though not dominating- have filed for divorce or by mentioning the status of a particular employment (*PNS*) of the woman of the divorce initiation. This is considering the assumption that women should have their own source of income, so that it can add bargaining power in their family life. This assumption is in accordance with the media statement *Radar Kediri*: "The divorce rate of civil servants in Kediri Regency is dominated by teachers. One of the causes is influenced by the certification allowance."[38][38] The statement continued by quoting *Kasi Urais Kemenag* of Kediri Regency, Mr. Muhammad Hamzah: "Emancipation of women without being balanced with awareness to foster family life is also the cause of disharmony. Working is okay, but domestic affairs, especially for women, must not be abandoned."[39][39] However, the author has only examined it in terms of the meaning of women towards their careers.[40][40] For that case, on this occasion, the author tries to study it from the ideology of Muslim society associated with family leadership that goes hand in hand with the concept of Islamic law (*fiqh*) empirically sociologically through *maqasidi* approach.

In general, Working Recruitment Participation Rate or TPAK (in Bahasa: Tingkat Partisipasi Angkatan Kerja), women's employment rate in Indonesia shows an increasing trend from year to year, from 36.8% in 1980 to 44.2% in 1990, to 46, 9% in 1995, and to 51.6% in 2000. Based on the data on the development of women's TPAK shows an indication of women's significant existence in the world of work.[41][41] Moreover, if it is assumed that the number of female population in Indonesia is bigger than the male population, then the female TPAK also shows the dominance of women in the job field.

The condition of women's TPAK is influenced by many factors, such as the value of market time, that is because education increases, the demand for female workers increases, and overall productivity increases. In addition, it is also influenced by non-market time values associated with the availability of substitution needs, urbanization, demographic trends (reduced number of children), husband's income, aspiration to maximize family welfare, and shifting cultural structures.[42][42]

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) 2010 stated that 14% of family life in Indonesia, or about 9 million family life are headed by women. The National Secretariat for Women's Empowerment of Heads of Families believes that the data is an iceberg phenomenon, in a sense the reality of numbers in the field is much higher. There are three reasons underlying this belief. *First*, the definition of the head of the family that refers only to the gender of men, which can make bias in its application in the field. BPS defines that the head of the family is the family living provider in the family or someone who is considered the head of the family. It is ambiguous in this definition to be one of the contributors to the low data of female headed family life of the current version of BPS. Imaginable and almost certain –when the survey process on whom the head of the family- will mostly be the father who is culturally referred to as the head of the family. The woman's name as the head of the family will only show up if it is clear that the family has officially lost a male figure, perhaps due to death or divorce. *Second* is Law no. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, Article 31, Paragraph 3 which reads "The husband is the head of the family and the wife is the housewife". The unequivocal division of husband and wife roles and responsibilities in this law has denied the existence of women who are forced or not to become "de facto" family heads. *Third* is patriarchal values in the social construction process of society which divides the role of men in the leader position has become a strong belief, even women themselves believe it, that no woman can become head of family.[43][43] On the contrary, it has also become a firm belief that women are the only sides responsible for the management of family life in domestic area.[44][44]

PEKKA (Women Head of Family) –based on data from 2000 to 2010- organized itself at the grassroots level, in 450 villages in 19 provinces in Indonesia. PEKKA finds women to be heads of families for various reasons. Some of the reasons for this were that the dead of the husband had (39%), divorced (13%), left unwillingly by husband (7%), the husband had wandered for long time (9%), polygamous husband and neglected (3%), disabled or chronically ill (5%), and single women who are the family life provider (11%). Actually, in reality on the ground that figure should also be significant –but not yet disclosed radically- is a married woman but must be the main family life provider and take care of his family, because the husband does not have a job or has a temporary job with a temporary income. In the PEKKA community, 2% of its members fall into this category.[45][45] This last category often leads to the problems and conflicts of leadership in the family life, because –based on the latest phenomenon- both husband and wife work together,

even though the husband's income is less than the wife's income. In addition, it is also considering the full employment opportunities currently are focused on women.

In fact, Islam never forbids women to get job for permissible purposes.[46][46] On the other hand there is indeed a ban on women to present themselves in the areas of *ta'abbudiyah* (*mah}d}ah* worshipping), such as the leader of praying and marriage guardians, the obligation of living the *'iddah* and *ih}da>d* period to delay the wish of getting married again until the completion of the *'iddah* period. But, family leadership is also often regarded as the field of *ta'abbudiyah*, where women can never and may never be allowed to participate in performing their roles and functions in family leadership.

In this case, one form of family leadership is the obligation of the family living provider . During this time, some men do not mind if the wife work to earn a living, but they reject if so many women also referred to as family leaders . In a sense, they do not want if the wife is also involved or given the right to set family policy together with her as an equal partner. Men never want and allow women to speak for justified purposes. Even when it is said that "family livelihood obligations are not only men's obligations but the obligations of both husband and wife," the men loudly reject them. It is because they are reluctant to distinguish areas of *mah}d}ah* worshipping leadership with family leadership. The difficulty of men –and even some women- receives the participation of women in family leadership, because –in accordance with Max Weber's leadership division-[47][47] family leadership is included in "traditional leadership". This is motivated by the model of relationship between superior men and inferior women that this has been going on for so long and even become an ideology (patriarchy). Weber explains that traditional leadership differs from legal authority in the absence of a system of rules and structural organization. Indeed, there are staffs or servants in the traditional leadership. But the relationship between servants and leaders is not impersonal and objective as bureaucratic authority. Nevertheless, subordinate servants in traditional leadership remain loyal to their leaders because they are already trusted by local traditions to occupy that position.[48][48]

Moreover –behind the strong "traditional leadership" in the Muslim family environment- there is the traditional ideology of marital relationships supported by the understanding and implementation of *fiqh* which is detached from its basic character. So that, sometimes the wives behave unsupportive and not objective. Although, there is multiple role issue, but due to the demands of working hours, it is impossible for domestic work to be completed. Domestic work includes not only cooking and washing, but also child care, and husband's assistance. The child whose mother is a female worker is left to Child Care Center (*Tempat Penitipan Anak* or TPA).

Furthermore, when a husband-wife conflict occurs because of something –which causes a wife to file a divorce- the reason for filing a divorce allegation used by a wife is being unpaid by her husband. In fact, the wife was able to support herself and also her entire family. This is a form of female unfair that is often ignored by women activists under the pretext of female mainstreaming and multiple roles. Obviously, the such mindset thus still follows the frame work of the classical *fiqh* completing with its traditional ideology. In the classical *fiqh*, if women cannot accept the conditions of a little living or even not provided, the solution offered is allowing the wife to file a divorce and then the divorce decision will easily be dropped by the judge .

It is fully realized –in this case- not a classical *fiqh* error. The existence of classical *fiqh* at the time coincided with the condition of women who really only do the role of domestic only and do not have the opportunity or skill to be and force themselves to take a public role. So it can be

assumed, women should be divorced from their husbands soon and then be able to remarry with responsible men, in order to avoid starvation that can lead to death.

At this time, the conditions are completely different from the conditions in which the classical *fiqh* is triggered. In addition, it has become the basic character of *fiqh*, that must always be in the review as the times change. Therefore- there must be an ideological renewal in accordance with social change through the reconstruction of *fiqh*. Thus, it is hoped that there will be renewal of ideology from pure traditional to pure egalitarian.

4. Conclusion

It is considerably agreed that women workers also have roles in family leadership. This is because many family - depend on women's salary to provide family - financial needs. Therefore when the working wife makes a decision, that is not necessary a form of authoritative power. Rather, it is need to be considered as a way to to help family in providing financial needs in order to have a harmonious family, *saki>nah, mawaddah,* and *rah}mah.* In other words, working women also have the responsibility of maintaining the continuity of family life activities today, tomorrow, the future. Likewise, the husband need to understand the duties and role of housekeeping as a form of responsibility in creating a harmonious family life, *saki>nah, mawaddah,* and *rah}mah.* The husband should not understand his duties and roles as an exclusive authoritative power. Furthermore, it is expected that the division of roles and family life's duties can contextually lead to the development of pure egalitarian ideology. In addition, this can also be a problem solving in the face of any difficulties that arise in household life.

In the modern era, the family leadership must be moved from the pure traditional to pure egalitarian. However, in the reality, it still stops at the transitional ideology –even unknowingly- that is confusing and always leaves conflict. Based on the *fiqh* concept, the indulgence of the traditional ideology (patriarchy) to this egalitarian ideology has a strong reference in the universal verses of The Holy Qur'an –because it contains the obligations of *ghair muh}addad-* through *maqa>s}idi>* approach. However, wether men or women often stop at a general or *mujmal* verse and interprete it atomistically. It should not be understood atomistically, due to this verse "*al-rija>l qawwa>mu>n 'ala> al-nisa>'*" is multi interpretation. There are many other universal verses that should be read.

As a logical implication of the above discussion, it is indeed difficult to change the ideology of family leadership within the Muslim community, because they do not shift from classical *fiqh* yet. However, there is still an opportunity to change it. In this case, it can - start at the beginning of marriage registration at Religion Affairs Office (KUA) with SUSCATIN (Wedding Candidate Course) program . It was from the beginning designed to equip married couple in order to faces no conflict, especially conflict of this power. However, this SUSCATIN program has not been able to proceed as expected, due to the absence of clear regulation and technical guidance.

It should be realized that the mainstreaming of women have caused women activists to be no longer objective in looking at the facts of marital relations in the family life. The spirit of the demands of justice by women must remain objectively conveyed in order to find the common ground of the problem. In other words, it still requires a wide gender insight fairly and objectively. It is not meant to attack women, but rather to focus on equality between men and women. It is more emphasized on the principle of balancing the household role contextually in order to provide an alternative solution to the high rate of divorce in the Muslim community.

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PRODUCTIVE HOMEMAKERS:
THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AS SOCIAL
MEDIA ENTREPRENEURS

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Abstract

Despite the increasing number of women as digital and social media entrepreneurs, studies over women's experiences manage such business are remained untouched. This research seeks to explore firstly, how female entrepreneurs make sense of their dual dispositions as women, wives and mothers as well as business women, secondly, what kind of challenges and obstacles faced by the participants while navigate their domestic and business lives simultaneously. Furthermore, this research seeks to unravel how far have the Internet and communication technology helped women to achieve work - life balance and what needs to be further acknowledged. Using in-depth interviews through the feminist perspective that puts family as the women's locus of struggle, the finding suggests that the proposition over Internet as a neutral, democratic and meritocratic sphere ought to be contested. Although social media entrepreneurship is seen as an idealised profession for women, participants also argued that women still bear the burden of child-rearing and house chores more than their domestic partners. The burden thus adds another layer of challenge over women entrepreneurs, that faced by domestic day-to-day problems, but also technological barrier over knowledge gap of technology.

Keywords: women, social media, entrepreneurship.

1. Introduction

Research has been consistently shown that women owning a business or enterprise has been beneficial for the family welfare and furthermore, to the economic welfare of the countries. Allen (cited in Brush and Cooper 2011) states that "women entrepreneurs make significant contributions to economies in terms of jobs, innovations and gross national product" [1].

Brush and Cooper also adds that while women entrepreneurship phenomenon is a burgeoning phenomenon, the research on these subject has remain lacking.

The fast-paced development of information technology, e-commerce and social media opens up tremendous opportunities for women to further their capital avenues. Started from the year 2000 Turkey has witnessed the uprising of female e-entrepreneurship, where women started up their venture using e-commerce and information technology [2]. The flexibility of managing business online enabled women to manage their domestic as well as professional lives. Many studies suggested that social media and e-commerce attract many women to start their own businesses. Ekynsmith defined such phenomenon as *mumpreneurs*, a way housewives tried to navigate home and business towards the advancement of social media [3]. She defined *mumpreneurship* as,

> "an individual who discovers and exploits new business opportunities within a social and geographical context that seeks to integrate the demands of motherhood and business ownership."

Others studies that have been done in United Kingdom [4] and New Zealand [5] all argue that the flexibility and the greater benefits of managing the businesses online are the factors influenced homemakers to pursue these endeavors. Online technologies simply help and promise endless possibilities for women who want to manage careers and kids altogether. Indonesia, too, has seen the ubiquity of women entrepreneurship. It certainly becomes popular that women sign up for one-day business seminars and conferences on "how to be a successful business woman" where the already successful entrepreneurs share their success stories. Other seminars such as "how to make millions from your home" or "how to make a business out of your social media" attract newly graduate women, homemakers, or sometimes working women who simply want to make additional income. The Ministry of Employment stated that within two years the amount of female entrepreneurs has increased from 12.7 Millions in 2015 to 14.3 Millions in 2017 [6].

Social media entrepreneurship attracts mothers who want to work from home. To be able to manage household altogether while also make an income is seen as ideal profession for married woman with children. Workshop and seminars such as "becoming *Muslimpreneurs*" or "Be a business woman like Khadijah RA" are easy to find on a daily basis. Certain narrative has been popular these days that "full-time homemakers can make money too from their kitchen table". The Facebook timeline is saturated with never ending debates on "career women versus housewives". Career women (women who work in full-time corporate job) are often being seen as selfish, career-minded, over-ambitious while housewives are being depicted as benevolent, self-sacrificing angels but also very dependent on their husbands. Female entrepreneurship is hailed as the solution that fits it all.

This research has two objectives, firstly is to investigate how female entrepreneurs define their own identities. Women identities and subjectivities have largely been ignored within the plethora of research on entrepreneurship, which mostly associated entrepreneurhip with men's world and its competitiveness [7]. Even after women entrepreneurs made substantial contribution to Japan and China domestic economy, such studies on women entrepreneurship have remained under researched [2] and if there were even a research, it was overwhelmingly European and American centric. This research tries to fill in the lacuna of research on such subject. Secondly, this research seeks to explore what has been the challenges and obstacles for women entrepreneurs in managing both their domestic and professional lives. This second objective also entails how the advancement of social media has an impact on women entrepreneurship. Finally this research

seeks to bring more understanding on women's role in their families and familiar constraints that being evoked by these dual dispositions that women entrepreneurs have, both as wives / mothers and entrepreneurs.

II. Research Methodology

This section elaborates the methodology chosen for this research and data gathering tools along with the way participants were recruited. The personal details of participants are also elaborated towards the end of this section. Feminist methodology is chosen since the objective of this research is to unravel women's lived experiences as entrepreneurs as well as homemakers and housewives.

Sandra Harding (1987) defines methodology as "a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed" [8]. She also argues that usually research methods consist of listening to informants, observing behaviour and examining historical traces and records (1987, p. 7). Furthermore, what makes feminist research distincts from other research:

> "One distinctive feature of feminist research is that it generates its problematic from the perspective of women's experience" (Harding 1987, p.7).

Feminist ethnography research, as Skeggs [9] and [10] Rheinharz (cited in Bryman 2008) argue is research which focuses on the voice and experiences of women, those that have been 'trivilialised' as female activities from men's point of view. Feminist ethnography as Rheinharz (cited in Bryman 2008, p. 422) states, seeks to "understand women in context". The methods for data collection in this research are individual interviews. It is a very common and widely used in qualitative or interpretative - based research, including in feminist research. Individual interview is defined as,

> "Interviews of a semi-structured type with a single respondent (the depth interview) or a group respondents (the focus group)"

If generated successfully, individual interviews can provide rich and thick description about the experince of informants. Pickering [11] explains that individual interview is suitable for research in which:

1. Aims for depth and detail.
2. Adopts a 'life perspective' covering various areas in individual's life.
3. Aims to establish comparisons and contrasts between individuals.
4. Aims to explore the interplay between individual and social factors through the cases of particular consumers.
5. Explores sensitive or controversial topics where group dynamics may be unhelpful.

Furthermore, to be successful Gubrium adds that individual interviews must resemble the friendly, intimate conversation between friends but it is also different from everyday conversation in a way that it has distinctive purpose, which is for research [12]. In practice, interviews could be separated into distinct categories that are: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews, as suggested by Fontana and Frey (2005) restrict the ability of

interviewers to "improvise or exercise independent judgement" [13]. Furthemore, unstructured interviews usually used in ethnographic research especially for analysing native language and culture. Social science researchers usually employ qualitative interviews, which are a combination or mix of both unstructured and semi-structured interview, as oppose to structured interviews.

This research employs feminist ethnography as its methodology to unravel women entrepreneurs lived experiences. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews is chosen as a tool for data gathering. Participants were chosen based on their specific experiences and knowledges as wives and mothers who navigate their business and entrepreneurship using social media simultanously. Within a month of this research, seven participants were recruited. I have known them pesonally within social circle and hence acknowledged that participants were already maintain their business through social media. Individual interviews were generated within friendly atmosphere where participants were interviewed on their own homes and some were in the café. Some interviews lasted for hours since participants were interviewed while doing their house chores, including showing their business activities online. These social interaction has been tremendously beneficial for the research since participants seemed truly shown what typically their day-to-day activities look like. In a way, individual interviews that lasted for hours have transformed into participant observation, although this is not what was intended in the beginning of research.

Surabaya is chosen as the location of study due to the logistics of research as well as the fact that Surabaya is a well-known trade and business city where entrepreneurship is a burgeoning mode of production among younger generation.

All in all, seven participants are middle-class Muslim women who resides in Surabaya. Their age varies between 29-35 years old, almost all are college educated and one of them undertook her Master's degree abroad. All participants use social media (social networks) to conduct their businesses, particularly Instagram and Facebook. Participants also stated that they agreed to use their real names for the purpose of this research. However in order to make them more open and comfortable, I decided to use pseudonym for this research. Almost all participants are homemakers with the exception of Clara who is a university lecturer. Below are their characteristics:

No	Name	Age	Education	Relationship	Business Type
1	Clara	34	Master degree	Married with two kids	Muslim fashion store through Facebook.
2	Azalea	35	College degree	Married with two kids	Selling Padangnese Cuisine through Facebook and Instagram
3	Dilia	35	College degree	Married with two kids	Selling *Klappertaart* through Facebook and Instagram.
4	Nadia	35	College degree	Married with no kids.	Owner of Muslim fashion line.
5	Dina	32	College degree	Married with three kids, expecting the fourth.	Selling desserts (Japanese cheese cakes), infused water, freelance photographer.
6	Ezha	30	College degree	Married with one kid.	Selling kids clothing through Facebook.
7	Siska	29	College degree	Married with one kid	Selling dessert through Facebook.

As it has been shown above, one participant (Nadia) is married with no kids. Other participants have kids ranging from 1 to 4. It is also shown from the table that Facebook and Instagram are the most popular social media platforms for business. The highlight and result of this research will be elaborated further in the next section.

III. Research Highlights

Despite recruited quite a small number of participants, several interesting findings have been gathered which might be beneficial for further study on this subject. The highlights are as follows:

1. Although highly educated, most participants stated that they have limited knowledge in conducting their business online and clueless when it comes to maximise their business through social media. Most participants also stated that traditional, word-of-mouth, marketing through their own social circles still plays an important part for the viability of their small businesses. With the exception of Clara, other participants use social media as an alternative marketing as an addition to the more traditional ones.

2. Some participants addressed that being full-time homemakers are not relevant anymore, since all homemakers nowadays have their own online business. The internet and digital technology blurred the distinction between homemakers and business owners. Some participants also stressed that dual dispositions as mothers and entrepreneurs add another layer of challenges. Some participants reveal that they have it "worse" than full-time homemakers since the burden of child-rearing still lies predominantly on them rather than being distributed equally with their partners. These findings suggest that domestic chores are still the dominant barriers for women to pursue successful business endeavors. Some participants also argued that they simply do it all by themselves since they don't have domestic helpers (*PRT*) to help them at home. These findings are strikingly resembled other studies across geographical locations, that suggested the internet and ICTs are not a "neutral platform" for both genders where "constraints are still produced and reproduced through offline and online realms" [2]. Similar findings from the UK , New Zealand and Australia all stated relatively similar concerns [3,4,5].

3. There are also some issues raised during the interviews in that participants often feel that becoming full-time homemakers are not a popular choice among their generation. The Internet is perceived as the sphere of opportunities therefore it is shameful not to be capitalised. Internet is seen as meritocratic enabler so everyone could make money. This revelation suggests that "being rich through online business" create phantasmagoria which will further oppresses women who already being overwhelmed navigating their domestic lives. The suggestion over internet and digital technology as a means of social mobility is also debatable especially in Indonesia since not everyone has the luxury and knowledge to conduct business over the internet.

These highlights will be fully elaborated within the next section.

IV. Research Results

This section elaborates findings that have been gathered in this research. Two main themes will be discussed in this section are ; first, women entrepreneurs identities and second, challenges

and obstacles for women entrepreneurs in managing both their domestic and professional lives. Some of the interview excerpts are quoted directly from the interview transcripts.

IV.1 "Homemakers Can be Productive too….": Female Entrepreneurs Gendered Subjectivities

As it has been highlighted in the abovementioned section, there is a shifting dynamics underplay the way in which my participants seeing themselves both as homemakers and entrpreneurs. Almost all believe, albeit also being intimidated by technology, that the advancement of social media and technology brings tremendous benefit for them. Internet and various platforms of social networks allow women to work outside and inside their homes. My participants believe that homemakers depend solely on their husbands. Some of my participants used the term "productive housewives" and these are some of the excerpts:

> "I think social media could have good and bad influence on us. For example, me. I could use Facebook both for good or bad things. I could snoop on [*kepoin*] my friend, but I also could use Facebook for something productive other than mind other's people's business." (Ezha, 30)

> "Social media offers big opportunities for us to be productive, of course I don't blame other housewives who only use social media for wasting their time. But for me, time is precious, so I use Facebook and Instagram to make money [laugh]." (Dilia, 35)

"I don't think there is any housewives today that do not own any sort of business in social media. At least that is what I see in my circle. All of my friends, we are all housewives but we are not just laying around at home waiting for our kids and husband to come home. I must make something out of my time." (Siska, 29)

It seems like there is a shifting perspective in the way in which my participants (who overwhelmingly are homemakers) seeing domestic lives today. From the way my participants used the word 'productive' and equates productivity with money and tries to distance themselves with full-time housewives (wives who don't own entreprise in any kind) signify the blurring boundaries between domestic and professional lives. My participants all agreed that social media offers many benefits, one of them is to enable women work anywhere.

Research from other countries such as Australia and UK also signified the surge number of social media entrepreneurship by women. The advancement of media technologies and social media platforms allow women to work from the convenient of their homes. Some suggested that "women navigate business through their kitchen table" [3]. The rise of *mumpreneurship* also challenge the dominant notion of entrepreneurship as men's world. Entrepreneurship is usually connotes aggressiveness and persistence, both are heavily accredited characters of masculinity. This shifting dynamics that women could be (and the numbers are continuosly rising) successful entrepreneurs, I would argue, will widen the way entrepreneurship is theorises.

However, when it comes to identify themselves, my participants all agreed that they are mothers and wives the first. It means that my participants are all believed that family and domestic lives is the most important aspect on their lives. Business and entrepreneurship are a complement, an extension of their lives which help my participants to fulfill their self-worth and self-esteem. Here are some of their excerpts,

"Well, I am a mother and a wive above all. Everything else, my lecturing profession and my clothing business are seconds. It's good that my business is growing, but without all of this I will be okay too" (Clara, 34)

"Having an online business is fun and challenging and hard at the same time, however my family is my top priority. I will always choose my family above all and on top of everything else." (Azalea, 35)

"Mothers are the first and the best teacher for their children, and I am very lucky…very fortunate that this job allows me to be close to my children during their younger years." (Dina, 32)

It seems from the excerpt above, women entrepreneurship has been constructed as idealised profession for women who want to balance work and mothering responsibilities. I argue that my participants' entrepreneurial endeavours have been shaped by the nature of their gendered selves. All seems to be professional, hard-working women with strong work ethics, and hence they continuously expanding their business, but at the same time also incorporate their mothering nature into their profession. Having ambition has been believed to be bad for mothers, while becoming full-time homemakers have also been believed as 'uncool' or 'lazy' since internet and social media create tremendous opportunities for women to make income.

From interview excerpts above, the ultimate reason on why women choose to start their own entrepreneurial journey is the child-rearing factor. This finding is similar from other findings [5 and 6] which conclude that the need to manage work-life balance made female entrepreneurship were rising in popularity across the globe.

IV.2 Challenges and Obstacles for Women Entrepreneurs

Almost all of my participants stated that the hectic life of raising families as well as business sometimes put strained on their lives. While they want their business to continuosly growing, they stressed that they don't have any ambition for their futures. These are some of the excerpts:

"Sometimes, when the order is too much…I just have to choose which one I would prioritise. Sometimes everything is just going nuts. It would be easy for me to abandon this [business] altogether. It is harder in comparison to when I was a full-time homemaker." (Dilia, 35)

"Between jugling business, family and everything else, sometimes it is just like you are just trying to ride the waves. You know me…my husband is not around, so I'm basically a single parent." (Azalea, 35)

Azalea is a mother of two whose husband works overseas and comes home only three weeks every two months. Besides juggling family, she has a personal order Padangnese cuisine business, with her two employees. I am witnessing first hand how hectic her life is when she has to manage loads of orders as well as nurtures her two young children. Azalea, interstingly, also stated that although she sees social media as a tool to improve her marketing, admitted that she is not that savvy in terms of technology. Some other participants also stated their limited knowledge and ability when using digital technology, especially social media. These are some of their excerpts,

"I'm sure Facebook and Instagram are very potential, however I don't see I could maximise it for my business. It adds challenge for me. So for me, my main marketing is still based on word-of mouth. You know me [laugh] I am [*gaptek*]." (Azalea, 35)

" While I know on how to operate social media. I am not one of those tech savvy. So I guess my knowledge on social media is pretty limited." (Nadia, 35)

"I'm sure other social media entrepreneurs know how to use social media effectively. However, I am not one of those people [laugh]. I mean I just take picture an upload them into my Facebook and Instagram, and let my friends know that I sell something. That's some pretty basic knowledge on social media". (Siska, 29)

These findings thus show that internet and digital platforms, are still an uncharted teritories for women. Even for middle-class, urban, highly educated women such as my participants, social media is perceived as difficult to understand and they are inconfident for using them, especially for building their business portofolio. Similar suggestion has been stated by Dy et al [14],

The overarching contribution of this article, however, extends beyond its central critique of the internet as a neutral and meritocratic entrepreneurial platform to a wider critique of entrepreneurship in general as a meritocratic activity. It concludes that the ontological assumptions underpinning much of the discourse on entrepreneurship and on digital entrepreneurship in particular, are marred by their inattention to the socially embedded nature of such activities. Policy initiatives suggesting that the internet can be a 'great leveller' for social inequalities should proceed with caution, lest they become part of evangelical contemporary rhetoric promoting the potential of entrepreneurship for the marginalized and disadvantaged.

The Internet is often perceived as the sphere of opportunities therefore my participants believe that it is ought to be capitalised. However, my participants also admitted that technological barrier, along with domestic lives have often put strained and more burden for them. The suggestion over internet and digital technology as a means of meritocratic tools is also debatable especially in Indonesia since not everyone has the luxury and knowledge to conduct business over the social media, especially for women.

V. Conclusion

This paper elaborates the way in which women digital entrepreneurs lived their experiences navigating both domestic and professional lives and also evaluates what challenges and obstacles women entrepreneurs faced in navigating both domestic and professional lives. However, the findings show that the imbalance of domestic partnership is still become the biggest barriers over the female entrepreneurs' successful business endeavor. Participants argue that women still bear the burden of child-rearing and house chores, and this adds another layer of challenge over women as digital entrepreneurs. The internet and digital technology that often being seen as a neutral democratic sphere for both genders is challenged and contested since this study reveals the otherwise. Although seemingly potential at first, this research argues that the challenge and obstacle that faced by the women over centuries has remained relatively unchanged. These findings are similar with other studies across geographical locations, including the more gender equals countries such as the UK, New Zealand and Australia.

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PAPERS IN PANEL
WOMEN, SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION (STI)

WOMEN, GENDER IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Chair: Mrs. Wati Hermawati, MBA

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Science, technology and innovation (STI) are important drivers of sustainable development as well as fundamental instruments in the eradication of poverty, the struggle against hunger and the improvement of the health of country's populations. STI also provides alternative and more sustainable solutions to development challenges such as access to clean water, clean energy, and food. Throughout history, major transformative countries' to growth and development trajectories have often been linked with the successful application of STI. Countries that invested wisely in STI as part of a coherent development strategy have built strong capabilities and fostered national growth and development. However, the development of STI has strong relation with human resources capabilities.

In many countries, women make up about half of the population. However, evidence shows that women are under-represented in scientific and technological education, careers, decision-making fora, and research and development, especially in mathematics, physics and engineering. This under-representation of women in STI epitomizes losses in potential contributions to S&T and overall economic growth of a country, whereas, throughout history, major transformative countries' to growth and development trajectories have often been linked with the successful application of STI. Countries that invested wisely in STI as part of a coherent development strategy have built strong capabilities and fostered national growth and development. Examples include the traditional sectors in the economy, the importance of incremental and adaptative innovation, easyness in adapting foreign innovations, supporting from technology-related infrastructure and inadequate intellectual property rights.

Under this theme the conference focuses on the role of women in innovative research and contribution in STI toward achieving sustainable development. There are four papers presented in this conference as follows:

First, Women and Sains: Sexism in Science Education at Islamic School Yogyakarta by Masthuriyah Sa'dan. This paper presents a result of the study that in scientific championships at yunior high school level, both at regional and national level, girls are always superior than boy in physics, chemistry, and biology. However, there are forms of sexism in science education in the selected case study (two Islamic schools). This form of sexism is the domestication of girls by parents, teachers, and principals as well as the high expectation of each parent to their daughters to be a child who are *sholihah* and have great morals. To minimize such a bad condition, there should be a synergy between all elements and all parties of government, principals, teachers, parents and society that girls have the right to master science and technology. Government through Education Office and Ministry of Religious Affairs should encourage all teachers and principals to provide equal education to all students both female and male students so that there is no discrimination.

Second, Technopreneurship Development of Micro Scale Food Industries in Maja Sub-district by Ellen Rusliati, Mulyaningrum, and Mujibah A. Sufyani. This paper presents a case of technopreneurship on micro food business run by women. Increasing value added of local raw materials, such as sweet potato and cassava, will led to the increase in house income as well as community welfare.

Third, Existence of Herbal Home Garden (TOGA or *Tanaman Obat Keluarga*) in The Group of Women Farmers (Case in Bogor District, West Java, Indonesia) by Vyta W. Hanifah and Wasito. The paper discusses how to sustain the TOGA from economic, ecological and social and institutional aspects. Research result shows that sustainability of TOGA also influence by the improvements in management and participation of women farmers (KWT) members. It is suggested that KWT needs to increase their member's capacity by creating an enabling environment in groups to be more productive, also collaborating with village government and private.

Four, Paulus Eko Kristianto & Dian Eka Permatasari present a paper entitled New Reproductive Technologies and Disembodiment Feminist and Material Resolution According to Carla Lam.

As the STI that support our daily live become more complex and sophisticated, roles and opportunities of human resources, particularly women are becoming more important. Women are still need more effort to fostering STI. Gender responsive STI policy and women's friendly environment will help advance women in this area.

Finally, we would like to close this prologue by congratulating all presenters/authors in this conference. We are also very grateful to the organizers for organizing this conference. ❖

WOMEN AND SAINS: SEXISM IN SCIENCE EDUCATION AT ISLAMIC SCHOOL YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract

This is a qualitative study regarding the students in two Islamic schools in the special area of Yogyakarta; MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi Sleman and SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak Bantul. The research finds that first, in school championships both regional and national, girls are always superior or more champions in physics, chemistry, and biology than boys. Secondly, in terms of education policy, the government in this case, the Education Office and the Ministry of Religious Affairs encourage all teachers and principals to provide equal education to all students both f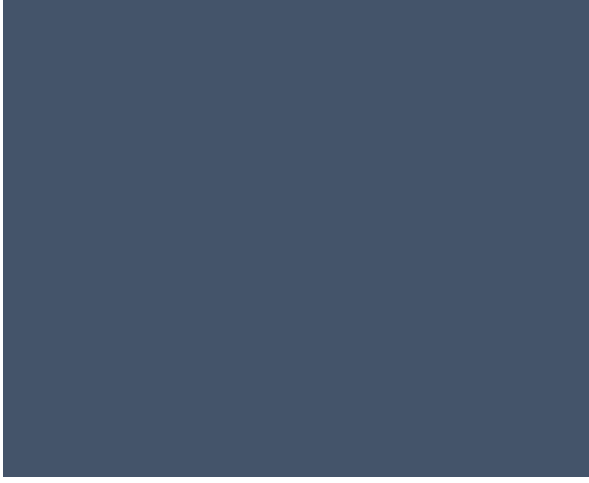emale and male students so that there is no discrimination. Third, there are forms of sexism in science education in these two Islamic schools. This form of sexism is the domestication of girls by parents, teachers, and principals as well as the high expectation of parents to their daughters to be a *sholihah* child and have great morals.

Keywords: Women, Science, Sexism

A. Introduction

SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) Agenda for 2030 mention that one of the mandates in the discourse of gender equality is the importance of women, tenage girls, and girls to master science, because employment opportunities can not be separated from the advancement of science and knowledge. At least 90% of jobs now require ICT (Information Comunication and Technology) skills. Even Beijing Platform for Action (2015) recommends governments and stakeholders to advocate women and young women in ICT (and STI (Science, Technology and Inovation).

According to the World Bank report, the number of women in science, technology, chemistry and mathematics continues to decline from high school to university, and then continues to work in laboratories, research and policy research and technology (UN Women Report 2015). The results

of the Nicole ElseQuest study published in the journal Psychological Bulletin, the researchers have analyzed data from 493,495 students from 69 countries, the students are 14-16 years old and have taken part in two studies, the trends in international mathematics and science study and the program for the international student assessment which shows that young women have the same mathematical abilities as young men, but teenage girls have more confidence than boys with their math skills. The researchers also found that in countries with gender equality, teenage girls tend to have higher math test scores. In addition, teenage girls tend to work on the matter of the count better and more confident with their math skills if they live in countries that have many female researchers. The results of this study also show that young women have the same performance as boys when they are given equal education and have a clear female role model in mathematics [13]. Dewi Candraningrum conducted research on the interest of science of vocational students in Jakarta last year [5]. Results of this study show that female students of SMK in Jakarta have low interest in science, because of the myth that science is for boys and not for girls. The fear of a daughter similar to her own mother because her mother also think that science is a male world.

Starting from Dewi Candraningrum, the research that analyzes women and science is important and should be continued. Today, Muslim societies are experiencing the growth of social piety in various lines of life. Starting from economic, social, political, cultural and educational sectors. All of them use the "jargon" of Islam as a manifestation of the faith of Indonesian society. Like the economic ethos of Islam, community hijabers, Qur'an literacy, Islamic society, Islamic politics, syar'ie tours and so forth. Of the many Islamic awakening of Indonesian Muslim society, there is one thing that is forgotten which is the rise of science literacy for all sexes. Whereas according to Max Weber (2005) religious ethics can encourage behavior in the world. It means that the resurgence of social piety of Muslim Indonesian society both men and women "should" and properly coincide with the rise of science literacy for girls and men [2] . In addition, Donna Haraway a feminist from the United States emphasized the importance of women mastering science and technology to counteract the masculine bias in an unjust science culture of women [3]. But the reality is, there is a "gap" of science for girls and boys. citing Sandra Harding's question in his book The Science Question in Feminism, "Science is belonging to whom ...?"

The fact that science gap is really a concern of many people and could be one of the contributing factors why nationally poverty always "faced" women. Those are the reasons why this study was conducted. We selected two Islamic schools in Yogyakarta which affiliated religious Nadlatul Ulama 'i.e., junior high school Ali Maksum Krapyak City Yogyakarta and Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Assalafiyyah Mlangi Sleman as sample of this study. The reason for choosing those sample because based on the Islamic awakening in Indonesian Muslim society, this kind of schoolsdoes not focus on science literacy for their students. Besides that, the findings of research conducted by the Directorate General of Religious Education Ministry of Religious Affairs in cooperation with the Australian Council for Education Research, University of Education Indonesia, Basic Education Capacity Trust Fund, USAID, Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the European Commission in 2011 against 150 Madrasah Tsanawiyah randomly selected in all regions of Indonesian, show the research findings that girls are better learning outcomes than boys in English and Indonesian language tests, while boys are better than girls in science. The gender difference is because 52.6% of Madrasah Tsanawiyah teachers are male while 46.8% are female teachers (www.worldbank.org/id/education). With these findings, research on the position and existence of girls in science education in Islamic schools is important and urgent to be reviewed.

The formulation of problems in this research are (1) how fact and achievement of girl in science activity at Islamic school of Yogyakarta. (2) How the Government issues an instrument of science education policy for the empowerment of girls. (3) What are the forms of sexism of science education for girls in these two Islamic schools. This research is an ethnographic research using the technique of collecting observation data for 4 months starting from Januari-April 2017, interview and survey. Interviews were conducted to religious ministry officials of the city of Yogyakarta or madrasah, principals, science teachers, students and parents. The subject of this research is the seventh grade students of SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak Bantul and MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi Sleman. The purpose of this research is to realize gender equality in science education and to enrich the point of view of the problems encountered.

B. Field Description

Based on the results of school observation (Saturday, March 25, 2017), School of SMP Ali Maksum is an Islamic school under the foundation of boarding school Ali Maksum Krapyak. The school is located on Jln. Cuwiri No. 230 Jogokariyan Mantrijeron Yogyakarta DIY. Based on its history, this school was established in 2008, until now the school of SMP Ali Maksum has 204 students with 34 teachers. What is interesting about this school is its jargon or school motto that reads "School of science-based Islam" with Nahdliyin's values as the guidance of students and teachers.

School of SMP Ali Maksum is under the Department of National Education by using the curriculum Diknas and added *kepesantrenan*. All of the students who study in this school l are living in boarding school Ali Maksum. Architecturally building, school of SMP Ali Maksum is permanent with tile floor underneath. The building consists of 4 floors with the total rooms are 19. All classrooms are equipped with one air conditioner and one projector with rows of stools neatly arranged in it.

Figure 1. grade VII A students and science teachers in the school field

Based on the diversity of Indonesian society, the students of SMP Ali Maksum are very diverse, some come from East Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, West Java, Banten, Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi to Papua Province. In addition, the professions of both parents are also diverse, some are doctors, lecturers, teachers, traders, community leaders and civil servants. From the results of surveys and interviews of parents, all parents of junior high school students Ali Maksum affiliated with Nahdliyin religious.

All students of SMP Ali Maksum are staying in a dormitory and supervised by a boarding instructor, ustdzah, *ibu nyai* and *kyai*. The formal school hours of SMP Ali Maksum are from 07.00 to 12.00 on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. From noon to night, all students study *kepesantrenan* science in boarding school Ali Maksum. Because of the activities in schools and madrasas, then they called as the students plus *santri*.

Not much different from the school of SMP Ali Maksum, Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) Assalafiyyah exists under the boarding school of Assalafiyyah Mlangi foundation. This Madrasah is located in Mlangi Village, Village Nogotirto, Subdistrict Gamping, Sleman, Yogyakarta. This Madrasah was established in 2013 with the number of students in academic year 2016/2017 were about 253 students with the total teachers of 28 teachers. The madrasah's motto is as it appears in the school balehoos and on the school wallboard is "Pesantren-Based Natural Madrasah". The basis of the madrassa's promptness is Nahliyin's values.

The curriculum of this Madrasah based on the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Depag). All of the students live in the boarding school of Assalafiyyah, whose dormitory is located next to the school. What is unique about this school is that madrasah building made of woven bamboo. All the school buildings from the teachers' room, the classroom, the library and the canteen are made of woven bamboo. Classrooms such as "Bale-bale" bamboo. The school floor is made of layers of cement, and students sit like in a *lesehan* stall with a long table in front of the students. Schools and boarding schools are surrounded by rice fields. So it makes the air cool and breezy.

Figure 2. VII D grade students and science teachers in front of the class

Due to the limited facilities and infrastructure, particularly lack of classrooms, the class at the madrasah is divided into two shifts. First shift, for male students from 07.00-12.00 a.m, then the second shift, for girls starting 12:30 to 16:30 p.m. The school's activity is Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. The diversity of madrasah students is not so diverse, because the majority of students and *santri* are from Javanese tribe who live around Jogyakarta and Central Java. Likewise with the profession of parents of schoolgirls. The average profession is farmers and traders. The existence of this two Islamic schools in Yogyakarta have similar religious affiliation but have different or varied characteristics. The researcher uses these two schools as a sample of Islamic school in Yogyakarta area.

C. Woman, Science & Metaphor Cyborg Haraway: Theoritical Review

The world of science is known as the world of men, the phrase is written by Pratiwi, a student majoring in information technology at Gunadarma University in Jakarta. Furthermore, Pratiwi (2016: 11) asserts that science or technology is a space for men, so that the tools of science and technology belong to men and not women. Though science should be value-free and there should be no gender ownership in science. But the fact is, parents often give science a distinction to boys and girls.

Biological differences always make one of the parties treated unfairly in various lines of life, be they political, economic, social and cultural. The "nature" argument (given) keeps women in second position after men. While men are positioned in the first room in public. As a result, work placements emerged that men were in the public domain and women were in the domestic territory. That is, men who work while women who take care of household chores.

The placement of women in domestic and male in the public territory domain has finally become something that is standardized. Yet according to the study of Nunuk Murniati (2016), formerly, in the pre-agricultural society (before the year 1750), women held an equivalent position to men. But later changed when there had been a persistent adoption of agriculture [10]. Men start instituting the concept that women are inferior to men. Institutionalization is gradually become a kind of hereditary culture. As a result, patriarchal culture until now incarnate in various lines of life of women, especially in the possession of science. The ownership of science that only posses by men is then called the sexism of science.

The term sexism was widely known when the Women's Liberation Movement took place in 1960. At that time, feminist theorists claimed that pressure on women had spread and occurred in all levels of society, therefore they began to speak loudly about the idea of sexism from male chauvinism. Understanding male chauvinism is a sense of love and excessive pride as a masculine figure and raise male gender. Such advocates are usually men who have a firm belief that they are superior to women. Sexism itself is a form of prejudice and is discriminatory to other groups only because of gender or gender differences (www.merriam-webster.com).

As quoted by Nadiatus Salama, that ambivalent sexism, reflecting evil sesxism so that such a person will have negative feelings and deep disappointments towards women, but on the other hand, the person also has a well-colored sexism with an attitude of affection, respect and awe at the same time [11]. And ironically, societies that do not recognize the equality of men and women in the social, economic and political fields are more likely to exhibit high ambivalent sexism. The broader impact, this ambivalent attitude of sexism and then implicate to women in various spheres and women's life line. For example, in the context of science education, girls

since childhood are disconnected from science. That science belongs to men and not to women. Whereas science should be value free.

Judy Wacjman mentions that "Such critiques emphasize that in addition to gender structures, the culture of technology is important in making it a male domain. Technologies have a masculine image, not only because they are dominated by men but s they are also incorporate symbols, metaphors and values that have masculine connotations [6]. Through the writing, Judy Wacjman asserted that if women want to master science must dismantle the boundaries consisting of masculine symbols and values, and according to Judy Wacjman the demolition of these limits is very difficult. Thus, if science from childhood is dominated by boys, this means that science is a male symbol and has values only for men.

The dominance of masculine values in scientific knowledge was criticized by Donna Jeanne Haraway by creating a Cyborg metaphor which later inspired the birth of many science-fiction works, both in verbal narratives (such as novels, short stories and poetry) as well as moving picture narratives (such as films). Haraway provides an argument about the selection of cyborg metaphors. According to Haraway (1985: 01) "Irony is about contradictions that do not resolve into larger wholes, even dialectically, about the tension of holding incompatible things together for both or all are necessary and true. Irony is about humor and serious play. It is also a rhetorical strategy and a political method, one of which is honored within socialist-feminism. At the center of my ironic faith, my blasphemy, is the image of the cyborg ". Through the argumentation, Haraway wants to explain that Haraway sees that women are always in a field of irony, a paradoxical place, and such a difficult circuit of being united against a woman's body. As an irony, women are a combination of humor and a serious game. Therefore, the Cyborg is one of rhetorical strategies and a convincing political tool for a "resistance" to unjust, biased and misogynous rules. The selection of cyborg metaphors for Haraway because he saw that women have been placed in binary positions that actually imprison their own existence. Cyborg itself has a tool of political resistance to deconstruct hierarchy and hegemony in a biased world.

D. Research Findings

1. Facts of Girls Achievement in Science

Results of the data analysis at two Islamic schools in Yogyakarta, science and technology have been used to justify a number of beliefs and serve as justification for the truth. Though sexism in science, it can be changed when teachers and the school will change sexism to justice with dignity. If it goes back to the history of science in the classical era, that there is a prevailing belief in science in the nineteenth century that women are inferior to men. As the renowned scientist Charles Darwin puts it, men have better abilities than women in all they do, whether they are related to sensory or hands-on activities or activities that require thought or in-depth analysis, argument and imagination [7].

One of the latest findings by pioneering physiologist Broca's psychologist who studies the relative volumes of the human brain, Gouldconcluded that the average female has a smaller brain in comparison to men [14]. The conclusion is taken by Broca because a number of women who took as sample by her research are women who are not tall and older than the male sample. Yet these are the factors Broca uses to explain differences in brain volume size.

To prove the theory of Darwin and Broca about the capacity of male brains greater than women, Principal of SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak Faiq Muhammad in his interview (Monday, 20/02/2017) says;

> Participation of students by gender; Two programs at school are dominated by female students. While men are more likely happy to play football. For example, if the headmaster reported their academic performances , the top ranking of academic usually women. Women's achievement is higher than men may be due to more female factors, women tend to be more painstaking, and women should be at home, women supervised. In contrast to men, no need to be watched. Social factors tend to placed women should be at home, may be, what it makes women achievement higher than men. In the case of size of women's intelligence, it is not always women, because we've had an IQ test, and men higher than women . Everywhere women always champion, it may be because in any race, assessment of report cards and parallel ranking is always dominated by women, and this data is valid. I believe in the ministry was also dominated by women. Women master all sorts of fields. Including science. The paradigm of our thinking, women in men's homes outside the home, so the opportunity to learn for women more than boys. In short, there are several factors why women; because the number of women more, women always at home, women more resilient and painstaking. Men can go out at night, while women can not go out at night. That's because social factors prohibit women out at night, people will judge as ugly women.

What Darwin and Broca mentioned above can not be a major benchmark that women have lower brain capacity than men. Based on interviews with the principals, we can reverse the views of both theories. The theory of scientists that men are smarter than women can not be universally generalized. Instead, the theory is relative.. Therefore, the philosophical theory of Karl Raymond Popper (1902-1994) about the falsification that the power of a theory is not determined from the degree of validity or truth of the theory [8], but from whether the theory can be proven or tested its fault (Popper, 2008: 23). From the Popper theory, research findings suggest that the male brain is larger than the female brain can not be an absolute and absolute truth, since falsifikasionism provides an openness for scientists to test false theories, even though they are built on the foundation metaphysical, religious and so forth.

2. Science Education For All: Government Policy

During the process of data finding, I as a researcher found some data and facts related to the position of girls in science education. Research was conducted in two Islamic schools in Yogyakarta, namely in the school of SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak and MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi, Yogyakarta. Basically, the teaching policy is aimed for improving teaching and learning process at the schools, including . Policy from the Department of Education is aimed for general schools such as SMP Ali Maksum and policy from the Ministry of Religious Affairs is aimed for the school of MTs Assalafiyyah . In both schools, science teaching materials consist of physics and biology subjects.

Based on the results of interviews with the Head of Madrasah Section at Kemenag Kota Yogya (Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs, Yogyakarta), Mr. Ahmad Fauzi (19/04/2017) said that "There is no written policy from the government that science subjects i.e (physics and biology) are only for certain gender. Science subjects belong all sexes both women and men ". However, in

reality, teaching and learning processes and the selection of interest in science is only directed to boys. A failure in the education policy implementation most probably due to the unawareness of the education implementer (teachers and principals), not the policy formulators (government). Results of interviews at the government level showed that there is no gender bias in science education. Science is for all and not for men only. As affirmed by Mr. Ahmad Fauzi : "In terms of selection of majors by students - especially in the selection of science majors, it is based on specialization and not on the basis of gender or financial capability".

In different places, researchers also held in-depth interviews to the Education Department of Yogyakarta City which accommodates the Islamic School of SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak. Mr. Sugeng Mulyo Subono as Head of SMP Development Department of Education Office of Yogyakarta City gave responses and comments about gender bias in the implementation of science education policy in the Islamic schools in Yogyakarta. According to him (10/03/2017) "If the students at public schools could receive science education materials very well, then, there is no problem ". Here, we can drawn the red thread, at the government level, as a policy formulators in science education, there is no science education policy in favor of one gender and discriminate against the other gender. Government policy on science education is "fair" for all sexes - both girls and boys. The question then, why in the level of implementation, gender bias is still exist. Here, there is something "wrong" for the school control holders at the school level. Teachers and principals have a greater chance of being accountable for the school's conditions by understanding more the policy rules set.

3. Forms of Sexism in Science Education for Teenage Girls

Paul Michel Foucault (1926-1984) is one of the most influential thinkers of postmodernism in the development of human knowledge and gave his gene-related thought [9]. Foucault says that knowledge is anything one can say in a discursive practice and can not be specified by that fact. Knowledge is a space where subjects can occupy a position and talk about familiar objects in discourse. Furthermore, Foucault says that knowledge is the area of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, are defined, applied and transformed. Knowledge is determined by the possible uses and adjustments given by the discourse. There are knowledge buildings that are not tied to science, but no knowledge has no particular discursive practice, and any discursive practice can be defined by the knowledge it has established (Foucault, 2012: 325-326)

Based on Foucault's ideas above, delegating all the "mistakes" in the implementation of educational policies to school stakeholders, in this case the principal and teachers are something that is less "wise". Since the headmaster and teacher do not form by themselves, it is impossible to do anything without cultural constructs, religious interpretations, family caring patterns and life experiences encompassing them. Therefore, researchers in conducting research with in-depth interviews to principals, science teachers, parents and students themselves plus also with direct observation. Researchers found some form of sexism of science education for girls in Islamic schools. These forms of sexism include:

a). Domestification of Teenage Girls by Parents, Teachers & Principals

One of concrete forms and real of sexism in science education is the perception that girls are better at home, working at home and the scope is not far around the house. In an interview about the

urgency of science education for girls, the principal of Ali Maksum Krapyak, Mr. Faiq Muhammad (Monday, 20/02/2017) said that "Women tend to be more patient, girls should be at home, girls should be supervised, and this is different from boys who do not need any supervision like a girl. Our paradigm mostly thinks that women stay and work at home, while men should perform outside home,". We also found that, control over the girls has begun from the perspective and treatment of the school principals to schoolgirls. Different schools treatment also apply to male students. A protective attitude by those who have power, in this case the principal, makes girls lack of power and effort to freely choose their interests and desires in exploring science.

The principal's point of view, leads the girls at home (domestification), makes all the policies and rules that exist in the school will be gender biased. This is then what comes next with the patriarchal way of looking. That the socio-cultural construct of men is in the public and women are in the private sphere. As a result, girls will have limited access to explore their interests and desires in the development of science. Therefore, in the classroom, girls look "as if" a child who is obedient and quiet. In fact, the girl is quiet and obedient because of the culture that constructs it to behave in this way. As said by the biology teacher of SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak. Ms. Rani Farikhah (26/02/2017) and physics teacher MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi, Ms. Sri Jumaini (01/03/2017) that "female students are quieter, quieter, and quieter than male students very busy and active ". Also the narrative of MTs Assalafiyyah Alif Jum'an principal that "the female teacher is relatively innate, calm and tend to be quiet" (27/02/2017).

In the gender study[1], the active properties attached to men and the passive attributes attached to women are interchangeable feminine and masculine qualities. That is, there are men who have feminine (passive) and there are also women who have masculine (active). Speaking of teaching and learning process in the classroom, if the teacher in the classroom is doing the transfers of knowledge, such as teaching and educating the female students in a patriarchal way, the results for girls certainly will have the same perspective with the teacher, as mentioned by the Education Officer of Yogyakarta, Mr. Sugeng Mulyo Subono (10/03/2017). More over, he said that "Master is the decider in the subject matter that is delivered". If the delivery of science materials by teachers is bias, then what is accepted and done by the students will also be biased.

In such condition, school students of SMP Ali Maksum and MTs Assalafiyyah are not empowered, because all the space of motion is controlled by mushrifah (boarding boarder) and ustadzah in dormitory. Both schools give obligations to their students, to study at the school and live in boarding school or *pesantren*. Students in both schools fully engaged with school schedules and *kepesantrenan* schedules. Therefore, the parents of the girls in both schools have delegated their children's education responsibilities to the *kyai* in the boarding school, as said by M. Sauji Alek, father of Anies Azizah Listyaningrum MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (24/03/2017) that "He is allowing his children's education to a kyai in pesantren and he only support the children in the form of school fees and living expenses in pesantren". Likewise with what is said by Mutimah, mother of Saudah schoolgirl MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (24/03/2017) that "She has surrendered her child education to kyai in pesantren".

, Result of the gender study at *pesantren* conducted by Husein Muhammad (2002: 174-183) mentioned that people in *pesantren* always use yellow reference book of Sheikh Imam Nawawi al-Bantani as the main reference of teaching traditional *pesantren* in Indonesia. Yet, in the study

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[1] Gender assessment is a cultural concept that seeks to differentiate between men and women according to their development in society. The distinction is based on the roles, responsibilities, behaviors, mentality and emotional characteristics of both. See, Helen Tierney, Women's Studies Encyclopedia, New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1989 [1].

of Kyai Husein, yellow book has made subordinate women and make women as eferior creatures, weak, powerless and have no freedom and rights. In various studies on gender in *pesantren*, it is almost concluded that *pesantren* always use a gender biased yellow book as a teaching material for their students [12]. It can be concluded that if the parents of the two schools are "resigned" to the scholars of their children to the *kyai* who have no gender perspective, then their children will not be able to have the horizons of thinking that come from the confines of religious dogmatism that make women as human complementary, or in his language, Simone de Beauvoir mentioned women as the second sex.

Based on observations, the duration of teaching and learning hours for female students in Islamic schools MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi is from 12:30 p.m to 16:40 p.m, while for boys is from 07:00 a.m to 12:00 p.m. The differentiation of the time duration is because the building facilities in the school are limited. But the impact of the limitations of building facilities makes physics teachers provide differentiation to female students and boys when the process of teaching physics. As told by Sri Jumaini the physics teacher of MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (01/03/2017) "Teachers have limited time to teach the science process. Due to the limitation of time, I usually give the task to the students to do the summary for self study". Such conditions make male students have a longer time in teaching and learning process as compared to female students. Impact, the school seems to provide an omission of different iation to female and male students. Here, there has been discrimination and marginalization for female students in accessing the equivalent of science education.

b. Being "Morals" Teenage Girl & Keeping the Good Name of the Family: The Hope of the Parents

Sometimes parents' wishes and desires for girls are more protective than boys. Discrimination of parents towards their children mostly due to cultural influences that construct parents to treat girls like queen.as said by M. Sauji Alek, father of Anies Azizah Listyaningrum student MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (24/03/2017) "I'm more paying attention to piety, in terms of politeness, being a clever and clever child, so that my child always carries the family's good name. " Having high expectations for children is legitimate, but in the context of "politeness" and "guarding" the good name of the family is not an easy thing that can be done by girls. Because often times, the politeness that is attached to the girl is the politeness constructed by the patriarchal social culture. Citing the thought of Simone de Beauvoir that women are not born as women, but "to be" women. That is, women are formed to be women in the local socio-cultural constructs. The effect is that women have no freedom and authority over their own bodies because women's thoughts, actions and attitudes have been controlled by parents and society.

Ironically, the social construction of the woman's body and mind is in the name of "religion". Therefore, it is not surprising when many parents who have a hope for girls to be "good" women-both and noble. As Mutimah said the mother of Saudah student MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (24/03/2017) that "We focus more on moral guidance rather than on the guidance of learning, even guiding learning, most religious studies that we emphasize. We often participate in guiding children, but we also delegate to the board. We all devote attention to the piety of the child to the *kyai* and *nyai*. So, I as a parent already believe in *kyai*. In essence, we are very stressed to our child to be a *sholihah* child who are more awaked ". From the parent's expectations, it can be seen that parents want their children to be a child with good morals and *sholihah* rather than a child who become scientist. And this is very different with the hope of girls who want to be scientists

plus *sholihah*. As stated by the seventh grade students of MTs Assalafiyyah Mlangi (Sunday, March 26, 2017) and SMP Ali Maksum Krapyak (Friday, March 10, 2017) during the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) event with questions of hope and aspirations in the future. According to schoolgirls in both schools "We want to be women who are labors, doctors, midwives, nurses, teachers who are *sholihah*".

Parents' wishes and hopes towards their daughter to become *sholihah* and set aside the wishes of their own daughter who wants to be active in the world of science such as laboratories, medicine, midwifery, nursing, become a science teacher and so forth. It is the result of the fear that the parent faces in the social structure of society. Fear of public perception in general that if a girl is not *sholihah* then she will get a negative label from the surrounding community, such as scorn, and it always in the discussion of the people surrounding, so it is degrading the good name of the family. In the language of gender, such conditions are called labeling. The impact on women's psychology alone, there will be fear when she can not realize the expectations and wishes of her parents even though in essence she wants to be herself.

This condition is what Sandra Harding suspects as a constraint on feminist research because of forgetting or neglecting women's experience as a science base [4]. Therefore, the only ruling is the elite of gender, race, sexuality and those in power in the search for knowledge. So, Sandra Harding judge if you want to produce feminist knowledge, hence knowledge and experience of woman become important to be made as value of knowledge. From Sandra Harding's thoughts on the urgency of understanding women's experiences as a feminist base of knowledge. Harding actually wants to criticize science and science that is only dominated by certain gender and forget the other gender. As a result, the science produced male-only and unresponsive to gender.

What has been said by Harding was also a concern for the administrators Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama '(NU) DIY about Muslims who have left behind in science, so that science is only owned by non-Muslim westerners, while Muslims themselves are lulled by the past. In fact, girls themselves who have a high interest in science can be constrained because of the different expectations and wishes with the parents. Arif Rohman Vice Chairman Tanfidziyah School Section MTs / SMP NU in Nahdlatul Ulama Regional Board '(PWNU) DIY stated that:

> "The opportunity is that we introduce to the public that the teaching of science is not like in the West. Science is part of Islam, the higher the spirit of studying the science the higher the spirit of studying Islam. If there is a difference, then something is wrong with us. So the intersection is the truth between science and religion. The dichotomy between science and religion we reject. Learning religion and science is a one-piece unity. Many scientists used to be religious, hapal al-Qur'an, while the science that our society is building today is a separate science with religion, science without religion is blind, and religion without science is crippled. So essentially, there is a synergy between science and religion "(28/02/2017).

Conditions that make science sexism will be a constraint when Muslims want to advance in science, science and technology. Because these barriers are structured from family, school, and community. Therefore, to make the change of science sexism, it is important to listen to the account of Akh. Minhaji as an Islamic Intellectual Expert in Yogyakarta: "There must be a growing awareness. So far we are only proud of the glorious past of Muslims but we are less aware that it is currently lagging behind. We can only blame but we can not do. So the need for a process of

awareness that Islam is not taboo about technology and how to cultivate awareness and ability to encourage students to catch up "(Sunday, 19/02/2017).

E. Conclusion; Science For Women

As stated earlier, the existence of the bias of science to boys or the gap of science due to gender factors gave birth to what is called sexism in science. Although discrimination based on sex is very bad and contrary to scientific ethics that science is for all sex, yet the behavior of science sexism spreads in all areas of society without realizing that distinctions in any case, especially the distinction of giving and treatment of girls and boys -the science is regarded as something normal. Therefore, to minimize such a bad condition, it takes synergy between all elements and all parties of government, principals, teachers, parents and society that girls have the right to master science and technology.

Scientific researchers need to be encouraged and driven to continue researching for gender responsive science. Many placement of women who wrestle in the world of science by itself will erode the paradigm of society about women as a complementary male. It can create justice and equality in the level of knowledge, science, and technology. Such efforts, is one way how to reduce the deficit of girls in the world of science and technology. Therefore, the message of Pancasila the third precept "Humanity is fair and civilized" can be interpreted that justice is not just justice in social level, but justice is also understood in justice of science knowledge. So that science is not only controlled by men, but also controlled by women.

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TECHNOPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF MICRO SCALE FOOD INDUSTRIES IN MAJA SUB-DISTRICT

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to study the development of technopreneurship of food micro-scale industries in order to take advantage of aerocity opportunities in Majalengka District, West Java Province, that will change the livelihood and culture of the community. The local potential in Majalengka District is agriculture and natural resource-based tourism. Processing of local raw materials into products that fit the needs of the consumers will be able to increase the income of the population. The research method used is descriptive qualitative. The results show the right strategy is market penetration and new product development. The main products produced by Maja Subdistrict are sweet potato and cassava which are also widely produced in other regions in Indonesia. The development of technopreneurship is expected to utilize the creativity and innovation of women to develop local-based derivative products by utilizing the potential of local markets profitably.

Keywords: technopreneurship; micro-scale food industries; product development; market penetration.

INTRODUCTION

The allocation of village funds is intended to create employment in the village and also in the hope of reducing urbanization. Utilization of the funds can be done by creating the programs based on the local potential as well to take advantage of available resources. Utilization of local potential is expected to increase employment opportunities that are expected to improve the welfare of the local communities.

Maja Sub-district is one of the 26 sub-districts with 18 villages in Majalengka Regency. Based on Majalengka Regency Regulation No. 11 of 2011 on RT/RW[1]of Majalengka Regency in 2011 – 2031, Maja Sub-district is included in the area for agriculture with semi-technical irrigated rice fields, plantation, farms, aquaculture fisheries, metal minerals in the form of gold, oil and gas. Urban Service Center serves the activities of sub-district/village/*kelurahan* scale as social and general service center, commercial, agricultural development, fishery, tourism development, and regional terminal (Majalengka Regency Development Data 2015). The diversity designation of Maja Sub-district based on the RT/RW requires different approaches and strategies for each village to be tailored to their potential and opportunities.

The agricultural sector in Maja Sub-district remains the primary source of sustaining the economic life of the people, as most of the people live and earn from this sector [13]. The leading commodities are rice, corn, cassava and sweet potato [7]; other agricultural products such as soybean and fishery, livestock, and other plantations. Utilization of agricultural products into ready-to-eat food becomes a great potential for local communities by taking advantage of the opening of new Kertajati Airport. The application of technopreneurship is expected to help accelerate the improvement of the welfare of the community, so the utilization of technology, cultural change, entrepreneurial spirit, creativity, and the professional application of management and accounting theory with our assistance is expected to make this Sub-district more advanced, especially through the implementation of its seventh mission, empowering community in agribusiness through excellent products.

The results of preliminary observation in Kertabasuki Village revealed that generally people produce agricultural products for their own consumption and the rest are sold directly to the market, so the price often fall down during harvest time. As a result, even though farmers live well, they do not move much for the better welfare. From the preliminary data, it was obtained some interesting information that the community has high interest in entrepreneurship, but not yet supported by the application of appropriate technology and adequate management system. Some people have cultivated their crops manually and very simple, so they do not have high selling points. Some people who have the potential to develop entrepreneurship even move to other cities, so that local potentials are left dormant and managed in a perfunctory manner.

Technopreneurship is an entrepreneurship development based on the use of technology as an essential part of the production process, and overall business development activities [9]. Technopreneurship must be successful on two main tasks, namely: (a) Ensuring that technology functions according to customer's target needs, (b) Achieving optimal benefits [15].

The development of entrepreneurship is only related to selling and earning profit optimally, while the development of technopreneurship in this research is intended to exploit local potential to produce specific superior products and commercialize them in the wider market. In fact, there are still many problems in the Indonesian agricultural sector that are generally inhabited by poor farmer groups. Various technologies in agriculture are still urgently needed to increase the productivity and added value of agricultural products of the people. The development of technopreuneruship which combines aspects of utilization of appropriate technology and entrepreneurship is expected to improve the competitiveness made through the creation of local products in accordance with market needs effectively.

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[1] In Indonesia, a village is divided into several community groups (*Rukun Warga* (RW)), which are further divided into neighbourhood groups (*Rukun Tetangga* (RT)).

The micro-food industry is often faced with management constraints. Cooperation between suppliers (farmers), employers, and output markets is needed to ensure the availability of raw materials and markets. This research will be conducted in order to improve the competitiveness and the effectiveness of production and marketing for micro scale food industry in Maja Subdistrict, Majalengka Regency to improve welfare of the people in that area.

The low capacity of the community in MajaSubdistrict, particularly to diversify and differentiate local processed products according to market demand is caused by lack of information about the development of the needs of the current consumer, so that local farmers' products do not have the ability to compete. As a result, marketing activities become ineffective. Besides, it is also needed a synergy between communities in various matters related to product marketing management to improve their competitiveness. The research is expected to produce technopreneurship development module for micro scale food industry, so that the potential development of local agricultural products can be utilized more optimal, and able to compete in the market, and have the effectiveness of production and marketing to generate profits.

The objective of this research is to produce a development model of technopreneurship of micro scale food industry especially in MajaSubdistrict, which consist of: (a) Identification of potential of local agricultural products by using Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threats (SWOT) Analysis knowing local potentials that can be developed to meet market needs, utilize available opportunities, and build competitiveness and break through internal constraints and competition; (b) Functional management analysis including production management, product marketing management, financial management, and human resource management, (c) tecnopreuneurship development module by utilizing the potential of village level local agricultural products.

Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency will be a very strategic area for new economic growth for the eastern region of West Java Province before the opening of Kertajati international airport. Therefore, the people should prepare to deal with the highly competitive market development situation. This can be done with the development of technopreneurship, so that they do not become victims of modernization. Business people of micro-scale food industry need to be invited to innovate and pay attention to market demands, so that the leading agricultural products can be absorbed by the markets and have competitiveness.

Based on the background of the problem, it is found that the information of micro food industry condition in Maja sub-district of Majalengka Regency generally have the following characteristics: (a) Not many diversification and differentiation of products in accordance with market demands, (b) Not yet have the concept of production and marketing strategy and tactic integrated in order to have the advantage to compete, (c) Having a strong entrepreneurial spirit, but not yet developed optimally.

The technopreneurship development model of the micro-scale food industry based on local agricultural products in Maja sub-district of Majalengka Regency is very useful for: (a) Building technological entrepreneurship spirit, (b) Increasing the competitiveness of local processed products, (c) Increasing the number of technology-based entrepreneurs, which is able to provide jobs, increase income, and social welfare, (d) The application of management theory to the micro-scale food industry is expected to make the business professionally managed and have a competitive advantage.

The technopreneurship development model for the micro-scale food industry by utilizing the potential of local agricultural products is critical to building a competitive advantage. The form of technopreneurship development can be done by designing technology-based production

program, local product marketing, and cooperation model among business actors. These activities cover all business activities, starting with market demand analysis, product creation up to demand fulfillment, as well as designing joint activities and financing.

Micro-scale entrepreneurs can fill technopreneurship opportunities, but they should come with ideas, finances, and markets. As a result, technopreneurship module can be used to bring the micro-scale food industry in MajaSubdistrict into incubation process, so it reinforces ideas, executions, capital, and markets.

The SWOT analysis shows a framework for helping researchers or planners to identify and define business goals priorities, and identify strategies for achieving goals [12]. The SWOT analysis identifies the competencies (distinctive competencies) - the particular capabilities and resources a company has and the best way to use them - and the currently untapped opportunities to gain competitive advantage. In principle, strategy is the ratio between chance and strength [6]. Utilization of strengths for available opportunities can result in a strategy and proceed with the programming so that it can provide added value to customers also generate profits.

Identification of potential villages is expected to inspire citizens to innovate in order to provide added value to local products, create new jobs by utilizing available opportunities. Weaknesses and obstacles need to be recognized and strived to overcome them. Preparation of external and internal factor matrices is needed to find out their strategic position of existing, existed, or will be developed micro-scale food industry in each village.

Agriculture has an important role in food security. Population growth is the main reason for the increase in food demands and the utilization of natural resources [12]. The agricultural sector, if it is not managed properly will be abandoned by the local community because it cannot provide a meaningful welfare for farmers. The symptoms are starting to appear, because people tend not to be interested in farms that are identical to dirty, tiring, and not prosperous. Society tends to urbanize, trying to find a better life and leave the agricultural sector. Management of the agricultural sector in a more professional manner by applying functional management aspects to provide added value for agricultural products is expected to attract the interest of citizens to bring the agricultural sector downstream into a local food-based industry.

Implementing a strategy requires different actions between one industry and another. The main issues of strategy implementation include setting annual goals, making resource allocation policies, changing culture, minimizing rejection, adaptingeffective human resource development processes/operations. Strategies are not likely to be applied successfully in industries that are not able to market the product properly, unable to raise required working capital, low quality products with low technology, or have weak management and accounting information systems [4].

Functional strategy is a functional approach to achieve goals through maximization of resource productivity. This relates to the development and maintenance of special competencies for industry competitive advantage [16]. These functional strategies include marketing, finance, research and development, operations, purchasing, logistics, human resources, and information technology. Functional strategies must be formulated to support business strategies and build on the specific competencies they possess within the functional areas.

The development of technology and entrepreneurship is a challenge for micro entrepreneurs. This research prepares an alternative idea, finance, and market or called an incubation process [15]. Technopreneurship comes from invention and innovation. Invention is a new discovery that aims to simplify life. Innovation is the process of adoption of a discovery by market mechanism.

There are two types of invention and innovation: (1) product invention and innovation, and (2) process invention and innovation. Technopreneurship is a combination of technology (the ability of science and technology) with entrepreneurship (self-employed to bring profits through business processes).

Technology-based entrepreneurs use social behaviors, techniques and cognitive processes to create, develop, maintain, validate and filter (to use) creative ideas for new product, process or service success [5]. Cognitive process is a process that includes mental activities (brain) which includes knowledge, understanding of the application of analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. This shows that the introduction of new products or processes requires learning and mentoring process, in this research is a technopreneuership development model.

Today, the development of business in technology is largely the result of synergy between the owner of a creative idea (technopreneur), who is generally affiliated with various research centers (such as Higher Education), with the capital providers to be used in business. The relationship between the three elements are strongly encourages to developtechnology business in some countries. In Indonesia, the synergy of the three parties has not been well established. The development of innovation centers and business incubators in the field of technology in several universities and research institutes is a positive effort in building technopreneurhsip in Indonesia.

Success of craft technopreneurship is determined by promotion, place, price, product, and network collaboration [10]. The process of organizational creativity is the process of mainstreaming innovation or continually finding important corporate problems, solving those problems, and implementing the solutions to satisfy the global market is referred to as technopreneurship. It lays emphasis on integrating technology with entrepreneurship. Technopreneurs are entrepreneurs who are involved in corporation involving technology-based industries [11]. Creativity is the act of coming up with an idea. Creativity is increasingly critical to business success in order to achieve the competitive edge in the aggressive business world [14].

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method used qualititave survey conducted on micro scale food entrepreneurs through in-depth interview, participant observation, and observation on the role of women in the business. The research design included: (a) Problem identification and diagnosis, (b) Determination of conceptual frameworks and relationships with previous research, (c) Formulation of research problems, which included making specifications of objectives, scope, (d) Operationalization of research variables, (e) Determination of the study population, which consisted of 18 villages in Maja sub-district, (f) Identification of local potentials and food products of each village; (g) Development of technopreneurship model of small-scale food industry in Maja sub-district.

RESEARCH HIGHLIGHT

Based on the external internal matrix, Majalengka Regency is located in the 5th Quadrant through maintaining strategy. Two strategies chosen were Market Penetration and Product Development. The market penetration strategy was to seek a greater market share for current products in existing markets through better marketing efforts. This strategy had low risk, this approach included: (1) maintaining/increasing market share, (2) dominating market growth, (3) eliminating competitors, (4) increasing customer use.

Food products were manually produced, continued previous ventures, local marketing, raw material difficulties during seasonal transitions, lack of financial management and access to adequate funding and business management, market and product specifications were not established and promoted yet. The development of new products included: (1) Processing sweet potatoes/banana/cassava chips with chocolate, cheese, and 'balado' flavor, (2) Processing of sweet potato/cassava/rice/sticky rice/bread fruit. Market penetration through a combination of pricing, advertising, and sales promotion strategies.

RESEARCH RESULT

Maja sub-district consists of 18 villages, with a population of 49,637 inhabitants, consisting of 24,880 males and 24,757 females in 2015, **and** majorly are farmers and farm laborers. The highest food crop productivity is cassava and sweet potato to reach more than 467 quintals per hectare. The dominant vegetable plant is onion and red pepper. Production of fruits that are widely produced are avocado and banana. The community's highest plantations are clove, then coconut and melinjo.

The development of livestock sub-sector is to increase livestock population and production in an effort to improve people's nutrition in addition to increasing farmer's income and create good commodity for the development of livestock industry. The largest livestock are broilers, free-range chickens, and laying hens. The largest fish production is tilapia and gold fish.

In Maja sub-district, there are medium industries with medium category of 7 units, 207 units of small industry, and 346 units of home industry. Available commercial financial bank institutions are 4 units and 1 KUD. There are 2 units of permanent market, and the number of kiosks/shops is as many as 815 units.

The results of the survey of food products of each village in Maja sub-district are shown in Table 1.

Table1. Food Products/Materials in Each Villages in Maja Subdistrict

No	Village	Potential
1	Cihaur	Palm sugar, *raginang*, rice flour
2	Wanahayu	Snack
3	Cengal	Palm sugar
4	Anggrawati	-
5	Cipicung	Tofu
6	Malongpong	Variety of chips
7	Tegalsari	Cow, sheep, poultry, chili, onion, *palawija*, cracker
8	Maja Utara	Sweet potato, *opak*, raginang, tofu
9	Pasanggrahan	Quail, sheep, fried onion
10	Cieurih	Fresh vegetable, red onion, chili, tofu
11	Kertabasuki	Sweet potato, cracker, *raginang*, *mieaci*, *gula cakar*, agro industry
12	Sindangkerta	*Palawija*, soybean, corn, peanut, yam, cassava, tofu, cracker
13	Banjaran	Tempe, snack, *opak*
14	Paniis	Salted egg, snack
15	Cicalung	Broiler, *opak, gula cakar*

16	Pageraji	-
17	Maja Selatan	Banana chip, *oncom*, *raginang*, tofu, tempe,meat milling/ground meat
18	Nunuk Baru	-

Source: Maja Subdistrict Work Plan Year 2015

Formulation of the strategy begins with analysis of internal and external factors to determine the potential and opportunities of Majalengka Regency with the establishment of West Java International Airport. External factors analysis includes: (1) Economy, (2) Social, Culture, Demographic, and Environment, (3) Politics, Government, and Law, (4) Technology, (5) Competitive. Internal factor analysis includes: (1) Management, (2) Production and Operation, (3) Changes in Behavior, (4) Finance, (5) HR, (6) SIM, (7) Marketing.

Based on the external factor matrix obtains a total value of 2.65 and internal 2.59, which can be made into the following image to determine the right strategy for micro business of Majalengka Regency that can be seen in Figure 1.

SCORE WEIGHT
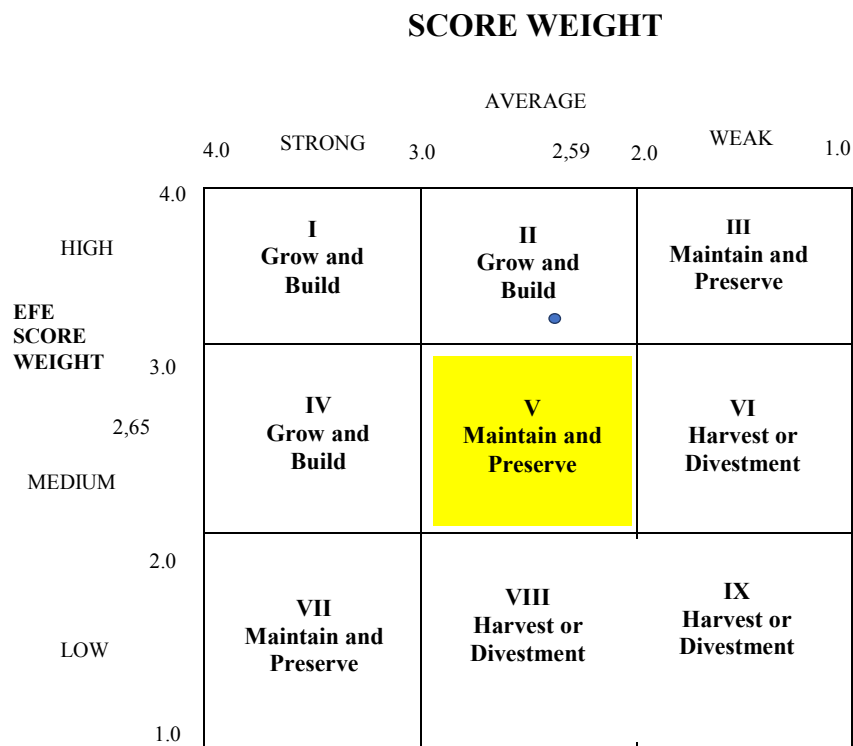
Source: [4]

Figure 1. Internal – External Matrix

Based on the internal and external matrix, Maja sub-district appears to be located in5thQuadrant, through maintaining and preserving strategies. Two strategies to choose from are Market Penetration and Product Development [4]. The market penetration strategy is to seek greater market share for current products in existing markets through better marketing efforts. This strategy is low risk. Approaches to market penetration strategies includes: (1) maintaining/

increasing market share, (2) dominating market growth, (3) eliminating competitors, (4) increasing customer use. The penetration strategy influences the company's growth.

Product development strategy is to striving for increase in sales through current product improvements or new product development. This strategy has medium risk. This strategy requires changes in business operations, including: (1) research and development, (2) customer needs assessment, (3) brand clarity.

The Matrix is very useful for the formulation of marketing strategies, but **it** must be preceded by SWOT analysis. The design includes an integrated functional management (marketing, finance, production, and human resources) program, starting with market demand, product creation, source and use of funds, up to HR professionals who understand the business process.

Source:[8]

Figure2. Product/Market Expansion Grid

Based on the analysis of Figure 2 above, the alternative strategies offered as a solution are: (1) market penetration, and (2) product development. Market penetration strategies that can be done by micro entrepreneurs in Maja Sub-district are: (a) Increasing sales promotion aimed at attracting new customers, while retaining old customers, (b) Installing commercial advertisements to embed the image of products in the minds of consumers.

Product development strategies include: (a) Improving product quality from aspects of shapes, flavors and packaging, among others by standardizing operational standards of company procedures to maintain uniformity of production, improvement of packaging design by including information on PIRT[2], composition of materials used, date of production and expire, (b) Adding product variants aimed at reaching untapped market segments, such as cakes, puddings, and sweet potato donuts.

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[2] PIRT (*Produk Industri Rumah Tangga*) = Home Industrial Product, a permission of food production produces by a home scaled industry, which is set by BPOM (*Badan Pengawasan Obat dan Makanan*) or known in English as National Agency of Drug and Food Control (NADFC)

Referring to this, SWOT Matrix is:

	Strengths: 1. Introduction of local-made products started through OVOP (One Village One Product and Village Owned Enterprise. 2. The diversity of products can be traced easily through the internet, 3. Cooperation with Companies. 4. Togetherness of the local population. 5. The nature of kinship and the friendliness of the local people 6. Manual processed products have been produced, but not sold out. 7. Local product sales outlets already exist but not yet optimized. 8. People are willing to innovate and change. 9. Motivation to strive. 10. Utilization of adequate technology.	Weaknesses: 1. No business experiences. 2. No production machinery facilities. 3. Raw material difficulty when the transition season. 4. Limited funds and ability to process funds, 5. The market has not yet formed. 6. Product specifications required by the market. 7. Target market segment. 8. Promotion programs that must be done.
Opportunities: 1. New employment of service and trade sector. 2. Easy transportation of land, sea and air. 3. Close to the current tourist area: Bandung City and Cirebon City. 4. Industries related to agriculture. 5. Increasing of Tourism and Culinary of Majalengka. 6. Untapped natural wealth. 7. Government Support through Majalengka Regulation no. 11 of 2011. 8. Development of Information Technology 9. Development of Production Technology	STRATEGI S-O (leveraging the company's internal strengths to take advantage of external opportunities): 1. Increasing of the quality of human resources in service and trade sector. 2. Development of New Local Based Products. 3. Promotion. 4. Increasing of tourism infrastructures.	STRATEGI W-O (aiming to fix internal weaknesses by taking advantage of external opportunities): 1. Business assistance. 2. Market survey. 3. Facilitation of Village Owned Enterprises for machinery, storage facilities. 4. Produce product according to season.
Threats: 1. Land function conversion. 2. Livelihood conversion. 3. Cultural change. 4. There are still people who refuse. 5. Production Risk. 6. Market and Price Risk. 7. The entry of competitors who are more experienced in business.	STRATEGI S-T (using the strength to avoid or reduce the impact of external threats): 1. Giving permit in accordance with RTRW. 2. Strengthening local culture.	STRATEGI W-T (a defensive tactic aimed at reducing internal weaknesses as well as avoiding external threats): 1. Management training, production process, marketing, and finance

Figure 3. SWOT Matrix

Referring to the SWOT Matrix, the alternative strategy is: (a) increasing the quality of human resources in service and trade, for example storage and distribution services. (b) Development of new local based product, (c) Promotion, utilizing progress of information technology, (d) Business assistance involving Higher Education, (4) Market survey involving Higher Education, (4) Facilitation of Village Owned Enterprises (BUM Desa) for machine, development of capital, product marketing, (5) Producing products in accordance with seasonal agricultural commodities, (6) Developing local culture-based social entrepreneurship, (7) Management training, production process, marketing and finance.

Analysis of internal and external factors is a necessary first step for strategy formulation [4]. The SWOT analysis can be used to leverage strengths to overcome weaknesses and use opportunities to overcome obstacles. Although it does not guarantee 100% success, the SWOT analysis will improve the business strategy that will be run from the aspect of strength and opportunity; gives a list of further actions to take.

The results of this study also support the results of Ommani's research [12] which states that strategies for management of agricultural systems include (1) market penetration i.e. development of local market opportunities, (2) development of new products, e.g. preparing strategic plans for the development of organic agriculture and considering high quality harvest results.

Marketing strategy is an important tool to win the competition, expand market share and minimize competition. Marketing strategy as a way of providing quality product that satisfies customer needs, offering affordable price and engaging in wider distribution and backing up with effective promotion strategy [1].

The development of new products lies in several ways, including new products that are original to the company and in the market, refined old products, and modified old products, and brand development for product line development [8]. The successful application of technopreneurship is determined by promotion, place, price, product, and network collaboration [10], and creativity [14]. Creativity is needed to produce innovative products. Innovation will drive forward high value activities in products, processes, and services [3]. New product success still remains the critical challenge for business [2]. Technopreneurship requires employers to apply the right technology and implement innovative strategies that match market demand [11]. The application model can be illustrated in Figure 4.

Based on the results of research, the implementation of technopreneurship on micro business in Maja sub-district is not possible, because of many unsupported factors. Some of the basic problems of micro and small food businesses in Maja sub-district are as followed: (1) Human Resources, that do not understand bookkeeping and organize bookkeeping process, (2) Marketing. Traditional, buyers come directly, so that the production process is based on the number of orders, (3) Capital. Lack of capital lead to difficult in developing business, (4) Low Technology. Most of the business activities were processed manually so it is less efficient and not standardized.

The new product development process begins with the creation of ideas that focus on customer needs. The advancement of information technology makes it possible to provide inspiration or ideas of a variety of new products that can be developed based on the materials, abilities, and opportunities they have. Implementation of OCM (Observe, Copy and Modified) can be applied to new product development process.
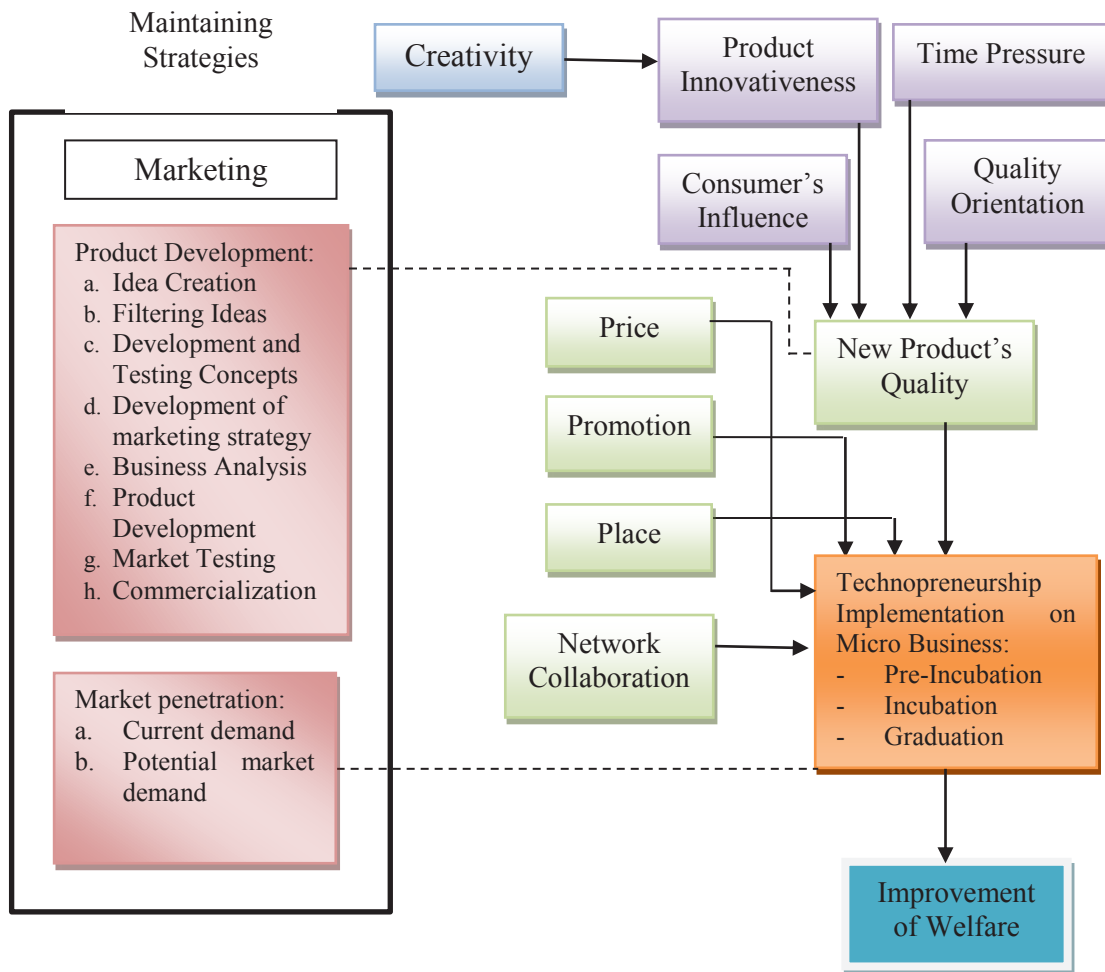
Figure 4. Technopreneurship Implementation on Micro Business Model

The survey results show that men in Maja sub-districts work more outside the house, farming or working in offices or banks, selling in markets, or otherwise, so women have more time at home to experiment with the development of new food product ideas by utilizing available materials, applying OCM.

Women can utilize information technology to search new local based product development. Innovation will drive high value activities in products, processes, and services. The product is currently experiencing barriers in marketing, because (a) It has no characteristic so that it has no competitive advantage, (b) Not yet registered in the Industry and Trade Agency, not yet owned (P-IRT) so marketing is done in the local market with limited demand.

The implementation of technopreneurship to micro food businesses in Maja sub-district requires the support of many parties, but the role of women in the creation of new ideas is needed. Government stakeholders are required to provide funding or other facilitation in order to produce

marketable products. The role of Higher Education is required for micro business assistance to enter pre-incubation stage.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research and discussion that has been done, we obtained the following conclusions:

1. Opportunities owned by Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency were (1) Increased new employment of service and trade sector, (2) Convenience of land and air transportation, (3) Close to the current tourist areas: Bandung and Cirebon, (4) Industry related to agriculture, (5) Increased tourism and culinary of Majalengka, (5) Untapped natural wealth, (6) Development of Information Technology, (8) Development of Production Technology.

2. The threats faced by Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency were(1) Livelihood conversion, (3) Cultural change, (4) Production Risk, (6) Market and Price Risk, (7) Entry of more experienced competitors in business.

3. The strengths of Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency were: (1) The introduction of local-made food products started through OVOP and Village Owned Enterprises, (2) The diversity of food products can be traced easily through the internet, (3) The existence of cooperation with Higher Education, (5) The nature of kinship and the hospitality of the local people, (6) The product of manual preparation has been produced, but not sold out, (7) Local product sales outlets already exist but not yet optimized, (8) Community agreed to innovate and wanted to change, (9) motivation to strive, (10) Utilization of adequate technology.

4. The weaknesses of Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency were:(1) No business experience, (2) No production facilities, (3) Difficulty of raw materials during seasonal transition, (4) Limited funds and processing ability and, (5) Markets not yet formed, (6) Product specifications required by the market, (7) Target market segments, (8) Promotion programs that must be done.

5. Strategy that need to be done based on SWOT analysis were (1) Increasing the quality of human resources in service and trade, (2) Development of new local-based product, (3) Promotion, (4) Improvement of tourism infrastructures, (5) Business assistant, (6) Market survey, (7) Strengthening local culture.

6. Based on external - internal matrix, the chosen strategies are market penetration, which include (1) Maintaining/increasing market share, (2) dominating market growth, (3) Eliminating competitors, (4) Increasing customer usage, and product development covering (1) Research and development, (2) Assessment of customer needs, (3) Brand clarity.

7. The application of technopreneurship is influenced by price, promotion, place, and product, and network collaboration. Quality products are influenced by product innovativeness, time pressure, customer's influence, and quality orientation. Product innovativeness is influenced by creativity.

8. Creativity of women in producing new local based products is expected to support the application of technopreneurship on micro food business in Maja Subdistrict of Majalengka Regency which ultimately impact on improving welfare.

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EXISTENCE OF HERBAL HOMEGARDEN (TOGA OR *TANAMAN OBAT KELUARGA*) IN THE GROUP OF WOMEN FARMERS (CASE IN BOGOR DISTRICT, WEST JAVA, INDONESIA)

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Abstract

The sustainability of Family Herbal Home Garden (TOGA) can be seen from economic, ecological and social aspects and it is allegedly aligned with the increase of group dynamics. For that reason, a study was conducted at two groups of women farmers (KWT) in Benteng village, Bogor district, West Java. The assessment began in the natural setting through focus group discussions with innovators/adopters, and in-depth interviews, in November 2017. Descriptive and set analyses were used to discover the underlying meaning of the study. The measurement result showed that value of social aspect of KWT Puring TOGA sustainability perception is 1,05 (60%); values of economic aspects is 0.75 (60%)and 0.60 (60%); value of ecological aspect, is 0.36 (60%); and value of institutional aspect is 0.28 (70%). The final score from four aspects is 3.04 (60,8%); so that to pursue the difference of 1.96 (39,2%) required improvements management and increased participation of the KWT members.

Keywords: Existence of TOGA; KWT; sustainability

1. Introduction

The trend of using traditional medicine through TOGA currently increases with the slogan back to nature. There are two important aspects: the medical aspect related to its worldwide use of traditional medicine, and the economic aspect, associated with economic value-added. Besides, as a means to maintain public health, TOGA also serves as a means of reforestation,

nature conservation, nutrition improvement, income distribution, spread of greening movement and give the beauty of the yard/environment [1], as well as educational facilities. Development of sustainable TOGA is closely related to the existence of Women Farmer Group – *Kelompok Wanita Tani* (KWT), which has four functions, namely as a learning unit, cooperation, production, and business [4]. According to TOGA context, the study focuses on the concept of group dynamics and TOGA sustainability, as done by [9], [11], [10] and [14]. However, research and development on the role of KWT in supporting the business orsustainability of TOGA is very limited.

Sustainability of KWT in this study is alignedwith [12], which it can be seen from: a) economic aspect with the indicators are: the increase of productivity and the profit from TOGA business,improvement on household expenses, and income generating; b) ecological aspect, with the indicators are: the practice of eco-friendly in TOGA business, and the maintenance of biodiversity of TOGA; and c) social aspect, with the indicators are: the improvement on the social interaction, education, and family health become dynamic and sustainable. Meanwhile, aspects of group dynamics that allegedly relating with sustainability of TOGA business are: a) structure, consisting of group's goals, group structure, and function of duties; b) environment, consisting of assistance and group development, solidarity and group spirit; and c) leadership, consisting of group effectiveness, compulsion, and implicit intents.

2. Research Methodology

Two KWTs, namely KWT Benteng Sejahtera and KWT Puring was selected purposively in November 2017. These two KWTs are located in Benteng Village, Ciampea Sub-district, Bogor District, West Java. The study was started by observing and involving these KWT community in a natural setting [7] then continued by focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with innovators/adopters. In addition, the study also gathered secondary data from previous research results in those two KWTs.

Measurement onthe perception of TOGA existence/sustainability (adapted from [4]) (total weight: 1.00, covers indicator A – Y) at the KWT Puring includes 4 aspects: social, TOGA management (0.35) (A, B, C); economic, the fulfilment of basic needs (0.45) (D, E, F, G); ecology, sustainability of TOGA function (0.12) (H, I); and institutional, setting of institutional function (0.08) (Y). In details, the perception of TOGA existence/sustainability (weight = bt = 1.00), consisted of 4 aspects, namely:

- $Z1$ is social aspect (weight=0.35), with indicators: (A) strengthening the awareness and the capacity of KWTs; (B) KWTs participation; and (C) Conflicts in KWTs.
- $Z2$ is economic aspect (weight=0.45), with indicators: (D) involvement of members of KWTs in TOGA activities, marketing of TOGA products; (E) funding received by KWTs shared appropriately; (F) the availability of food and non-food materials in KWTs; and (G) staple food security for community of KWTs.
- $Z3$ is ecological aspect (weight=0.12), with indicators: (H) stability and sustainability of TOGA programme; and (I) safety of TOGA programme away from disturbances.
- $Z4$ is institutional aspect (weight=0.08), with indicators: (Y) collaborative programme in KWTs, community, and parallel partnership.

Valuation on perception refers to [3] in the form of Likert scale and Semantic differentials. This valuation uses 5 levelsof score, i.e. score 5 = well understand, score 4 = moderately understand, score 3 = understand, score 2 = less understand, score 1 = do not understand. Final value of perception is weight multiple by score.

Descriptive [5] analysis is used to discover the underlying meaning of the study.

3. Research Highlight

According to [17], 65% of the population of developed countries and 80% of the population of developing countries have used herbal medicine. Increased use of herbal medicine has two important dimensions, namely medical aspects and economic aspects of society [13]. The existence of Ministry of Agriculture policy in 2011 about the concept of Sustainable Food Estate (M-KRPL) Model, also mentions TOGA as one of the cultivation commodity [8]. The role of KWT also includes waste management for environmental sustainability. According to [6], the level of group dynamics can drive a sustainable TOGA effort through four aspects (economic, ecological, social, institutional). The activities can provide economic benefits (additional income), social (utilization of leisure time and mutual help between citizens), environment (optimization of empty land use, reducing air pollution, creating beauty of environment). According [11] group dynamics directly affect the independence of group members in TOGA farming system.

4. Research Result

Benteng Village in Ciampea Sub-district, Bogor District, has an area about 248.5 ha including irrigated land of about 82 ha. Utilisation of land consists of: 1) housing (credit scheme of BTN 11 ha and public 80.5 ha); 2) public facilities (schools 2.5 ha, worship place 2 ha, cemetery 2.5 ha and village road 4 ha); 3) agriculture (simple irrigated land 12 ha); 4) fisheries (ponds 2 ha); and 5) exercise field 1.5 ha. It means that ideally, crops cultivation in small area can be practiced, particularly for herbal commodities or the so-called TOGA in Bahasa as stated in [12].

Members of KWT are in the productive ages, ranging from 15 to 64 years old. Productive ages closely related with physical ability, economic and social as well as in term of making decision based on rationality. Therefore, women in KWT have logic thoughts in their attempts to develop and sustain the practice of cultivating TOGA. About 60% of women farmers have low educational background that tends to be such of surrender to their conditions and weak in making decision. In other hand, high motivation is a key to keep working to increase productivity and to support TOGA sustainability. More than 50% of them have income in medium range, which could contribute to the household income and for further, bring impacts to sustain the practice of cultivating TOGA. Time allocation of 76% KWT members is in the range of low category (0.5-2.5 hours/day). Generally, they allocate time for watering plants, adding fertilisers, weeds control, pest and disease control, harvesting, and processing the products to have economic value, as aligned with [12].

KWT Puring

The first, KWT Puring is recently established group, it is formed through the initiative of 17 housewives of Kavling Astana RT 02/01 with the group leader IbuYunengsih. This KWT has

been formally assigned by Village Leader of Benteng.Their current activitiesamong others are planting herbal plants (TOGA) in homegarden and in pilot garden, processing organic fertilisers (compost and liquid fertiliser), processing fresh product from TOGA (foods, drinks, snacks, simplicial) and regular meeting of board and members. There is an assistance programme from the third parties during the regular meeting, in the process of making organic fertilizer, and in the processed products from TOGA.

Commodities cultivated by this KWT are: red gingers (*ZingiberofficinaleRoxb. varRubra*), curcuma (*Curcuma longa Linn. syn. Curcuma domestica Val*), Curcuma zanthorrhiza, green chiretta (*Andrographispaniculata*), aloe vera, kaempferia galangal, Celebes pepper (*Piper ornatum*), lemon grass (*Cymbopogoncitratus*),cutleafgroundcerry (*Physalisangulata*) and so forth.

Picture 1. Herbal homegarding (TOGA) in KWT Puring (March, 2018)

KWT Benteng Sejahtera

The second, KWT Benteng Sejahtera, which prior to September 2017 belongs to the advanced group because it is the TOGA Conservation Group which is formed by the Department of Forest Resources Conservation (KSH), Faculty of Forestry IPB. KWT Benteng Sejahtera was formed in 2011 with a total of 15 members, and in2014 it was assigned by Village Leader of Benteng. ThisKWT arealso actively carrying out activities, such as TOGA cultivation (home garden and pilot garden), organic fertilizer (compost, liquid), processing products from TOGA (food, beverage) and regular meeting [2]. KWT Benteng Sejahtera have cooperation on TOGA seeds with PT Bintang Toejoe and bulk ginger with PT. Anak Sumang.

Before September 2017, this KWT had been in a fluctuated stage confirming that the practice of TOGA gardening faced the stagnation in such activities: cultivation, processing products and household business. Nevertheless, KWT Benteng Sejahtera was still a pioneer in TOGA development as the former initiative of producing seedlings, the processing products and other productive activities in household scale could run so well that brought benefits to the better economy, health, and environment [2]. Status of the land that issued as TOGA home-gardening and pilot garden is not an asset of KWT, yet it is a personal property of non-member. As a consequence, since September 2017, as the land was taken back by the owner, the practice of TOGA home-gardening as well as the pilot garden of KWT has been ended. Furthermore, we

could not conduct an assessment on how the opportunities to sustain TOGA home-gardening and group dynamics, whereas different from [15], [16].

Picture 2. Herbal home-gardening (TOGA) in KWT Benteng Sejahtera (September 2016)

Comparing these two KWTs (Puring and Benteng Sejahtera), it can be seen that KWT Puring is more dynamic encompassing clear structure, conducive environment, and strong leadership to bring members for active participation. On the other hand, KWT Benteng Sejahtera is not dynamic due to unclear structure, unfavourable environment, and no leadership since the circumstance on land status; it differs with [15], [16].

The result of perception analysis on the sustainability of TOGA home-gardening in KWT Puring (Table 1), showed that indicator A - Y yields the final value (Z = X x Y) is 3.04 (60,8%), while the ideal value to be achieved is 5, 00. To catch up to 1.96 (39,2%), it is necessary to improve the implementation of bio-industry based TOGA, and community participation. The social aspects a final value of 1.05 is achieved (the ideal value of 1.75) (A, B, C). On the economic aspect, the final value is 0.75 (ideal 1.25) (D, E) and 0.60 (ideal 1.00) (F, G); the ecological aspect, the final value is 0.36 (ideal 0.60) (H, I); and the institutional aspect, the final value is 0.28 (ideal 0.40) (Y). It means that there should be improvements inTOGA management of about 22.23% to achieve ideal value (100%).

Table 1. Perceptions of KWT Puring towards the sustainability of TOGA home-gardening

Aspect	Indicator	(X) Principal Weight	(Y) Criteria Value	(Z = X x Y) Valuation (%)	(P) Ideal Value	(P – Z) Value of difference (%)
Social	A, B, C	0.35	3.00	1.05 (60)	1.75	0.70 (40)
Economic	D, E,	0.25	3.00	0.75 (60)	1.25	0.50 (40)
	F, G	0.20	3.00	0.60 (60)	1.00	0.40 (40)
Ecology	H, I	0.12	3.00	0.36 (60)	0.60	0.24 (40)
Institutional	Y	0.08	3.50	0.28 (70)	0.40	0.12 (30)
		1.00		3.04 (60.8)	5.00	1.96 (39.2)

Notes :

A = strengthening the awareness and the capacity of community in KWTs,

B = KWTs participation,

C = reducing conflicts in KWTs,

D = involvement of members of KWTs in TOGA activities, marketing of TOGA products,

E = funding received by KWTs shared appropriately,

F = the availability of food and non food materials in KWTs,

G = staple food security for community of KWTs,

H = stability and sustainability of TOGA programme,

I = safety of TOGA programme away from disturbances,

Y = collaborative programme in KWTs, community, and parallel partnership.

Perception analysis in KWT Puring towards sustainability of social, economic and ecology lies in the medium category (60%). Differently, the number for institutional sustainablity is higher than that (70%). KWT's effectiveness relates to social aspect as it also adresses the fluctuated productivity and business benefits from TOGA home-gardening. The main factors of sustainability are, among others: land ownership, subsequentincome, and intensity of extension activity. However, land ownership in particular, has not been studied as a major factor in measuring group dynamic; therefore, it is suggested for further study.

Structure aspect is one of the strengths in KWT Puring.and it is determining the attitude of group and its member, including goals, group structure and function of duties. Based on an indepth interview, goals of this group is moderately good due to clear objectives to build a trustness among members so that each member is being motivated to get involved and participated actively in group activities. In addition, the structure of KWT Puring has been clear that distribution of responsibilities among members can be found. Furthermore, it is expected to create intensive interaction among them.Likewise, the function of duties is also moderately good owing to good coordination during the programme implementation, as pointed out by [12].

An in-depth interview also identified that the sustainability of TOGA home-gardening in regards to household income generating acivities has a negative correlation with social aspect, as a result of less participation from the wealth members. Intensity of extension activities correspond negatively to social aspect, because members of KWT are busy working as domestic and productive roles. Similarly, group's effectiveness also has negative relation with social aspect due to the fluctuated productivity and business benefits of TOGA. On the contrary, implicit intents are related positively with economic aspect owing to personal business oriented, provision of government and private assistance, as also mentioned in [12].

5. Conclusion

KWT Puring perceptions of TOGA sustainability can be categorized as moderate. Final value of the social aspects is 1.05 (the ideal value of 1.75). On the economic aspect, the final value is 0.75 (ideal 1.25) and 0.60 (ideal 1.00); the ecological aspect, the final value is 0.36 (ideal 0.60); and the institutional aspect, the final value is 0.28 (ideal 0.40). Since the achievement of the final score was 3.04 (60,8%)(of total 5.00), then to pursue the 1.96 (39,2%) increment is needed to improve

management and increase the participation of KWT members. It is necessary to improve the implementation of bio-industry based TOGA, and community participation. The main factors of sustainability are land ownership, subsequent income, and extension intensity.

It is suggested that KWT needs to increase the capacity of its members by creating an enabling environment in groups and be more productive, also establish collaboration with village government and private sectors.

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NEW REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES AND DISEMBODIMENT FEMINIST AND MATERIAL RESOLUTION ACCORDING TO CARLA LAM

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Abstract

New monitoring technologies that visualize and test the unborn foetus allow for greater medicalization of both pregnancy and birth. These may give women a greater sense of security and control, but they can also restrict their embodied knowledge and experiences. Some feminist scholars read the new reproductive technologies as the latest chapter in the long history of the misappropriation of women's reproduction into androcentric. Western understandings through techno-science and medicine. This western paradigm by which women's embodied power is assimilated into patriarchal culture and politics through the attribution of women's reproductive roles to men. Carla Lam calls birth appropriation. Lam's goal in her project is to bring the body and sex back into serious feminist analysis. She believes feminism can represent women's manifold corporeal experiences, especially of those who do not conform the Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual, able-bodied, and economically privileged norm, yet find the unity in this diversity.

Keywords: feminist philosophy of technology; reproductive technology; retroactive and proactive methods.

1. Introduction

Feminist philosophy of technology is part of the larger movement and project of feminist philosophy in general. Feminist philosophy started in applied ethics where issues of gender with respect to abortion, child rearing, sexist language, and general issues of male power and dominance are most obvious. There are several areas of investigation of technology in relation with women. Among these are: (a) women's generally overlooked contributions to technology and invention; (b) the effect of technology on women, including household technology and

reproductive technology; (c) gender description and gender metaphors of technology and nature and their role in society.

This paper tries to show Carla Lam's thought about reproductive technologies in feminist philosophy. Carla Lam believes feminism can represent women's manifold corporeal experiences, especially of those who do not conform to the Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual, able-bodied, and economically privileged norm, yet find the unity in this diversity.[1] Her understanding of reproductive experience as biosocial is useful here as a number of materialist feminists who build from the same onto-epistemological base like Birke, Alcoff, and disability theorist Rosemarie Garland-Thomson.

2. Research Methodology

This paper tries to use two primary forms of feminist philosophy of technologies such as retroactive and proactive. Retroactive methods look back on the application of a given technology in order to evaluate its effects and recommend future applications. It is an assessment of an already disseminated technology. Proactive methods begin with a "needed" or a "problem" which are described and evaluated. The object is to initiate a process that will help solve the problem or meet the need. If it is decided that the best solution is a technological one, then requirements for that technology can be determined in advance.

3. Research Highlight

Feminists approach the disembodiment of women's reproductive processes at least in three categorical ways such as resistance to, embrace of, and equivocal regarding the technologies. Carla Lam evaluated each position on the basis of its ability to transcend patriarchal dualism and its often underlying treatment of the man/ technology over woman/ nature value binary in modern western societies.[2] Both the resisting feminists and embracing feminist reassert patriarchal dualism, fostering an essentialized notion of women associated with nature on the basis of her reproductive functions. That is, the resisting and embracing feminists are remnants of traditions in which the body is viewed as naturally oppressive or liberating. Equivocal feminists, as the name suggested, incorporate elements of both the embracing and resisting feminist responses, and while they tend to adopt a social constructionist view of the body. Like Hobbes, they perceive the body as neither naturally oppressive, nor necessarily liberating. It is not definitely a liability, though sex or gender differences are socially significant, and matter in terms of power and politics, especially because of reproduction.

A. New Reproductive Technologies and Disembodiment

New reproductive technology (NRT) is a new moment that it alters, once again, the material experience of reproductive process by estranging the reproducer from nature because it involves disembodiment of reproductive process.[3] Conceptive reproductive technologies (physically and conceptually) take human reproduction outside women's bodies. While contraceptive technologies let women choose not to bear children, at least in ideal circumstances and for some women, new reproductive technologies (NRT) take this for granted and add new choices for women, whether to have children, when and how to have those children, and increasingly what kind of children to have. NRTs are a new form of rationalization of reproductive process that is increasingly interventionist in bodily processes and alters our understandings of reproduction.

Significantly, with conceptive technology women can both separate sex from reproduction and reproduce without intercourse, which has long been possible for men as sperm donors. For example, women can donate their eggs in the same way, giving rise to legal situations that disadvantage and devalue the pregnant surrogate mother's contribution, denying her parental rights, which accrue to the real parents who are the gamete donors. Equally problematic, a recent New Jersey ruling collapsed distinctions between traditional (genetic) and gestational surrogacy, adopting what some would call paternalistic moral tones that pre-empt women's choices, including to act as surrogate mothers. Conceptive technology provides the conditions for a heightened displacement of reproduction from women, who in unmediated procreation have a dominant role, to other interests including states, the medical industrial complex, and techno-science.[4]

NRTs refer to any of the conditions, technologies, procedures, and practices that contribute to the creation, gestation, and birthing of human life outside the female body. "New" reproductive technologies are distinguished from "old" reproductive technologies in term of their focus on the creation of new life (conception, gestation, and birth) rather than intervention in its (embodied) creation through contraception and abortion. At times I use "conceptive technology" interchangeably with NRTs since biotech's relocation of conception is what is new about NRTs, through they are referred to differently in various legal or policy contexts, for example "assisted reproductive technologies" in Canada and "human assisted technologies" in New Zealand.[5]

There are many grey areas when comparing disparate technologies under the banner of "disembodiment" which can be clarified by understanding the many dimensions of disembodiment. The technologies Carla Lam include under the rubric "NRTs" vary widely in terms of their level of technological intervention and routine use. The term "embodiment" conveys the boundaries of human corporeality that are the condition of possibility for one's relative autonomy and community. Carla Lam draw from Lisa Mitchell's useful discussion of embodied perception where she distinguishes between the bodies defined as a biological, material entity, and embodiment as the existential condition of possibility of culture and self.[6]

Embodiment also signifies the interplay of biological and social forces in construction of gendered selfhood, identity, and agency. To be an embodied self or subject, acknowledge the rootedness of subjective experience in bodies that are lived out materially, but never wholly determined by their biological features. This suggests that embodiment involves a perceived/perceiving self-inseparable from its body in any complete sense (out of body experiences and plastic surgery aside), and the possibility of making autonomous decisions about what happens to that body, as far is possible. While the body implies at least partial autonomy of a self-legislating and self-governing being, embodiment means that each is discursively linked to others (collectively and individually). Subjectivity arises in awareness of this separation and connectedness, but it also defies Cartesian dualism for there is no true separation between one's body and one's self.

Others' bodies are an integral part of our own, not only materially (as hereditary genetics, and pregnancy makes clear at one extreme) but also psycho-discursively/psycho-socially (as for example with inherited lifestyle, beliefs, and culture). According Carla Lam, to be embodied is to be capable of being affected by other bodies' or in a world, inter-embodiment.[7] Carla Lam builds on the claim that the lived experience of embodiment is always already the social experience of dwelling with other bodies. Our embodied experiences are fundamentally social as a necessary condition for experiencing ourselves as separate and unique, like many feminist theorists and other contemporary philosophers such as Charles Taylor have explored.

Women's reproductive potentialities put them in a counter hegemonic subject position, both as actual and as potential birth givers in patriarchal cultures built on gender binaries. Women, as those whole hold the potential to be other than individual are de facto epistemological outsiders in Western feminism has long argued for the inter-constitutive relationship of bodies and selves. It is significant that the most internationally successful Western feminist export was the Boston Health Collective's Our Bodies Ourselves which as the title implies promotes a view that for women the body is an intrinsic part of the self.[8] Announcing the women's health movement in second wave feminism, it came with the politicized message that having control over your body was synonymous with being in control of yourself. Wendi Hadd rejects the discourse of women's control, adopted by feminists in reproductive debates because it perpetuates a mind/body dualism that is inimical to their aims.[9] She writes that the body is not only a physical manifestation of the self but an integral component of the self, it is not just where we live but an element of our living.

B. Feminism and New Reproductive Technologies

The sociopolitical and cultural context of new reproductive technologies are characterized by a focus on the scientific and male contribution to conception, gestation, and birth which facilitates the perception of the embryo/fetus as separate from the mother rights bearing subject whose legally defended needs may be in conflict with the woman in whose body it resides. This technologically assisted, foetocentric, and androcentric reading of reproduction constitutes a de-centring and devaluation of women's reproductive role and threatens their subjectivity and autonomy while pregnant.

A key aspect of the new model of birth appropriation, expressed as new reproductive technologies is that it not only allows men to become mothers (in metaphorically, literally, and in terms of celebrating male creativity by making female procreativity invisible) but with new reproductive technologies some women can become fathers.[10] Some high profile surrogacy cases reveal the sort of masculinization of women's reproductive consciousness and legal appropriation that occurs when some women become egg donors, uterus renters, and so on while others receive their child without the labor of pregnancy or birthing. At the same time, the disembodiment of reproductive process allowed by new reproductive technologies also allows men to have a more active role in reproduction, potentially equalizing the reproductive workload and bringing about a shift in reproductive roles and practices.[11]

In the final analysis it is important to re-centre focus on the socio-legal forces that control technology, because technology is a means to an end which calls for a focus on the cultural and ideological context of its development and use. For instance, a forced tubal litigation in rural India bears little resemblance to a sought out sterilization procedure in an affluent Western suburb. However, the overarching concern is the continuing epistemology of dualism (mind versus body) that enables new reproductive technologies are to offer control at the cost of disembodiment or fragmentation of embodied corporeality and what this excludes. Mainstream reproductive discourse and feminist theories of reproduction that offer women better lives via control over their reproductive bodies, beg the question what notion of liberation underlies better lives based on new reproductive technologies.

Carla Lam sympathetic to the work of Wendi Hadd and other critical analyses of the discourse that equate power and control over physiology including embodied reproduction.[12] In particular, Carla Lam agrees that the association of power with control over nature is too steeped in uncritical

patriarchal scientific models to be uncritically adopted by feminists. The very language of control over women's reproduction exposes a partial perspective that may distort issues of embodiment which are of fundamental importance to feminism. Feminists approach the disembodiment of women's reproductive processes brought by new reproductive technologies in at least three categorical ways: resistance to, embrace of, and equivocal regarding the technologies. In this way, Carla Lam evaluates each position on the basis of its ability to transcend patriarchal dualism in its often underlying treatment of the man or technology over woman or nature value binary in modern western societies.[13]

Both the resisting feminists and embracing feminists reassert patriarchal dualism, fostering an essentialized notion of woman associated with nature on the basis of her reproductive functions. That is, the resisting and embracing feminists are remnants of traditions in which the body is viewed as naturally oppressive or liberating, associated with the premodern conflation of the realms of biology and society for example in Robert Filmer's notion of the divine right of kings which erased the division between natural, paternal authority and governmental power.[14] However, embracers come from a long line of postmodern thinking about the necessary and possible transcendence of the body's natural boundaries via cyberspace and other creative reconfigurations. These existentialist impulses are characterized by what is considered the body's malleability to social forces and reconstructions in combination with a sense of the body as restricting rather than enabling. Equivocal feminists, as the name suggests, incorporate elements of both the embracing and resisting feminist responses, and while they tend to adopt a social constructionist view of the body like Hobbes. They perceive the body (as in our biological roots) as neither naturally oppressive, nor necessarily liberating. It is not definitely a liability, though sex or gender differences are socially significant, and matter in terms of power and politics, especially because of reproduction.

4. Research Result

Embracing feminists believe the application of technology to the body dissolves boundaries such as those between man/woman, culture/nature, society/biology, and human/machine. The de-feminization of reproduction/ birth is one outcome of the technology mediated trans dualism that embracing feminist herald.[15] Unlike resistance feminists, they celebrate this potential as the demise of hierarchical gender and other binaries by the proliferation of identities beyond the boundaries of the physical body's characteristics such as one's chromosomal and/or biological sex. Precisely because embracing feminists believe that female embodied reproduction is the root cause of women's oppression, they welcome futuristic projections of sex/gender-less reproduction by second wave feminist. The dream of feminist world is signified in embracing feminist literature by sex/gender transforming technology that can be used in the service of sex/gender equality, however conceived. From the feeding bottle to ex vivo embryos, technology holds great potential for embracing feminists to blur the lines between culture/nature and related gender dualism.

Both embracing feminists and resistance feminists reasserted patriarchal dualism and fostered an essentialized notion of woman associated with nature on the basis of her reproductive functions. In other respects these two positions are quite distinct. Resisters celebrate women's reproduction and oppose technologies as patriarchal tools usurping women's control and autonomy, collectively, justifies subordination of the rights of individual women. Resistance feminists perceive control and choice oppositionally arguing for women's right to control their bodies and reproduction rather than freedom of individual choice.[16] Resisters are particularly vociferous in arguing that choice

is socially constructed and that the new reproductive technologies actually restrict the range of choice available to women with disabilities specifically and non-disabled women generally.

A. Resistors and Embracers

Resistance feminism and embracing feminism are each evaluated on the basis of its ability to transcend patriarchal dualism and reveal birth appropriation in various guises by exploring how each draws on or subverts the man or technology over woman or nature value dualism. Carla Lam draw attention to feminists' varying discursive responses to techno-science enabled *ex vivo* procreation. Feminists who embrace the technology and are rooted in the radical materialist feminists manifesto of Shulamith Firestone respond quite differently from the feminists who resist new reproductive technologies and are inspired by the radical and ecofeminist principles of such thinkers as Germaine Greer and Vandana Shiva.[17]

Resistance feminists, who argue against new reproductive technologies, believe there is something powerful about women's natural (non-technologically mediated) reproductive bodies that is lost with new reproductive technologies. Since few reject contraceptive technology on the same basis, this position leads to a fundamental contradiction in their discourse, and in feminist discourse more generally concerning the technological mediation of reproduction. The resistors recognize in women's sex or reproduction both a source of vulnerability in patriarchal cultures, and also one of power provided women control it. They reject new reproductive technologies because they see them as an extension of the patriarchal desire to control nature and women, rooted in men's reproductive alienation from nature since their role ends in ejaculation rather than birth.[18]

In this framework, technoscience is a birth appropriative technology designed and used by men to overcome their reproductive alienation from nature. Similarly, most resistance feminists believe that even if women controlled new reproductive technologies, they could not purify the technology out of its political base. Furthermore, through discourse analysis about new reproductive technologies, resistance feminists reveal the sociopolitical inequalities in which they are rooted, masked by various benevolent representations. They deconstruct the discourse of new reproductive technologies as presenting the choice for the interfile in light of the reality of a culture marked by power differences and control. Ultimately, resistance feminists argue that women's liberation requires their collective control over their own sexuality and reproduction rather than individual choice. Freedom from new reproductive technologies as a patriarchal technology that entrenches control over women in the hands of patriarchal authorities like medical, scientific, capitalist, or state technocrats.[19]

Resistance feminists begin from the premise that women's natural reproductive processes are a source of feminist identity and empowerment that is exclusively theirs. Carla Lam articulates the resistance position is refusing to be defined, discriminated against and disadvantaged because of our female biology should not be confused with a demand to be deprived of it.[20] Since the emphasis is on commonality amongst women, based on the potential for pregnancy and birth rather than women's differences from each other, her uses of women is deemed biologically reductionist in Judith Butler's sense. Since conservative and anti-feminist arguments are rooted in the same uncritical postulation of women's nature as linked to reproduction this has led to calls for political coalitions based on shared values rather than biological commonalities.

While such feminist theorists describe a patriarchal techno-scientific paradigm rooted in ancient conceptions of women or nature as well as Enlightenment science, the new reproductive

technologies are tools within a continuing paradigm. What's new about them is that they are highly technological even if they do partake of a well established androcentric scientific worldview. New reproductive technologies are also institutionally entrenched and commercialized so further from feminist access and require the state to regulate and protect women. They may eventually allow men to create babies rather than simply allow women not to have them which could destabilize sexist sex or gender roles but only where the material and social relations of reproduction are radically altered also with new reproductive technologies physical disembodiment is greater which further entrenches and universalizes patriarchal epistemologies. [21]

The resistors' position forms part of an ongoing and longstanding feminist debate about the role of a patriarchal biomedical science in pathologizing women's sex or gender difference throughout history. Resistance feminists analyze new reproductive technologies as extensions of an inherently patriarchal science that encompasses both ways of knowing as well as technological apparatuses. Most importantly, science's two dimensions are considered mutually supportive. Science creates cultural context for the reception of new reproductive technologies. Carla Lam tried to show how technology redefines the meaning of reproduction in society to the detriment of women, how technology sets a repressive ethic of reproduction, and in turn how repressive social relations provide the conditions for the technologies to happen.[22]

Patricia Spallone tried to show how technology redefines the meaning of reproduction in society to the detriment of women, how technology sets a repressive ethic of reproduction, and in turn how repressive social relations provide the conditions for the technologies to happen.[23] Resistance feminists argue that displacement of women's natural embodied power by a patriarchal scientific establishment requires disembodiment of women accomplished by interrupting the woman nature connection symbolically and literally. With new reproductive technologies, this is done by radical reconceptualization of modern western conceptions of nature and culture and the relationship between the two and the reduction of women to body parts mere matter to be manipulated by techno-docs.[24]

Resistance feminists argue that fetal visualization technologies like sonograms literally take women out of the picture and make embryos or fetuses seem independent. Fetal visualization literally enables a reproductive refocus on a previously invisible entity, the fetus, which as many resistance feminists have documented through technology becomes a liberal rights bearing individual who may threaten its mother's autonomy, integrity, and rights. This dissection allows patriarchal interests to intervene more in women's bodies. Feminists have written widely about the rollback effects of fetal visualization technologies or ultrasound for women's rights. In legal and popular contexts, new visualizing technologies and communication technologies provide fresh fodder for anti-abortion activists resulting in the imposition of an antagonistic relationship between mother and fetus in a liberal rights framework. Many feminists link the development of new reproductive technologies to the proliferation of court cases related to the monitoring and restriction of every aspect of women's behavior while pregnant.[25]

Analyzing reproductive discourse since the advent of new reproductive technologies provides resistance feminists with much evidence of women's disembodiment. Literary as well as visual texts illustrate how new reproductive technologies disembody women and consequently present opportunities for the usurpation of women's reproductive significance by techno-scientists. Regarding fetal visualization technology, Lisa Mitchell clarifies the connection ultrasound transforms pregnant women from embodied, thinking, and knowledgeable individual into maternal environments or tissue that may or may not yield a clear ultrasound image.[26]

Resistance feminists believe that the oppressive dimensions of womanhood and motherhood come from patriarchal and capitalist definitions of women's biology and not some biological essence of womanhood. Nonetheless some resistors call for a rethinking of the prioritization of biological over various types of social motherhood. They advocate for women's control over their own reproduction which includes the social and political infrastructure and resources to mother without impoverishment and other socio-cultural barriers. However, there is a lingering Beauvoirian anti-natalism in resistance feminists' position.

Contradiction for resisters expressed most clearly in inconsistent arguments about abortion (old reproductive technology) and new reproductive technologies. A concern for many resistance feminists is reconciling the contradictory opposition to new reproductive technologies on the basis of choice with their support of contraceptive technologies also based on the language of choice. As Rowland notes a woman's right to choose is a woman's right to control where abortion enables women to control their lives in a less than perfect world.[27] When it comes to conceptive technologies however, she believes that the choice to use them decreases women's reproductive control. Ultimately, she defends the right to choose old reproductive technology but not new reproductive technology by making it fit within an argument for control based on the negative freedom from new reproductive technologies rather than the positive freedom to use them, endorsing contraceptive technologies because they offer women freedom from babies. Addressing the issue of control inherent in questions of women's choice in patriarchal societies and resistance feminists are embroiled in a difficult contradiction.

Feminists who advocate the use of new reproductive technologies, embracing feminists, argue that reproduction is oppressive for women and those technologies that disembody female reproductive process can liberate them. Female embodiment becomes synonymous with historically-evidenced, patriarchal oppression and liberation is equated with freedom from the body (associated with the devalued side of the Cartesian duality). This argument extends to a desire from transgression of all natural bodily boundaries. Embracing feminists' position is part of a larger pro-technology framework that transgresses limits beyond those they associate with women's non-technologically mediated reproduction. This general orientation also advocates new reproductive technologies on the basis of their ability to offer the infertile, gays or lesbian, transsexuals or trans-gendered, and persons with disabilities opportunities to overcome the limits of their natural bodies and realize their desires for biologically related children or to change sex or gender.[28]

Since embracing feminists consider choice an inextricable part of women's reproductive control, it is impossible to limit women's technological options within their framework. Even the more pragmatic arguments are based on those of Firestone and de Beauvoir, which see the body as oppressive and seek to transcend it. Can embracing feminism transform that approach's body-phobic inheritance, plus postmodern anti-essentialism, into a more reproduction affirming feminist currency? Perhaps the question should be posed in terms of its ability to address patriarchal economies in which techno-embracing currencies will inevitably be circulated. There are good reasons to be concerned that despite embracing feminists' attempted dissolution of the patriarchal categories that make women techno-phobes and men techno-maniacs, in strongly advocating technology such as new reproductive technologies and cyberspace they end up reinforcing what they intend to undo. They run the risk of reasserting patriarchal dualism in the form of technology over 'nature' which retains essentialist significance in spite of its thorough renunciation and reconceptualization in feminist cultures. Most importantly, what does this

technological embrace contribute to a birth appropriative history in the West that encourages women to transcend their bodies in exchange for citizenship and power?

B. Equivocals

The equivocal feminist response to new reproductive technologies serves as both a deep critique and negotiation of the feminists who resist and those who embrace the new reproductive technologies as discussed in the previous chapter. Equivocal feminists assert that while women have been subjugated collectively on the basis of bodily reproductive functions, they are differently affected according to their specific locations in ethnic, socio-economic, and other communities.[29] They develop a middle ground position regarding female reproduction and mothering, and technology and new reproductive technologies, arguing that the latter are neither inherently oppressive nor liberating. Taking a practical approach to the new reproductive technologies, they recognize the reality of their widespread use and seek to regulate them in support of a broad range of women's reproductive needs.

Equivocal feminists are as critical of the technophobic position as they are of the techno-maniac. Lublin, Stabile, and others critique the association of an ideological conception of 'woman' with an equally mystified notion of 'nature' most clearly exemplified in eco-feminist theory. 'When technology stands in opposition to women (who by virtue of their anatomical configuration have special links with nature), technology functions like the term patriarchy' with its universalizing and (biological) determinist undertones. But the dualism technophobia maintains dissolves in the face of often contradictory and intersecting historical and material realities. Because biology's deterministic connotations are so deeply embedded in western culture, its unqualified invocation perpetuates rather than mitigates false and gendered dualism. In fact, however, corporeality (the experience of embodied life) is connected across such tensions, as is best illustrated in Shiloh Whitney's analysis of the vulnerability.[30]

The equivocal position, then, overlaps with aspects of the positions of both embracers and resisters. For example, like resisters, equivocalists critique the 'techno fix' approach for downplaying the socio-economic contexts and causes of problems new reproductive technologies are supposed to remedy. A science-and-techno-centric focus of new reproductive technologies discourses detracts from the greater social dilemmas and frameworks that present obstacles to women's reproductive autonomy including but not limited to the legal system which frames our rights over our bodies and our children, from political struggles over the nature of sexuality, parenthood and the family and from the impact of the varied material and cultural circumstances in which people create their personal lives. By contrast, equivocal feminists call on women to confront the material conditions of their embodied lives, which are only partially defined by their sex/gender.

5. Conclusion

Embodied reproduction is a uniquely female experience of transmogrification of the (individual) body. An experienced corporeal duality with profound psychological, sociopolitical and philosophical ramification if seriously engaged. By recognizing the value in the fluctuation of bodily states (our own and others, and over the life course), we also access the powers inseparable from vulnerabilities that women's embodied reproduction symbolizes in patriarchal cultures, seeing in them the kind of intimate yet world-transforming insights they are. Attending to an

embodied material engagement with the world, on a personal as well as a political level, provides the opportunity for negotiating the felt dissonance of our dis/integrated selves in body-phobic cultures which may affect us differently, but fundamentally affect us all. As such this book is a reflection on feminist science and technology studies as concerned with the notion of communities as knowers and science in particular as that hegemonic, yet paradigm shifting community to each of us unavoidably engage as embodied individuals.

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End Notes

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PAPERS IN PANEL WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY (WPC)

PROLOGUE

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W omen, Peace, and Security" are three words that sum up relationships among women as actors who play a greater role in the world of peace and security. The exploration of the three concepts can be found in the five papers presented in the panel. It is hoped that the papers to be presented can add to the theory of gender and development and/ gender and security as well as International Relations, especially the extended Peace and Conflict Research, based on empirical findings. All writer of the topics presented interesting yet important topics for the current days challenges when discussing women and their roles and contributions at the national and global landscape.

The first paper entitled Women and inter-ethnic solidarity in the post-disaster context **by Laila Kholid Alfirdaus** of the Department of Politics and Government, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Diponegoro University. It addresses the role of women in building and promoting social solidarity between people from different ethnic groups in the local community. In doing so the authors used the experience of women in Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia, in post-2009 earthquakes to address the impact of shared disasters through collective activities to explain ideas. This study uses qualitative methods and is conducted through a series of field research in 2010, 2013 and 2014. This research is part of a research dissertation project focusing on social solidarity practices between ethnic Chinese and Minangkabau ethnic groups in Padang post-September 2009 Earthquake. Data collection uses non-participatory observation and in-depth interviews. Non-participatory observations are made through direct visits to the site. Sites visited in observation involve the Land Market of Kongsi, Pasar Raya, and kampong in Chinatown. In the context of Padang, visiting markets (traditional markets) is important because in the market we can see the daily social relationships and interactions between people from different ethnic groups. The results show that women can become active agents of peace-making involving people from different ethnic and religious groups.

The second paper entitled ROLE OF INDONESIAN WOMEN'S WOMEN AS INFRASTRATIVE INFAS INDONESIA INSTRUMENTS IN UNITED SECURITY OPERATIONS by **Marina Ika Sari,** Defense Diplomacy, Graduate of Defense University of Indonesia. This study highlights the role of the Indonesian Women Peace Force as an instrument of Indonesian defense diplomacy in the UN Peacekeeping Operations. This research uses qualitative method through literature study and interview. The results of this study indicate that the presence of Indonesian peacekeepers in the mission area is one of Indonesia's defense diplomacy activities. Indonesian women peacekeepers establish cooperation with other peacekeepers from different countries that can build confidence (CBM) actions and improve Indonesia's defense capabilities. In addition, the role of women peacekeeping forces is crucial to reducing conflict tension, maintaining the created peace conditions, securing border states, and assisting post-conflict reconstruction through approaches and interactions with conflict victims, especially women and children.

The third paper entitled WOMEN LEFT BEHIND? EVIDENCE FROM WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLD IN INDONESIA BY **Hayu Fadlun Widyasthika and Nugraha Pukuh** from BPS of OKI Regency in South Sumatera. The paper shows that based on SUSENAS data for 2016, the sex of the household head affects the poverty status of households in Indonesia. Female headed households (FHHs) have a greater tendency to be poorer than the Head-Men Household (MHH). IT examines the relationship between the sex of head of household with poverty status along with other socioeconomic variables in Indonesia. The socio-economic variable is the area of residence, age, marital status, education, employment status, and a number of households. Then determine the determinants of poverty in FHHs by using the same variables in the previous analysis. This study uses secondary data derived from the Indonesian National Socioeconomic Survey in 2016. The samples taken amounted to 291,413 households with the analysis unit is the head of the household. The result is that female.headed households are more likely to be in poverty than male.headed households. And the determinants of poverty in female.headed households are residence, age, marital status, education, employment status, and number of households. The variable number of household members and education is the most influential factor in female. headed households. ❖

WOMEN AND INTER-ETHNIC SOLIDARITY IN POST DISASTER CONTEXT[1]

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Abstract

The role of women in building social solidarity between different ethnic groups in Padang post-2009 earthquake recovery has been crucial, although not always being noticed. During the emergency and early recovery phases, Padang faced tension that involved people from different ethnic groups, especially Minangkabau (the majority, muslim, and the "native") and Chinese (the minority, mostly non-muslim, and the "new comers"), in terms of aid distribution policy for disaster survivors. The tension confirms common belief that the relations between "pribumi" and Chinese are featured with fragmentation. However, amidst the tension, there is another view, which could be seen as a source for lesson drawing in inter-ethnic peace building. This is found among traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi, a traditional market in Pecinan (a Chinatown in Padang), that shared mutual understanding and helps during the recovery processes. The traders consist of people from different ethnic groups, as Minang, Chinese, and Java, as well as from different religious beliefs, as Muslim and Christians, and, most importantly, they are mostly women. The research was conducted through a series of observations and in-depth interviews in 2010, 2013 and 2014. The experience of inter-ethnic solidarity in collective recovery in Pasar Tanah Kongsi that mostly involve women give us a clear picture that women despite their silence are an active agent of peace making. They act through the very daily channels, in this case is pasar (traditional market), and somehow through the simple methods, as collective sharing. The case paves a way for optimism for peace making in Padang, and in the other Indonesia's plural contexts.

Keywords: women; inter-ethnic solidarity; and post-disaster context

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1. Introduction

This paper discusses the role of women in building and promoting social solidarity between people from different ethnic groups in local community. The paper uses the experience of women in Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia, in post-2009 earthquake to tackle the impact of disaster together through collective activities to explain the ideas.

When talking about peace building, people hardly talk about the role of women. The same happens in social solidarity, another important practice of peace building, in which women are hardly discussed as a crucial actor, either as initiator, implementer and beneficiaries in community. Meanwhile, women are inseparable parts of these processes. They have network that operates on the daily basis as neighbourhood and local trading that help connect people from different social and religious backgrounds that are useful as a path to build the shared belief about peace and solidarity. They also have skill to embrace the others through empathy and caring that are foundational for making peace and solidarity.

In Hertog's view (2010), informal channels and personal approaches in promoting peace and solidarity, as usually promoted by women, are coined as "soft aspect". This is to differentiate with "hard aspect" that refers to a set of (formal) laws, formal approaches, structural institutions, and impersonal strategies to stop war and make peace. "Soft aspect" is all about to function relationship between human beings, while "hard aspect" is related to the enactment and enforcement of law and to the functioning of public institutions to enable the promotion of peace. The two aspects are inseparable in the peace making project. However, in practice the "hard" one is more often being the focus of the policy makers than the "soft" one. Policies to facilitate and support the social relationships between people from different ethnic groups to function properly, like through city space management, are hardly produced. This might be simply explained by the fact that the ones who sit in the policy making chairs are mostly men that mostly featured with patriarchal mindset. Therefore, the activation of "soft aspect" as fertilizer for peace supported by women becomes important. Dealing with this, tracing women's activism for peace making through their daily activities becomes helpful.

In addition, as O'Reilly (2018) argues, the integration of women and gender perspective in peace building becomes important because women are often among the most impact bearers of war and conflict. In war, women are often the most significant victims either in terms of number or impacts. Sometime they become rape victims, single parent and life protector of the community. The same is with a fragmented community identified with a hard ethnic relationship. Women are often burdened with double discriminations and exclusions. Chinese woman is an instance in Indonesia. In cash transfer (BLT-Bantuan Langsung Tunai) policy, Chinese housewives are hardly counted even though they have a proof to live in poverty. Being a Chinese woman is clearly a difficult issue because in their own environment they remain obliged to handle family's responsibility but they do not gain additional support from the state as in the forms of BLT transfer and Raskin (rice for the poor) to ease their burden. As such, being women that are part of a minority group that lives in a fragmented society would merely mean fighting alone. Therefore, integrating women and gender perspective in peace building is important because it will enable women to access to justice, truth and protection.

For this purpose, collecting empirical experience in which women across ethnic groups strive to make peace would be worth considering to enrich the insight on the roles and strategies of

women in peace making in local community. This paper traces the role of women in building social solidarity between different ethnic groups from the experience of post-disaster recovery in Padang. This paper uses Padang post-2009 earthquake as a case study. The case is worthy to consider because it rises optimism towards inter-ethnic peace making amidst the common pictures of inter-ethnic relations in Indonesia, especially between the "native" (pribumi) and the "new comers" (*pendatang*) that are often featured with tensions. Although not always being noticed, women play crucial role in social solidarity building in post-2009 earthquake recovery.

During the emergency and early phases of recovery, Padang itself faced tension that involves inter-ethnic relations, especially that happened between Minangkabau (the majority and the native) and Chinese (the minority and the new comers). The tension rooted from the issue of aid distribution policy. Although suffering the most from the disaster impacts, Chinese people felt that they had not always been counted to be aid receivers. This happened when the government distributed "uang lauk pauk" (side dish money) in which very few Chinese were included as the aid recipients. Meanwhile, as part of Padang citizen, they felt deserve gaining the aid. From the side of Minangkabau, Chinese were seen to be rich, and could survive without the helps of the others. The aid was better allocated for the others. This issue raised concern between the two ethnic groups that the relationships between the two in the early phase of recovery, which is around 1-2 years after the earthquake, was a bit difficult.

However, the experience of Pasar Tanah Kongsi traders that are mostly women tells us a different story. Although coming from different ethnic groups, namely Minangkabau, Javanese and Chinese, and embracing different religious beliefs, namely Muslim and Christians, people in Pasar Tanah Kongsi never feel attracted to make the differences as problems in social relations. They prefer to build mutual respect and tolerance, and strengthen collective actions in tackling post-disaster impacts, as through collective sharing and saving. As widely known, Tanah Kongsi, which is part of Pondok (Padang's China town), is one of the most plural areas in Padang. Not only plural, Tanah Kongsi is also among the areas in Padang that shows us the long tradition of inter-ethnic blending. Therefore, the rising of inter-ethnic solidarity in post-disaster recovery can be well-explained through the long building of mutual sharing between the two ethnic groups since the pre-independence era. In the context of post-disaster recovery, inter-ethnic solidarity get strengthened for the shared feeling of adversity. Interestingly, in that state of being women take crucial roles within. The experience of inter-ethnic solidarity in collective recovery in Pasar Tanah Kongsi that mostly involve women give us a clear picture that women despite their silence are an active agent of peace making. They act through the very daily channels, in this case is *pasar* (traditional market), and somehow through the simple methods, as collective sharing. The case paves a way for optimism for peace making in Padang, and in the other Indonesia's plural contexts.

2. Research Methodology

This research applied qualitative methods and was conducted through a series of fieldworks in 2010, 2013 and 2014. The research is part of the researcher's dissertation project that focuses on the practices of social solidarity between Chinese and Minangkabau ethnic group in Padang in post-September 2009 earthquake. Data collection used non-participatory observation and in-depth interviews. Non-participatory observation was conducted through direct site visit. The site visited in observation involves Pasar Tanah Kongsi, Pasar Raya, and kampung in Pecinan. In the context of Padang, visiting pasar (traditional market) is important because in pasar we could spot daily social relations and interaction between people from different ethnic groups. Pasar

Raya and Pasar Tanah Kongsi were chosen as among the observation sites because they expose different pictures of inter-ethnic relations which are useful to be source of learning. Pasar Raya is the biggest traditional market in Padang but not open enough for the so called "new comer" ethnic group, more exactly Chinese, to operate trading stalls. In the 1990s under the administration of Governor Hasan Basri Durin, Chinese people were prohibited to open stall in Pasar Raya. They then moved to the other location like surrounding Pasar Tanah Kongsi. The ban is still applicable to date. Pasar Tanah Kongsi, conversely, is a traditional market that is located in Tanah Kongsi, a main Pecinan (Chinatown) area. Unlike Pasar Raya, Pasar Tanah Kongsi is open for traders from various ethnic groups. Chinese, Javanese, and Minang people comprise the ethnicity of the traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi. When disaster hit the city, traditional market became one of the crucial places for activating collective recovery. Pasar Tanah Kongsi in this case played a crucial role because it meet up people from different ethnic background to work together. Therefore, observing markets in Padang is useful to get the picture of inter-ethnic relations more specifically in the context of post-disaster recovery. In addition to pasar, the researcher also visited kampung, kongsi and nagari to understand more how inter-ethnic solidarity runs in the city. Informants interviewed during the field research involved traditional market traders from different ethnic groups and religious beliefs, prominent figures from Minangkabau, Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups, and academicians in Andalas University and Universitas Negeri Padang. Interviews with the traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi and Pasar Raya, that mostly consist of women, give us a clear picture of how people build solidarity and make peace through their daily activities and channels. In order to deepen the information, interviews with leading figures of Nagari (traditional governance organization in Minang society) and Chinese kongsi (cultural union) are helpful to understand more about the perception of the two ethnic groups on inter-ethnic solidarity and peace making in the city. Some elderly from both ethnic groups were also visited for interviews in order to give us information on how Minang and Chinese relationships were operating period to period in Padang. Finally, interviews with academicians in Universitas Andalas and Universitas Negeri Padang were conducted to gain a deeper insight on the practices of social solidarity and the influencing factors that might explain the two ethnic groups' relationships.

3. Research Highlight

Women in Padang are among the parties that play crucial roles in building inter-ethnic solidarity in post-2009 earthquake recovery. Together with nagari leaders, kongsi community and the other kampung dwellers, women have equally contributed to the strengthening of inter-ethnic engagement in Padang. They act through the very daily channels, as *pasar* (traditional market) and kampung and with the simple methods, as daily trading, collective sharing and saving. This part discusses the daily activities the women run post-the 2009 earthquake in Padang, that helped inter-ethnic engagement happens, which further were helpful for post-disaster recovery. As widely known, women comprise the majority of traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi. There are some men within, but the number is not significant. These women are both Minang, Javanese and Chinese, as well as Moslem and non-Moslem. They are active in building mutual understanding, respect and cooperation between different ethnic groups. Women are the key in Minang and Chinese's social solidarity in Pasar Tanah Kongsi.

The first area that is important to identify the role of women in inter-ethnic solidarity building in post-disaster context in Padang is in traditional market rejuvenation. It is widely known that *pasar* is among the places that were impacted by the earthquake. In the context of Padang,

pasar even becomes identifier whether a community has recovered or not from the earthquake. Inter-ethnic cooperation in market rejuvenation has contributed to the reactivation of the local community's economy, which was useful for recovery. Pasar Tanah Kongsi is among the traditional markets in Padang that recovered quite quickly for the fast reactivation of the market post-the 2009 earthquake. It is admitted that in the market rejuvenation, Chinese kongsi (cultural unions) also contributed much. HBT (Himpunan Bersatu Teguh) and HTT (Himpunan Tjinta Teman) are among the kongsi that supported the market building reconstruction.[2] Yet, traders that are mostly women remain the main machine of the market recovery. They were hand-in-hand rerun the market that it can gradually function like as in previous time before the earthquake hit in 2009. Pasar Raya, on the other hand, relied much on the government's aid than on community that it needed longer time to recover than Pasar Tanah Kongsi. Because of the timely reconstruction and the cleanliness of the market post-the 2009 disaster recovery, Pasar Tanah Kongsi won the award for being the best managed traditional market in post-disaster context (picture 1).

Picture 1. The look of Pasar Raya (the left) and Pasar Tanah Tanah Kongsi (the right) in terms of location cleanliness, 2014

Taken in May 2014 in Padang. Pasar Raya is on the left and Pasar Tanah Kongsi is on the right.

Not only contributed to the reconstruction of the market, a trader in Pasar Tanah Kongsi also mentions the role of HTT and HBT in aid distribution.[3] The kongsi leaders distributed a package of staple foods to help the market traders to fulfil their daily needs during the emergency periods. As a housewife, the aid indeed was helpful. The trader proved that there was no difference

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[2] Interview with Hanura Rusli in May 2014 in Padang.

[3] *Interview in November 2013 in Padang.*

between the Chinese and the Minang in receiving aid from the *kongsi*.[4] Apart from the gradual progress the traders have to pass through, inter-ethnic solidarity has helped traders survive from post-disaster hardship.

In addition to traders' cooperation and HTT's assistance, the tight cooperation between traders and the neighbouring residents from different ethnic groups, as in water supply, also helped the re-functioning of the market. This also happened in Pasar Tanah Kongsi between the Minang traders and the Chinese residents surrounding the market. This had helped the traders, especially those selling meat, fish, and foods for which water is crucial. [5] Such cooperation, additionally, overcame the relatively slow response of the city government to provide water (PDAM) and electricity (PLN) in the market.

Another crucial mechanism of social solidarity between traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi is *julo-julo* and cooperative union. *Julo-julo* is a mechanism established to enable traders to manage social protection between them.[6] In *julo-julo,* traders periodically collect and manage money. Sometimes, they also collect consumable goods such as rice, sugar, and cooking oil. The money and consumable goods collected in *julo-julo* will be used to support traders who have to conduct commemorations for the marriages of their family members or for those who have family members who have died (Fitlayeni, Marleni, and Elvawati, 2015, p. 67).

When the amount of money collected is quite significant, *julo-julo* will be used to support the traders' businesses. In Pasar Tanah Kongsi, for instance, once turning to their turn, traders can receive up to Rp. 10,000,000 (p. 68). Meanwhile, cooperative unions help traders save their money, as well as gain access to borrow money with low interest to fulfil their needs.

Apart from all of these practices, it is important as well as to capture how traders build their relationships in daily life. In running their daily activities, almost all traders admit that they do not have any problem with ethnic and religious differences. When the researcher visited Pasar Tanah Kongsi, the researcher found out that the Chinese and Minang women were involved in a warm chat (pictures 2, 3 and 4); something that is common to see in Pasar Tanah Kongsi.

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[4] *"[Ada HTT, HBT. Orang Minang juga ada jatahnya. Tidak ada beda-bedanya. Kalau ada bantuan itu Cina dikasih, Minang juga di kasih. Kalau di gereja ada bantuan, (yang) Islam juga dapat bantuan. Di Tanah Kongsi semua dapat. Itu ada HTT, HBT. Tidak ada bedanya.]"*

[5] Interview with Pasar Tanah Kongsi traders November in 2013.

[6] Commonly, it is also called *arisan*.

Picture 2. The Chinese and Minang in informal chat in Pasar Tanah Kongsi (circled), 2014

Taken in May 2014 in Padang

Picture 3. The female Minang trader serving the Chinese buyer in Pasar Tanah Kongsi

Taken in May 2014 in Padang

Picture 4. The Minang woman working for the Chinese woman trader to chop
and clean chicken meat in Pasar Tanah Kongsi, 2014

Taken in May 2014 in Padang

They do not only talk about buying fruits and chicken and the price as well as discounts, as typical conversation found in trading. In the midst of their transaction, they also made jokes with one another. A Minang trader said making a joke is the best way to break the ice in their interactions that can enhance mutual understanding between them.[7] The traders recognize the difference in ethnic identity and religious beliefs with the Chinese, but they do not feel it important to be made into a problem. They realize having good relationships with those coming from different backgrounds is crucial in daily life. They get used of having collective interactions and cooperation with the Chinese.

Dealing with this, she said, [8]

> We (the Minang and Chinese) mix together here (Pasar Tanah Kongsi). If we gather only with the Minang, and the Chinese gather only with Chinese, our stock (of selling) will not be sold out. If we are good to the Chinese, they will respond better to us. [9]

A female Chinese trader confirms this.[10] For her, ethnic and religious differences have not been a big problem in Pasar Tanah Kongsi. Unlike in Pasar Raya, people in Pasar Tanah Kongsi

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[7] Interview in October 2013 in Padang.

[8] Interview in November 2013 in Padang.

[9] [Saling membaur, kalau sini lah di bilang campuran. Jikalau dibilangnya Minang sama Minang, Cina sama Cina, pasti tidak abis. Cina tuh kalau kita baik, dia lebih baik.]

[10] Interview in November 2013 in Padang.

do not hesitate to conduct trading across ethnic groups. The Minang, for her, might have different religious beliefs. However, she believes she and the Minang have the same destination, namely God--the same God. When the Minang living near her house celebrate Eid Adha, she usually receives the qurban meat. She also never hears someone saying rude words to her in Pasar Tanah Kongsi. What is important in Pasar Tanah Kongsi for her is honesty.[11]

Another female Chinese trader said that in post-2009 earthquake recovery, the Minang and Chinese also cooperated to reactivate trading. She said that Pasar Tanah Kongsi is actually the Chinese's area. However, the Minang, who are Muslim, are allowed to come in. When earthquakes hit, they also help each other. [12]

Such an inter-ethnic solidarity, unfortunately was not found in Pasar Raya. While ethnic sentiment is hardly found in Pasar Tanah Kongsi, it is quite easy to hear in Pasar Raya. The stigma that the Chinese ehnic group is mean and greedy among the Minang I interviewed was not difficult to find. [13] Some traders in Pasar Raya, for instance, openly admit that they prefer to trade with their fellow ethnic groups, or at least their fellow religious believers. If not Minang, Javanese, who are known to be mostly Muslims, are also welcomed.

A Minang trader in Pasar Raya, for instance, said that she likes to trade with the Minang, not the Chinese.[14] She continues, although all buyers are principally the same, namely as the inseparable partner for traders in trading, she personally prefers to trade with fellow Minang. Of course, when she happens to serve the Chinese, in practice, they never reject them. [15]

Another trader even said to the researcher, "Have you ever seen any poor Chinese people?" He simply wanted to say that the Chinese are not a poor ethnic group. He continued, "The Chinese gather with the Chinese. The prosperous Chinese, moreover (only want to gather with the same prosperous ones)."[16] In his perspective, the Chinese represent a rich ethnic group, but are exclusive in social relations.

However, it is not a secret any more that the stigma addressed to the Chinese ethnic group is not only found among the community. In terms of activities in traditional markets, the Chinese have been prohibited for decades by the government to open stalls in Pasar Raya. The unwritten regulation was made in the late 1990s by Governor Hasan Basri Durin. This forced the Chinese traders to close their stalls in Pasar Raya and focus their trading activities in Pasar Tanah Kongsi and the other areas surrounding Pondok.

When disaster hit Padang and brought impacts to the both traditional markets, we can see the different responses shown by the two communities in responding to the problem, and how it impacted to the communities. In Pasar Tanah Kongsi, it is not difficult for the people to initiate and conduct cooperation to reactivate the market, while in Pasar Raya, such an engagement did

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[11] [Dia kan punya agama masing-masing, jurusannya kan sama, Tuhan nya kan sama. Misalnya ada hari raya qurban di dekat rumah saya, saya dikasih juga daging qurbanya. Orang Cina orangnya akrab. Disini (Pasar Tanah Kongsi) dari saya kecil saya tidak pernah dengar bahasa kotor. Sifat disini itu yang penting kejujuran.]

[12] Interview in November 2013 in Padang.

[13] Interview with Ratna, a Minang woman, in June 2010, in Padang. This is supported with interviews with traders in Pasar Raya in November 2013 in Padang.

[14] Interview on 14 November 2013 in Padang

[15] Concluded from a series of interviews in Nov(en)ber 2013 in Padang.

[16] Interview on 14 November 2013 in Padang.

not exist. Pasar Raya is way much reliant on the government's aid to recover. As a result, Pasar Tanah Kongsi recovered more quickly than Pasar Raya. Pasar Raya has to wait more than 5 years to function as its original beings.

4. Discussion

From this explanation, we can clearly see the social exchange that mainly structures social solidarity (Molm, 1997). As repeatedly asserted by traders in Pasar Tanah Kongsi, it is impossible for either Minang or Chinese to succeed in trading if they do not build mutual respect with one another. They realize that in trading, cooperation instead of competition, is the key. Therefore, although it is not always easy, both ethnic groups strive for cooperating, including in post-2009 earthquake recovery, to activate their economic activities.

We can also see that women play crucial roles in the building of inter-ethnic cooperation in Pasar Tanah Kongsi. They have been an active actor within. What they have done in the case reveals that negotiating borders and understanding differences can be done in the very daily life and through an informal way (Alfirdaus, 2016). Such an understanding has established a strong foundation for inter-ethnic solidarity that is meaningful during the phases of post-disaster recovery processes.

In this context, women in Pasar Tanah Kongsi play crucial role in building inter-ethnic solidarity, especially that involves Minangkabau and Chinese, in the context of post-disaster recovery. They cross the boundaries that differentiate them based on religious beliefs and ethnic identities to build inter-ethnic solidarity and create peace. This has brought an alternate picture of Padang's inter-ethnic relationships, which use to be distancing and in tension including in the context of post-2009 disaster, despite the rare open conflict and violence against minority groups in the city. They use daily channels to build inter-ethnic solidarity and through simple methods.

Referring to Nixon (2011) and Donahoe (2017), this is a practice of "slow peace" in the midst of "slow violence". "Slow peace" refers to the peace building inside the daily activities, which not always directly talks about peace making. It sometime presents in daily trading, food sharing and collective saving in post-disaster recovery. The activities not only deal with the fulfilment of daily needs, but further bring impacts on the strengthening of peace making among people from different ethnic groups. Meanwhile, "slow violence" refers to violence that does not look like violence, but it happens across time and space, and bring an impact on the destruction of society." Discrimination against minority ethnic groups, as ethnic Chinese face in Padang (and in Indonesia in common), as in post-2009 disaster recovery policy, is an example of what Nixon means as "slow violence". Women's involvement in inter-ethnic solidarity building in Padang is a clear answer for the long tension of the two ethnic groups, that what seems impossible is no longer impossible to happen. The Muslim Minangkabau and (mostly) non-Muslim Chinese women can stand together to share mutual understanding and respect and build peaceful social relations.

5. Conclusion

From the arguments written above, we can see that women can be an active agent of peace making that involve people from different ethnic and religious groups. Although their actions are not always noticed and they use to be silent responding to the complexities of social and political issues in the "manly" political stages, they keep moving by standing in front line to maintain peace in community. Based on the experience of women in Pasar Tanah Kongsi in Padang, we can see that

women do not need a technocratic and formal procedure to build social ties to promote peace building. They do it through the daily channels and simple methods. This raises our optimism that in spite of the hard relations between different ethnic groups in Padang (and in Indonesia in general), there is a hope for peace building in the future. The only challenge to face is how to sustain such a practice among the current generation.

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THE ROLES OF INDONESIAN WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS AS INDONESIA DEFENSE DIPLOMACY INSTRUMENT IN THE UNITED PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

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Abstract

Women begin to have significant roles in their involvement as the United Nations peacekeepers since 2000 with the release of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. Indonesia is a country which actively participates in maintaining world peace by deploying women peacekeepers since 2008 as many as 2 personnel and in 2017 the number is increasing into 82 personnel. This study highlights the roles of Indonesian Women Peacekeepers as Indonesia defense diplomacy instrument in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. This study uses qualitative method through literature study and interview. The obtained data analyzed using theory of role, concept of peacekeeping mission, and concept of defense diplomacy. The results of this study show that the presence of Indonesian women peacekeepers in the mission areas is one of Indonesia defense diplomacy activities. Indonesian women peacekeepers build cooperation with other peacekeepers from different countries that can build confidence building measures (CBM) and enhance Indonesia defense capabilities. Moreover, the roles of women peacekeepers are significant to reduce the tension of the conflict, maintain a peaceful condition which has been created, secure the border state, and assist the reconstruction of post-conflict through approach and interaction with conflict victims, especially women and children.

Keywords: Role; Women Peacekeeper; Defense Diplomacy; Peacekeeping Operations; Gender
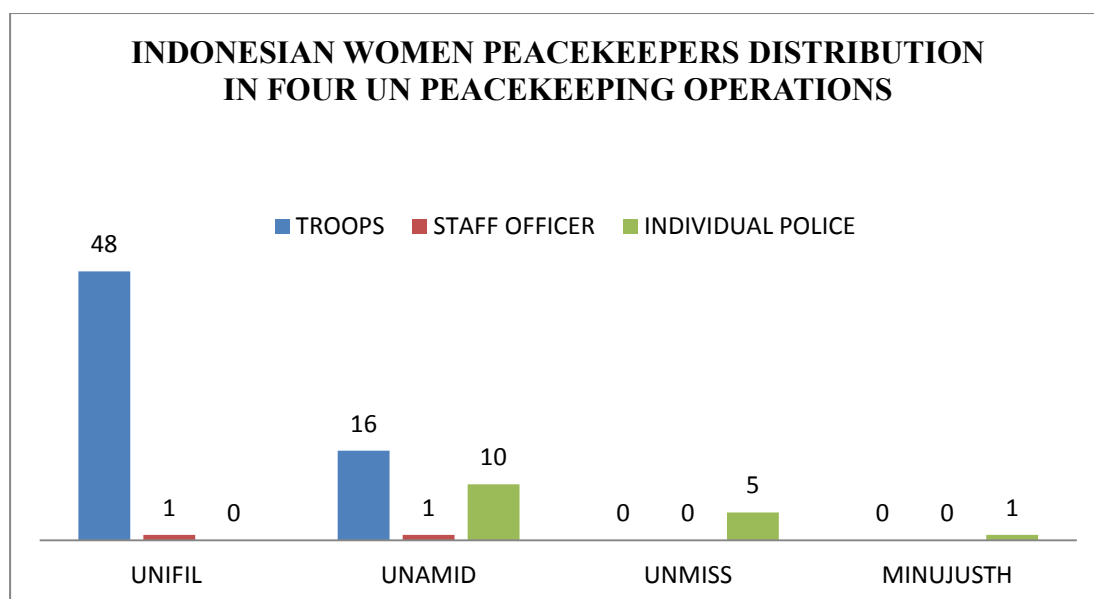
1. Introduction

The development of security issues which has been more complex and multidimensional gives a chance to everyone to take roles on it regardless of the gender. UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined gender mainstreaming as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or program, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and program in all spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated.[1] It means that it is not only men but women also have the same chance to participate in the security issues.

Women participation in the security issues can be seen from their involvement in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKOs) in which they have role as UN Women peacekeepers. Gender approach in the UN PKOs is essential to adequately respond to the needs of women, men, boys and girls who all have been affected differently by armed conflict.[2] The UN PKOs have evolved into broader humanitarian approach, women peacekeepers have been part of peacekeepers family. United Nations have called for women peacekeepers deployment to improve overall "holistic" approach to the current UN PKOs.[3]

Women peacekeepers are women who involve in the UN PKOs. Their presence in a mission country represents the UN and helps to maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict.[4] The history of women involvement in the UN PKOs started in 1999, when the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action called for the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) to undertake a series of measures to advance the gender balance and gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping operations. After that, on October 2000, UN Security Council released Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. Resolution 1325 has served as a milestone towards better integration of women's perspectives in peace processes.[5] Through this resolution, women begin to have significant roles in their involvement as women peacekeepers in order to create and maintain the world peace.

Indonesia participation in the UN PKOs has been begun since 1957 by deploying one infantry battalion to keep Middle East peace between Israel and Egypt which is well known as Garuda Contingent I/United Nation Emergency Force (KONGA-1/UNEF).[6] Since 1957, Indonesia has already sent 37.128 personnel to the UN PKOs. According to the UN data on December 2017, Indonesia is one of the largest troops contributing countries, in ranked 9th with 2.688 personnel serving in nine UN PKOs.[7] Indonesia participation in the UN PKOs is based on the Preamble of the Constitution 1945, Foreign Relations Act No. 37/1999, Indonesian Armed Forces Act No. 34/2004, Indonesian State's Police Act No. 2/2002, and State Defense Act No. 3/2002, as well as the UN Charter in maintaining world order and its subsequent UN Resolutions.[8]

As an active country which participates in deploying peacekeepers, Indonesia is also well known as an active country in deploying women peacekeepers. Indonesian government begins in deploying women peacekeepers since 2008 with 2 personnel. On December 2017, Indonesia deploys 82 women peacekeepers consisting of 64 soldiers, 16 polices, 2 civilian staff.[9] That amount is the largest numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers deployed by Indonesia in the last nine years. Those Indonesian women peacekeepers are deployed to various mission areas as illustrated in this following chart.

INDONESIAN WOMEN PEACEKEEPERS DISTRIBUTION IN FOUR UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

■ TROOPS   ■ STAFF OFFICER   ■ INDIVIDUAL POLICE

	UNIFIL	UNAMID	UNMISS	MINUJUSTH
TROOPS	48	16	0	0
STAFF OFFICER	1	1	0	0
INDIVIDUAL POLICE	0	10	5	1

Source: peacekeeping.un.org

Indonesian women peacekeepers, as a part of Indonesian Armed Forces which is also an actor of defense diplomacy, have done one of defense diplomacy activities in form of their involvement in the UN PKOs. The deployment of Indonesian women peacekeepers is a form of Indonesia's foreign policy aimed to achieve the Indonesia's national interests such as actively participate in creating and maintaining the world peace, enhance Indonesia's image and prestige in international societies, increase Indonesia's bargaining power, and as a strategy for Indonesia to be a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 2019-2020. Moreover, the increasing numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers in the UN PKOs is an effort to achieve the vision of 4000 peacekeepers in 2019.

2. Research Methodology

Qualitative method is used in this study to explore and understand the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. This study is conducted by collecting data, analyzing data inductively, making interpretations of the data, and making research report.[10] The researchers collected the primary and secondary data by doing interview with five Indonesian women peacekeepers and reviewing some literatures such as journals, books, thesis, and official websites. This study is analysis descriptive which explains the phenomenon based on obtained and processed data, then analyzed using related theory and concept such as theory of role, concept of peacekeeping operations, and concept of defense diplomacy. Therefore, the researchers can take conclusions of it.

Theory of Role

Role is the dynamic aspect of the position. A person said to have played a role if he does his responsibility and rights. A person's social life patterns are able to cause him to have diverse roles. The role in a person must be distinguished according to the position within the community. Role

points more to function, adjustment, and process. A person who occupies a position in the society means that he is running a role. There are three things related to role, namely:[11]

1. Role includes norms, associated with a person's position or place in the society. The role in this context means a set of rules that guides a person in the society.

2. Role is a concept of what an individual can do in the society as an organization.

3. Role can be said as an important individual behavior for the social structure in the society.

According to Bruce J. Biddle, role may be considered as an identity, a set of characteristic behaviors, or a set of expectations; expectation might be descriptive, prescriptive, or evaluate; and so it goes. Bruce emphasizes five points related to role, namely:[12]

1. Roles theorists assert that "some" behaviors are patterned and are characteristic of person within contexts (i.e., from roles).

2. Roles are often associated with sets of persons who share a common identity (i.e., who constitute social positions).

3. Persons are often aware of roles and to some extent roles are governed by the fact of their awareness (i.e., by expectation).

4. Role persist, in part, because of their consequences (functions) and because they are often embedded within larger social systems.

5. Persons must be taught roles (i.e., must be associated) and may find either joy or sorrow in the performance thereof.

K.J Holsti has identified four dimensions of role applicable to the study of foreign policy: role performance, alter's role prescriptions, ego's role conceptions and position. The term role (or role performance) refers to behavior (decisions and actions) and can be kept analytically distinct from role prescriptions, which are the norms and expectations, cultures, societies, institutions, or groups attach to particular positions. The foundations of human behavior, according to role theory, are both the position and the norms and expectation the alter projects on the position. Role theory thus emphasizes the interaction between the role prescription of the alter and the role performance of the occupant of a position (ego). Role prescriptions of the alter may become parameters while attention is shifted to the ego's own conception of his position and functions and the behavior appropriate to them – what we shall call a role conception. The perceptions, values, and attitudes of the actor occupying a position thus become the crucial independent variables in explaining role performance. In real life, of course, behaviors results from a combination of self-defined goals and norms of conduct, a variety of situational variables, and social norms and expectation.[13]

Concept of Peacekeeping Operations

Peacekeeping operations are established by the Security Council, which is, under the UN Charter, the organ with "primary responsibility for international peace and security".[14] A definition of peacekeeping could perhaps read as follows:[15]

"Field operations established by the United Nations, with the consent of the parties concerned, to help control and resolve conflicts between them, under United Nations command and control, at the expense collectively of the member states, and with military and other personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them, acting impartiality between the parties and using force to the minimum extent necessary".

In peacekeeping operations, there are five established principles as follows:[16]

1. Peacekeeping operations are the United Nations operations. The United Nations makes peacekeeping operations acceptable to member states who would not otherwise have accepted foreign troops on their territory.

2. Peacekeeping operations could be set up only with the consent of the parties to the conflict in question. It had also been learnt that they could succeed only with the continuing consent and cooperation of those parties.

3. The peacekeepers must be impartial between the parties. They were not there to advance the interests of one party against those of the other.

4. The United Nations Charter provided for member states to enter into binding agreements with the Security Council under which they would commit themselves to provide it with troops.

5. More than half the organization's Peacekeeping Operations before 1988 had consisted only of unarmed military observers. But when operations were armed, it had become an established principle that they should use force only to the minimum extent necessary and that normally fire should be opened only in self-defense.

In its development, peacekeeping operations have transformed from traditional UN PKOs to multi-dimensional UN PKOs. Traditional UN PKOs are deployed as an interim measure to help managing a conflict and create condition in which the negotiation of a lasting settlement can proceed. The tasks assigned to traditional UN PKOs by the Security Council are essentially military in character and may involve in the following:[17]

1. Observation, monitoring, and reporting – using static posts, patrols, over flights or other technical means, with the agreement of the parties;

2. Supervision of cease-fire and support to verification mechanisms;

3. Interposition as a buffer and confidence building measure.

The transformation of the international environment has given rise to a new generation of "multi-dimensional" UN PKOs. These operations are typically deployed in the dangerous aftermath of a violent internal conflict and may employ a mix of military, police and civilian capabilities to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement. Multi-dimensional UN PKOs deployed in the aftermath of an internal conflict face a particularly challenging environment. The state's capacity to provide security to its population and maintain public order is often weak, and violence may still be ongoing in various parts of the country. Basic infrastructure is likely to have been destroyed and large sections of the population may have been displaced. Society may be divided along ethnic, religious and regional lines and grave human rights abuses may have been committed during the conflict, further complicating efforts to achieve national reconciliation.[18]

Within this broader context, the core functions of a multi-dimensional UN PKOs are to:[19]

1. Create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the state's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights;

2. Facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions of governance;

3. Provide a framework for ensuring that all United Nations and other international actors pursue their activities at the country-level in a coherent and coordinated manner.

Concept of Defense Diplomacy

According to Cottey and Foster, defense diplomacy is *"the peacetime use of armed forces and related infrastructure (primarily defense ministries) as a tool of foreign and security policy" and more specifically the use of military cooperation and assistance"*.[20] In defense diplomacy, there are three actors who involve such as the ministry of defense, armed forces, and the ministry of foreign affairs.[21] At first, the role of defense diplomacy concerns on political action to against the enemy. Then, it develops into three new roles such as:[22]

1. Strategic engagement as a means of reducing a likelihood of conflict between former or potential enemies in which defense diplomacy is done to strengthen cooperation with former enemies and engage potential adversaries to dispel mistrust.

2. Promoting democratic civil-military relations. Defense diplomacy is used to advance security-sector reform in foreign militaries, especially in the development of democratically armed forces to respect human right and promoting good governance. Moreover, defense diplomacy is also preparing for, and undertaking, Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Relief operations (HADR).

3. Supporting other states in developing the capabilities of military to contribute to the UN PKOs and to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in efforts to achieve world peace.

Moreover, defense diplomacy has three characteristics such as:

1. Defense diplomacy for confidence building measures (CBM) is done to develop good relations among the countries, reduce the tension and misperception, facilitate conflict prevention, introduce transparency into defense relations, build and reinforce perceptions of common interests, change the mindset of partners, and induce cooperation in other areas.[23] So that every country will not perceive each other as a threat and can build mutual trust among them.

2. Defense diplomacy for defense capabilities aims to enhance military capabilities of a country to face the potential threat. It is related to security cooperation such as joint exercise, export-import of the military equipment, military personnel exchange for education and training purposes.

3. Defense diplomacy for defense industry aims to build and develop defense industry. It can be done by doing defense industry cooperation, transferring technology, giving license, and investment in defense industry.[24]

There are ten forms of defense diplomacy activities as follows:

Table 1: Defence diplomacy activities

- Bilateral and multilateral contacts between senior military and civilian defence officials.
- Appointment of defence attaches to foreign countries.
- Bilateral defence cooperation agreements.
- Training of foreign military and civilian defence personnel.
- Provision of expertise and advice on the democratic control of armed forces, defence management and military technical areas.
- Contacts and exchanges between military personnel and units, and ship visits.
- Placement of military or civilian personnel in partner countries' defence ministries or armed forces.
- Deployment of training teams.
- Provision of military equipment and other material aid.
- Bilateral or multilateral military exercises for training purposes.

Source: Cottey and Foster, 2004, p.7

3. Research Highlight

Indonesian peacekeepers deployed to certain mission are not only male peacekeepers but also women peacekeepers. They are deployed to the mission areas as an implementation of Indonesia's international politics (free and active) and objective written in UUD 1945 which is to participate in creating the world peace. Back then, peacekeeping missions are identical as male soldiers' duties, but as its development, women are also given the same chance as women peacekeepers to take role in maintaining the world peace. The presence of women peacekeepers is not only to fulfill the gender mainstreaming in Indonesia's policy in the UN PKOs, but also to do certain duties which can only be performed by women peacekeepers. In this case, the presence of women peacekeepers becomes very essential to support the duties such as securing at the border state, assisting reconstruction of post-conflict, having approachable interaction with society, especially with women and children who are mostly the war victim. As one of defense diplomacy instruments, women peacekeepers will have more significant roles to conduct those duties. Therefore, this study aims to analyze **How are the roles of Indonesian Women Peacekeepers as Indonesia Defense Diplomacy Instrument in the UN PKOs?**

4. Research Result

In recent years, there has been increasing recognition at the international level of the importance of including women in all levels of conflict management and reconstruction of post-conflict. One important aspect of this is increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping operations.[25] Related to gender and peacekeeping operations, UN has issued the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 which emphasizes the importance of women's equal and full participation as an active agent in peacekeeping operations. By means of this resolution, women have equal participation in peacekeeping operations and full involvement in all efforts to promote peace and security so that women peacekeepers' roles are needed in the mission countries.[26]

As an active country which participating in the UN PKOs, Indonesia has deployed women peacekeepers since 2008. In 2008, there were only two women peacekeepers deployed to Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MINUSCO).[27] Since 2008 till 2017, the highest numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers deployed in the UN PKOs is in 2017, by deploying 82 personnel.[28] The graphic below shows the numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers deployed in the UN PKOs for the last nine years.

Source: peacekeeping.un.org

Generally, the presence of women peacekeepers in the UN PKOs is able to empower women in the host community, address the special needs of women ex-combatants during the demobilization and reintegration process into civilian life, assist peacekeeping forces be reachable to women in the community, conduct interviews to survivors of gender-based violence, mentor female cadets at military and police academies, and interact with women in communities where women are prohibited from communicating with men. Moreover, they also can help to reduce conflict and confrontation, improve access and support for local women, become role models for women in society, provides greater security for the locals including women and children, extend expertise in a peacekeeping mission.[29]

According to theory of role from Soekanto, in this study, women involved in the UN PKOs carry on their duties in accordance with their position as women peacekeepers under the UN flag. In doing their duties in mission areas, there are no differences between men and women peacekeepers. However, women peacekeepers' duties are suited with their capabilities and risk level. Therefore, Indonesian women peacekeepers are mostly assigned in logistic, administration, and medical sections.[30]

Moreover, Indonesian women peacekeepers in the UN PKOs also have role in securing the border state and assisting the reconstruction of post-conflict. In securing the border state, one thing that cannot be done by men peacekeepers is security checking to women who pass the border state and international airport.[31]

Women peacekeepers have positive roles in the reconstruction of post-conflict. They have roles in helping physical recovery and post-conflict trauma for war victims, who mostly are women and children. This role is more effectively conducted by women peacekeepers because men peacekeepers are facing social and cultural boundaries to have interaction with women, meanwhile women peacekeepers do not have the same cultural restriction.[32]

In certain mission countries, there is culture in which women are limited to communicate with many people. This case can be found in Darfur, Sudan and also Lebanon. The culture in Darfur makes women difficult to communicate with men when they are the victims of sex exploitation and abuse.[33] Meanwhile, the culture in South Lebanon, which is dominated by Shia, restricts women to communicate with men.[34] In those cases, the role of women peacekeepers is necessary to help having interaction and communication with those victims in the conflict area to help physical recovery and also post-conflict trauma. Women peacekeepers can give secure and comfort feeling to women and children in the conflict areas.

In human rights violation case like sex exploitation and abuse, women peacekeepers are more capable in doing this duty, because most of the victims for this case are women and children. Their roles are collecting information from the sexual abuse victims, working in women prisons, helping to increase the effectiveness of advocacy for women and children, helping ex-combatants during demobilization and reintegration process into civilian life, mentor for female cadets.[35] So, the presence of women peacekeepers can facilitates the communication, the information sharing, and problem solving from the victims.[36]

When there is no cultural restriction for women peacekeepers, it can make them easy to build mutual trust with women, children, and the society in general. The ability in getting the trust from the society must be considered as an essential component in every UN PKOs because that thing can help all peacekeepers to collect essential information and data as well for the success of the UN PKOs.

In a broader context, Indonesia's tangible contribution to reach women and children in the community is done through Civil Military and Coordination (CIMIC).[37] CIMIC can be classified into social activities by giving medical assistance (healthcare, medical clinic, medical training), informal education (teaching children, building library), held various competition, cultural performance.

The Indonesian Peacekeepers Duties in the UN PKOs

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, p. 16

In doing their missions, the role of women peacekeepers are not limited into things which have been explained beforehand. However, they also have role as a defense diplomacy instrument for Indonesia. According to defense diplomacy concept from Cottey and Foster, we can analyze that deploying Indonesian peacekeepers, in this study focuses on women peacekeepers, is included into one of Indonesia defense diplomacy activities. Indonesian women peacekeepers as defense actors can provide military assistance in maintaining peace in the mission areas.

In addition, Cottey and Foster also explained that defense diplomacy is conducted in the peacetime in which it is suitable with the deployment of women peacekeepers in the mission areas. The Indonesian women peacekeepers, who will be deployed in the mission areas, are going to get training held in Pusat Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian Tentara Nasional Indonesia (PMPP TNI). During the training, the women peacekeepers also get the same training as the men peacekeepers.[38] The trainings are given to prepare them with the needed skills which can help them in doing the duties during the mission. Besides that, by getting the training, they can enhance their capabilities to work professionally.

The deployment of Indonesian women peacekeepers is done if there is a ceasefire agreement between two conflicted parties. Based on the neutrality and impartiality principles, during the UN PKOs, the Indonesian women peacekeepers will not involve directly in armed conflict. It

happens because the purpose of deploying Indonesian women peacekeepers is not for war purpose, but to supervise the implementation of ceasefire agreement in order to achieve the world peace.

According to the characteristics of defense diplomacy, the deployment of Indonesian women peacekeepers can achieve Confidence Building Measures (CBM) and enhance Indonesia defense capabilities. The achievement of CBM can be done through transparency of the personnel numbers and military equipment, coordination with local society in the mission areas, and cooperation with other peacekeepers from various countries. Firstly, the transparency of the personnel numbers and military equipment in the UN PKOs makes every country be more transparent about their military information. This thing can help reducing misperception, build mutual trust, and develop good relations among the countries.

Secondly, the coordination with local society is done in form of CIMIC. Indonesian women peacekeepers have implemented humanism and friendly approach to the local society while doing their duties, so that it makes them well welcomed and get good response in the mission areas. Having good response from the local society can help them increasing the success rate of peacekeeping operations. Moreover, good response can also be a factor which causes the increasing numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers from 2008 until 2017. [39]

Thirdly, in doing their duties in mission areas, Indonesian women peacekeepers also build cooperation with other peacekeepers such as joint exercise for fire countermeasures, emergency situation, and conflict victim evacuations.[40] Through the joint exercise, Indonesian women peacekeepers are able to share both information and experience with other peacekeepers from different countries. These things can enhance the capabilities of Indonesian women peacekeepers and in the national level, the cooperation can enhance Indonesia defense capabilities.

Therefore, there are number of benefits for women peacekeepers participation in the UN PKOs. The presence of women peacekeepers can help the society in the mission areas to maintain a peaceful condition which has been created and reduce the tension of the conflict. In addition, women peacekeepers' involvement in the UN PKOs can trigger positive changes for women in the countries where they deployed and where women are often kept at the margins of society.[41] Besides that, the role of Indonesian women peacekeepers also supports the implementation of Indonesia defense diplomacy because as the instrument of Indonesia defense diplomacy, women peacekeepers are able to build CBM and enhance Indonesia defense capabilities.

5. Conclusion

The development of the UN PKOs gives opportunities for women to participate on it as women peacekeepers. As an active country which participates in deploying peacekeepers, the increasing numbers of Indonesian women peacekeepers deployed in the UN PKOs since 2008 till 2017 shows that Indonesian women peacekeepers are well welcomed by the local society in the mission areas and their success in doing the missions has been approved by the UN. Moreover, UNIFIL will be the most effective mission to optimize the roles of Indonesian women peacekeepers as it has the largest numbers of women peacekeepers. The presence of Indonesian women peacekeepers have positive roles to maintain a peaceful condition which has been created, reduce the tension of the conflict, secure the border state, and assist the reconstruction of post-conflict. Indonesian women peacekeepers as an instrument of defense diplomacy can help Indonesia to build CBM and enhance Indonesia defense capabilities by CIMIC and coordination with local society, and cooperation with other peacekeepers from various countries.

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WOMEN LEFT BEHIND? FINDINGS FROM FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLD IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Feminization of poverty has always been a debate until now. Women are considered close to poverty two decades ago. Along with the emancipation period, women continue to improve themselves in hopes of breaking the relationship between women and poverty, including in Indonesia. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between the gender of the head of household and poverty status. In addition, to determine poverty determinants in female-headed households (FHHs). The method used is binary logistic regression with poverty status as a dependent variable. While the independent variables include socioeconomic and demographic factors. The result is that households headed by women are more likely to be in poverty than households headed by men. And determinants of poverty in households headed by women are residence, age, marital status, education, employment status, and number of households. The variables of number of household members and education are the most influential factors in female-headed household.

Keywords: female-headed household, poverty, gender, feminization of poverty, logistic regression

1. Introduction

The number of female-headed households continues to increase in many countries across the continent [1]. For example, in Latin America, the number of female-headed households (FHH) has increased sharply over the past forty years in that region [2]. This is expected to be a good sign because according to Chant [3], female leadership has a positive influence and its own strength.

Unfortunately, many studies and reports from the institutions stated that FHHs are closely related to poverty. Poor households dominated by female-headed households because women have the limitation of access to assets and skills training. So they do not get an appropriate income [4],[5],[6],[7].

Different results found by Twerefou et all [8], Hunzai [9], Klassen et al [10], i.e. in Ghana, Nepal, Thailand and Vietnam, poor households thus dominated by male-headed households. The research of Milazzo and de Walle [1] also supports it. The increasing number of FHHs in sub-Saharan Africa has contributed positively towards the decline in poverty levels in Africa.

This paper shows based on SUSENAS data for 2016, the gender of the head of household affected the poverty status of a household in Indonesia. Female-Headed Households (FHHs) have a greater tendency to be poorer than Male-Headed Households (MHHs). Even though, there has been an increase in the number of FHHs, education levels and working status of women in the period 2000-2016. The most influential factors are the level of education and household size of FHHs.

2. Literature Review

Poverty is a deprivation of welfare [11]. UNDP regards poverty as a multidimensional problem which is not just limited to the lack of income and economic resources. Many of the literature revealed that the determinants of poverty, in general, are the household size, education level, household composition and size, assets owned by households, access to basic social and economic services, sector of employment, number of income earners in a household, gender and ethnicity of the household head, rural versus urban location [12]. World Bank [13] also reveals the same thing that poverty can be caused by national conditions of a country and particular sector, then the individual, household, and community characteristics. Individual and household characteristics include the age structure of household members, education, the extent of participation in the labor force and the gender of the household head.

Gender of the household head also plays an important role which households headed by women are poorer than those headed by men. This is due to discrimination against women. They have low literacy rates, low wages, and have less access to land or equal work [13]. Edoumiekumo et al [14] also revealed that households headed by women tended to be poorer even though gender is not statistically significant. However, the research of Anyawu [15] proved that poverty is more perceived by male than female based on data for 2004 and 2010 in Nigeria.

Marital status also affects poverty. Monogamous marriages, divorces, and widows are negatively correlated and significant to the probability of becoming poor households. However, monogamy marriage has the largest probability of reducing poverty [15]. Marriage provides many benefits [16]. Economically, marriage, in general, will increase the number of breadwinners to the household, which will affect the increasing economic welfare of all family members. Married women who live in male-headed households have the prospect of enjoying greater family incomes because male household members are performing better. In addition, married couples may have the ease of asking for help to relatives if they have difficulty [17].

Besides gender and marital status, household size also affects the probability of poverty. Households with only one household member will further reduce the probability of poverty and vice versa the increasing number of household members increases the probability of becoming poor [15]. The same thing is expressed by the World Bank that the poor tend to live in larger

households (more household members). This pattern is found in many countries. Poor households also tend to be found in younger households that have more children aged less than 15 years.

Education is a factor that has a strong influence in determining the welfare of the household. Because education will contribute to the process of forming attitudinal skills and developing technical skills. As well as a means of adopting and modifying technology [18].

The location of the residence also has an effect. Poverty in Asia is essentially a rural phenomenon even in some countries, 80 to 90 percent of the poor are in rural areas. Urban poverty is lower than rural areas because of more job opportunities in urban areas. In addition, rural areas rely heavily on an agricultural production where the agricultural sector is highly dependent on nature. This sector also has low work productivity which has an impact on the low income earned [20], [21]. The working status also affects poverty. By working, the individual will earn the expected income according to his daily expenses. The results of Twerefou study that the working status becomes a determinant of poverty both in MHHs and FHHs. If the head of the household moves from nonworking category to public employment then the probability of poverty significantly reduces [8].

Many studies have combined socio-economic factors in determining the determinant of poverty. Ngunyi et al [22] conducted a study on the relationship of a set of independent variables to poverty in Kenya. Analytical methods used there are two namely augmented regression and logistic regression. The results obtained are land, education, size of household, age and gender of household head, household characteristics, access to facility and assets are the variables that affect poverty status in individuals in Kenya. Meanwhile, according to Edoumiekumo et.al [14], an important variable of vulnerability in Nigeria are gender, occupation, years of schooling, household size, per capita expenditure on education, health, and food, and number of rooms occupied by the household.

A similar study was conducted by Javed and Asif [6] who examined factors affecting poverty in FHHs and MHHs in Pakistan by using two methods: Binary Logit Regression and Regression. The results obtained are gender, family size and household headship status have an important role in influencing the level of poverty. However, different results are actually shown by Muhammedhussen [23] which addresses poverty in Ethiopia. The poverty of rural Ethiopian households is influenced by income diversification, livestock ownership, family size and land possession. While the gender of the household head, age, education and dependency ratios are not found to be statistically significant.

Based on the study given above, this research will examine the relationship between the gender of the household head to poverty status along with other socioeconomic variables in Indonesia. The socio-economic variables are the area of residence, age, marital status, education, working status, and a number of households. Then proceed with determining the determinant of poverty in FHHs by using the same variable in the previous analysis.

3. Research Methodology

2.1 Data dan Variable

This study uses secondary data derived from the National Socioeconomic Survey of Indonesia in 2016. Samples taken amounted to 291,413 households with the analysis unit is the head of the household. If disaggregated by gender, then the sample consists of Female-Headed Household (FHHs) of 44,088 and Male-Headed Household (MHHs) of 247,325 households. The analysis

method used is Descriptive Statistics and Binary Logistic Regression Model as inference analysis. Descriptive statistics will present a tabulation of the poor household head data according to population and socioeconomic variables. While logistic regression analysis is used to examine the factors that affect poverty of the household head through two models. The first model is used to examine whether gender significantly affects the poverty status of a household head. Then the second model is used to examine the factors that affect poverty in FHHs.

The variables used are dependent variable and independent variable. The dependent variable in this study is a binary variable where the value of one (1) is poor household and zero (0) is non-poor. Poverty status is measured based on the per capita expenditure value compared to the poverty line. If household per capita expenditure is below the poverty line then the household is a poor household and vice versa.

Meanwhile, the independent variables used are seven variables for the first model consisting of gender, the location of residence, age, marital status, education, working status, and a number of household members. Then in the second model uses six variables where the gender of head of household is no longer included. This is because, in the second model, the analytical unit used is Female Headed Household (FHHs). A complete definition of the variables used can be seen in the appendix.

2.2 Empirical Model

There are many methods to determine determinants of poverty based on previous research. The best way to identify factors affecting poverty is to use regression analysis [24]. Regression analysis which is often used is Multiple Regression Analysis and Logistic Regression [25],[6],[26]. But, logistic regression is better than multiple regression because it is more accurate in predicting. The logistic model is able to correctly predict almost all respondents, while multiple regression still has a 2 percent inaccuracies in the research results of Ngunyi et al [22].

Rusnak [25] stated that Binary Logistic Regression model is used to examine the relationship between Variable Y binary (symbolized by 1 and 0) with variables X1, X2, ..., Xm, which this X variable can be both quantitative and qualitative variables. If it is assumed that the probability of occurrence Y (coded 1) with a set of explanatory variable Xj then the linear relationship between variables X and Y are:

$$P \ (Y=1) = p = _+ \qquad \qquad (1)$$
$$= \ + \ . \ + \ . \ + \ .... \ + \ . \qquad (2)$$

Parameters .... can be formed by Least Squares Method (LS). However, for some probability values Xj may be outside the interval 0-1 which is certainly contrary to the basic probability rules. To avoid this contradiction, the probability value is transformed and the most commonly used transformation is the Logit Function:

$$\text{Logit } (p) = \ln \qquad \qquad (3)$$

Whichshows an opportunity value when Y = 1

The transformed logit model is:

$$\text{Logit } (p) = \ + \ . \ = \ X^T . A \qquad \qquad (4)$$

Which :

A = parameter vector []

X^T = independent variable vector/explanatory

Vector value of parameter A can be estimated by using Likelihood Maximum method, then the probability value p is calculated by the formula:

$$P\,(Y=1)=p=\frac{e^{X^T \cdot A}}{1+e^{X^T \cdot A}}.$$

(5)

The value of a_j has an interpretation that if the value of x_j increases 1 unit then the opportunity value Y=1 will increase e^{aj} times.

When X = $[x_1, x_2]$ and Y = [0,1] then the formula of odds ratio θ is :

$$\theta = (P_1 / P_2)$$

(6)

$$P1=\frac{P(Y=1/X=x_1)}{P(Y=0/X=x_1)}=\frac{P_{1/1}}{P_{0/1}} \quad \text{and} \quad P1=\frac{P(Y=1/X=x_2)}{P(Y=0/X=x_2)}=\frac{P_{1/2}}{P_{0/2}}$$

(7)

When the odds value $1< \theta < \infty$ then the probability value of Y = 1 is greater for X = x1 than X = x2.

Based on the binary logistic regression formula, the poverty determinant model used are:

a. Model 1 (Unit of analysis: All Sample of Head of The Household in Indonesia)

$= b_0 + b_1$ sex $+ b_2$ location $+ b_{31}$ age$_1 + b_{32}$ age$_2 + b_{33}$ age$_3 + b_{34}$ age$_4 + b_{41}$ marital status$_1 + b_{42}$ marital status$_2 + b_{43}$ marital status$_3 + b_{51}$ education$_1 + b_{52}$ education$_2 + b_{53}$ education$_3 + b_{61}$ number of HM$_1 + b_{62}$ number of HM$_2 + b_7$ work

b. Model 2 (Unit of analysis: Female-Headed Households (FHHs) in Indonesia)

$= b_0 + b_1$ location $+ b_{21}$ age$_1 + b_{22}$ age$_2 + b_{23}$ age$_3 + b_{24}$ age$_4 + b_{31}$ marital status$_1 + b_{32}$ marital status$_2 + b_{33}$ marital status$_3 + b_{41}$ education$_1 + b_{42}$ education$_2 + b_{43}$ education$_3 + b_{51}$ number of HM$_1 + b_{52}$ number of HM$_2 + b_6$ work

4. Research Highlight

- The number and percentage of FHHs in Indonesia has increased over the last sixteen years.
- The percentage of poor FHHs is greater than MHHs in 2016.
- The sex of the household head significantly affected the poverty status. The possibility of FHHs for being poor was bigger than possibility of MHHs.

- The most influential factors that affect poverty on FHHs are education and number of household members.

5. Research Result

The percentage of FHHs in Indonesia increased for 16 years. In 2000, the percentage of FHHs 13.26 percent to 15.02 percent in 2016 based on SUSENAS data. Or in quantity, the number of FHHs in 2000 as many as 6,448,569 people increased to 10,245,991 people in 2016. In contrast, the percentage of MHHs decreased in the same period. This can be seen in Figure 1 and the appendix. In number
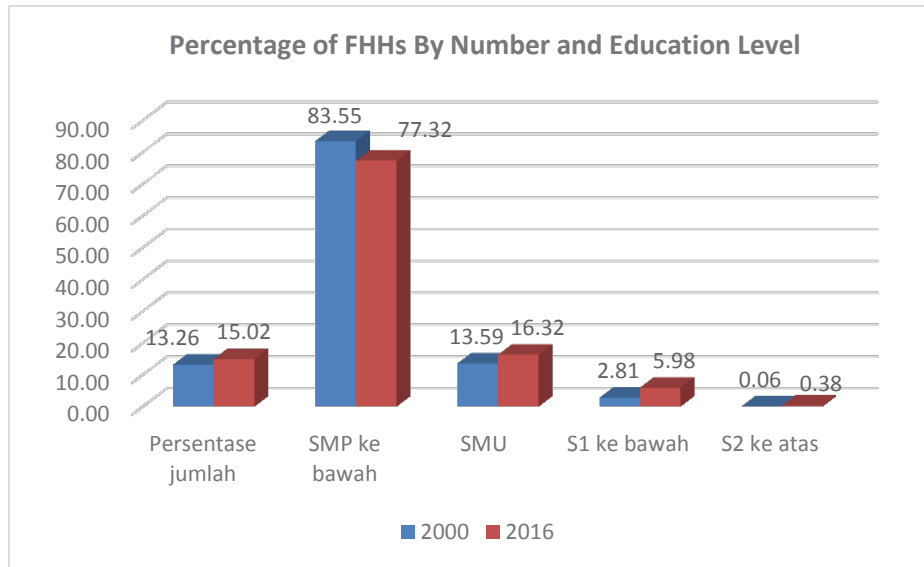
Figure 1. Percentage of FHHs by Number and Level of Education, 2000 and 2016

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2000 & 2016

Based on the level of education, seen the changes of the highest educational pattern completed by FHHs in 2016. In 2000, the percentage of FHHs with the junior high school education and below was 83.55 percent of the total FHHs. While FHHs with senior high school education is 13.59 percent and the rest 2.86 percent goes to college. Then this condition improved in 2016 to be 77.32 percent for junior high school, 16.32 percent of senior high school and 6.36 percent of FHHs for Diploma Level 1 and above.

However, if analyzed from the poverty status of households between MHHs and FHHs then there is the opposite condition. Based on Table 1, the percentage of poor FHHs is higher than MHHs in Indonesia. The percentage of poor FHHs is 12.20 percent while MHHs 10.93 percent in 2016.

Table 1. Percentage of Household by Poverty Status and Gender of Household Head, 2016

Status of Poverty	Gender Headed Household		
	Male	Female	Male + Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Not Poor	89,06	87,80	88,87
Poor	10,94	12,20	11,13

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2016

Characteristics of poor household heads when seen based on demographic and socioeconomic conditions, poor household heads generally live in rural areas, aged over 50 years, married, have elementary or junior high school education, work and have more than 4 household members. This is shown from the descriptive statistics in table 2. However, if seen by sex of the household head there is a characteristic difference between MHHs and FHHs.

Table 2. Percentage of Explanatory Variables by Gender of Poor Household Head, 2016

Variables	Gender Of Poor Household Head		
	Male	Female	Male+ Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Location			
Rural	65,69	63,81	65,38
Urban	34,31	36,19	34,62
Age of Household Head			
under 21	0,15	0,23	0,16
21-30	7,69	3,34	6,97
31-40	25,57	11,53	23,26
41-50	26,44	16,15	24,75
51 to highest	40,15	68,75	44,86
Marital Status			
Single	0,55	2,00	0,79
Married	96,04	10,88	82,01
Death Divorced	0,57	13,88	2,76
Divorced	2,84	73,24	14,44
Education			
No finished school	26,02	49,47	29,30
Primary-Secondary	59,78	45,02	57,72
High School	13,31	5,00	12,15

College	0,89	0,52	0,84
Employment			
Not Working	9,73	38,41	14,45
Working	90,27	61,59	85,55
Number Of Household Member			
1-2	10,00	37,57	14,54
3-4	42,32	37,21	41,48
5 to highest	47,68	25,22	43,98

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2016

Poor MHHs are generally over 50 years old, married, having primary or junior high school education, working, living in rural areas, and having more than 4 household members. FHHs generally live in rural areas, aged over 50 years, and work. However, most of them were divorced, did not attend school, and the number of household members is only 1 to 2 people.

These conditions indicate the position of FHHs is more vulnerable than MHHs. FHHs that are generally aged 50 years and older, divorced and have only 1-2 household members indicate that FHHs are elderly families. The elderly conditions that are no longer productive make them more difficult to meet their basic needs than the younger people do. The divorce status also indirectly indicates the weak position of a woman. Without a companion, women have no additional support in terms of economics or psychology.

So is the labor market. Poor FHHs generally do not have formal education (49.47%) so that they bargain in the labor market lower than men who generally have higher education. They work in the informal sector with low wages. Low productivity due to age, low educational impacts on income and the absence of extra financial support makes FHHs more vulnerable to be poor households.

The result of logistic regression model supports the results of descriptive statistics in general. Sex, location, age, marital status, education, employment status, number of household members are significant determinants of poverty. It can be seen in table 3 for the description of model 1.

Table 3. The Result of Logistic Regression Model 1

Variabel	Characteristic/ Value	B	Wald	Sig. (α = 0,05)	Exp(B)
Model 1					
Sex(1)	Male	-0,347	28860,752	,000	,707
Location(1)	Urban	-0,495	309007,637	,000	,610
Age	under 21		59051,814	,000	
Age(1)	21-30	0,471	2237,067	,000	1,601
Age(2)	31-40	0,447	2023,343	,000	1,563
Age(3)	41-50	0,245	609,273	,000	1,278
Age(4)	51 to highest	0,202	416,158	,000	1,224

Marital Status	Single		40742,331	,000	
Marital Status (1)	Married	0,762	23676,640	,000	2,144
Marital Status (2)	Death Divorced	0,559	10272,838	,000	1,749
Marital Status (3)	Divorced	0,441	7391,158	,000	1,554
Educ	No finished school		1187333,151	,000	
Educ(1)	Primary-Secondary	-0,485	226086,875	,000	,616
Educ(2)	High School	-1,397	866716,888	,000	,247
Educ(3)	College	-2,972	472317,817	,000	,051
Number of Household Member	1-2		1100962,354	,000	
Number of Household Member (1)	3-4	0,403	78845,815	,000	1,497
Number of Household Member (2)	5 to highest	1,207	699856,334	,000	3,342
Work (1)	Working	-0,198	19530,576	,000	,820
Constant		-2,438	63982,663	,000	,087
Nagelkerke R Square	0,116				

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2016

The sex of the household head significantly affects the poverty status. The possibility of MHHs for being poor is smaller than FHHs that is 0.707 times. This means the possibility FHHs for being poor is 1.415 times compared to MHHs. It is proven by the worse condition of FHHs than MHHs in Table 2. This is consistent with the results of the study of Lawson's (2014), Edoumiekumo et al (2013), Horrell and Krishnan (2006) studies. But unlike research conducted by Milazzo and de Walle (2015), Bogale et al (2005), Chant (2007).

The study of poverty determinants is then deepened only in poor households of FHHs. Based on logistic regression results, all demographic variables i.e residence, age, marital status, education, work status, and the number of household members have a significant effect on poverty in FHHs. It can be seen in table 4.

FHHs in urban areas are less likely to be poor than those living in rural areas. When seen by age group, age groups above 20 years tend to be poorer than FHHs aged 20 and under. Different results are shown by education variables. The higher the FHHs education, the tendency to become poor households is decreasing.

The interesting thing is shown by employment status variable. FHHs with working status have a tendency to become poor households 1,099 times than those not working. This must be seen more deeply based on the field of business. Based on research Edoumiekumo (2013), working in the primary sector, especially the agricultural sector gives a strong influence on poverty. Meanwhile, when viewed from the number of household members, FHHs with household members more than two people, have a tendency to be poor of 2,073 and 3,520 times compared to FHHs that have one or two household members.

Table 4. **T**he Result of Logistic Regression Model 2

Variable	Characteristic/ Value	B	Wald	Sig. (α = 0,05)	Exp(B)
Model 2					
Location(1)	Urban	-0,578	59203,722	0,000	0,561
Age	under 21		34821,545	0,000	
Age(1)	21-30	1,155	3095,192	0,000	3,174
Age(2)	31-40	1,104	2822,649	0,000	3,015
Age(3)	41-50	0,505	592,445	0,000	1,656
Age(4)	51 to highest	0,443	460,043	0,000	1,558
Marital Status	Single		3144,999	0,000	
Marital Status (1)	Married	0,453	2545,697	0,000	1,573
Marital Status (2)	Death Divorced	0,497	3117,130	0,000	1,643
Marital Status (3)	Divorced	0,470	2877,071	0,000	1,599
Educ	No finished school		144040,294	0,000	
Educ(1)	Primary-Secondary	-0,563	51219,359	0,000	0,570
Educ(2)	High School	-1,657	95174,852	0,000	0,191
Educ(3)	College	-3,070	44480,528	0,000	0,046
Work (1)	Working	0,094	1464,977	0,000	1,099
Number of Household Member	1-2		179508,646	0,000	
Number of Household Member (1)	3-4	0,729	73358,520	0,000	2,073
Number of Household Member (2)	5 to highest	1,258	173517,000	0,000	3,520
Constant		-2,950	23124,751	0,000	0,052
Nagelkerke R Square	0,127				

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2016

The factors that have a great influence are the education level and the number of household members. This is obviously related to the income they receive. The lower the education level, the chance for entry into the labor market will be smaller. As a result, they have no alternative than accepting low-wage jobs. The low income they receive will be more insufficient if the number of household members is borne more.

Furthermore, if the educational variables of FHHs are seen more deeply then there is a surprising fact. Based on the tabulation results in the appendix, out of 100 non-school heads of households, 16 people were FHHs and the remaining 84 people were MHHs in 2000. But, in 2016, it increased to be 27 people of FHHs, whereas 73 people were MHHs.

The more educated people the higher the income earned so that the chances of becoming poor will be less [13]. Ibrahim and Umar [29] found the poverty reduces with increasing numbers

of literate men and women in households. In addition, empirical evidence showed the poverty rate increases with increasing household size [20],[29],[30].

The higher chances of becoming poor in FHHs than MHHs have because FHHs have fewer assets and income [6]. This is due to the lower productivity of FHHs than MHHs [4]. Takanne [31] also revealed that in Malawi, FHHs have a more vulnerable position than MHHs due to low contribution to the labor market and also low productivity.

The use of six response variables is still considered to be less explanatory to the determinants of poverty in FHHs. The value of Nagelkerke R Square of 0.127 indicates that the percentage of variation in the probability of poverty status that can be explained by the independent variables used is only 12.7 percent. While the rest of 87.3 percent is explained by other factors not used in the model.

6. Conclusion

Women have been identified with poverty twenty years ago. Even to bring up a term which always becomes a debate is the feminization of poverty. As the times goes by, women begin to improve themselves and improve their quality as a human equivalent to men. This is proven by the data of female-headed households in Indonesia according to the level of education and employment status.

Unfortunately, the feminization of poverty seems still cannot vanish in Indonesia. This is because families with FHHs actually have a higher chance of becoming poor households than families with MHHs. In addition, the percentage of poor female-headed households is still greater than male-headed households. The most influential factors are education and number of household members.

Based on the results of this study, one of the policies that can be formulated to solve poverty is by improving the education for the people, especially the education for women. The 9-year compulsory education program must be continuously run and monitored as a government effort to improve the education for Indonesian people. Then, the ever-successful family planning program should begin to be voiced again. This is an attempt to control the number of members in a household. It also requires training to improve women's skills that are expected to increase income for women.

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8. Appendices.

Appendix 1. Characteristics of Response and Explanatory Variables on the Model

Poverty	0	Not poor
	1	Poor
Resident	0	Rural (Reference)
	1	Urban
Age group	1	Under 21 (Reference)
	2	21-30
	3	31-40
	4	41-50
	5	50 to highest
Sex	0	Female (Reference)
	1	Male
Education	1	No finished school (Reference)
	2	Primary to Secondary
	3	High school
	4	College
Household Member	1	1-2 persons (Reference)
	2	3-4 persons
	3	5 persons to highest
Working	0	Not working (Reference)
	1	Working

Appendix 2. Percentage of FHHs and MHHs by number and education

Characteristic	MHHs		FHHs	
	2000	2016	2000	2016
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Percentage of Number	86,74	84,98	13,26	15,02
Education Level				
Junior High School to lowest	74,79	63,29	83,55	77,32
Senior High School	19,83	27,85	13,59	16,32
Bachelor's degree to lowest	5,22	8,08	2,81	5,98
Master's degress to highest	0,16	0,79	0,06	0,38

Source : Constructed by Authors from SUSENAS 2000, 2016

SPECIAL PANEL

PROLOGUE

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This special panel aims to provide media for 'good papers' but not in accordance with the topic or cannot be presented on their topic because of the limited number of papers per topic. This panel replaces a panel calls women and climate change, because most of its papers do not match the topic and do not pass the selection. This panel therefore differs with other panels that have specific topic. It discusses various topics including women and environment, women and politic, and women and identity. This panel discusses 4 papers that are complementary and have a common thread that forms a unity of thought about the importance of the role of women in these topics.

The first topic discusses women in relation to disaster. The paper analyses reconnecting culture and resilience focusing on understanding *Minangkabau* women strategies in disaster risk reduction. This paper aims to understand the resilience of Minangkabau's women, which focused on their coping strategies at pre, during and post disaster, and how the local knowledge applied in this condition. Women play a crucial role in households and community because they are chosen as *Bundo Kanduang* or leader of the *Rumah Gadang* (big house owned by community) and kaum (clan). *Bundo Kanduang* perceives as the person who gave solutions in any occasion, especially when disaster happened. Some of the strategies taken include *mamagang sawah* or organizing the paddy field activity. In the post-disaster situation, strategies taken include *badoncek*, similar with *arisan* in general culture of Indonesian women, women not only collected the money and *ameh* (gold), but also the livestock such as buffalo, cow and goat. This paper showed that by involving women and practicing those local practices, community could be more resilient to disaster.

The second topic focuses on women and politic. This topic consists of two papers. One paper analyses the effect of gender, candidate's accomplishment, and religious values on voting behavior. This paper is based on study that applies three full factorial experiments involving 105 participants. The result shows that candidate's accomplishment plays more significant influence on voting behavior compare with gender identity and religious values.

Another paper discusses the political habituation of women's leadership in local election in Barito Kuala. The paper aims to give different perspective in seeing the capability of the women's leadership as the main factor of their victory on the electoral contestation in the local level. It analyses how the woman's political strategies in managed her capitals to win a local election with a case study of woman's victory in the local election of Barito Kuala Regency in 2016. The only women candidate was Hj. Noormiliyani, she has leadership habituation which she receives from the accumulation of her ability with various experiences and her own backgrounds. She won and defeated other candidates in this local election. Her victory relied heavily on her ability and capital, including social capital and networks in the politics and society, economic capital, cultural, and symbolic capital as the elder of religious, art and women group activities, and the head of South Borneo parliament.

The fourth topic focuses on construction of women identity and challenge to be leader in Indonesia based on a corpus-based critical discourse analysis. Women play a significant role in building leaders, but the society still considers them as object (not subject). This analysis represents women with the word *perempuan* and *wanita. Perempuan* were constructed as object, game/toy, care to child, impatient, conservative, envious, weak and fainthearted person, but also cuteness and deserve to get prize. Meanwhile *wanita* were constructed as maturity, exploitation to body, weakness, but polite. This analysis informed that *perempuan* more productive than *wanita*. These findings reflected societal resistances and challenge that were faced by women to be leaders in Indonesia. ❖

RECONNECTING CULTURE AND RESILIENCE: UNDERSTANDING *MINANGKABAU* WOMEN STRATEGIES IN DISASTER RISK REDUCTION

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Abstract

West Sumatra is very well-known with their adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah and matrilineal culture. This province puts Islam as guidance and at the same time prioritizes and respects the role of women. Aside from its religious and cultural aspects, this province is also known as a disaster-prone area. Since 1990s many disaster occurred in this province, with major ones include Padang Pariaman, with earthquake and tsunami threats, and also Solok, with volcano eruption, and galodo or big flood threats. These disasters are impacted directly on Minangkabau people's livelihood, especially women. In West Sumatra or Minangkabau society, women hold a crucial role in households and community because they are chosen as Bundo Kanduang or leader of the Rumah Gadang (big house owned by community) and kaum (clan). This situation makes them as the person who gave solutions in any occasion, especially when disaster happened. The aim of this study is to understand the resilience of Minangkabau's women, which focused on their coping strategies at pre, during and post disaster, and how the local knowledge applied in this condition. Some of the strategies taken include; mamagang sawah or organizing the paddy field activity (from seeding, harvesting until the storing process) and this strategy is very useful to be applied when disaster happened, they still can use the rice which has been kept to fulfill their needs). In the post-disaster situation, strategies taken include badoncek, an ancient tradition in Minangkabau which remained until now, similar with arisan in general culture of Indonesian women, women not only collected the money and ameh (gold), but also the livestock such as buffalo, cow and goat. At this situation, the collected assets are used to damaged houses and mosques. This study used a qualitative approach; observation, in-depth interviews (with local leaders and Bundo Kanduang) and secondary

data collection in two districts; Padang Pariaman and Solok which showed a linkage between women, traditional practice and resilience. The findings of this study showed that by involving women and practicing those local practices, community could be more resilient to disaster.

Keywords: Resilience; Minangkabau Women; Disaster Risk Reduction; Culture; Mamagang Sawah; Badoncek

1. Introduction

Indonesia is defined as the most disaster-prone country in the world and has experiences in many disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, landslides, floods and also drought. The most destructive disaster that ever happened in Indonesia was the earthquake on September 30, 2009. This 7,9 earthquake struck the western coast of Sumatra island.

The report by the Indonesian government, the most victims occurred in Sumatra Island, especially Aceh and West Sumatra. There were 1,115 dead, 1,214 severely injured and 1,688 slightly injured [1]. Situated in the western part of Indonesia, West Sumatra is categorized as a disaster prone area. This province consists of lowland and highland that formed by Bukit Barisan, a mountain range running from north to south on the island of Sumatra. The peculiar form of West Sumatra is also completed with the long coastline, which has a direct connection to the Indian Ocean along 1.973.246 km [2]. Geographically, West Sumatra is located between two continents, Asia and Australia, and bordered with Indian Ocean, which makes this province have the unique climate, rainy and dry season. From its geological condition, West Sumatra is situated in active mountains line and located at the confluence of two plates Eurasia and Indo-Australia. This led West Sumatra become one of the areas which are really prone to disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruption and floods.

On September 2009, a big earthquake occurred in West Sumatera. This vast earthquake caused loss and damages in people and infrastructure. The most deaths occurred in the areas of Padang Pariaman (675), Padang (313), Agam (80) and Pariaman (37). In addition, around 135,000 houses were severely damaged, 65,000 houses were moderately damaged and 79,000 houses were slightly damaged. An estimated 250,000 families (1,250,000 people) have been affected by the earthquake through the total or partial loss of their homes and livelihoods [3].

No longer after the earthquake, another disaster such as *galodo* or big floods also became a threat in this province. In Solok district, *galodo* always attacked community especially when landslides and big rain happened in hilly area. The tremendous disaster was happened at the end of 2014 where 2.824 houses drowned because of flood [4]. The damages were not only on people's houses, but also on public infrastructure in Solok.

Due to that situation, West Sumatra government tried to reduce the disaster risk by synergizing with many stakeholders (donors, international bodies, NGOs, academician, private sector, and community) and implemented Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction Program (CB – DRR) since 2011. This program aimed to strengthen communities resilient and to minimize the victims of disaster. According to Wardani [5] the involvement of communities is very crucial to DRR programs, the accomplishment and sustainability of DRR programs has a strong connection to local culture, knowledge and indigenous practices. Local culture is not only defined by indigenous habit, but also may define as a collective memory that circulated from generation to generation.

In managing disaster, using local culture could be one of the best solutions, because there are some traditional methods which might be easily understood by community and more advance, it also involved local (Adat) leaders and women as the community advocates in Minangkabau.

The purpose of this study is to reinforce the use of local practice and knowledge in disaster risk reduction and also in livelihood management that help community to become more resilient in disaster phase. The study is conducted in two different areas; Padang Pariaman and Solok district. Moreover, the specific objectives of this study are:

- To identify local knowledge and practice in West Sumatra at pre, during and post disaster period, which focused on how Minangkabau women are coping with disaster and managing their livelihood after disaster.

- To assess opportunities, challenges and strategies for replication and scaling up of the local practices in other regions.

2. Research Methodology

This part will discuss the framework of the study and the process for data collection and analysis. This study was carried out by using qualitative approach using observation and in-depth interviews methods. The interview was carried out with local (Adat) leaders and women leaders (*Bundo Kanduang*) in two districts; Padang Pariaman and Solok which showed link between women, traditional practice and resilience in some cycles of disaster risk reduction. The process of this study is divided into three parts; (1) developing the study framework; (2) conducting the 'snowballing' process in the field; and (3) analyzing the data.
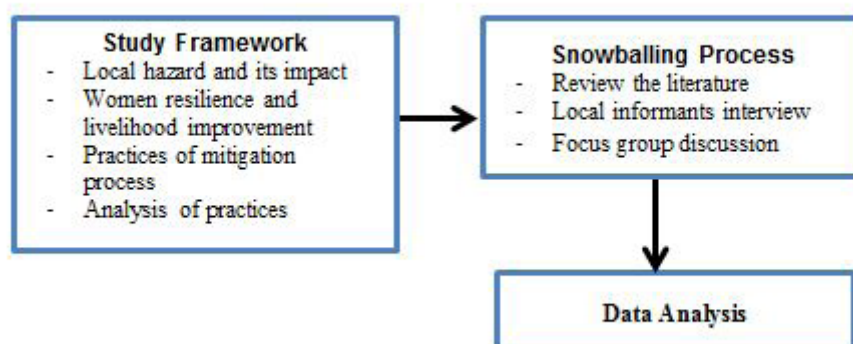
The framework explains the study; defines the essential part of local knowledge and its correlation between women and disaster resilience. This framework also describes the procedure and the logical analysis of the data that has been gathered, and sees the possibilities about another local practice in disaster risk reduction at the different regions.

This study used the snowballing process. Snowballing process is usually applied in explorative, qualitative and descriptive study [6]. At this study, there are three important processes; first, reviewing the literature; second, interviewing the key informants (Adat leaders and Bundo Kanduang); and last, conducting focus group discussion with community. This process is very crucial to investigate the hidden social phenomenon in community.
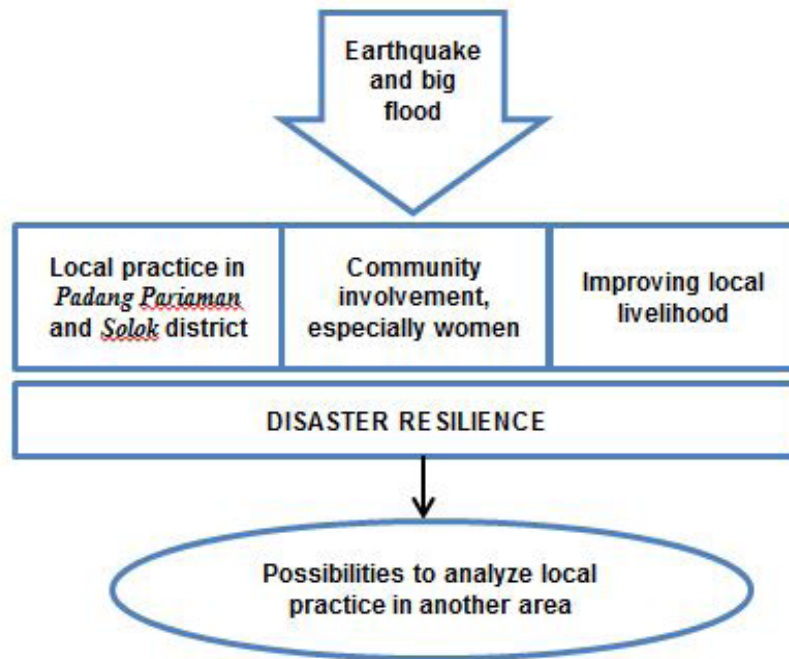
Data analysis was conducted at the end of data collection: literature review, in-depth-interview with key informants (local or Adat leaders, women in Padang Pariaman and Solok districts, especially Bundo Kanduang) and also focus group discussion with men and women group in those two districts. An analytical framework is supported by data analysis. The local knowledge or wisdom has become determinant factor of this study, and surely, disaster mitigation processes and the women's roles in improving their livelihood at pre, during and post-disasters are the most crucial part of the study.

3. Research Highlight

Since this study is focused on disaster in West Sumatra with the senses of their matrilineal culture, its very crucial to understand the resilience from Minangkabau's women perspective, either at their coping strategies at pre, during and post disaster, and how they bear with local knowledge. The findings of this study will be showed that by involving women and practicing those local practices, community could be more resilient to disaster. And hopefully for the upcoming disaster, community, especially women, will be more resilient to disaster by applying their local practices.

4. Research Result

4.1. Culture in DRR Context

Culture has been formed since our ancestors existed and most scholars have defined 'culture' as a religious or traditional belief and its created by social and livelihood system. In The Oxford English Dictionary by Stevenson [7], culture could be defined as the arts and other manifestation of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively; or as the ideas, customs and social behaviors of a particular group or society; or even defined as the attitudes and behaviors characteristic of a particular social group. But in fact the definition of culture is more complex than just an attitude of a social group. Culture and society are very dynamic, since they consist of many aspects and interactions [8].

In disaster risk reduction, one of the crucial things to be considered is culture. This aspect has been highlighted by many scholars since enormous disasters hit developed and developing countries over the past decades. When earthquake and tsunami attacked Aceh and some Southeast Asia countries in 2004, local people proofed as the real survivors by utilizing their cultural practices. For example in Simeulue (Aceh), when tsunami happened, indigenous people were saved by climbing the mountain in their village [9]. This action conducted because their ancestor has experienced the similar thing in 1907 and it could be the lesson learnt for Aceh people. There is another example about how indigenous knowledge might save people's life, when tsunami hit the coastal area of Thailand, lots of tourists became the victims because they did not understand how to survive on that disaster. But at the other hand, local people could survive because they understood their area and knew how to rescue themselves from disaster [10].

It is undeniable that culture has become the way of life that reflects values and norms [11] and this theory was strengthened by Hall [12] which mentioned that culture is a value or norm that distributed from one generation to another generation, which still used as the life guidance for individuals to survive in the society. In disaster risk reduction context, culture may influence the human perception of nature and disaster, and at the same time, culture could be such an implication in empowering communities to have more preparation in disaster [13].

Table 1. Aspects of Culture in DRR

Aspects of Culture	Implications in Disaster Risk Reduction
Practice and behavior	May influence the decisions which has been made by individuals or groups in the context of environmental hazards and change and may be impacted disaster preparedness in community.
Manifestations or products of culture	May influence the vulnerability and resilience of community, and also the strategies for adapting and responding to environmental change and hazards
Beliefs and values	May influence the perceptions of people within the nature and causes of disasters, and may empower individuals and communities in disaster preparedness.
Knowledge	May influence vulnerability and resilience to environmental changes or hazards either in positive or negative way. It may influence recognition of risk and strategies for preparedness, response, and recovery.
Social structure	May influence a social or power structure promotes risk or resilience, and how its impacted on their vulnerability

Source: Adopted from Thomalla et al. 2015

When disaster and climate change issue acknowledged as the biggest challenge in the world at the end of 1990s, many scholars seemed neglected the connection of culture and risk. But now since vulnerability and resilience became major problems in community, many scholars and disaster experts try to understand and apply cultural aspect in reducing disaster risk. Moreover, in connecting the role of culture and disaster risk reduction, Thomalla [14] tried to simplify some aspects in DRR. It's not only consists of daily practice and behavior of community, but also

considering the manifestation or products of culture, the beliefs and values within community, knowledge and social structure.

Additionally, the discussion about culture in disaster risk reduction context always has a strong relation with livelihood and the habitual action of individuals. The common terminology of livelihood is defined as "make a living". But, in more advance level, livelihood comprises of capabilities, assets, income and activities of someone which can secure their own life [15]. Because livelihood is tied with community, obviously it has a strong interconnection with local customs and knowledge. Many scholars had mentioned that a livelihood has to be sustained, and to sustain the livelihood, it should indicated that community should be able to cope and recover from shocks and stresses from threats and disasters without destroying their resources base [16].

But unfortunately, cultural aspect seemed to be seen as something unimportant in disaster sphere, and also some scholars [17] were argued that it's very difficult to address and link the cultural and livelihood aspects within disaster risk reduction context. They argued that cultural and livelihood aspects are always ignored by government and donors. Similar condition also happened in West Sumatra when Resilient Village Program (Desa Tangguh) launched, government and donors collaborated in managing the disaster by strengthening the capacity of villages in West Sumatra, but they forgot to consider the cultural aspects of community, whereas this aspect is very important in DRR. [18].

4.2. Case Study of West Sumatra

When people discussed about West Sumatra or Minangkabau, the culture is strongly glued to people lives. With a strong belief in Islamic value, Minangkabau society puts culture in the same equilibrium with religious principle; 'adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah' (culture is based on religion; religion is based on Holy Quran). From this statement, it might be assumed that culture is really tied up with Islamic practices. Subsequently, Minangkabau society is also familiar with disaster. Almost in every regency people attacked with varieties of disaster (earthquake, tsunamis, volcano eruption, landslide, floods and droughts). But along with that vulnerable condition, Minangkabau society is still survived by applying their local knowledge either at pre, emergency or even at post disaster phase.

a. Socio – Cultural Condition in West Sumatra

The majority of people who inhabited in West Sumatra come from Minangkabau tribe. Minangkabau tribe is a society which holds the wisdom and values of culture and philosophy. Minangkabau people are very familiar with proverbs that have a close relation with their lives. They are attached to Islamic Shari'a, and because the Islamic Shari'a is the main principle in Minangkabau tribe, then comes the philosophy of "Adat basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Kitabullah" which means "Custom is based on Religion, and Religion is based on the Holy Book (Qur'an)". By this philosophy, it cannot be denied that the majority of people in Minangkabau are Moslem and they always act based on their custom, tradition and religion [19]. In addition, the Minangkabau community life is very close to nature, they are known as people who live communally and prioritize the relationship with nature. By this human – ecological pathway, then a philosophy is forming "Alam Takambang Jadi Guru", which means that nature is the place of learning. Nature is the source of knowledge.

Moreover, Minangkabau tribe is not only well-known because of their philosophy; but the order of power in the family is also unique. This power is dominated by women, through the succession of matriarchal control over external family affairs [20]. It should be recognized that the social organization of families (and heritance issues) holds the matrilineal principle. Matrilineal is reinforced through the structure of traditional leadership wherein rules of primogenitor largely apply, with hereditary power assigned to (elderly) female persons or called Bundo Kanduang [21].

b. Women Collectives in Minangkabau

Minangkabau is the only tribe in Indonesia which adopted matrilineal system. This fact also supported by Kato [22], that declared the matrilineal system in Minangkabau is possibly the biggest matrilineal societies in the world. As a tribe which have special concerned on women, people never seen women as vulnerable group. Though many scholars are categorizing women as vulnerable group because their lack access to resources and do not have power in decision making, but in Minangkabau these statements are contra. Women are the central point to strengthen the vulnerable groups and they have an essential part to build resilient communities.

Similarly which mentioned by Gokhale [23], women are the important agents for change and they need to be strengthened. They have good skills and capacities in protecting their family and environment. Besides, they have skill in organizing food, nurturing their children and mobilizing the community. By seeing these facts, government and other stakeholders are supposed to realize the women's potential at disaster phase and involve them more in disaster risk reduction program.

As mentioned before, West Sumatra is very prone to disasters, such as earthquakes, landslides and floods. According to the data from Disaster Management Agency of West Sumatera Province, in 2014 many disasters occurred in lowland (Padang Pariaman) and highland (Solok). In Padang Pariaman, the earthquakes and tsunami always become the biggest threat for community. Unlike Padang Pariaman, Solok which located in highland is also get threat from volcano eruption and galodo or big floods [24]. These disasters are impacted directly on Minangkabau people's livelihood, especially women. In disaster sphere, women frequently categorized as vulnerable groups, but this common term is not applicable in West Sumatra. Minangkabau women have a strategy to survive at pre, during and even post-earthquake period, and the most interesting part; they still integrate their traditional values in facing disaster risk. This strategy then becomes an effort to strengthen their capacities, networking with other community members and at the end it really works in minimizing the impact of disaster.

Subsequently, previous study by Twigg [25] also mentioned about 'strategy to survive'. He stated that strategy to survive is a process that has similar meaning with resilience. By this point, if we take a look at the community level, actually they have actions and can strengthen their own capacity. Moreover, community can be very resilient to disaster because they have social system which usually called 'preparedness' [26]. There are some preparedness strategy that always conducted by Minangkabau people, especially women to revamp their livelihood and minimizing the impact of disaster, those strategies are called Badoncek and Mamagang Sawah.

c. Badoncek System to Improve Livelihood in Padang Pariaman

Padang Pariaman District is one of the areas in West Sumatra that situated in lowland with total area 1.328 km2 and coastline for about 4.211 km, this district is very vulnerable to earthquake and tsunami. A big earthquake was hit West Sumatra in September 2009, and Padang Pariaman

was the district that got the tremendous impact. More than 1.000 people were killed and more than 130.000 buildings were destroyed, and based on the findings of JEN [27] the biggest damage was due to collapsed houses and landslides. Additionally, the latest hazard map which established by West Sumatra Disaster Management Agency in 2013 showed that Padang Pariaman district still become the district that is very prone to earthquake and tsunami with the estimation of magnitude more than 7 Richter scale.

Because of many destructions happened in Padang Pariaman on that earthquake, many stakeholders put their attention, not only government, private sector, NGOs and academician, but the Minangkabau people who became wanderers (perantau) in big cities also sent the aid to their hometown. The aid which distributed to Padang Pariaman could be given in many ways, and the common system used by Padang Pariaman people in circulating those aids is called badoncek.

The tradition of badoncek has been rooted in Padang Pariaman since centuries ago. This tradition usually conducted in social or public events like marriage, adat ceremonies and building the mosque or house [28]. This badoncek comes from the word 'doncek' that have a similar meaning with throw. Badoncek could be defined as the 'tradition of giving' to others, and this is the symbol of togetherness. This indigenous tradition has the essential meaning, especially in social movement which can boost the collective action that directly coming from the bottom or community itself [29]. Based on the in-depth-interview that has been conducted in 2014, Pak Amri (67 years-old), one of the adat leaders in Padang Pariaman, stated that:

> *"The badoncek tradition is still used until today because it's a part of adat norm. Our ancestors said we cannot live alone; we have to help each other, especially if we have big events such as baralek (wedding party) and build the house, for worse condition (poverty and disaster) the wisdom like this has to be strengthened. Everything that will be utilized by community, have to be conducted by the community themselves"*

As mentioned by the Adat leaders, badoncek is very crucial at post-disaster situation, because by building community at the same time we may achieve the safer environment. Arguably, at this point men and women have to be involved actively. In badoncek, men tend to collect money, gold or even livestock. While men collect those materials, women have 'heavier' task. Usually women persuade or provoked the community to collect the money, gold or even livestock. Women are appointed to do the 'provocation', because she has a wide connection in Nagari and people knew her position as Bundo Kanduang. Women will never stop persuade until all the aid or donations has collected in a proper amount.

This culture has to be acknowledged as the social capital in Minangkabau community. And at the same time, this action could also support the weaknesses of Resilient Village or *Desa Tangguh* program that launched by Indonesian government. For example, when government (BNPB) tried to establish disaster preparedness community or KSB (Komunitas Siaga Bencana), they just gave the technical assistance, aids and other donations to community, but unfortunately they did not consider about the sustainability of the program. Government just forgot that community has their own wisdom to reduce the impact of disaster risk. Surely, badoncek' as a local wisdom is crucially needed because it guarantees the sustainability of social capital and also improves the livelihood of people who became the victims of disaster.

d. Organizing Paddy Field or Mamagang Sawah in Solok District

In many countries, rice is one of the important agricultural products. Just like in other regions, rice has become the staple food for Minangkabau people. As one of the province which played a crucial role for national self-sufficiency in rice, West Sumatra has a massive rice production since 1980s. This condition is due to the favorable climate and progressive development of farmer initiative and government assistance [30]. This massive rice-production lies in highland area of West Sumatra, especially in Solok district. This district covers an area of 3,738 km2 and divided into 14 sub-districts. In Solok, agriculture becomes the main livelihood and mostly contributes to local income. The recent report from Regional Development Agencies of West Sumatra showed that rice is still become the promising commodity in this province, and rice that produced in this district supplies not only in West Sumatra province but also in its three neighbors provinces; Jambi, Bengkulu and Riau province. Based on the latest statistical data, Solok may produce 351.256 tons of rice [31].

In Solok district, most people organize their own paddy field, started from seeding, harvesting until the storing process. For the storing process, they usually have a system for post-harvest distribution, two thirds of the harvest was distributed among the family-members, and one third was transferred to the storehouse, which called Rangkiang, (a traditional storehouse in Minangkabau and usually located in the front yard of the Rumah Gadang or big house). The discussion about this storehouse is ever discussed by Dutch scholar [32] but at that time, he just focused on Minangkabau's clan and marriage relations, and did not provide a deeper discussion on the function of Rangkiang as mitigation philosophy.

In particular, women hold a very crucial role to organize everything related to paddy field. The paddy field is the economic symbol for Minangkabau tribe, and its utilization is given to women. But it does not mean men do not have the contribution, men have such responsibility to take control of the field because of their role as the breadwinner of the family. At the same time, women are managing the economic sphere by storing the harvest of paddy fields. The coordination of working in the field between men and women is actually happened in Minangkabau since ancient time.

Furthermore, in the last two decades Solok district got threats from big floods, and this situation also recorded by National Agency for Disaster Management in DIBI [33]. And along with the increasing numbers of floods that occurred in Solok, UNDP with Disaster Management Agency of Solok District have initiated the community-based disaster risk reduction program in 2011. This program is not only focused on technical practice and socialization about disaster to community. But it has more advance solution, this program persuaded community to establish disaster preparedness community or KSB (Komunitas Siaga Bencana). The involvement from men and women are very crucial in KSB, because they have equal participation in establishing the contingency plan, conducting the mitigation process, disaster simulation and creating the action plan. The KSB is involved in mitigation process when the recent flood was happened on January 2016. This flood has caused many loss and damages in community; there are 42 houses were inundated and many people were evacuated. And of course, this flood is directly impacted on community, especially women.

When flood attacked, women in Solok have the coping strategies to survive at pre, during or post-flood period. They survived by applying their local practice such as mamagang sawah, which makes them resilient during the disaster phase. Mamagang sawah could be defined as 'swap' or 'barter' in economic term. Swap or barter is the act of exchanging goods or objects that are equally

profitable to both parties. The object of this swap could be lands, paddy fields, gardens, money and gold. The party who pawned or mortgaged their lands or paddy fields is called manggadai, and the party who gave the money or gold is called mamagang. For the payment, there is no specific deadline. The agreement will be terminated when the party who receives money or gold has been returned what they have borrowed, and at the same time they got their lands or paddy fields back. According to some economic experts, this system has contributed in improving the fraternal relations between communities. It could be a solution that can be counted when a person is in poverty or economic crush. And subsequently, this system also has an impact on a person's spirit to get back the property that has been pawned or mortgaged.

At the disaster phase, the condition has changed. The harvest of mamagang sawah is no longer accumulated as money or gold. But will be accumulated from how much rice that can be harvested. This decision has made by Adat leaders because they thought rice is the primary needs and when disaster happened, people would not think about their money or gold, but tend to think about their 'stomach'. As stated by Buk Marni (53 years-old):

"If galodo or flash floods attacked, we never ever think about our capital. We even do not remember about money or gold. The most important thing, all family could eat rice, not indomie (noodles) because our community must eat rice to be strong and survived".

From Buk Marni, it may conclude that rice is more important than any other capital. When floods attacked, people cannot eat money or gold, but they can eat rice. Eating rice is really undeniable became the culture of Minangkabau people. Alun makan kalau alun makan nasi, which means that "…it feels like they eat nothing, if they do not eat rice".

Furthermore, women know everything about rice management. They stored the rice in houses and they tried not to utilize all rice. Women combined staple foods, not only rice, but also potato, yam and cassava. The storing rice will be used if the family trapped in difficult situation such as attacked by drought and disaster or when the worst possibilities coming through their life (lack of food sources). By applying this system on their daily life, women can secure their source of food, and the most important thing, at post-floods period; they can use their own food-resources and can be independent without hoping the aid from donors.

5. Conclusion

Cultural aspects hold a very crucial role, especially to identify the capacity of society. Despite of many transformation occurred in community, but culture is remained strong. The cultural aspects help individual or even society to strengthen their values and livelihood. Moreover, integrating culture with disaster risk reduction is seemed useless if there is no such involvement of women. The issue of disaster is not only about macro issue such as damaged houses, but also 'feeding'. Women in Minangkabau plad an important role in disaster. They have power to provoke and influence people to collect donations in house reconstruction at post-earthquake, and at the other time they have managerial role. They manage food for all families and ensure that during disaster, they did not consume innutritious food such as noodles. At this point, it showed that by involving women and practicing those local practices, community could be more resilient to disaster and livelihood will be recovered. To sum up, hopefully in the future the similar studies regarding to women and resilient will give greater contribution to the development of disaster risk reduction issue.

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THE EFFECT OF GENDER, CANDIDATE'S ACCOMPLISHMENT AND RELIGIOUS VALUES ON VOTING BEHAVIOR

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Abstract

Women's participation in political contestation remains low. This is inseparable from women's low electability in their capacity in leadership. The reason to elect for a candidate is influenced by such factors as candidate's identity and profile, and the personal value of the voters. This study is intended to explore the effect of gender, the candidate's accomplishment profile and the value of the voters on voting behavior. The present study uses 3 full factorial experiments which involves 105 participants. The result indicates that candidate's accomplishment has a remarkable effect. However, if candidate's accomplishment is disregarded, gender identity and religious values strongly influence on voting behavior.

Keywords: Gender, Voting Behavior, Candidate's Profile, Religious Value

1. Introduction

There has been an interesting development in political psychology, particularly with regard to the role of women in politics. After reformation era, political rights and competence of women have been more and more gaining recognition. Political rights involve the right to elect, run for candidacy, and be declared as a leader. In the 1999 presidential election, Megawati Soekarno Putri, nominated by Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), emerged as the first woman candidate. The appointment of a woman by a political party in the presidential election indicates recognition on women's competence in leadership. In addition to presidential election in national scope, woman candidates appeared in the local leader election and some of them won the election. Issuance of Law No. 2 2008 implicates for a minimum of 30 per cent quota for women in party establishment and leadership.

On the other side, participation of women in political contestation remains low. According to the survey by Pendulum in 2016, only 44 women of 614 candidates o (7,17% percent) in the simultaneous local leader elections (PILKADA). Compared to 2015, in which 123 women of 1,646 candidates met requirements for candidacy, the percentage was slightly decline (0,30 percent) . Moreover, in the 2015 local leader elections, 46 women won the elections (of 123 candidates 37,39 percent). Thus, it can be said that woman participation in politics is still under represented [1].

Given low participation and victory of women in political competition, a special strategy is required to increase the chances of victory. Direct election, as it happens today, insists the candidate on following the wishes of the voters. An attempt to understand behavior, feelings and thoughts of the voters is not always easy to be made and requires serious efforts of the candidates and the success team to understand the wishes of voters. Based on a study by Remaud & Gillan, voters are concerned by the ability of the candidate instead of the candidate *per se* [2]. Understanding the needs of the voters is essential to formulate a better policy for society. Voting behavior is defined as voters' decision to vote for a particular candidate in both the legislative and executive elections. Electorate behavior studies have been ever-appealing in political psychology.

In political science voting behavior can be analyzed by three different approaches [3]. The first is sociological approach. Sociological analyzes of voting behavior was initially developed by scholars of Columbia University, and thus this approach also often referred to the Columbia school. The primary assumption of this approach is that everyone is bound to various social circles, such as family, workplace, neighborhood, and so forth. Each individual is encouraged to adapt so that his/her behavior can be approved by his/her social environment. This context also applies in electorate behavior. Individual's background, gender, social class, race, religion, and ideology determine the decision.

This approach posits that voting is not merely personal but also communal experience. Individual's voting behavior tends to comply with predisposing social and political surroundings. From various social bounds which exist in the society, scholars of political science typically point out three major factors as the earliest index of this approach e.g. socio-economic, religion, and a place where someone lives.

The second is psychological approach. There are three concepts of psychological approaches which firstly introduced by the political science scholars from the University of Michigan, namely: (1) personal perceptions and judgments of candidates; (2) the perception and the topics raised; and (3) identification of party or partisanship. According to this approach, voter choice is not directly influenced by the social structure, as emphasized by the sociological approach (Columbia School);

rather the short-term and long-term factors of voters. In this approach, values, personal qualities of the candidate, the issues developed by the candidates and loyalty to the party are the dominant factors which influence on voters decision. Issues or topics orientation are a conceptualization of short-term influences introduced by the psychological approach. Specific issues can only influence voter behavior if they meet the three following conditions: (1) the issue has to draw electorate attention; (2) the issue is considered crucial by the voters; (3) voters can classify their position on the issue, either positive or negative.

The third is rational choice model. This model emerges due to the decline in the influence of social class and religion in politics which encourages scholars of voting behavior studies to discover alternative explanation in addition to sociological and in turn to propose economic, personality, issues and the media. This model emphasizes that individuals are independent actors, unattached with a certain party and voter group.

The rational choice model, firstly introduced by Anthony Downs, is strongly influenced by the economic principle of supply and demand. Based on the supply and demand perspective of economic theory, rational voters will only exist if the party they choose will provide maximum personal gain. Like voters, political parties need to maximize their utility, including government revenue, power and prestige. Voters are expected to "buy it". This theory combines social action theories and economic theory of rationality. Downs defines rationality as an attempt to attain goals in the most reasonable way. In the elections, this theory basically emphasizes on the individual's motivation to choose or not and on how to choose based on the calculation of the benefits resulting from the decision. The theory that places individuals as the center of this analysis uses a deductive approach.

From analyzes of these three different approaches, it is interesting to note that voting behavior is not only influenced by sociological factors, but also economic and psychological factors. Therefore, voting behavior is not easily predictable using simple assumptions. Figure of the candidates is a selling commodity in the elections in the sense that approval of the figures can be starting point for victory in the elections, while nominating less approved figures can lead to loss. Aspects of the figures which often become issues in candidate's campaign involve gender and candidate's accomplishment, in addition to sociological issues of religious values.

Systematic comparative studies about the impacts of gender on electorate behavior are at an early stage of scientific development. Several studies indicated that there are different patterns of voting behavior between men and women. Women are more conservative in determining their choice than men [4]. Some references illustrate that voting behavior is influenced by candidate profiles [5]. Men are believed to have more capacity to be a leader than women. On the other hand women's desire to perform on politics has been a concern. Two broad interpretations have appeared in the literature to explain this development: firstly, an increase in the quantity of women who are more likely to be employed in the public sector, and therefore more supportive to political parties that favor work or government growth; and secondly, because affirmations for women to work by providing greater incentives [6]. However, no evidence so far confirms that gender gap is distributed equally across countries.

In addition to gender roles, some factors are actually less relevant to the profile. Furthermore, the religious values held by the voters also strengthen its influence [7]. Discussions about voting and religion have received much attention. Religious differences are sometimes viewed as the most important source of voter diversity [8], and research on religious-based differences has increased significantly in recent years [9]. It is argued that in a secular-developed country the impact of

religion on political preferences will decrease. However, in fact voters in a secular-developed country who maintain their religious identity can oppose other aspects of the secularization process. This study aims to examine the influence of gender, candidate's accomplishment and situation factor, specifically, religious values, in the election.

2. Research Methodology

This study used thought experiment which is a paper-pencil based experiment method [10]. Instead internet media, paper-pensil was choosen as media to give spessific situation or scenario as a stimulus for respondents. The experiment included three different scenarios. Each scenario consists of story about a local leader election with two candidates, one male and one female and includes images of a man and a woman. Each of three scenarios has a distinctive feature of experiment manipulation. The first scenario only explains two candidates for election, a man and a woman, without further information. The second scenario, in addition to presentation of candidates' gender, describes that the female candidate has better accomplishment and achievement than the male. The third scenario, besides giving information about better accomplishment of the female candidate, illustrates a campaigner who quotes a verse in *the Qur'an* suggesting preference for male leaders over female.

This study involved 105 participants that divided into three factorial-design groups (each group receives different scenario, and consists of 35 participants). Participants were invited by announcement. All subjects are university student whose age meets criteria to attend the election. The subjects also reported their voting experience both in the legislative election and local leader election. In terms of gender, 63% of the participants are females and 37% are males. Ratio of participants' gender can be ignored because recent studies showed gender of voter had no effect to decision of election. The age ranges between 19-23 years-old. About 83% of participants reported past voting behavior either in the legislative election or local leader elections and 17% reported no previous voting experience. The experiment was conducted in laboratory of Psychology UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

A simple question was asked to collect the data, i.e., "after taking a close look at the above candidates, please vote for the candidate whom you think the most capable to be a leader: A (for the male candidate) and B (for the female candidate)". The choice A or the male candidate was assigned to the numerical code of 1 while choice B or the female was assigned to the numerical code of 2. Manipulation check was performed using an open-ended question about the reason for candidate selection. The data had been analyzed with statistical analysis of descriptions and analysis of variants to determine differences between given scenarios. Analysis using the help of SPSS program version 22.0.

3. Research Highlight

This study shows influence of candidate figure on the tendency to be selected. In situations without adequate information, men tend to be selected than women. However, when given information about candidate achievement, there is influence of candidate's achievement on tendency of voting behavior. In addition, provision of religious issues does not affect the tendency to vote.

The first condition or scenario, containing the nomination of the male and the female as a local leader candidate, showed that all subjects (100%) vote for the male candidate. In contrast,

in second scenario with the description of a better accomplishment of female candidate, results indicated that most subjects preferred the female candidate (59%) over the male (49%).

Third scenario presented a paradoxical phenomenon. This scenario depicted that the female has a better accomplishment, but on the other hand the participant is presented with a verse of the *Qur'an* which suggests choosing the male. The result showed that the subjects continued to choose the female (63%) over the male candidate (37%).

The results of the statistical analyzes indicated a significant difference in the preference for candidate selection among scenarios ($F = 23,979$; $p < 0,01$). Mean of each scenario showed that in the case of presentation of candidate's accomplishment, the voters prefer the female candidate over the male.

Table 1 shows comparison between group 1 and group 2 (groups given only scenarios that tell gender of candidates with groups given scenarios that inform woman candidate's achievements). The results show that there is a significant difference ($t = -0.586$ $p < 0.001$) among the two groups. This suggests thatprovision of information will make voters tend to choose individuals who excel, in this case women, and ignore the issue of male superiority.

In comparison between group 2 and group 3 (group with scenario that presents more women candidate's achievement and group with scenario Quranic verses suggesting preference for male leaders over female) shows no difference in choosing candidates ($t = -, 038$, $p > 0.05$). This means that tendency of choosing an achieving woman can not be influenced by giving Quran verses that advocate choosing male candidates.

In the comparison between all scenarios: groups 1, groups 2 and group 3 (groups with lack informed scenarios; groups with scenarios of women candidate's achievement; group with scenario provision of Quranic verses) shows differences in tendency to vote for candidates ($t = -0.625$; $p < 0.01$). It tells that participants more likely to choose women candidate if she has achievements.

Those results draw a conclusion, accomplishment of the candidate was shown to be more and more influential factor in attracting voters' attention to vote for the candidate. A suggestion of male's superiority for a leader from the verse of *the Qu'ran* cannot override candidate's accomplishment as the most determining factor in the local leader election. Looking at results of this study, majority of the subjects tend to prefer individual who have a better achievement. Indeed citing the verse of the *Qur'an* suggesting choosing male candidate is not able to alter preference of the participants.

Table 1. Comparison vote for candidate between scenarios of the local leader election

Scenario		1	2	3
1	Without information	-	-,586*	-,625*
2	Better accomplishment of the female candidate		-	-,038
3	Better accomplishment of the female with quoting a verse of the *Qur'an* suggesting male's superiority for a leader over females			-

* The differences are significant at *p* < 0,05.

Manipulation checking showed that the subject understand the scenario which was presented. The first scenario presents only information about gender of the candidates, i.e., a male and a female. In general the subjects prefer the male because they believe that males have better capability than females in leadership both physically and psychologically. For instance, some subjects who vote for the male argued the followings:

> *"because males are a good leader who can lead well with logic and are wiser, while women use more affection"*

On the other hand, some votes for the male for the reason of religious values:

> *"because according to the Islamic law, it is prohibited to vote for females as an Imam (leader), in case of an outstanding woman in a leadership, she can be a deputy at best in order to support her leader"*

While the second scenario presents that the female candidate performs better than the male, subjects who choose women as leaders believe that the female's accomplishment is regarded as a good model to develop their region.

> *"I vote for candidate B (the female) because she has broader and more experience and thus I feel she can govern very well".*

Nevertheless, those who choose the male for a reason of religion are interested to vote for the male and tend to ignore candidate's accomplishment.

> *"Islam has assigned males to lead and their basic ability is good".*
> *"Accomplishment is not really a matter in running for a leader position"*

As for scenario 3, candidate's gender and accomplishment were combined with the verse of the *Qur'an*, showing that the subjects still prefer accomplishments over gender or the verse quoted in the campaign for the subjects who choose the female. Meanwhile, those who choose the male tend to say that the verse quoted can be legitimation to vote for the male candidate.

The reason for vote varies. Those who vote for the female believes that accomplishment can be a reference although they realize the presence of verse of the *Qur'an,* such as:

> *"Although the verse above has been quoted, if the candidate has no capability to lead regardless gender, the one who has a good potential should deserve the position, because a leader has a great responsibility".*

Those who choose the male use the verse of the *Qur'an* as justification for their choice, as the following opinions expressed by a participant:

> *"The verse above can be a powerful justification but even more powerful if the male can proof their superiority into action as a response to the verse"*

4. Research Resultn

The results showed that in case of minimal information presented, with only gender, voters will take the basic values adopted into consideration. Then the voters will use the minimal data to make their choice. This is confirmed in this study in which all participants vote for the male candidate. The subjects choose men as a leader due to gender stereotypes of the voters that males

have better emotional regulation than females. Stereotypes can be categorized into three aspects: the amount of available information to the person, the prominence of one's group membership, and the power balance [11]. Stereotypes emerges in this study may be resulted by the amount of information provided to the voters as the voters were only presented with images of a man and a woman. Unavailability of information will produce in the individual's heuristic thinking [12]. This thinking process is performed by individuals since this process does not to require a complex mental process. Heuristic approach occurs due to lack of motivation to think critically and explore more information in addition to the lack of information [13]. In these conditions voters will match the scheme of ideal leaders they have with gender roles that exist in men and women. Assumption that male are more masculine while female are feminine yields in different attitudes in predictions of a future leadership success in managing a local government.

Initially voters chose based on the gender role scheme. The influence of gender and beliefs on voting candidates can be explained by concept of gender role. Men in traditional culture tend to be considered to have the character to lead such as, dominant, independent and fast in making decisions. Instead women are considered weak in leadership with depicted with characters such as obedient, whiny, and less resolute decision-making. Although the role of gender is shaped by social construction, in other words can be changed, but belief in this scheme affects individuals or voters in determining their choice[14].

However, when it comes to the second scenario of the experiment presenting candidate's accomplishment, it was found that voters tend to choose candidates based on their accomplishment, even if the candidate is a female. Merit-based consideration is the main feature of rational voters. As Kusmayadi points out, according to the rational voter model, it is assumed that voters have a rational capacity to make decision [15] [3]. Voters are deemed to understand the reasons for voting, the impact of their choice and they are aware that their voice is an important instrument for the articulation of their political interests.

For the rational voters, the candidate's profile, more specifically candidate's accomplishment, can greatly determine electability. The candidate's profiles strongly influence voter's attitude to make decision. A credible candidate will receive a positive evaluation. Credibility of the candidate consists of two characteristics, namely competence and degree of trust. Competence is related to the knowledge, intellectual ability, accomplishment and ability to deliver the role of the candidate. Meanwhile, the degree of trust refers to the extent to which a candidate can be trusted to be relied upon.

As for the third scenario, the experiment was conducted through eliciting religious values and presentation of candidate's accomplishment and it is shown that gender has no direct influence on voter's decision. These results are in line with a study by Johns & Shepard which showed that it is gender evaluation and traits of the candidate which significantly influence on voter's decision in the election, not a gender stereotype on candidate [16].

In addition to candidate's accomplishment, religious values held by the voters also influence decision to vote for a candidate. Although the results of the third scenario showed similarity in terms of votes acquired with the second scenario, there are different views. Different perspectives on the candidate selection between the male and the female candidate are based on differences in the interpretation of the verse explicitly or implicitly. This result is contradictory with a study conducted by Sofianto which found that religious values serve as a reason in participation indicated from 8% of respondents stating strongly agree and 41.4% stating agree with the reason that religion is the foundation to categorize a good or bad candidate [7].

On the other hand, candidate's accomplishment can convince voters for the future success and it influences on voters' decision for the female candidate. According to Mayer accomplishment is an attribute that gives the reason for the voters' trust. Additionally, there are other components that support the trust namely ability, virtue, and integrity [17]. Beliefs based on candidate's accomplishment can reduce gender stereotypes and the majority of voters choose the female candidate based on her accomplishment. Furthermore, belief in the candidate's accomplishment can assure voters for the leadership success in future. It can be argued that candidate's accomplishment have a greater influence on the voting decision than gender and religious values.

The result does not show a strong influence in religious values in election. It can be understood because this study uses novice voters as subjects. Beginner voters tend to be rational in making choices. Religion in politics tends to function as a social identity. While rational voters will act pragmatically oriented figures compared with social identity.

Emotional relationship which involves voter's trust on the candidate can also build a positive relationship so that the voter believes in the leadership of the candidate. Such trust can also arise from the party that declares the candidate because it can be predicted form electability of the party. Establishment of emotional relationships between voters and the candidate can be analogous to the religious belief which ranges from the low religious level to become deeper and deeper belief [18].

Though it is not strongly influence voters' decision, especially of rational voters, religious value and belief are frequently used in campaigns to improve electability of a candidate. This is the reason why a politician raises such religious issues in his/her campaign to win the election. Jasiewicz finds that religion is still an important issue in politics, in both religious and secular societies [19].

In Indonesia, religious communities are potential targets for religious issues which are usually raised to attack opposing candidates, particularly the issues of Moslem vs non-Moslem and women's leaders. People are compulsive and thus easily are influenced by political mainstream. Therefore, during the general election or the local leader elections, many issues emerge even though they may disappear shortly upon completion of the election.

Religious issues are often used in a campaign and frequently take a form of negative campaign to attack opposing candidates. General Election Committee (KPU) and the ministry of Information have passed a campaign regulation to prevent the impacts of issues which was raised in negative campaign.

This study implies that political education is on demand. Socialization and learning efforts for the voters, especially for the beginner voters, have to be conducted with emphasize on rational aspect for voting decision. Efforts in political education ought to prepare voters to deal with differences with others' choice.

5. Conclusio

Candidate's accomplishment has a more significant impact on voting behavior than gender and religious values. This can be attributed to the voters' assumption that accomplishment can guarantee leadership success. As such, accomplishment which was attained can convince voters to vote for an outstanding candidate.t It also can override gender stereotype which is salient in society that women are less competent than men in leadership. In addition, although voters are encountered with situation which can provoke religious values, number of voters who choose the

female candidate is the same as in the case of the absence of situation which elicit religious values and thus it can be concluded that trust on accomplishment which is attached to the candidate influence on voting behavior despite variation in the reason which underlies candidate selection.

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THE POLITICAL HABITUATION OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL ELECTION OF BARITO KUALA

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ABSTRACT

Electoral democracy has brought a consequence of the existence of multi actor in political contestation, such as the presence of women as a new comer in political arena. The existence of women in political contestation has been increasing since 1990th, where there has been four times increase of the total of the woman leader who successfully became president or prime minister. The women's leadership in Indonesia was marked by the emersion of Megawati Soekarno Putri in the reformation era.mMost of women's studies saw that women existences were determined by the structure. this research however aimd to show a combination between the structure and the agent in determining the women's existences. There is aecombination between capitals and the leadership habituation to get the victory in local election.,this strategy is the main factor that makese a woman gains the most electoral votes and becomes the first woman Regent in Barito Kuala regency. this study is based on qualitative method with a case in Barito Kuala regency, South Borneo province. The primary data were collected usinge *in-depth interviews* and the secondary data was gathered fromh written documents or information and news from mass media.

Keywords: Women Leadership, Habitus, Strategy, Local Election

1. Introductio

The history of Greece democracy had been noted that there is political discrimination to women. In the heyday of the Athens democracy, the implementation of direct democracy was reserved just for Greek men (MIRIAM BUDIARJO). There are no women got the political right to participate for public policy making. For a long time, the discrimination againsn women has been existed in social and political life. The discrimination is going through a patriarchal system that refers to the unequal relationship between men and women, mainly because women

are considered tobe more inferior than men (Chris Weedons, p.3). in the period 1550-1700, women with diverse backgrounds appeared to oppose patriarchal rule like Elizabeth I in 1558 to 1603, strong women such as Anna of Denmark (Queen of James IV and I), daughter of Bedford, daughter of Pembrok, and Mary Mary (Queen of Charles I). Ie showdn tha, women are able to struggle in politics and art as long as the right and opportunity had been given to them (Sastriyani, 2009). In 1928, the struggle of women had already achievedh all women had equal suffrage as men (Gamble, 2010).

The progress of women's achievement can be seen from suffrage te become political representative and nowadays some of them appear as political leaders in democratic country (Randall 2011: 3). Democracy is a political system that has been adopted and believed by the most of country around the world as the best form of the government. The impact of democracy is not only can increase the number of women in politics but also increases the quality of women participationn especially in public policy making. Although the mosf countries around the world have ratified an agreement for upholding the right of women's participation in politicst the politcs is still dominated by men. This is due sf women's life basically have been influenced by some issues which designed beyond of political life. (Eisenstein, 1984).

In Indonesia, the status and the role of women have existed sinin long time ago. So many figures of women have contributed to political activity, like be a combatant to combat the colonial, fight for the rights of women to get education, equal opportunities to get a job like men, and fight any kinds of violence on women (Bakti, 2012: 149). Although historically the involvement of women in Indonesia has already existeut ihe realitf the participation in politics is still dominated by men especially in electoral system. Social construction has been judged women are not capable of rulinle and making clear decision in policy. women has shaped to be sentiment beings by the patron so women cannot make decisions when using the feelings in judging a decision (Son, 2012: 99).

after the collapse of the new order, the presence of women in politice has been increasing because reformation era has opened up space for women to fight in the political sphere both at the central and regional levels. In regional level, the government policy that encouraged direct elections through Law No. 32 of 2004 makes bigger chance for women to compete seriously in the arena of pilkada, such as: Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti, Ratu Atut Choisiyah, Tri Rismaharini, etc. However, the presence of women in the election got the attention from political researcher to analyze and explained it. Example likes the study of "Women In The Circles Of Political Dynasty" by Dr. Mohammad ArmoMM (2013h explained thae women or wives who replace their husbands as heads of region hide under their husbands' charismatic image and social assets and the factors which support the victory of the wives in regional elections; They usng their husbands' power while they were still the heads of region by participating in hidden campaigns, and generally paternalistic social environment where voters' use of their rationale ais still low. (Dr. Mohammad Armoyu, 2013)

The raising of women in political participation phenomenon also invites another explanation from researchers with various points of views. Howeverut the main stream of studies that have been previously conducted indicates that political dynasty and family ties become the determinant factors in the women's victory for achieving executive and legislative position either in the developed country or in the developing country (Julien Labonne, Political Dynasties, Term Limits and Female Political Empowerment: Evidence from the Philippines, February 2017) (Olle Folke, Gender and Dynastic Political Recruitment: Theory and Evidence, 2016) (Farida Jalalzai, 2016).

Therefore, this research aims to give different perspective in seeing the capability of the women's leadership as the main factor of their victory on the electoral contestation in the local level.

2. Research Methods

The research method used in this study is qualitative study with case study approach. Case studies are used to delve deeper information about the case of the first women's victory strategy in Barito Kuala District Election in 2017. There are three rationalities why the author used case study methods. First, Hj. Noormiliyani is the first woman who became the chief of DPRD in South Kalimantan Province. Second, Hj. Noormiliyani is also the only female candidate who fight in the local elections of Barito Kuala Regent. Third, Hj. Noormiliyani became the first proof of a woman's political victory for the people of South Kalimantan and Barito Kuala in particular. This study was conducted in Barito Kuala District, located in South Kalimantan Province. This study is not limited to a single source of evidence in but rather using multiple sources of evidence. The use of multiple sources of evidence aims to give researchers the opportunity to focus on broader historical issues, attitudes, and observations. Here are steps by steps in this research:

a. Desk study

The desk study was chosen as a first step to help find out how the dynamics of social reality are the object of the study and how to cluster the reality on the basis of existing supporting data. However, these supporting data are secondary data, written data related to the report of the Noormiliyani movement and other concepts which is related and used in this study. Secondary data can be records, transcripts, ethnographic notes, books, notes, agenda, mass media, research reports, journals, magazines, and others that are certainly related to the Noormilyani as a subject in this study.

b. In depth interview.

Interviews were undertaken to be emphasized in interviews that were dialogical and could be both formal and informal. the researcher will conduct a structured interview with Hj. Noormiliyani so that the atmosphere of discussion that was built could then be formal. However, when researchers conduct unstructured interviews with bureaucrats, PKK members, and researcher KPU members will build a more informal and spontaneous dialogue atmosphere in accordance with a problem or topic that the perpetrator is dealing with. The informants or respondents who became the target of this study include:

1. Noormiliyani as a Selected Regent in Barito Kuala Regent.
2. Chairman of DPRD of Barito Kuala Regency
3. Chairman of KPU of Barito Kuala Regency
4. Treasurer of TP-PKK of Barito Kuala Regency
5. Secretary of TP- PKK of Barito Kuala Regency
6. Golkar Party advisor to DPC Barito Kuala
7. Bureaucrats in the local government of Barito Kuala District.

c. Archive Records

The last step in searching data is the recording of the archive. Through this recording archives researchers can make observations through report books and print media published by the Regional Government of Barito Kuala Regency. This resource is useful to help researchers get an overview in view of events conducted by Noormiliyani in the past years.

3. Research Highlight
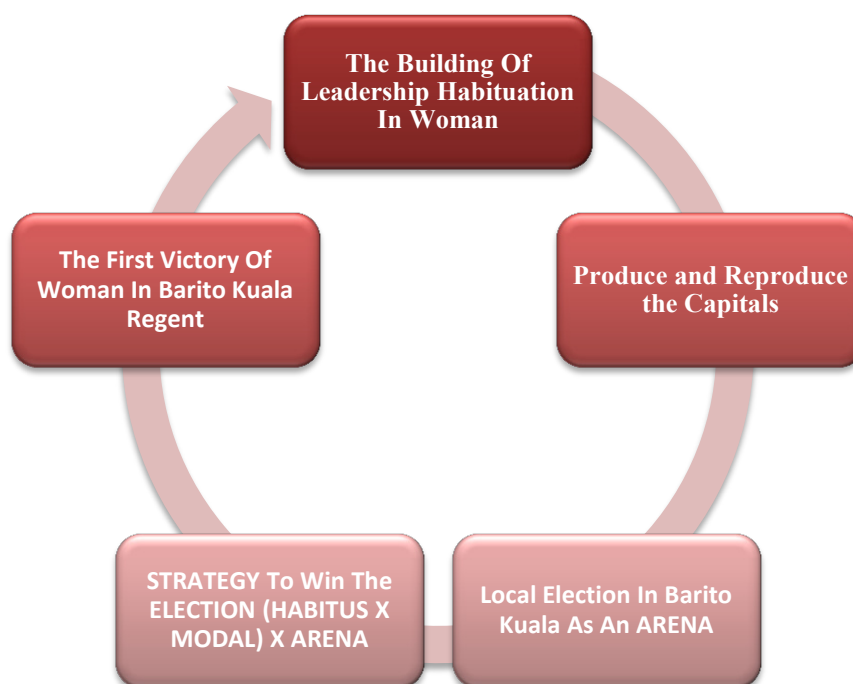
d. Research Result

Several concepts from Bourdieu, such as Habitus, capital and arena is an instrument of reproduction of power. Those all concepts were used to analyzed the woman's victory in local elections. Habitus is a set of tendency that generate social practice and perception. [Cari chapter 2] The concept of habitus is used to see the formation of leadership characters in women where there is a causal process of the individual with his position within the social structure through long historical and practice processes. The process of establishing leadership habitus through 4 stages, which is: family, formal education, organization, and also the process of building a new family. Capital is specific, it is always bound and dependent on a particular arena (Adib, 2012). PKK are not only seen as capital but also as an instrument to produce and reproduce capitals for Noormiliyani in Barito Kuala District. The field in this study is represented by the local elections in Barito Kuala Regent, where there are power relation and battle to struggle for resources, capitals, and also to gain access the power hierarchy. And the winning strategy is a collaboration of calculating the Habitus and capitals in the arena of local election to get the position of regional head in Barito Kuala Regency.

a. **Woman's Leadership Habituation: A Process of History and Capital Reproduction in Character Building of Individu**

Women's Leadership is a historical product that is supported by various capital and objectivity ability of an individual. So, every formula will affect each other in the character building for individu. According to Pierre Bordieu, habitus is a long-lasting and fluid disposition system that serves as a generative base for objectively structured and integrated practices (Richard Harker, 2009). In line with the concept of habitus, female leadership can be seen not as something that happens naturally but a combination of objective structure and personal history.

Family is the first and basic structure in creating the character of Noormiliyani. Based on Normiliyani's statements, the most influential figure in shaping the character of leadership and make her interest in politics is her father. Her father name is Aberani Sulaiman, who was a soldier and also a Governor of South Kalimantan period 1963-1968. Her father, also known as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Proclamation, a Commander of the 621 / Manuntung Infantry Battalion in 1961-1963, a pioneer of procurement Antasari Ship with local shipping company "Wasaka" and Chairman of the Committee for the Establishment of the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Pangeran Antasari Banjarmasin. Her father is not only as the main inspiration but also a social and political teacher for her to learn how the real life in governmental system. Because among her eight siblings, Noormiliyani was the only person who most often discussed with his father especially about politics. Sometimes her father also told stories about her father's childhood and the figure of her grandfather. Noormiliyani said that "my father told me that her grandfather is a son of rich man and a religious figure in Birayang, Hulu Sungai Tengah District. My grandfather is known as a generous and religious person in Birayang. He always upholding the Islamic Shari'a law with honesty and fairness for doing business" (Noormiliyani, 2018). even her grandfather is the businessman but he likes to help other people and sometimes he gives her profit to her partner so that makes her grandfather got respected in Birayang people. One day, her grandfather has a dream to sending his son to study in in Al-Azhar at Egypt, but Aberani Sulaiman against his father because he wants to be a combatant which fighting for Indonesia to against the colonizers. Because of the braveness and good faith of Abrani Sulaiman her grand father give approval for his son to be a soldier. Normiliyani said "all of that stories give her so many lesson and inspiration for her life" (Noormiliyani, 2018). Her father had been taught so many things about life, like be an honest person, always remember religious values, be a perseverance, courage, teach how to discuss, and also be a disciplined and assertive person.

Formal education is an objective structure which build cognitive knowledge and also habitus of an individual. In 1970 Normiliyani has completed elementary education in SDN Rajawali. In 1973, she also has completed his high school education at SMPN Taruna Jakarta. Then in 1976, she continued her studies at SMA 24 Jakarta and successfully obtained his Bachelor of Law (SH) degree at Lambung Mangkurat University in 1986. According to the interview with Hj. Noormiliyani, Education at Lambung Mangkurat University in law faculty, especially in governance law concentration is really useful and helpful to make herself understand and be more critical about political science and political practice.

Organization is not only one of the factors in forming self character but also a maturation factor of self-actualization after gaining cognitive knowledge of formal education. Normiliyani is not only became an active member of Student Executive Board (BEM) in the Faculty of Law, University of Lambung Mangkurat. She is a member in various youth organizations (OKP) such as Pemuda Panca Marga (PPM), Indonesian Young Generation Youth (AMPI), communication

forum of Retired daughter and child of military and police (FKPPI), and Indonesian National Youth Committee (KNPI). Although she never served as chairman in various organizations but become a member in various organizations has make herself to be a person who easy to mingle, good listener, and create a character like a "chameleon" that can adjust herselves in various situations and conditions and also know how to act as the needs of the persons she faced.

New family, Noormiliyani are married with Hasanuddin Murad who is the Head of Student Representative Body (BPM) of Universitas Lambung Mangkurat and her senior in University. Noormiliyani and Hasanuddin Murad are friend who like to discuss and debate together. She saw Hasanuddin Murad was like her father who has a good vision for the country and for his hometown, he also likes to discuss, has a good knowledge about politics, and has the same way of thinking with her father. Because of that she feels comfortable and match with Hasanuddin Murad so they decided to get married. After 15 years Hasanuddin Murad became a lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Lambung Mangkurat, he with Normiliyani tried to participate in legislative elections for DPR RI (House of Representatives for Indonesia Republic). However, the party policies were not allowed husband and wife be legislative candidate in the same time. So, Noormiliyani decided for not be a candidate and give full support to her husband. After eight (8) years as wife of member of House of Representative from Golkar political party, her husband decided to run as candidate of region head of Barito Kuala Regency, then successfully selected as Regent of Barito Kuala for two periods.

b. Empowerment and Family Welfare (PKK): Produce and Reproduce Capitals and exchange into Symbolic Capital.

The success of Hasanuddin Murad as Regent in Barito Kuala District automatically made Hj. Normiliyani as chairman of Family Empowerment Empowerment (PKK) in Barito Kuala District, which is one of the women's organizations in the district. PKK is a village community organization that grows from below with women as the driver in building, fostering, and forming family to realize the welfare of the family as the smallest unit of society. There are ten programs are owned by PKK, namely understanding and practicing values of Pancasila, "gotong royong" which means mutual cooperation, food, clothing, housing and household management, education and skills, health, cooperation living development, environmental sustainability and healthy planning.

PKK brings women as an agent with a great importance to the welfare of families and community, therefore PKK is managed and mobilized by the PKK Driving Team headed by the wife of Regional Leaders (Governors, Regents/Mayors, Heads of Villages). Functionally the key to the development of PKK programs and activities is the realization of the real role of the Regional Head's wife.

Since November 2007 Hj. Noormiliyani was inaugurated as head of the PKK in Barito Kuala District, this is become the starting point of applying self-leadership skills in making decisions within an organization. In a very short time, Hj. Noormiliyani studied the PKK from memorizing the Mars PKK songs to the tasks and functions in the planning, implementing, guiding, empowering and facilitating the Four Working Groups (POKJA) flexibly and coordinately (Arfah, 2018), Hj. Noormiliyani concluded that the PKK is like a mini government that works in partnership with several SKPD such as Department of Education, Department of Health, Department of Women's and Children's Empowerment and others. But for Hj. Noormiliyani studying the duties and functions of the PKK is not enough in determining a policy, so she conducted inspections to all villages in Barito Kuala District.

The main priority of Noormiliyani is to know the condition and situation in all of regent before determine the policy, therefore she carry out various inspections to the corners of the village (Noormiliyani, 2018). One day she told the story of finding a house almost collapsed in the area Belawang, the inhabitant is an old grandmother aged 80 years who is suffering from cataracts and works as a broomstick seller and live with her two grandsons who still attended elementary school. From that experience, Hj. Noormiliyani got an idea to do the house restoration program but still based on the household management contained in theJAokja 3. Before discussing with the PKK members, she consulted first with the Head of Public Works Department, Mr. Manaf about the house restoration program by the PKK. The discussion resulted in the design of a healthy house that is easy to build size 36 m2 and in 2009 the house restoration program was realized. In addition to house restoration program there is also a village improvement program consisting of three qualifications namely light rehab, heavy rehab, and total rehab. But the house restoration program is one of the most favored programs by PKK in the Barito Kuala District at that time. The Budget of the house restoration program is the result of the collaboration of the budget from PKK, Housing Department and Social Department as well as for other equipments such as electrical installation and home furnishing was coming from personal fund of the Regent and PKK team leader. There are requirements for house restoration program: proposal from the head of the village, focus on elder and toddler residents and get approval from neighbors and surrounding communities. In the end of term Hj. Noormiliyani as chairman of PKK there are approximately 140 houses restored (Jannah, 2018).

In POKJA II, PKK Barito Kuala District has a pre-eminent program which is Festival of Early Childhood Education (PAUD) called Gebyar PAUD. Gebyar PAUD is a fun day for PAUD children in Barito Kuala every year through organizing various competitions for children study groups and kindergartens. Hj.Noormiliyani also serves as the mother of PAUD in Barito Kuala District who is always consistent in supporting and organizing various activities for early childhood education progress, such as organizing cheerful gymnastic competition for children and teachers of playgroup and kindergarten at the office of Regent Barito Kuala, conducting seminar or training for educators in Early Childhood Education (PAUD), Playgroup (KB), Kindergarten (TK), STS and TPA in Batola District which taking place in the Parliament Hall then carry out the mass release of school children in Kindergarten (TK) and Early Childhood Education (PAUD).

PKK programs innovation is also found inJAokja IV which organizes a festiveal of Integrated Health Service Post (Posyandu) every year in Kab. Barito Kuala called Gebyar Posyandu. The Gebyar Posyandu was coming to existence caused by the insecurity of the PKK Team Leader who found the fact that Barito Kuala District has no specialist doctors. So that in 2012 the Gebyar Posyandu program was launched in the Rumah Pintar in Berangas Barat Village, Alalak District. The program contains general health services, elderly health, child specialists, obstetricians, internal medicine specialists, eye health, dental hygiene and nutrition consultations. This program is one of the superior programs TP PKK Barito Kuala in addition to house restoration program. This program is able to present hundreds of residents Barito Kuala to conduct examination and treatment with dozens of medical personnel who have been provided by TP PKK Barito Kuala

c. Barito Kuala Election as Arena

Barito Kuala Regent is one of the local governments in South Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. Geographically, Barito Kuala has an area of 2996.96 km² or 7.99 percent of the total area of South Kalimantan Province. Barito Kuala has boundaries in the north with Hulu Sungai Utara and Tapin

District, East borders with Banjar Regency and Banjarmasin City, in the south borders with the Java Sea, and Regency of Kapuas (Central Kalimantan Province) in the west.

Barito Kuala District has leading by a Regent, with Marabahan as the capital city. The administrative area of Barito Kuala District consists of 17 districts, 6 sub-districts and 195 villages. The Barito Kuala population consists of three major ethnic groups, namely Banjar, Bakumpai and Java. The majority religion of Barito Kuala residents are Muslim as many as 301,164 people (99.37%). Based on data from BPS, Barito Kuala District has 149.619 of men population and 148,663 of women population.

Barito Kuala General Election for period 2017-2022 held on February 15, 2017. There are 3 pairs of candidates for Regent and vice Regent who enrolled be Mayor / Regent candidate. The number one of candidate pair is Noormiliyani A.S. and Rahmadian Noor which supported by the Golkar Party. The number two of candidate pair is Bahrian Noor and Suwandi which supported by the coalition of PKB political party and Gerindra political Party. The number three of candidate pair is Hasan Ismail and Fahrin Nizar which supported by the coalition of five major parties which is PDIP, PKS, PAN, Hanura, and PPP. In 2015, the local legislative election in Barito Kuala has bring in 35 people from political parties become a representative in local House of representatives (DPRD) of Barito Kuala. the number of members of the DPRD of Barito Kuala District based on the party consist of Golkar Party has 13 reprsentatives, While Gerindra, PDI-P, PKS and PKB has the same number of 4 people, and PAN has 3 representatives. The total number of members I the house of representatives in Barito Kuala consists of 6 factions and 3 commissions

d. The Victory of Woman: The Strategy of Habitus, Capitals, and Arena Calculation

The victory of Noormiliyani in the local election of Barito Kuala Regency with 74,169 votes can not be seen only from capital ownership and the supportive political arena but also there are the good strategy to maximize the various capital and how to do in some position of political arena. Although the strategy can not be separated from the concept of the structure like arena and also capitals, but every capital in the arena should by taken by the strategy and ability. That's why Noormiliyani are one of prove that shown how to combine the habitus, capitals, and arena to create a strategy and get the victory or symbolic capital.

Economic capital ownership from the three pairs candidates of regent and vice regent for Barito Kuala Regency has different amount of wealth and donation for campaigns. Wealth of the pair of candidate number one, Noormiliyani has Rp 8.823.754.234 and Rahmadian Noor has Rp 1.317.725.006, pair of candidate number two Bahrian Noor has Rp 3.516.016.188 and Suwandi has Rp 1.738.24.549, and pair of candidate number three, Hasan Ismail has Rp 1,163,829,749 and his representative Fahrin Nizar has Rp 6,657,038,050.

Based on the report from general election commission (KPU) about the receipts and the spent of campaign funds, on the pair of candidate Noormiliyani AS, SH & Rahmadian Noor, ST have gotten a donation amounts of Rp 1.884.455.000. for the pair of candidate number two H. Bahriannoor & H. Suwandi, S.Pd., M.M. have gotten the donation amounts of Rp 650.000.000, and the pair od candidates number three Hasan Ismail S.Far., M.M., Apt & Fahrin Nizar, ST., MT. have gotten the donation amounts of Rp 300,000,000. Based on the report from KPU, the economic capital ownership from the pair of candidate number one are the largest than the other tcandidates even in the amount of wealth or donatins for campaign. Despite having the greatest

economic capital but not the guarantee of winning on the electoral stage because, it takes strategy and other capital to support the battle in elections Barito Kuala District.

Noormiliyani as individu is not only has more economic capital but she is also having more knowledge and experience than other candidates. Her knowledge and experienced can't get from an instant process because both of that she gets from10 years become the wife of the head of the regent and as the head of TP PKK Barito Kuala District and various of social organizations. According to Bourdieu, Struggle and strategy depend on knowledge, which has both active and materialist aspects. Knowledge is a system of schemes that are internalized and manifested from the collective historical journey formed on the individual. Noormiliyani said "she already has visited more villages than her husband which is a regent in Barito Kuala". for 10 years, Noormiliyani was intensively and routinely came and met the people of villages in Barito Kuala. that interaction not only give her information and knowledge but also reproduce the capitals of herself.

The first battle of Noormiliyani in local election of Barito Kuala is struggling for getting support from the Golkar party which has the number of legislative seats in Barito Kuala Regency for 13 seats. Golkar Party is a party which capable of carrying candidates for regents and vice regent candidates in Barito Kuala District without making coalition with other political party. In 2014, Golkar Party's political machine touched the number, 57,839 votes so that this party gets 13 seats in DPRD (house of representatives) Barito Kuala from 35 board of the total members. But getting support from the Golkar party to be a candidate of regent in Barito Kuala is not as easy as when he was elected to be a Golkar party candidate for DPRD (house of representatives) of South Kalimantan Province. Although at that time golkar has bring a new policy to prioritize woman cadres for struggling in the election.

As a Golkar cadre, even Noormiliyani are qualified woman to become Regent candidate but she gets many resistances from internal Golkar party at that time. At before, there are six (6) candidates who registered their self to be supported by Golkar Party in local election at Barito Kuala Regency. Those all of six persons who are struggle in Golkar Party are H. Yuni, Nanang, Wawan, Fahrin, Rahmadi, and Hj. Noormiliyani. H. Yuni and Nanang are the first who register for to be Golkar Party candidates. Both of them are successful and have supported from local strongman in businessman in South Kalimantan Province. Background of H. Yuni is the son of H. Sulaiman HB who is the owner and founder of Barito Putera soccer club, former chairman of DPP Golkar Party for 15 years, former chairman in KONI (National Indonesian sport committee), owner of Global Islamic boarding school and owner of Hasnur Group company which work for forestry, mining, transportation, shipping, coal special port, docking, property, multimedia, and plantation. Background of Nanang is the nephew of Sahbirin Noor who is the Governor of South Kalimantan. Beside it nanang also supported by H. Andi Syamsudin Arsyad who is the owner of PT. Jhonlin Baratama, PT. Jhonli Air Transport, and PT. Jhonlin Marine and Shipping.[1]

In the end, from six candidates are filtered into two person that is Noormiliyani and H. Yuni. But the Golkar party's decision is in the hands of the Golkar party chairman. So, the battle of Hj. Noormiliyani and H. Yuni continued in Jakarta and both of them are do lobbying and presented about their own capital in Barito Kuala. although, Hj. Noormiliyani has great social capital in Barito Kuala society and network in many organization in Barito Kuala, but she still not sure will get supported from Golkar Party. So, Noormiliyani has already prepared a backup plan to be an independent candidate in local election for Barito Kuala. Hj. Noormiliyani revealed in

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[1] kompasiana

some media that she is ready to go forward independently if not supported by Golkar Party. On the last day of registration at KPU Hj. Noormiliyani has prepared 40,000 ID cards to be verified by the KPU, but on the last day the Golkar Party are released a decision to give support for Hj. Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor.

The elections of Barito Kuala Regency in 2017 are followed by 3 pairs of candidates through the support of political parties. The candidate pair number one Noormiliyani US with his representative named Rahmadian Noor is supported by the Golkar Party with a total of 13 seats in parliament, candidate pair number two Bahrian Noor and his deputy Suwandi who carried by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and Gerindra with a total of eight seats, and candidate number three, Hasan Ismail and his deputy Fahrin Nizar, were promoted by five major parties namely the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), Conscience Party People (Hanura), and the United Development Party (PPP) with a total of 14 seats.

The strategy of political mapping the most important things to do by the couple Hj. Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor and also for another candidates. Mapping of votes is the basic strategy to decide the next strategy to get votes from people in Barito Kuala. for the election, the pocket of votes is the most important resources to get the victory. More pocket the candidate gets so more the chances they get power to be elected. All candidate was counted the distribution of the dominant voice pocket which dominated by its competitors. The candidates also will target potential pocket of votes based on geographical, age, gender, social status, ethnic, religion, race and class. The political machine of candidates will calculate all of factor that influence the political votes in society. The pair of candidate number one in Pilkada Baritokuala, Hj Noormiliyani AS-Rahmadian Noor also have their own strategy to get the winning in the election for Barito Kuala Regency.

Hj Noormiliyani AS-Rahmadian Noor and their team are maximixed the map of pocket votes of Golkar's based on the result of votes at legislative election in 2014 and the pocket votes for the candidate. The first strategy of mapping is calculated and browse the pocket votes for the member of House Representatives from golkar in 2014, so it can be calculated as support votes for Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor. Candidates and legislators from Golkar are working together in raising and stabilizing the supported and votes in the grassroots. The second strategy is mapping the pocket votes of Noormiliyani which based on survey data and the votes that she get when got elected to be a member of house of representatives for South Kalimantan Province. The survey results from several survey institutions that show the level of popularity of candidates and political behavior of people in Barito Kuala District. After mapping the pocket of votes, Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor are building the relation and connection with the voter. They intensively communicated by dialogue and face-to-face meetings with the support masses. And the last strategy is always make evaluations report for the progress and the possibility of changes base on the information and the situation on the society.

Beside that, Noormiliyani-Rahmadian Noor used social media especially facebook for campaigning their vision and mission. The slogan "One word, one sense to build the village to organize the city" and various agenda of them are published and posted in social media to help them socialized their vison and mission broader to all of society. All agenda like campaign, visited to the villages, and other social activities they post by pictures, video, and written as status on social media. Rahmadian Noor has been said "There are our accounts on facebook to upload our activities on the field, even become viral and many positive respon and giving encouraging

comments for us. Although massive on facebook but for us more effective to directly face to face with the community," (Huda, 2017).

After all of that strategy like used all of the knowledge, capitals, mapping pocket of votes, calculating of votes, intensive interaction with voter, till evaluating and socialization in various media makes Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor gain victory and be elected as the Regent and vice regent of Barito Kuala District. Based on the Result of Vote Acquisition Selection of Regent and Vice Regent of Barito Kuala 2017, candidate pair Hj. Noormiliyani AS, SH & Rahmadian Noor, ST got 74,169 votes (48.76%), candidate pair H. Bahriannoor & H. Suwandi, S.Pd., M.M. got 25,587 votes (16.82%), and candidate pair Hasan Ismail, S.Far.M.M., Apt & Fahrin Nizar, ST., MT. got 52,359 votes (34.42%) (Noormiliyani – Rahmadi Raih Suara Tertinggi, 2017). So, based on that result Noormiliyani and Rahmadian Noor have the most vote and automatically they become the elected Regents and Vice Regents for Barito Kuala Regency.

5. Conclusion

Democrare is always changes, so does in Indonesia after new ordged. The reformation era makes politics as an arena and opened wider space to compete for new political actors including women. Indonesia already applied affirmative action strategy for political parties to give and protect at least 30% for women's representatio%. Reformation also gave birth to local democracy of democracy in Indonesia is no longer centralize Tthe arena of political contestation is increasingly expandend the contestation space is getting bigger, aen the political actor is also more diversbtTthe participation of women is also increasing in the legislative ain the executive sector, especially at the local leve. Increasiof participation of women in Indonesild especialon whom to be elected for political leaders, howeveroid not get much positive appreciation. Most political experts and observers justify that the presence and success of women in politics is highly dependent on the political factor of the dynasty. Social construction in the community still views women as an object determined by the social structure that is outside of the woman's self.

Be the first female elected for head of district in Barito Kuala is proved that woman is capable enough to be a leader. The capability is the combination between habitus and capital that the woman had. leadership Habituation of the Noormiliyani had been through 4 stages, first stage is the family which give her basic knowledge and basic life education for that woman. Second stage is school and university that teach her to have critical and sharp analysis especially in the field of constitutional and governmental law beside science and the objectivity knowledge. Third stage is her involvement i oOrganization..be a member of various organizatioe she learned about the responsibility and maturity to act with other peopln Tthe fourth stage is new family, when she became a wife of politiciare the member in House of representative for 8 years ame the regent in Barito Kuala for 10 years, she learned about how political practiced in the real life.

Local election, there were two political battlbe faced by Hj. Noormiliyani before she get electte in Barito Kuala. The first batter sis in Golkar Party, she ads to struggle and compete with another cadre of Golkbe candidate from Golkar Partn Tthe second battle sis in the direct Barito Kuala local election. In both of battle, the strategy of Hj. Noormiliyani focused is her capacity, power any capitahas. she usem these to build to her networer and ske it to be a symbolic power.

Local election is not only how many the capital that every candidate had but al a her/his strategesi to be elected. The bashe strategy is "knowledgge about local people and their region. Hj. Noormiliyani with hing 10 years experienced as a he of PKK any social organizations in

Barito Kualonevisit to 201 villages and hing intensively direct interaction with society, made h ll understand well about the character, culture, aso the ned of society in Barito Kuala. So, knowledge is not only giving information but also could help Noormiliyani to decide the strategy of mapping the ballot pockets and calculating capital and arena for reproduced and converted to be people support for her in the local election of Barito Kuala.

In the end, this study wants to proved that woman with the leadership habituation and strategy could be elected in political election, even this study also not neglecting the factor of capitals and structure like a networking, family ties, and also the economic capital. To gain the victory, this stuen shsed the dominaor factorsto win political competition aby the strategy and capability ng manage knowledge and capitals. Reproduction and exchange capitals strategy are used by Noormiliyani to gain more capitals. According to Pierre Bourdieu, economic capital was the easiest capital in conversion into symbolic capital. But on the local electoral stage economic capital is not the only factal but all of capitals can be converted into social capital ain into new symbolic capital like the first woman who get the position of Head of Region in Barito Kuala.

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CONSTRUCTION TO WOMEN IDENTITY AND CHALLENGE TO BE LEADER IN INDONESIA: A CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Women play a significant role in building leaders, even civilization. The role has been extended to another field as indicated by increasing numbers of women worker in almost every profession in last decades. However, the society still considers them as object (not subject). It was represented in short stories published on newspapers in 2017. Women were constructed negatively in those works. This researcher used corpus data derived from short stories that published on 10 newspapers in 2017. He employed AntConc 3.4.4w software to identify collocation and concordance so it helped him in analyzing the data linguistically. Therefore the construction of women identity can be revealed through the data. Women represented by the word *perempuan* and *wanita*. *Perempuan* were constructed as object, game/toy, care to child, impatient, conservative, envious, weak and fainthearted person, but also cuteness and deserve to get prize. *While wanita* were constructed as maturity, exploitation to body, weakness, but polite. The former word was used more productively than the latter one. These findings depicted societal resistances and challenge that were faced by women to be leaders in Indonesia.

Keywords: identity construction; women; corpus linguistics; critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Compared to previous decades, women representation in public domain nowadays is increasing. In Indonesia, women can be ministers, even president (a fact that has not been supposed before). In parliament the total women chairs are also increasing, and so are in another

professions. Even in particular professions, like educator their numbers are found dominant, compared to men..

It seems women emancipation that sounded, talked, even struggled was successful. This showed the existence of collective consciousness to women role in managing the nation and state. However, women are still viewed as "second class human" culturally. They are placed as "object", not "subject". The insight was shown explicitly in short stories published on newspapers so that many writers still construct women identity negatively in their frame based on their perceptions. The construction can be prove linguistically because language represents way of thinking someone, culture, even ideology of community. In addition, as an important tool of thinking, language represents the accumulation of experience and user's mind (Suriasumantri, 2005: 176). Besides, language shows collective thinking in a society. Based on that reason, this researcher tries to reveal the construction to women by writers of those works using critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA).

This paper aimd to investigate women discourse on text (short stories) linguistically and its connection with the socio-cultural background. It does not only give description to society textually (linguistics aspect), but also wider range contextually (socio-cultural background).

This paper is based on short stories that were collected using corpus data therefore those works have implicit meanings. Most of the readers did not realize the identity construction that was concealed in. Moreover they mostly read those works in order to get entertainment, not to observe or scrutinize.

Several experts differentiate CDA to discourse analysis. CDA aims not only to describe the status quo but also social critique and, sometimes, involves intervention the researcher on a system characterized by dominance, exploitation, struggle, oppression, and power, while discourse analysis results in description (Johnstone, 2002: 26-27). Further, Wodak offerd that CDA can be used to reveal the construction of identity, which means a process of differentiation, a description of one's own group and simultaneously a separation to 'others' (Wodak, 1996: 126).

Moreover in CDA approach, researchers have responsibility to reveal the concealed domination forms through discourse. Besides CDA emphasizes on the relationship between discourse and social power. The social power means the control exercised by one group or organization (or its members) over the actions and/or the minds of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies. Therefore CDA should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institution, so CDA is aimed to present social order. Those concepts differ from discourse analysis approach that researchers objectively do not take a position near to the text.(Van Dijk 1996; Billig 2003; Haryatmoko 2017).

Several researches using collocation to reveal discourse meaning have been done with their characteristics. One of them attempted to reveal print media alignment to political affiliation divided into two sides (Alawadh, 2014; Sobari and Ida Hamidah, 2017; Al Fajri, 2018). On the other hand, a paper useg conversation or dialogue as data (Sakhiyya, 2017). Another research establisheddas a progress of information and communication technology. It useg linguistics corpus that derived from web site to analyse collocation (Al Fajri, 2017). It considereg on corpus as representation of discourse (Teubert and Cermakova, 2004). This researcher argues that the latter research shows state of the art of CDA research because corpus can objectively describe what the society are thinking even research using linguistics corpus was found before, particularly in

Stubbs' article titled *Collocations and Cultural Connotations of Common Words* in 1995. He used collocation to reveal ideology. He also defined collocation as the habitual co-occurence of two (or more) words, where the focused word is called *node word* and collocates are those words that occur within a certain span, left or right of the node.(Levorato, 14-15: 2003).

2. Research Methodology

This research is based on linguistics corpus. Corpus is a large collection of computer-readable text, or different text-types, which represent spoken and/or written usage (Stubbs, 2001: 305). Meanwhile, Sinclair emphasized that corpus (single) or corpora (plural) are collection of language texts electronically which were chosen based on external criteria to represent a language or variation of language as a source of data to linguistics research (Sinclair, 2004: 9).

The corpus data in this research was taken from short stories published on 10 newspapers (*Jawa Pos, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Kompas, Koran Tempo, Media Indonesia, Pikiran Rakyat, Republika, Suara Merdeka, The Jakarta Post* and *Tribun Jabar*) from January to December 2017. Those newspapers were chosen because of the wide spread or distribution so that they have so many readers. This researcher converted the data from MS Word 2007 to Text Document (*txt). The next, he employed AntConc 3.4.4w software by typing keywords *perempuan* and *wanita*, whereas from *The Jakarta Post*. this researcher also used keywords *woman/women* to identify collocation and concordance list. From data (short stories), hs chose AntConc 4.3.3w version due to the compatibility to computer program that researcher's have (Windows). Here is the picture of the software.
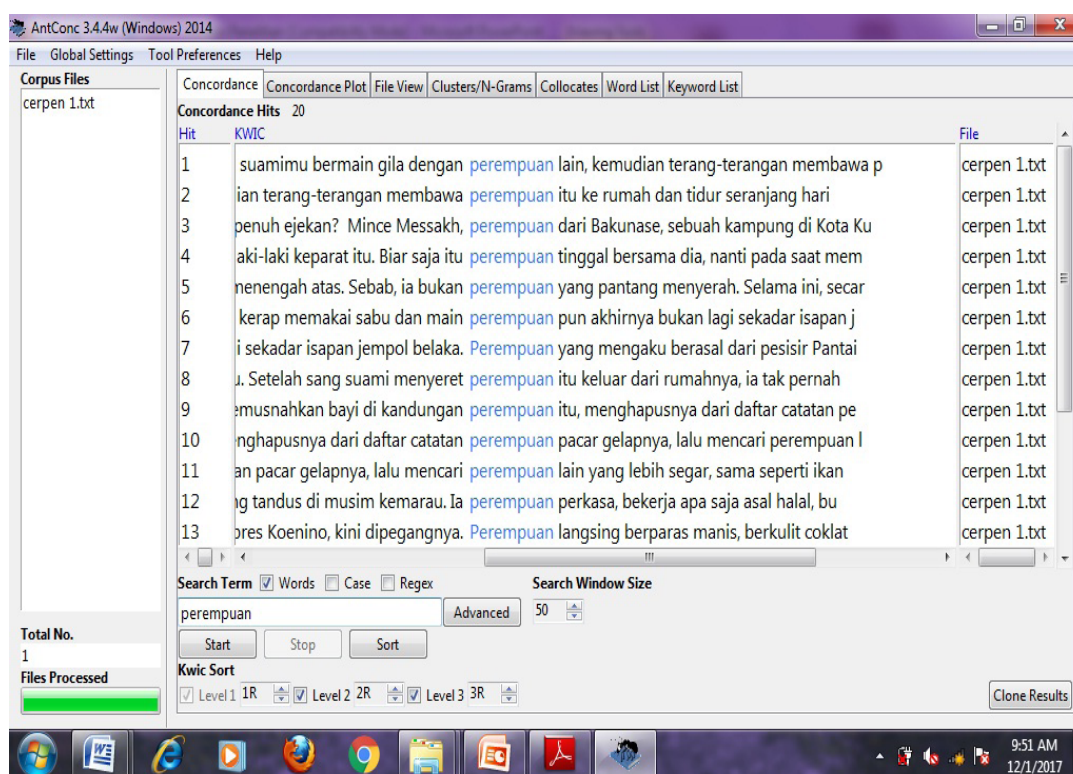
Picture 1: AntConc 4.3.3w

After getting concordance list as shown above, this researcher identified collocation of the node (main word). Collocation is the habitual co-occurence of two (or more) words, where the focused word is called *node word* and collocates are those words that occur within a certain span, left or right of the node (Levorato, 14-15: 2003). That definition is relevant to Rahyono's. He offered collocation definition as chain lexical units that have constant in existence and have prevalence in language connection eventhough each units can be independent semantic constituent (independent meaning) (Rahyono, 2011: 108). He analyzed the data with collocation theory to reveal the construction to women identity through the data.

3. Research Highlight

This papersdescripes construction oo women based on the writers' perception about women in short stories published on newspapers in 201n. Their perceptions were depended on societal and cultural backgrouns.tThe construction can potentially influence society's mind. Itndepictd the societal resistance to women to be leader in Indonesia based on the corpus linguistics. This papeh can raise societal awareness to the position of women.

4. Research Result

Having collected the data and inserted to the AntConc 4.3.3w software, this researcher identified collocation and concordance list. Based on *Kompas* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 191 times, while the word *wanita* found 15 times. The former word is mostly collocated to words that have negative sense so that women were placed in a negative frame. Meanwhile, the latter word captured as an older person the the former one. The data from *Kompas* was coded with "KP" (for the word *perempuan*) and KW (for the word *wanita*) to ease sorting and analysing. The analysis can be shown below:

KP1   suamimu bermain gila dengan *perempuan* lain

KP2   kemudian terang-terangan membawa *perempuan* itu ke rumah dan tidur sepanjang hari

KP3   sang suami kerap memakai sabu dan main *perempuan* pun akhirnya bukan lagi

        sekadar isapan jempol

KP4   Setelah sang suami menyeret *perempuan* itu keluar dari rumahnya

KW4   Penanda asli orang desa. *Wanita* berusia sekitar enam puluhan tahun

KW6   tikar kalambu; mengisi kamar mempelai *wanita* dari teras hingga langit-langitnya

In KP1 shown that the word *perempuan* is near to/after phrase "bermain gila", it means that women are placed as an object. So is in KP2, women are constructed as a thing that "can be brought". In KP3, women considerd as a game that "can be played". It is not quite different to KP4, that women constructed as a forcing object. On the other hand, the word *wanita* collocated with the words *berusia sekitar enam puluhan ('about sixteen years old')* and *mempelai ('bride')* so that it can be seen as maturity.

Based on *Koran Tempo* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 232 times, while *wanita* 26 hits. The former word depicted fear of woman and as fainthearted and an object, while the latter one showed maturity and exploitation to body so negative frame still covered the word. The data

from *Koran Tempo* was coded with "KTP" (for the word *perempuan*), while for the word *wanita* is used by "KTW". The analysis can be shown below:

KTP1	dalam kegelapan. Mengapa *perempuan* itu ketakutan?
KTP2	suamimu bermain gila dengan *perempuan* lain
KTW7	busana tersebut terlihat ganjil di tubuh *wanita* tua dengan kulit kemerahan dan rambut pirang
KTW17	atau melulu melukis *wanita* telanjang

In KTP1 revealed that the word *perempuan* is pictured as a fainthearted person. In KTP2 shown that women constructed as an "object". Meanwhile, the data coded KTW7 showed the maturity, whereas KTW17 pictured the exploitation to body.

Based on *Jawa Pos* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 232 times, while *wanita* 20 hits. The former word is depicted sensitivity of women, exploitation to body and impatient person. Moreover the latter word showed maturity. The data from *Jawa Pos* was coded with "JWP" (for the word *perempuan*) and JWW (for the word *wanita*) to ease sorting and analyzing. The analysis can be shown below:

JWP1	Delapan *perempuan* sibuk menenangkannya
JWP78	Kemudian dengan suara pelan *perempuan* itu menceritakan perasaan kehilangan
JWP127	Matanya kini bersitahan untuk tidak melirik body *perempuan-perempuan* semlohai yang bergegas meluncur
JWP138	Sabarlah. Kenapa *perempuan* selalu tidak sabar?
JWP139	pelayan itu meninggalkan meja kami. Mengintip *perempuan* mandi katanya
JWP229	Sebaliknya, *perempuan* itu justru makin perhatian pada janin
JWW20	Ia mengikuti kehendak *wanita* yang telah berkenan melahirkan tujuh anak

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *semlohai, pacari, and kemudaannya* with status of 9.77499, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result is relevant to findings above that women pictured based on shape of body and as object.

Based on *Kedaulatan Rakyat* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 49 times, while *wanita* 11 hits. The former word showed that women were seen as conservative person. Meanwhile, the latter word depicted maturity. The data from *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was coded with "KRP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "KRW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

| KRP48 | Saya akui ibu adalah *perempuan* kolot yang menolak segala macam kemajuan |
| KRW10 | sekadar menjawab cerca ibunya, *wanita* tua yang memakai gaun renda. |

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent word is *kawin* with status of 10.12807, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result seems does not relevant to findings above that showed conservativeness of women, but it (the word *kawin*) suits to maturity of women.

Based on *Media Indonesia* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 205 times, while *wanita* 41 hits. The former word showed as an object and caressingly love child (especially done by mature women). Meanwhile, the latter word depicted maturity and weakness of women. The data from *Media Indonesia* was coded with "MIP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "MIW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

MIP2   Sesungguhnya beberapa hari setelah memacari perempuan yang

kini menjadi pacarnya

MIP33   Jagad adalah balita yang selalu digendong *perempuan* tua di bawah lampu merah

MIW29   Ia tak sengaja melihat seorang *wanita* renta yang rasa-rasanya tak asing bagi

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *kau, ada,* and *dia* with status of 361, 353, 345, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result may not suit to findings above but it can not show different inclination, and even less contradictive preference.

Based on *Pikiran Rakyat* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 8 times, while *wanita* 4 hits. The former word captured as prominent and deserve to get prize, while the latter word showed kindness and politeness. The data from *Pikiran Rakyat* was coded with "PRP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "PRW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

PRP3   cantik sekali memakai perhiasan seperti ini. Anak *perempuan* memang

seharusnya dihadiahi emas,

PRW1   Tegukan pertama mengingatkannya pada sosok *wanita* yang senyumannya

adalah obat

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *yatim* with status of 10.88236, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result may not suit to findings above but it can not show different inclination, and even less contradictive preference.

Based on *Republika* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 96 times, while *wanita* 39 hits. The former word showed cuteness, while the latter word depicted weakness and maturity. The data from *Republika* was coded with "RP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "RW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

RP7   Tapi dia tahu betul ketika menikahiku, *perempuan* Sunda berparas manis.

RW2   Itu sebenarnya sudah cukup untuk *wanita* renta sepertiku

RW12   menjawab sapaan agen perekrutku. *Wanita* paruh baya, bertubuh kurus

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *seluk and berkibar* with status of 10.52583, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result may not suit to findings above but it can not show different inclination, and even less contradictive preference.

Based on *Suara Merdeka* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 146 times, while *wanita* 37 hits. The former captured that women were envious person and an object, while the latter word

depicted maturity. The data from *Suara Merdeka* was coded with "SMP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "SMW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

SMP16   Jangan cemburu, Kang. Itu tugas semua *perempuan* di sini

SMP76   Aku sangat mengerti cara memilih *perempuan* sekalipun selalu gagal

SMW2   Mungkin menganggapku *wanita* tua telah bosan hidup

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *diciptakan* with status of 9.75070, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result does relevant to finding above that women were pictured as object.

Based on *The Jakarta Post* found that the word *woman/women* appeared 96 times. The word depicted that women were placed after men. The data from *The Jakarta Post* was coded with "JP" to ease sorting and analyzing. The analysis can be shown below:

JP4   comprised of single men and *women* people whose lives they need

It is interesting to see data from JP because the collocation with the node word *women* was placed after *men*. This pattern showed that despite written in English (that gives priority to women), the work was adhered with the Indonesian culture. As known that in Indonesia, men are more prominent than women, this fact differs to British or America which usually uses the opposite pattern, such as *ladies and gentlemen*. On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words are *womb and widow* with status of 9.82827, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total.

Based on *Tribun Jabar* found that the word *perempuan* appeared 51 times, while *wanita* 43 hits. The former word is mostly close to words that have negative sense (simpanan 'mistress'), and so is in data coded TJW2, thereby women was placed in a negative frame. The data from *Tribun Jabar* was coded with "TJP" (for the word *perempuan*) and "TJW" (for the word *wanita*). The analysis can be shown below:

TJP21   ia mulai jenuh dan tidak bahagia. Menjadi perempuan simpanan tentu memang amat melelahkan

TJW2   untuk mengaburkan identitasnya sebagai wanita penghibur. Konon, banyak lelaki yang rela

TJW11   Dia seorang wanita tua yang bila tak ada pembeli datang

On collocation aspect, found that the most frequent words that collocate with the node *perempuan* are *pencerita* with status of 9.70809, while the word *wanita* collocate with the word *keriput* with status of 10.63232, means the probability that the collocate and key words occur near each other, relative to how many times they each occur in total. The result may not suit to findings above but it shows relevance to findings in another newspapers that women (*wanita*) were seen as maturity person.

5. Conclusion

This paper shows that the world *perempuan* was used more productively than *wanita*. It indicates thatd *perempuan* wae constructed as object, game/toy, care to child, impatient, conservative, envious, weak and fainthearted person, but also cuteness and deserve to get prize. Meanwhile *wanita* were constructed as maturity, exploitation to body, weakness, but polite. These findings depicted societal resistances and challenge that were faced by women to be leaders in Indonesia.

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PAPERS IN PANEL
WOMEN, URBAN DEVELOPMENT & ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (UDAEC)

PROLOGUE

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What is the gender of Homo Economicus? It seems like a genderless human, but it's a man. According to modern western definitions, women were considered to be irrelevant to the economy. In mainstream economics, only men's activities were defined as economics, and women, like children and the elderly, were considered to be economic dependents of men, such as fathers and husbands. Instead, adult women were classified as caregivers at home. Women are assumed to be naturally caring beings, and in society, it is considered appropriate for them to engage in care work, such as childcare teachers, nurses, and domestic workers.

However, many feminists have argued that this gender division of labor is the result of capitalist patriarchal planning. Feminist economists have revealed that the area of care that women are responsible for is closely related to the economy. Women's care work is hidden labor that enables the working of male workers. Women's unpaid domestic labor has provided an environment in which male workers can stably go to the labor market and has become a means of lowering the wages of men workers. The women, in the name of their mother, looked after their children, the future workers.

At the same time, these women's gender roles directly include the obligation to ease domestic poverty. Many studies have analyzed the gender role that poor women play in the process of resolving or minimizing household poverty, and this inevitably leads to women's multiple commitments and excessive labor. The problem of poverty in the family is defined as the result of failure to fulfill responsibilities as a wife and mother. Poor women should become "poverty manager," who is responsible for household poverty.

'The economic,' by itself, meant men's activities and labor, and as a result, women's work became irrelevant to the economy. It is also an ideology that naturalizes women's work, invents women as socially necessary categories and makes gender discrimination justified. Therefore, this Panel 8 on gender analysis of the economy should be read as a challenge to this male-centered mainstream economics. Presenters of this panel are convinced that gender analysis is essential in the economic realm, which seems to be a gender-neutral area.

In particular, the presenters are paying attention to the geopolitical and political economic categories of Asia. In the era of globalization, docile Asian women are considered by the capital as natural resources that can be mobilized most easily. The changes of life cycle such as marriage and childbirth were used as an excuse to fire women workers and hire another younger women. The traditional gender role of Asian women has been used as a tool for Asian economic growth. Therefore, the keyword of 'Development and Asian women' is not just a descriptive category, but a very political and critical analysis framework.

Claims of women's economic empowerment and women's role in poor areas or urban development area must, therefore, take a critical stance. When we discuss women's economic empowerment, what should we consider as an important factor compared to men's? Doesn't society call for more gender roles to women in the urban development process? What measures are necessary to give women more opportunities in urban development? Today I sincerely expect that insightful panel presentations and discussions on 'development and gender' to be held in this Panel 8. ❖

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN FACULTY: THE CASE OF TUP-CAVITE

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Abstract

The study was conducted to describe women economic empowerment, activities related to it and to understand the impact of the modes of empowerment to the development programs being undertaken by the school. Anchored on gender and development policy this descriptive study was facilitated through the fielding of questionnaires about female faculty profile, and their concerns in economic, professional, and socio-civic activities.

Data gathered show majority of female faculty are in the middle adulthood stage, holders of instructor and associate professor positions, permanent status of employment, master's degree holders, receive salary grade 12, and only 10.7% are involved in economic, socio-civic and professional organizations.

Involvement in economic was manifested in enterprising activities like being a network director. Active participation in Kiwanis International, Inner Wheel and conduct of national and international conferences for academic, extension, and research are some socio-civic and professional involvements. Such were inputs for revising the faculty development program.

Keywords: economic; empowerment; women faculty; gender, development

1. Introduction

Women's economic empowerment is a pre-requisite for sustainable development, pro-poor growth and the achievement of all the millennium development goals[1]. Achieving women's economic empowerment is not a quick fix. It takes sound public policies, a holistic approach and long-term commitment from all developmental factors. There is a need to start

with women empowerment by integrating gender-specific perspective at the design stage of policy and programming[2].

For women's right advocates in government and non-government organizations as well as national and local government leaders who adhere to these commitments, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach is necessary. It has been proven that any effort to maintain development require the participation of women in all levels of policy-making and implementation, and more equitable access to asset and services. These also strengthen women's rights, increase a nation's productivity, reduce poverty and promote economic growth.

Yet international agencies and organizations claim that women still experience barriers in almost every aspect of work[3]. Employment opportunities need to be improved. While women most of the times perform the bulk of care work yet they are not properly paid. This is an area to which greater attention by development factors through increased recognition and valuing of the ways in which care work supports thriving economies. It is necessary to have innovative approaches and partnerships to scale up women's empowerment[4].

The Philippines has been taking concrete steps towards the integration of gender in the development process. As a government – supported institution the Technological University of the Philippines- Cavite campus (TUPC) is at the forefront of gender awareness and mainstreaming[5]. It has espoused the principles and policies recognizing and respecting the identity and role of women in the education of the youth (Republic Act 9262). Its gender mainstreaming is essentially tied-up with its extension activities. The latter includescommitment to improve the lives of its clients. While it highlights the importance of technology transfer, packaging, disseminating and transfer of knowledge, upgrading of skills and attitude, empowerment and promotion of the marginalized sector, it also upholds personal and socio-cultural development[6]. A number of programs and activities are periodically implemented to this effect. This paper intended to study the commitment of TUP-C in the economic empowerment of women according to its ideal as an educational institution. It wanted to inquire on how women educators are self-fulfilled economically and socio-civically.

Economic Empowerment

Economic empowerment is the capacity of women and men to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes in ways which recognize the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth[7]. Economic empowerment increases women's access to economic resources and opportunities including jobs, financial services, property and other productive assets, skills development and market information[8]. Therefore, "it is described as a process of acquiring, providing, bestowing the resources and the means or enabling the access to a control over such means and resources"[9].

Empowerment has become a widely used word. In different fields like management and labor unions, health care and ecology, banking and education, one hears of empowerment taking place. The popularityof this word only means that it has been overextended and applied in circumstances that clearly do not involve much power acquisition beyond some symbolic activity or event.It is often referred to as a goal for many development programmes/projects. It can also be conceived as a process that people undergo, which eventually leads to changes. It is a method to change the distribution of power both in interpersonal relations and in institutions throughout society[10].

The World Bank's (2002) Empowerment Sourcebook set out to bring together the thinking and practice of empowerment as a first step in developing a better understanding of this component of the Bank's work. It identifies empowerment as "the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives. Building on this, to continue develop and apply an empowerment framework to their work, and learn from this experience, both ideas and definitions have evolved. This has brought about a definition rooted in both the long academic discourse on power, and one tested and confirmed through applied experience in a number of countries: Empowerment is the process of increasing the assets and capabilities of individuals or groups to make purposive choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. There is disagreement on the meaning of economic empowerment even among individuals and organizations involved in the field. For instance, some organizations involved in microfinance refer to economic empowerment as having access to income or taking part in income generating activities[11]. On the other hand, many research institutions take a broader approach and emphasize the importance of "challenging society's traditional, limiting views of women"[12]. This analysis uses a comprehensive definition of economic empowerment.

In the women's empowerment literature, "a woman is economically empowered when she hasboth the ability to succeed and advance economically and the power to make and act oneconomic decisions"[13]. To achieve economic advancement, women need the skillsand resources to compete in markets and have fair and equal access to economic institutions, and to have the power and agency to benefit from economic activities, women must havethe ability to make and act on decisions and control resources and profits[14].

Another study about economic empowerment is determined by a wide range of factors that shape adolescent girls' lives. This paper identifies key factors that contribute to adolescent girls' economic empowerment[15], [16]. First is financial capital, which is the most basic method. It is used to assess a girl's economic advancement. This includes holding cash, savings, access to credit, and other financial assets. Another key factor is human capital or a girl's skills and attributes including education, knowledge, literacy, good health, and self-esteem. The third key factor is social capital, which includes a girl's social networks or membership to the different professional organizations, friends, mentors, supportive family members, and role models. Social capital can determine opportunities to gain human and financial capital. The fourth key factor is physical capital, or the goods that make income generation possible. For adolescent girls, this can include a government identification card, household goods, and access to land, housing, and transport. Beyond a girl's individual assets, community-level social norms and institutions can create challenges or opportunities for economic empowerment. Social norms can include early marriage, early childbearing, or the influence of a girls' age, gender, or ethnicity. Influential institutions include a girl's political and legal rights and protections, the market structure, or the education system[17].

Economic transition, in many ... countries, has been characterized by a withdrawal ofthe government, from many sectors of the society, thus fostering a civil society. This connotes a combination between government and market that embraces many types of voluntary organizations. It is believed to promote citizen involvement and help create a political culture and social capital, necessary to sustain democracy.The ultimate aim of participation of people particularly women is the empowerment of them. Capacity building at the grass root level is a pre-requisite of empowerment. Empowerment essentially means decentralization of authority

and power which aims at getting participation of deprived sections of people in decision-making process. Thus the empowerment of womencannot be imposed from above. It must grow from the bottom upwards[18].

Economic participation lifts people out of poverty, can bring confidence, independence, social interaction and improved quality of life. Financial security benefits not just the individual but the entire family. The skills and status that employment brings can also provide the foundation for civic and political involvement. Increasing economic activity benefits society as a whole.There are many government initiatives in place committed to breaking down the barriers to employment and ensuring fair access for all. There are also women's groups who are working with their local communities to overcome some of these barriers. They are working with women to provide the language skills, training and confidence they need to enter employment[19].

2. Research Methodology

The study employed Descriptive method, which engaged in observing and describing the behavior of subjects without influencing them in any way[20]. This allowed the researcher to gather data and described the economic empowerment of 28 women faculty, who hold the permanent status, distributed in different departments of Cavite campus.

The NBS Gender Profiling questionnaire was developed and validated by two (2) experts. The instrument included items for personal information of the participants like age, position, educational attainment, scholarship grant, professional affiliation & socio-civic involvement geared to the first two objectives and interview schedule for the last objective.

Information obtained from the preceding and the record gathered from the Human Resource Management office were treated with Microsoft Excel and SPSS v. 17.

3. Research Highlights

Majority of female faculty members working in TUP-C are in middle adulthood or in the age bracket of 30-60 years old, belonging to Salary Grade-12, Instructor 1 rank, followed by Associate professor and Assistant Professor. Master's degree was the norm as it was the minimum entry requirement. 10.7% were involved in international organization. However in local **professional** affiliation all of the faculty were involved and most of them are engaged in two or more organizations. 71.4%wereactively involved in international **socio civic activities** and 28.6% were not participating in global affiliation. 100% of them were occupied in local social services. It only implies that most women faculty are engaged in helping their immediate community for the benefit of others.

A number of modes supporting empowerment provided in the staff development manual are scholarship, promotion, seminar and training, to name a few.

4. Research Result

Data show that among the permanent faculty members, twenty-eight (28) were female opposite the twenty-one (21) males. This implies that more women were actively participating in the teaching profession consistent with Lawrence and Ishikawa's[21] statement that teaching is a profession dominated by women.

According to OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality, economic empowerment increases women's access to economic resources and opportunities in jobs, financial services, property and other productive assets, skills development and market information. Women's economic participation and empowerment are fundamental for strengthening women's rights and enabling women to have control over their lives and exert influence in society[22].

92.9% of the sample are in the middle adulthood stage and they form part of the workforce satisfying different statutory requirements (accreditation, state universities and colleges levelling, normative funding). According to Silverstein[23], there is no consistent evidence that older workers are generally less empowered than younger workers. Most reviews and studies of work performance have not established a relationship between decreased job performances with increasing age[24], [25], [26], [27].

Whilst the consensus appears to be that there is no strong relationship between age and performance, a few have found some evidence of performance deteriorating with age. These results have usually been found in studying situations where jobs place a very high demand on cognitive or physical functions and where experience and expertise do not play a major part in the tasks[28], [29].

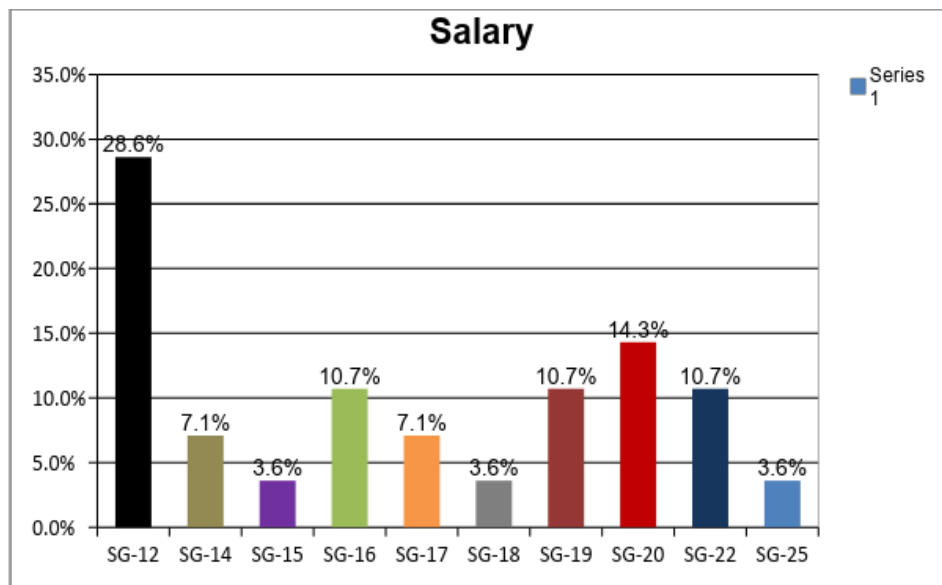**Figure 1.** show the salary scale of the women faculty.

Figure 1. Salary Schedule

Most faculty members have an income of Salary Grade 12 equal to the rank of Instructor 1. It indicates that female faculty members sustain their family and suit their economic needs based on their monthly income. Women's contribution of their wages to the family increases their negotiating power. The gender literature, on the other hand, suggests that women who maintain a hold over their own earnings is more likely to be empowered[30]. Facilitating women's access to money is an effective means for achieving women's empowerment. There are things to do to empower women like teaching them self-esteem, gender awareness, earning merit and assurance and gaining proper knowledge and skill.

Empowerment as delegation of power to someone has been a mechanism to increase personal and work life quality of woman in recent decades. Higher education and occupation are effective instruments to empowerment of women[31]. Based on various researches, key aspect of empowerment process is education and capacity making. Formal education builds skills and an ability that an individual needs to feel competent is critical for enhancing psychological empowerment[32]. Educated women are more likely to have control over their earning. Education, employment and earning increase women's financial independence therefore they are regarded as empowered.

Higher education and occupation are effective instruments to empowerment of women[33]. Pifer[34] stated that women of this new generation are growing up believing that ... they must expect to be all or partly self-supporting, and to provide... This anticipation of working is impelling more women into the labor force.Education paves the way out of poverty and disempowerment, and opens up access to participation in society and in political decision-making[35].

Majority of the women faculty have no membership in international/global organization though. They cannot afford the cost of foreign currency. However, this is weighted over by 100% involvement in local social services. It only implies that women faculty find opportunity to engage in helping their community the way they can.

The institution concerned in this research supports empowerment of women in the form of scholarship, merit system, seminar, training, workshops, "Lakbay-aral" (educational benchmarking trips), research and extension loads, research and poster presentation stipulated in the manual for staff development leading to a more confident, capable, and determined faculty to work more effectively and efficiently. Women in this study were able to gain personal and professional growth that can be shared not only in their family but also in the community and most of all to their students.

5. Conclusion

Women make-up the majority (middle age, instructor rank, salary grade 12) of the permanent employees in the campus. Women's education and economic empowerment is not only a matter of human rights but also human security that will lift her to success.

The participation of the faculty member particularly women in some organization both international and local, is not encompassed by the entire female faculty; nevertheless, they are empowered in terms of educational attainment. A lot of women are now making their way up in the ladder of teaching, and their organizational affiliations contributeto their success.

The University has faculty development policies that provide means to women economic, socio-civic and psychological empowerment.

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THE INCREASING ROLE OF WOMEN IN SLUM AREAS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE ERA OF THE ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This article aims to identify the role of women in the slums of Jakarta in the era of the ASEAN Economic Community. Jakarta as the state capital still has some problems, one of which is the problem of slums in the capital. Slum area is prone to cause various social problems, such as brawl, flood until the fire. This article uses a qualitative approach with descriptive research type. The role of women in the slums is seen in the improvement of the family economy, although there is minimal access to financial inclusion. Basically, the women in the slums, eager to play a role to improve the quality of life to achieve prosperity. Integrated coaching and assistance in the form of partnership is expected to increase the role of women in slum and poor areas in the era of ASEAN Economic Community. Community welfare is an indicator of development success.

Keyword: Role of Women, Slum Area, Urban Development, ASEAN Economic Community

1. Introduction

Jakarta as the state capital still has some problems, one of which is the problem of slums in the capital. Slum area is prone to cause various social problems, such as brawl, flood until the fire. Based on data from the Badan Pusat Statistika (BPS), the number of Rukun Warga (RW) slum in Jakarta in 2013 reached 264 RW. While in East Jakarta, there are 44 slum RWs with the highest number in Jatinegara Subdistrict. In Central Jakarta, slums are located in the districts of Senen, Kemayoran and Johar Baru or precisely in South Petojo, Karang Anyar, and Galur villages. In the area of East Jakarta, there are in Cipinang Malay, Cipinang, Cempedak, New Pisangan, Kayu Manis and Eastern Pisangan. In South Jakarta, there are in Kecamatan Kebayoran Lama,

Mampang Prapatan and Pancoran. While in West Jakarta, there are in Angke subdistrict, North Duri, Tambora, Kapuk and Rawa Buaya. It appears that the largest slum settlement (mostly) is located in North Jakarta area.

For example, Johar Baru Sub-district, located in Central Jakarta. This sub-district is a subdistrict of the division of Cempaka Putih sub-district, consisting of 4 (four) urban villages namely Johar Baru, Kampung Rawa, Tanah Tinggi and Galur. Johar Baru sub-district has a RW (RW) of 40 RW, and Rukun Tetangga (RT) of 558 RT. Johar Baru Sub-district, has an area of 238.16 hectares, with a population of 110,700, and 27,356 households. With the total area and population, the population density in the region is an average of 45,398 / km2.

Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) released the latest number of social inequality that occurred in DKI Jakarta. The data shows that the poverty rate in the capital is still high. In March 2017, recorded social inequality in the city of 0.41 percent of the gini ratio. The poor population in Jakarta is still at 389.69 thousand people or 3.77 percent of the total population of DKI Jakarta. Compared to September 2016, the poor accounted for 385.84 thousand people or 3.75 percent. The number of poor people increased by 3.85 thousand or increased by 0.02 points.

In the era of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is a system that leads to an agreement in integrating the economy among ASEAN countries. From the name is clear that the focus of the AEC is the economic field. Economics has an important role for the progress of a nation,

In Indonesia the AEC has been in effect by December 2015, although at the beginning it raises many concerns for some people about the competitiveness of the workforce and the community, but it does not become an obstacle, because in essence the AEC is an opportunity for a country to be more productive in economic activities and for the community or business actors is an appropriate momentum to introduce domestic brands to the international world.

One of Indonesia's steps to deal with AEC is to grow the SME sectors, since before and after the AEC is enacted, the government is very incentive to increase the role of SMEs in expanding domestic and international markets. In addition, the government provides education programs both in suggestions and infrastructure that facilitate SMEs to further improve the knowledge, skills, and modernization of business activities.

The implementation of this AEC is expected to improve the Indonesian economy. At the micro level, it is expected to improve the economy through the empowerment of communities, including communities in slum areas, in order to improve the welfare of people in the area.In the life of society in Indonesia, women are still regarded as a subordinate of men, This is one result of the existence of a system of partriarchy adopted by some Indonesian people. In fact, the role of women is important in a family, in society, and also within the state. Including the role of women who helped the family economy. Community welfare is an indicator of development success.

The previous research was conducted by Deraputri et al (2016) by describing the women's empowerment program conducted by Muslim women's organization, World Muslimah Foundation through Integrated Creativity Entrepreneurship Education for Women, Children and Family activities conducted in Kumuh Subdistrict, North Jakarta with target empowerment is the mothers of the menengan down. This research uses qualitative approach and descriptive research type. This research describes the process of empowerment to women through the stages of community empowerment and also integrated empowerment. Women's empowerment program through creative entrepreneurship education is one way to make mothers in the village of the face more independent, have the skills, and able to develop himself, his family, and the people around him.

In addition, Efrini (2005) conducted a study aimed at expressing the problems of space constraints faced by women in occupational and environmental levels and their impact on the quality of life of women, in terms of women's roles (productive, reproductive, social and civic roles), especially women in the densely populated slum of Kramat Sub-district, Senen Sub-district, Central Jakarta. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design that provides a comprehensive overview of the space limitations faced by women in dense residential neighborhoods and their impact on the quality of life of women. The study focused on women who live in densely populated slum communities with low to middle economies in RW 01, 03, and 08 Kramat Subdistrict. From the results of this study revealed that women experience problems of space limitations in occupancy and environment, caused by density, limited space function in terms of shape, size and utilization, limitation of lighting and penghawaan, and limitations of environmental facilities. Gender analysis influences the role of women, and has an impact on women's gender inequality that can lead to marginalization, subordination, violence and excessive workload.

Based on previous issues and research, this article aims to identify the role of women in the slums area of Jakarta in the era of the ASEAN Economic Community

2. Research Methodology

The research method used in this research is qualitative method. Qualitative research has the assumption of philosophical assumptions, research strategies, and methods of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting diverse data. Qualitative procedures still rely on text and image data, have unique steps in data analysis, and derive from different research strategies. (Creswell, 2012). The type of research used is descriptive research.

Interview on qualitative research according to Creswell (2012), can be done by researchers with face-to-face interview with participants, as in this study. The study was conducted in DKI Jakarta Province, especially in Central Jakarta, with informants of three housewives who are also entrepreneur, one of PKK Kader's and RT Officials. Test data validity in qualitative research consist of credibility, dependability, transferability and konirmabilitas. In this study, the validity and reliability performed are memberchecking and triangulation (both part of credibility) and confirmability. Data analysis technique used in this research is Strauss Corbin Model. This model consists of axial coding, open coding and selective coding.

3. Research Highlight

This research is to examine the role of women in slum and poor areas in the era of the ASEAN Economic Community. This research focuses the discussion on perceptions of poverty, the causes of poverty and the response to social conditions related to poverty. Furthermore, this research will comprehensively analyze a recommendation for stakeholders, such as local government, private or industrial sections, universities and others to enhance the role of women in slum and poor areas in the era of the ASEAN Economic Community.

4. Research Result

This research took informants from the Johar Baru urban village. Johar Baru sub-district is part of Johar Baru sub-district, Central Jakarta. Informants of this study were 3 Housewives / Entrepreneurmom, 1 PKK Cadre / Family Welfare Development, and Community Leader

The interview guide contains questions that reveal five things: demographic data, daily activities, perceptions of poverty, causes of poverty and response to social conditions related to poverty.

Interviews with informants indicate categories in open coding are:

1. Perceptions of poverty according to informants are:
    When in a condition of difficulty in meeting basic needs consisting of:
    a. Food : meet the needs of at least three meals a day or less than that with a menu of perfunctory.
    b. Clothing : have a decent outfit
    c. Residential Home : place to live in poor slums with status own ownership or lease.
2. The cause of poverty
    a. Lack of education and skills
    b. Lack of business opportunity
3. The response to poverty-related social conditions is to seek to change conditions with entrepreneurship, but requires the support of others and governments in overcoming the difficulties of entrepreneurship.

At the stage of selective coding concluded women have the desire to entrepreneurship and has made entrepreneurial efforts to improve the family economy. Difficulties in entrepreneurship is in the management of business finances. This difficulty arises because the capital is often used for domestic purposes. Another difficulty is business development. Business development in question is related to the marketing mix, such as improving product quality, packaging, marketing network and others. This difficulty arises because of lack of access to knowledge and skills. In addition, the difficulty of access to financial institutions (financial inclusion) to assist capital in business development.

If the results of this study are associated with the AEC, which focuses on the economic field, one of Indonesia's steps to deal with the AEC is to grow the SME sector, since before and after the AEC is enacted, the government is very incentive to increase the role of SMEs in expanding market domestic and international. In addition, the government provides education programs both in suggestions and infrastructure that facilitate SMEs to further improve the knowledge, skills, and modernization of business activities.

With the Government's efforts to grow the SME sector in the AEC era, it should not be difficult for people in slums to be more economically empowered. However, from the results of the research, they need assistance and partnerships to be able to access the government's efforts. It can be concluded that it is necessary to recommend integrated coaching and advisory efforts from the government, through policies, including partnerships with other parties such as universities, industry and other stakeholders. Integrated coaching and assistance in the form of partnership is expected to increase the role of women in slum and poor areas in the era of ASEAN Economic Community.

5. Conclusion

The role of women in the slums is seen in the improvement of the family economy, although there is minimal access to financial inclusion. Basically, the women in the slums, eager to play a role to improve the quality of life to achieve prosperity. Integrated coaching and assistance in the form of partnership is expected to increase the role of women in slum and poor areas in the era of ASEAN Economic Community. Community welfare is an indicator of development success.

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Women, Urban Development & ASEAN Economic Community

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Abstract

This paper presents an overview the role of women who live in urban development and challenges that they face in ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). The study uses descriptive qualitative analysis method. Nowadays, women have many opportunities to apply their abilities and their knowledge in almost all areas in their countries along with their higher education. With the support of urban development (such as the development of health, education, and employment), of course, there will be more opportunities for women. One challenge for women that facing AEC is having the capabilities that other countries, especially in ASEAN region, need. But unfortunately, the women working in ASEAN especially dominates by Indonesian, Philippine, Laos people, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Myanmar are as blue collars. The challenge is not only for women but for the countries too. How to increase the capabilities and knowledge of women work in order to have a better job in other countries in AEC.

Keywords : ASEAN Economic Community, Urban Development, Women

Introduction

Women, Urban Development and ASEAN Economic Community are three points that will be influenced each other.

Nowadays several women have the important role in the country, some of them as leaders in their country, the other ones as government officials, as leaders in the organization, as politicians, as employees, as business women and as migrant workers. Those are because of increasing the chance for women in having education, getting the job and exploring their ability and knowledge.

This research is divided the role of women in 4 main roles besides their roles in their families, this is:

1. As a leader (in government organization, private organization or private business),
2. As employees (in government organization or in private business),
3. As business women (women those handle their own business),
4. As politicians (women those give their aspirations in politics).

The increasing chances for women relate to the increasing urban development of their country especially in the countries those are joined in ASEAN. But, unfortunately, many women didn't have the same chance. So, the equality chance is still a dream for many women.

Women as leaders

A 2015 statistical report of the European Institute for Gender Equality (Stegaroiu et al, 2017, 177) defines education as: "a human right and an essential tool in achieving the goals regarding gender equality, development, and peace. Equality in obtaining educational qualifications is necessary if more women become agents of change. Discrimination against girls regarding access to education persists in many areas; marriages and early pregnancy, inappropriate teaching methods gender-based, sexual harassment and lack of school facilities". European Institute for Gender Equality recommended that governments develop programs and measures involving women's access to education and training.

The preconceived ideas that a man is smarter or more intelligent than women leading to discrimination, but the fact isn't like that, many women are smarter than men, unfortunately, they don't have the good opportunities to actualize their capabilities. Because of these ideas, a woman is forced to work much more than a man to prove her competence. Statistics (BPS, 2016), show that women accept lower incomes than men for the same work and for the same educational background. A woman is much more organized, more attentive to detail, more cautious, more rigorous in its actions than a man. A man appreciated in organizations as typically masculine the values such as dominance, strength, and determination.

Women as entrepreneurs

Women entrepreneurs face a wide variety of barriers and challenges throughout the life and growth of their entrepreneurial venture. (Davis, 2011, 1-2). The area of service and growth needs of women entrepreneurs is an important one as women are increasingly participating in small business ownership and entrepreneurship. Although the number of women entrepreneurs is growing, research has identified that women entrepreneurs' enterprises are less likely to grow when compared to their male counterparts (Huot and Carrington in Davis, 2011, 2). It caused the lack of support from experience, management, surrounding, family, and government. Considering these challenges, entrepreneurial advising, training, and education services have been found to play a positive role in venture success. (Chrisman and Mc Mullan, Hughes in Davis, 2011, 2).

Women as politicians

The participation of women in politics through the quota as 30% (thirty percent) in reality is still facing some structural obstacles. There are many constraints to realize the quota, example the cultural mindset that says women are better at home than as politicians.

As Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No. 2 Pasal 2 year 2008 ayat 2, "Establishing and the formation of political parties as referred in ayat (1) include 30% (thirty percent) the representativeness of women". This was stressed again the aspiration in Pasal Ayat 5 by affirming, "The central level management of political party as referred to in ayat (3) prepared to include the lowest 30% (thirty percent) the representativeness of women".

Women as migrant workers

A phenomenon called of "feminization" worker shows how the women are very fragile in market policy because of their salaries lower than men workers and they work hours longer than men workers. (Asriani and Amalia, 2015, 148). Besides the better chance to work in AEC, but the women worker face lower salaries than the men worker salaries.

The rapid growth in the world is influencing almost all of the country in the world including the countries in ASEAN. It forced all of the countries to develop their countries. But, the developing have the different impact for the countries, especially in urban development. It influenced by the culture of the country, the readiness of the population to change and the ability to adapt to the change inevitable.

Research Methodology

This research is using qualitative inductive approach. According to Bongdan and Taylor (Bongdan and Taylor in Moleong 2010, p.4), qualitative research with the scientific background as the needs to rely on the man as research tools, using the qualitative methods and analyzing the data in an inductive way. The qualitative study prefers the man as the subject of study and more focus on the process than the result. Through inductive analysis, the research is expressing the meaning of the circumstances that he observed, while to answer the problems theoretically is using the study of literature, with this expected the analysis for some variables will be more accurate. The literature study in this research is stressing in women role in urban development in accordance with ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

The research subject is using saturated sampling, which is total women employees in Indonesia from the year 2014 until the year 2016.

Triangulation of a method being conducted by way of comparing between the observation and the results of documentation study (Rahardjo, 2010, p.1).

Research Highlight

Despite all the ideological shifts that took place in the social outlook of the pre-modern era, however, as history has shown, they failed to generate sufficient philosophical foundations either for recognizing the equality of women, or changing their social, legal and political status, which was leading to the accumulation of unconscious internal opposition to prevailing social standards, which was expressed in a kind of arbitrary behavior, its originality, however, having failed to acquire any openness by the beginning of industrialization, which destroyed rural communities with their inherent division of labor, mode of life, and eventually significantly weakened the influence of mythological social structures, and laid the preconditions for awareness of gender inequality and start fighting against it. (Storozhuk, 2017, p. 79).

The progress of the big city, like Jakarta, is boosting rural area to transform to become a city (Hudalah et al in Novianty, 2015, 72). It can be seen there are changes the using of farmland to become industrial area, housing, and transportation area, they caused of the decreasing of farmland in Indonesia as 27 thousand hectare per-year, from the initial 107 million hectares.

Below the table 1 that contains the data the main activities of the population that age 15 years and older. It contains the percentage of the women labor force too.

Table 1. The Age Population 15 Years and Older by the Type of The Main Activities

The Main Activities	Unit	2014		2015		2016
		February	August	February	August	February
Labor Force	Million People	125,32	121,87	128,30	122,38	127,67
Employee	Million People	118,17	114,63	120,85	114,82	120,65
Unemployment	Million People	7,15	7,24	7,45	7,56	7,02
Labor Force Participation Rate	%	69,17	66,60	69,50	65,76	68,06
Men	%	85,04	83,05	84,58	82,71	83,46
Women	%	53,37	50,22	54,48	48,87	52,71
Open Unemployment Rate	%	5,70	5,94	5,81	6,18	5,50
Urban	%	6,97	7,12	7,02	7,31	6,53
RURAL	%	4,48	4,81	4,32	4,93	4,35

Source: Berita Resmi Statistik No. 46/05/Th. XIX 04 Mei 2016

From the table, we can find that women labor force participation in Indonesia around 48,87% until 54,48% from all. In social life, gender is still often used as one of the variables the distribution of work. The men have the obligation to fulfill their basic needs and work, while women have the obligation to take care of households regardless of their economies. In addition, the men are reputed to have had the strong physical condition so that the opportunity to obtain employment opportunities was expected to be higher compared to women. On the other hand, there were also many kinds of job that required a power by women, because it needs thoroughness and forbearance. (Wahyuni and Anugerah, 2016, 19).

It can be seen in the table above, the percentage of open unemployment is higher in urban than in rural area. The open unemployment rate in the urban area between 6,53% until 7,12%, but the open unemployment rate in rural between 4,32% until 4,93%. So, it needed more work chances in the urban area, than in rural area.

From the table 2, we can see the income disparities between men and women workers/labors with the same education level graduated background.

Table 2. The Percentage of Labor In Indonesia and net Wages that Receive Per-Month
Based on the Last Education Graduated on February, 2016

The Highest Education That Graduated	Percentage			Net Wages (Rp)			Income Disparities
	Men	Women	Men & Women	Men	Women	Men & Women	
Not/Never Been School	0,81	2,42	1,34	938.018	644.484	762.276	0,69
Not/Never Been Graduated From Elementary School	7,68	8,54	7,96	1.295.984	725.932	1.092.595	0,56
Elementary School	22,30	17,75	20,79	1.442.381	909.974	1.291.150	0,63
Junior High School	18,15	13,14	16,49	1.624.507	1.173.390	1.504.890	0,72
Senior High School	21,52	17,83	20,29	2.208.109	1.682.866	2.054.534	0,76
Vocational Senior High School	15,23	11,67	14,04	2.134.254	1.713.501	2.017.923	0,80
Diploma Level I/Ii/Iii	2,59	7,32	4,16	3.478.968	2.240.846	2.754.185	0,64
University/ Bachelor	11,73	21,32	14,92	4.236.423	2.947.318	3.623.725	0,70
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	2.110.702	1.685.895	1.969.385	0,80

Source: BPS

In the table above, it can be seen that there is income inequality between men and women with same highest background education, example the wages differences between men and women with Diploma background, the wages for men are Rp. 3.478.968, but for women only Rp. 2.240.846, There is income inequality at 0,64 between wages for men and women.

Wages differences between men and women with Bachelor background, the wages for men are Rp. 4.236.423, but for women only Rp. 2.947.318, there is income inequality at 0,70 between wages for men and women. The highest income inequality between men and women are for not yet complete primary school background at 0,56. The lowest income inequality between men and women are for Vocational Senior High School (SMK) background at 0,80.

Women as leader

Jean Jacques Rousseau (Stegaroiu et al, 2017, 182) said that "all civilized nations have expected woman". With great admiration, he finds that every day more and more women are turning to a career as a leader, taking over many fields as science, culture, economics, and politics. Women leaders willing to overcome barriers, put over the time by conservative society, proving their courage and competence combined with the ambition to acquire a well-deserved place in society. There are many efforts that the women leaders must do to prove their capabilities, more than the men leaders must do.

Women as entrepreneur

Orser and Hogath-Scott (Davis, 2011, 4) identified that "a business owners' intention to pursue growth of their firm leads to subsequent growth".

Many women entrepreneurs and perhaps entrepreneurial trainers may not be fully aware of the benefits of growth such as better credit terms, value added to customers through the breadth of product lines, choice of quality employees, growth in remuneration and the ability to delegate to others with the potential to maintain or increase personal time control.

There is a positive correlation between women who underwent some type of entrepreneurial training and their experienced higher growth compared to their counterparts. The better education and experience they have, they become better women entrepreneurs.

In particular, women-owned businesses are significantly less likely to export/trade in international markets than their male counterpart firms. Many women entrepreneurs found the process of entering the exporting market to be overwhelming, so they tended to avoid that process.

Women as politicians

Paxton (Abdullah, 2016, 281) from the total 190 countries in the world, Indonesia, is only seven countries with women as president or prime minister. Even this also he said never done in the activist democracy country, such as the United States (Antaranews in Abdullah, 2016, 281). The even USA declared as a democratic country, but it never has a woman president or woman prime minister.

This fact of course significant, when history gives the basis for democracy education, why in contemporary life does not happen a change that is basic in the involvement of women in politics. The progress that has achieved so far is not significant if it is checked at its historical context in which women have been more advanced at that time. A note for the first woman president in Indonesia is supported by 'her father big name' first president in Indonesia. So, it's rather difficult for a woman to achieve the highest position in her political career, if she doesn't have a really best achievement or she has an amazing support.

Women as migrant workers

In ASEAN Economic Community, Mutual Recognition Agreement (MRA), ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and ASEAN Agreement on the Movement of Natural Persons (MNP), only consist of the movement of skilled workers and doesn't consist of the regulation of women migrant workers. (Asriani and Amalia, 2014, 149). Women migrant workers need regulation to protect them from inequity, from the violence or exploitation that others do. They must know about their obligations and their rights in their work based on the regulation in AEC, they must be skilled enough in their work.

Big city problems that is urban problems revolve around particularly on how to complete the city facilities to serve and satisfy its people, starting from: adequate housing, sufficient employment, communication, recreation and other supportive facilities that meet the needs of modern city in national and international traffic. For all of those to happen, massive and strong fund and resources are needed. (Tarigan, 2014, 941).

Almost the same problem that faces Udonthani in Thailand (Phuttharak and Apisak, 2014, 57), (Santoso, 2013, 102) and (Setyono et al, 2016, 53), they find impact of regional rapid growth in Jakarta and central Java including 1) land use change; 2) economic and societal change; 3) road and traffic problems; and 4) waste disposal problems

In the AEC Blueprint exposure by the Secretariat General of ASEAN revealed that there is five key of characteristics, which will be developed in cooperation among countries of the Southeast Asia region. The fifth characteristic *is (a) A Highly Integrated and cohesive Economy; (b) A Competitive, Innovative, and Dynamic ASEAN; (c) Enhanced Connectivity and Sector Cooperation; (d) A Resilient, Inclusive, People-Oriented, and People-Centered ASEAN; and (e) A Global ASEAN.* (Setiawan, 2016, 288).

ASEAN establish a single market with five major component the free flow of goods, services, investment, capital and skilled labor (Hidayat in Araminta and Halimi, 2015, 11). Indonesia has opportunities and challenges for skilled labor. The opportunities are liberalization and the strengthening the skilled workers will open more jobs for them. The challenges for Indonesia are education, training, experience and licensing requirements for professionals who want to practice their service. But, unfortunately for migrant workers, especially women migrant workers, the AEC still don't have special regulations to manage them and to protect them, so they can work comfortably and safely in other countries in ASEAN especially.

Discussion

The equality chance of women is not only words, but this intention at the international level for the first time was clearly manifested in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948. Thus, Article 2 of the document, on the one hand, clearly outlined the factors underlying social inequality, namely "race, color of skin, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or other position" and that could result in "uprisings" and "barbaric acts" and, on the other hand, the document proposed a constructive program of international activities directed towards overcoming all forms of social inequality for "justice and peace". (Storozhuk and I. M. Hoyan, 2017, 71-72). With the number of women those are almost the same as the number of men, so the women have the important role to support the development of their countries.

Women as leader

It is noteworthy that women leader have predominant attributes, which are related to her personal side, emotional and interpersonal relationships. (Stegaroiu et al, 2017, 182-183). In conclusion, the women leaders are characterized as follows:

a. Auto-critical, ask a lot of them and others. Women leaders like to criticize themselves for their policy.

b. Are more inclined to ask for feedback and receive it. Women leaders like to have feedback and excited to receive it.

c. Tend to be less calm in situations of stress and pressure. Women leaders tend to get stress and pressure.

d. They are more collaborative, less aggressive. The women leaders like to collaborate to achieve the goal they have.

e. May seem more timid. The women leaders more timid than men leaders.

f. Are more pragmatic and more oriented for implementation. One of the strengths of women leaders is they concerned with practical matters.

g. May seem more emotionally impulsive. One of the weaknesses of women leaders is more emotional than men leaders.

h. Take decisions with difficulty in special situations because of their desire not to disappoint or to fail. They are rather difficult to take a decision, because of their characters that don't disappoint the other or they don't want to fail.

i. Seem uncertain on themselves. The women leaders sometimes aren't confident with themselves.

j. Keep on the human side in business. Besides interested in business, they keep their human side of the business, not only for profit goal.

k. Are more altruistic. They concern with other welfare, especially for their employees.

l. Are more attentive to the company's image. The women leaders usually like to keep the good company's image. For them, it will keep company's good name.

m. Capitalize intuition in business. They have good business intuition.

Women as entrepreneur

Based on research Davis (Davis, 2011, 10) Entrepreneurial Service Area Needs from women entrepreneurs in Urban of Manitoba, Canada

1. Top 5 Service Needs
Instability of demand, cash flow management, Accounting and bookkeeping tied with budgeting, success planning tied to computer software skills development. Not only the service needs from women entrepreneurs in Urban of Manitoba, but those are the service needs of entrepreneurs too.

2. Additional Service Areas Needed
Customer service looking at personality types, working relationship with distributors, customer service, business coaching for senior business owners, advanced internet marketing, setting product return policies, how certain standards affect their industry, how to deal with governing bodies more effectively regarding labor issues and how to stay positive, getting rejected on the phone. Those are needed to strengthen their companies.

3. Entrepreneurial Service Needs and Business Stage
Market expansion and budgeting. Women entrepreneurs still need service about market expansion and budgeting, because of the finance and marketing are two things that needed for increasing their companies.

4. Service Delivery Methods
The top five delivery methods include local workshops, personal consultation, mentoring, online training – at own pace and peer roundtable. Women entrepreneurs still need training, consultation and mentoring to strengthen and to make bigger their companies.

5. Convenience Feature Rankings

Course/training fee waived, free parking, technical support for the delivery method involving computers, transportation provided and onsite childcare. Women entrepreneurs need some training, but they have a limited budget to pay that. They need some facilities to support their efforts.

Women as politicians

Some tendency can be presented in increasing the involvement of women in Indonesia in politics (Abdullah, 2014, 284-285):

First, the group entered the political world derived from the artist, not the group from the general public. Because the parties need 'the name' of the artist to boost their supporter.

Second, the women involved as complementary in an election. It seems that there are women involved derived from the people who do not have the background as political activist or politician. They were not recruited because of they are the politician, but because they have many fans in their field.

Third, the women readiness to participate in politics are low caused by the interest of women are still low on one side and political education for women are very low on the other side. The interest of women is still low on politics because the communities, in general, have the mindset that politics are not the place for women, not too many families that support women to be politicians.

Women as migrant workers

The phenomena of workers migration as global are increasing in last two decades. As International Organization on Migrant in 2010, one-third of global migrant workers are from Asia countries (61 million from 214 million migrant workers) and more than half are women. There are many reasons why the women decide to be migrant workers a chance to get the better income than in their countries, and they attract with glamorous life in other city or another country. Often these women don't have any specific skill. It caused they work as household helpers, fabric workers, agricultural workers, even commercial sex workers. (Leon in Asriani and Amalia, 2014, 153). One thing that AEC must do: to make the regulations and steps to increase the capabilities of women migrant workers, so they will behave better income and better protection.

The countries in the ASEAN consists of urban/city and rural area. The rapid growth in urban area/city is believed pushing big urbanization, so urbanization is not a new phenomenon anymore, yet the ongoing worldwide urbanization now, seen from its dimension, acceleration, and complexity, is incomparable to the previous one. If the economic crisis happens, is the weakened social relationship among the society due to the occurrence of global economics.

According to Santoso, there are three processes which serve as a catalyst to the process of city restructuring that is commodification, privatization, and commercialization. Commodification is transformation process several parts in social life to become a part of commercial activities. Privatization is the takeover process of functions that formerly run by a public institution to be by a private institution. Commercialization is public ownership in which they should use to prosper public to become commercialized. The result of the development is that the city functions as a social institution is increasingly ignored and worsens the social inequality. (Santoso, 2013, 102). So, to solve the big city problems revolve around particularly on how to complete the city facilities

to serve and satisfy its people and other support facilities that meet the needs of the modern city in national and international traffic. For all of those to happen, massive and strong fund and resources are needed. (Tarigan, 2014, 941). It needed to realize the urban city that comfortable and support the progress of their citizens in their city, country and in AEC area.

The case of urban in UdonThani, Thailand is almost the same with the case in Jakarta, Manila and Ho Chi Min City; as with Thailand, the economy and infrastructure could not support the increase in population. (Phuttharak and Apisak, 2014, 57)

Fast growing social, economic, and ecological problems are very challenging for stakeholders who are involved with urban development in emerging countries. Well-managed cities do not happen by chance but are achieved with clear development objectives that are generated through cooperation between government agencies and local people. The goal must be to create sustainable cities that include the needs of local people, which are based on resource allocation, reviewing existing development guidelines, and development of an integrated infrastructure. In addition, resource allocation should be focused on constructing the rapid growth city sustainably or on enabling the private sector to address other infrastructure challenges. Collaboration between the government and the private sector is also necessary to advise the city how to keep on track in the planning stages. Regarding the ASEAN Economic Community, AEC, which launched in 2015, it is a big challenge to the urban cities in ASEAN that will affect various aspects, including economics, society, and environment, as well as other ASEAN countries. (Phuttharak and Apisak, 2014, 57), (Setyono et al, 2016, 63). Almost the same (Santoso, 2013, 113) Jakarta as a new social institution must find ways to adapt the process of global and at the same time developing its activities in financing a social system that is necessary for the life of a city.

To make it real, the role of women to support the development of the urban is needed. Besides the inevitable of the role of the women in urban development, with the enactment, the ASEAN Economic Community, the role of the women in the application the AEC will be needed especially enforcing the women rights in AEC.

Conclusion

The women still must struggle in enforcing their rights and in order to have more chance inequality, although it was clearly manifested in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, about the equality. Because until now, there are still many women have not yet got the equality in education, the chance of work, the chance to be active as politicians or the chance to develop their business. The duty of the government to protect their citizens in the country or out of the country. Besides that, there must be a government commitment to decrease income inequality between men worker and women worker.

The bigger the chance is giving for women the bigger support to their city or their country to develop their country. Because they can support in economics or social business as the number women workers almost the same with the number of men workers.

The bigger support for the women to the AEC is expected in order to overcome the inequality because the regulations in AEC still doesn't contain the details of the domestic women worker rights, obligations, and protections. How the protection for the domestic worker in AEC is, how to protect women worker between countries in AEC.

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