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Women's Movement Participation in Politics of Indonesia

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Abstract— Women's participation in politics has not only just happened but has gone through a long history with the birth of RA. Kartini and Megawati as President of the Republic of Indonesia. The reform era has changed the discourse at least. The role of women is becoming increasingly channeled, but women with high integrity are more likely to choose to join non-governmental NGOs. Women tend to be skeptical about joining existing political parties, because these parties pay less attention to women's aspirations. The law guarantees women's representation rights to work in various public positions. For example, article 46 of Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights states that the general election system, party, election of members of the legislative body and the appointment system in the executive and judiciary must ensure the representation of women according to the specified requirements. Likewise, article 49 paragraph 1 of the Law states that women have the right to choose, be elected, be appointed in jobs, positions and professions in accordance with the requirements and statutory regulations. But the steps of the women's movement in politics are still constrained by the strong patriarchal culture, strong stereotypes, economic factors and the lack of political parties that have female cadres. Being an obstacle for women in the political movement.

Keywords- participation, women, politics.

I. INTRODUCTION

The futurologist's prediction that the 21st century will be an era of awakening for women seems not to be nonsense. The third millennium has proven this prediction, an era that witnesses the outbreak of women leaders in all corners of the earth. At least, this was revealed by Forbes Magazine (6/9/2004) through its research on 100 of the strongest and most influential women in the world (The World Most Powerful Women). In the research, of the 100 most powerful and influential women in the universe, there were 12 women from the Asia Pacific region who came from executives and politicians, and four of them were in the top ten (Asia's Power Women) category. The ranking was achieved not only because of its popularity, it is also based on a key point in the world arena, which is to highlight the war on terrorism and its contribution to the global economy.

Some of these influential women politicians include Sonia Gandhi, leader of the Indian Congress Party, ranked 3rd; Megawati Soekarnoputri, former President of the Republic of Indonesia came in 8th; and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, former President of the Philippines in 9th place. This research reinforces how conservative and traditional views that always place women in second place tend to fade. Women are no longer dominant in playing their domestic roles, dressing up, cooking, having children (macak, cook, manak).

Women no longer remain silent even though they are a wife or have children. They can still pursue a career, even play an important role in the public sector (Cahyono, 2004).

Women as the holder of an important role, even the main in the political field is actually not new in the history of the life of this nation. As is well known, women have become important political actors for nationalists in the public sphere that marked the entry of this nation in the era of modernity (Boserup, 1970). Even before Western colonialism, names such as Ratu Sima and Sanggramawijaya Dharmaprasodotunggadewi (Airlangga's right hand) were names of women activists known throughout Indonesia. Witnesses on the role of women were also found in the early period of the kingdom of Java. One of them is found in the story of the House of Isyana, whose descendants later founded the Singasari Kingdom and the Majapahit Kingdom. Singasari Kingdom, with Ken dedes as its character shows how women are the masterminds of the transfer of power from Tunggal Ametung to Ken Arok (Handayani and Novianto, 2004). Here, it is seen that the women's movement began to meet its clear form during the period of Dutch colonialism.

Since the time of the movement, several women were actively involved in and emerged as leaders of the rebellion against the invaders. The era of women moving in Indonesia was opened by the thought of R.A. Kartini until the establishment of women's organizations such as Putri Mardika (1912), Jong Java Meiskering, Oetomo Woman, Wanito Muljo, and Aisyiah (1917). The formation of the Indonesian Women's Association (PPI) at the First Women's Congress in 1928 could be an indicator of the strength of the women's movement in the pre-independence era. Along with globalization, the women's movement became a new force that helped color the process of democratization in Indonesia. The involvement of women in the public sphere (read movement) as well as decision makers is a breath of fresh air for the democratization and progress of other women. By advancing into the public sphere and occupying strategic places, this decision making becomes one of the ways for their interests to be represented. It is believed that the inclusion of women in decision making is important in order to create a new world, a world free of discrimination. The long history of the women's movement in Indonesia does not necessarily have a significant effect on the progress of other Indonesian women. Data in the field shows that to date gender discrimination, violence against women, unequal education and health between women and men, and unequal access and control in politics indicate that gender gaps still occur everywhere. One indicator that can be used to measure gender disparity is the Gender Related Development Index (GDI), which is part of the Human Development Index (HDI). The Human Development Report in 2000 states that GDI Indonesia ranks 109th out of 174 countries assessed, which is lower than other ASEAN countries. Gender equality and justice has evolved into a global issue and entered into almost all aspects of community development. What has been the focus of women's struggles has been transformed into a "special interest" in development analysis and intervention programs. Strategic issues for the advancement of women are no longer marginal issues, but have become important issues that have been discussed in various public forums up to the institutional level of the State transformation of the issue of gender struggle.

1. Macro level which includes markets (global economy, including international financial institutions, transnational corporations), countries (global governments, including government organizations such as the United Nations and regional associations), and civil society (international non-governmental organizations and their networks).
2. Middle level which includes markets (national economy), state (national government), and civil society (national organizations, including national NGOs and citizen organizations).

3. Micro level which includes markets (local markets, community-based economies), the state (local government, including informal political structures based on kinship, religion, and ethnicity), and civil society (local communities both in cities and villages).

However, the patriarchal system has long been deeply rooted in various cultures in the world, including in Indonesia. Patrilineal ideology in this world has been started from ancient human history. During hunting and gathering, humans live in small groups. All men can marry all women in the group, and children are jointly cared for by all group members (polygamy and polyandry). At that time, there was a systematic division of labor, in which men were responsible for collecting food, while women cared for children. Then, the ability to raise and farm appears. Humans began to recognize social strata, mainly based on their level of ownership and hunting skills. They know how to accumulate wealth, which will then be passed on to their children if the owner dies. The man as the party who collects the next property 'imposes' a monogamous marriage system so that he knows what his real child is.

Some customs and religions teach that women have a position below men. Islam, for example, in the Qur'an, the letter An-Nissaa (4: 34) states, "Men are protectors for women, because Allah has elevated his class from women, after all his position is as a provider of income with his wealth". From this piece of verse, we can see that women are placed as parties who are led and protected by men. In the history of the Islamic Caliphate, the leader of the Ummah is male. Likewise, if we look at the history of various ethnicities in Indonesia, almost all adat leaders, tribal chiefs, kings or sultans, are men. Women are only 'behind the scenes' figures who support the success of men.

No exception in the political field. The position of women is still weak compared to men even though the law requires women's involvement in the democratic process. But in reality our political system is not enough to be able to boost women's participation. The lack of representation of women in parliament is caused by a series of obstacles that limit their progress. Apart from the fact that the system tends to discriminate, the weak position of women is also caused by the lack of ability and willingness to be equal. The following article tries to examine the issue of empowering women, especially in politics. Factors that cause the weak position of women. Next we will explore strategies that can be implemented to increase women's political awareness.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Empowerment

Ife (1995) states that empowerment aims to increase the power of disadvantage (empowerment aims to give strength or poverty to disadvantaged people). Switt and Levin (1987) interpret empowerment as a reallocation of power (reallocation of power). Rapport (1984) defines empowerment as a way in which people, organizations and communities are directed so that they can rule over their lives. Torre (1985) identified three dimensions of the concept of empowerment, namely:

1. Process of development that begins when an individual grows and may reach a peak in greater social change.
2. Marked psychological state, self-confidence, self-efficacy and self-control.
3. Freedom as a result of a social movement, which starts with the investigation and politicization of people's power and collectively with its power to gain power and to change unbalanced and oppressive social structures (Parson, et.al.1994: 106).

Kiefer (1981) suggests three dimensions of empowerment meaning, namely:

1. Citizenship competence (citizenship competence).
2. Not blind / sociopolitical literacy (sociopolitical literacy).
3. Participatory competence.

Empowerment has various interpretations, empowerment can be seen as a process and program. Payne (1997) argues that empowerment is essentially aimed at helping clients get the power (power) to take decisions and actions to be taken and relate to the client's self, including reducing personal and social obstacles in taking action. As a process, empowerment is a business that occurs continuously throughout human life. Bowling and Barbara (2002) suggest that extension programs can shape behavior change through the principle of sharing knowledge, and experience with the community. Together with the community, various activities can be carried out that lead to the formation of community behavior. Empowerment as a program means that empowerment is the stages of activities to achieve a goal in a certain period of time. In this context, the implementation of the empowerment program is limited in time, so that it appears as a project activity. This condition is certainly not beneficial for the program implementers or the target community, because there are often interrupted activities in the middle of the road and lack of coordination between institutions involved in the program. The principles of empowerment according to Solomon (1976), Swift & Levin (1987), Kieffer (1981, 1984) and DuBois and Miley (1992) are as follows:

1. Empowerment is a collaborative process, where clients and social workers work together as partners.
2. The empowerment process sees the client system as a holder of an important role (competent) and is able to provide access to resources and opportunities.
3. Clients must accept themselves as causal agents, who are able to influence change.
4. Competence is gained through life experience.
5. Problem solving is based on problem situations that are the result of the complexity of the factors that influence it (Solomon, 1976).
6. Informal social networks are an important source of support to bridge pressure and build competence and self-control.
7. People must participate in the self-empowerment of the church and in achieving the goals, understanding and results of empowerment they must articulate themselves.
8. The level of awareness and knowledge about the activities to make changes is a major problem in the empowerment (Swift & Levin 1987).
9. Empowerment is an attempt to obtain resources and the ability to use these resources in an effective manner.
5. Empowerment process is a process that is dynamic, synergistic, always changing and evolving, because problems always have many ways of solving.
11. Empowerment can be achieved through the equivalence of individual structures and socio-economic developments.

Table 1. Client Empowerment Model

No.	Strategy approach /	Target	Technique	Aim
1.	MICRO (Often referred to as a task centered approach)	Individual, family	Counseling, therapy, guidance, coaching, stress management, marriage counseling, and crisis intervention	Reducing pressure, growing awareness, self-image, self-concept, growing motivation, recognizing potentials, abilities and weaknesses, directing, guiding, and training clients in carrying out the tasks of

				life
2.	MEZZO	Groups, peer groups, self Help Groups	Education, training, group dynamics	Increased awareness, knowledge, skills, attitudes in order to be able to overcome problems alone and in groups
3.	MACRO (often referred to as a large system strategy)	Community and society	Social policy, social planning, social action, campaigns, lobbying, mass media appeal, community organizing and conflict management	Community participation, improved organizational performance, policy changes and socioeconomic changes

³⁰ In the context of empowerment for women, according to Nursahbani ⁹ Katjasungkana in the discussion of the National Development Strategy Formulation Team (Riant Nugroho, 2008) stated, there are four indicators of empowerment. 1) Access, in the sense of equal rights in accessing productive resources in the environment. 2) Participation, which is participation in utilizing the limited assets or resources. 3) Control, namely that men and women have the same opportunity to exercise control over the use of these resources. 4) Benefits, namely that men and women must equally enjoy the results of the use of resources or development together and equally.

Social participation and empowerment

Community participation can be interpreted as a way of interacting between two groups, namely groups that have not been included in the decision-making process (nonelite) and groups that have been making decisions (elite). Participation is spontaneous involvement with awareness accompanied by responsibility towards the interests of the group to achieve the goal, but is also used as an objective, Mubyarto (1985). Bumberger & Shams (1989) there are two approaches regarding community participation. First; participation is a process of institutional development and empowerment of disadvantaged communities based on their resources and capacities. There is no government intervention and initiative. Second, participation must take into account the intervention of the government and NGOs, in addition to inadequate community participation. So, the poor do not freely move as much as they can themselves to participate in institutional development and empowerment.

Factors that influence ²⁵ Community participation

Factors that influence community participation consist of factors from within the community (internal), namely the ability and willingness of the community to participate, and external factors, namely the role of

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existing formal apparatus and institutions. The ability of the community will be related to social stratification in the community. According to Max Weber and Zanden (1988), a multidimensional view of community stratification that identifies 3 components in it, namely class (economy), status (achievement) and power.

Factors that influence community participation are:

1. Internal factors Factors originating from within the community itself are individuals and groups within it. Individual behavior is closely related or determined by sociological characteristics such as age, sex, knowledge, occupation and income (Slamet, 1994: 97). Theoretically, there is a relationship between individual characteristics with the level of participation such as age, level of education, type of work, length of time as a member of the community, the amount of income, involvement in development activities will greatly affect participation (Slamet 1994: 137-143).

According to Palmer (in Suryawan, 2004: 27) several factors that influence the community to follow the process of anticipation are:

- a. Knowledge and expertise. The knowledge base that is owned will affect the entire environment of the community. This makes the public understand or not the stages and forms of participation
- b. Community work. Usually people with certain jobs will be able to spend more or not even the slightest time to participate in a particular project. Often the fundamental reason for society is the conflict between commitment to work and the desire to participate
- c. Level of education and illiteracy. This factor is very influential for the desire and ability of the community to participate and to understand and carry out the levels and forms of participation that exist
- d. Gender. Most people still consider this factor which can influence the desire and ability of the community to take part in the assumption that men and women will have different perceptions and views on an issue
- e. Belief in certain cultures. Society with a high level of heterogeneity, especially in terms of the methodology used, often the beliefs held can conflict with existing concepts.

2. External factors

These external factors are all interested parties and have an influence on this program. Key stakeholders are those who have a very significant influence, or have an important position for the success of the program.

Social movement

Social movements as: "any board of social alliance of people who are associated in seeking to effect or to block an aspect of social change within a society" means, a social alliance of large numbers of people who come together to encourage or hinder a facet of social change in a Public. Social movements are actions or planned agitation carried out by a group of people accompanied by a planned program and aimed at a change or as a resistance movement to preserve the patterns and institutions of the existing community (Indonesian Dictionary).

Antony Giddens declared social movements as a collective effort to pursue common interests, movements to achieve common goals or joint movements through collective action outside the scope of established institutions. Whereas, Mansoer Fakhri stated that social movements can be interpreted as groups that are not tightly organized in the context of social objectives, especially in an effort to change social structures and values. Piotr Sztompka defines social movements in depth, by looking at the components of social movements.

Components of social movements are:

1. The collectivity of people who act the same.
2. The joint goal of his actions is certain changes in their society that are set up in the same way.
3. The collectivity is relatively scattered but lower in degree than in formal organizations.
4. His actions have a relatively high degree of spontaneity but are not institutionalized in formal and unconventional forms.

So according to Sztompka, social movements are collective actions that are loosely organized, without institutionalized ways to bring about change in their societies. Formally a social movement is defined as a collectivity that carries out activities with a certain degree of continuity to support or reject changes that occur within a community or group that includes the collectivity itself (Turner and Killan (1972)). A social movement can be formulated as a large number of people acting together on behalf of a number of goals or ideas. Usually, this movement involves ways that are not institutionalized, such as marches, demonstrations, protests, to support or oppose a social change. Social movements involve quite a number of people and usually continue for a fairly long period of time. Thus, it can be idealized that social movements actually depart from the awareness of a group of people over their interests.

The characteristics of social movements:

1. Social movements are not social expressions that are special. These movements have something to do with the value framework of society in which the community itself is essentially driven by the struggle for freedom, equality and social justice.
2. Social movements are historical agents and show their function as historical agents through social change actions that seek to create a new framework of values in society.
3. The structure of social movements in history follows a dialectical path that continually strives to realize freedom and justice, and not to a predetermined and new destined class revolution which will be the ultimate goal of history as embraced by Marx and his followers.
4. There are agents and actors who function as historical agents and carry out social actions, in other words there are individuals or small groups of individuals who will carry out the process of leading changes in the desired direction in the body of the community's value framework.

There are two explanations about the emergence of a social movement. **First**, the emergence of social movements can occur due to the image of the authorities, the public can know all the movements of the authorities through the mass media. There are two processes in its formation. The relationship between the framing process and a thought about objective political change that facilitates the emergence of social movements. Certain political changes encourage mobilization not only through objective influences caused by changes in power relations but also by settings in the movement of framing processes which further undermine the legitimacy of the system. **Second**, a social movement can also arise because of a reciprocal link between the framing and mobilization processes. The framing process clearly encourages mobilization as people try to organize and act on the basis of a growing awareness of the invalidity and vulnerability of the system. At the same time, the potential for critical framing is conditioned by people's access to various structures of mobility. This will be more likely to occur under strong organizational conditions than weak organizational conditions. In other words, the framing process will not occur in the absence of an organization, because the absence of a mobilization structure will almost certainly prevent framing from spreading to the minimum amount needed for the basis of collective action (Suharko, 2006). **Third**, the social movements that occur are based on the desire of a conscious community or elite upheaval. **Fourth**, changes originating from the "bottom", through activities carried out by ordinary masses of people with different degrees of togetherness. Other changes may originate "from above", through the activity of the ruling elite

(ruler, government, manager, administrator, etc.) capable of imposing the will of other members of the community.

The reasons for the emergence of social movements:

1. Deprivation theory

Deprivation Theory is relatively developed by Stouffer (1949), according to this concept one feels disappointed because of the gap between expectations and reality. Deprivation is relatively increasing in most underdeveloped countries such as the poor who think disease and poverty are unnecessary. They crave more material needs, so that there arises a gap between expectations and reality. This theory makes sense but cannot be proven true. Because feelings are predictable, but difficult to measure. For example, a homeless person who wants to live in a luxurious apartment. Then came a disappointed attitude in him because he realized the hope that he dreamed would not come true. This theory says that social movements arise because some people in society suffer from deprivation (lack, loss, suffering). They do not enjoy welfare. The most common deprivation is economic deprivation. This theory is also a kind of social psychological variant of the pressure theory. The pressure in question is not caused by structural factors, but comes from conditions of subjective feelings, people feel relatively failed to reach their expectations. Needs that are met are not as expected. Improved economic and political conditions, which raise hopes for some groups, will easily lead to social movements if reality does not seem as expected. Dissatisfaction and frustration will emerge and cause social movements. In terms of expressing feelings of oppression, individuals then identify each other's feelings and find a purpose, with one or a variety of problems and an association is formed to demand justice by changing something of value or structure, eventually the association leads to social movements

1. Mass-Society Theory (William Kornhauser)

According to this theory social movements arise because they are formed by people who feel socially isolated and personally do not feel meaningful in a large, complex society. William Kornhauser argues that social order is an important factor. The largest number of people for mass movements are in the segments of society that have the least relationship to social change. In William Kornhauser's book (the Politics of Mass Society) it refers to a variety of materials - from classical theories to contemporary sociological political analysis, historical and intuitive studies, public opinion surveys, and other published and unpublished data. Kornhauser explained the political phenomenon as one of the factors that emerged the social movement. He examined the links to communism and fascism in various countries in relation to the level of urbanization and industrialization, employment, and suicide and murder among other phenomena. Irving Louis Horowitz identified Kornhauser's book as a masterpiece of a great tradition in political sociology in the mid-twentieth century. Kornhauser points out that the modern democratic system has different vulnerabilities for mass movements. He details and identifies factors that tend to increase or decrease vulnerability - at least the health and strength of the elite. William Kornhauser revealed new clues to the origins and nature of the mass political movement. Politics Mass society (mass society) is considered the most complete analysis of the sociological approach to mass society in advanced industrial societies, where there is a feeling of personal isolation in a social and political order that is able to create a social movement. William Kornhauser also felt that democracy carries within them the potential of a mass movement and that elite power is an important variable in determining whether a mass movement is to be a political and social success.

Indonesian Women's Political Economy

Indonesian women work more in the domestic household sector. Although there are currently many women working, women are still burdened with multiple roles. Women who work in the public sector in general still have to take care of the household after work. Although the struggle for women's emancipation

that has pursued women's equality with men has long been carried out, women have not received justice in working in the public sector. In general, women who work in the public sector are still at a disadvantage. In the same position and position, women receive relatively lower salaries than men. In addition, women tend to have more limited access and opportunities to get promotion, in addition to being often seen as less credible to hold important jobs. The independence of Indonesian women is also reflected in their marriage system. In the economic condition of the Indonesian state where there is no definite guarantee for the unemployed, the poor and the elderly, and where women are relatively difficult to find work, economic factors are an important consideration for women. Existing marriages are not only based on love, but also consider the partner's economic factors. With this in mind, women tend to choose partners who are economically well-established, to 'secure' their lives in the future. Most women who work in the public sector are financially still under their husbands, because in general they work to help their husbands, to get extra. From this fact, we can conclude that from an economic point of view, in general Indonesian women are still dependent on men (their husbands). Under these conditions, economically Indonesian women are weaker than men. This causes women to depend on men. The weakness of economic independence will indirectly bring other implications, namely the weakness of gaining social and political access. Women who are economically very dependent on their husbands generally accept their husband's dominance and are less able to develop themselves by gaining adequate access in the social and political world.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women's Movement

The strategic role of the women's movement will be demonstrated by its ability to create a free public sphere from the domination of this country. As emphasized by Habermas that the development of civil society is very much determined to what extent the public has an area free from state domination. More than that, communicative society as the ideal society aspired by Habermas is not a society that makes criticism through the revolution with "violence", but through argumentation - through public discussion that is free from domination -. While what is meant as civil society is an area of social life that is organized and characterized, among others by voluntary, self-generating, and self-supporting. High independence in dealing with the state and attachment to legal norms or values followed by its citizens (Tocqueville in Hikam, 1996). As a public space, civil society is an area that guarantees the continuity of independent behavior, actions and reflections that are not constrained by material living conditions, and are not absorbed in official political institutional networks.

The importance of a free public space, a place for free communication transactions, and can be done by the community. How can the women's movement become a civil society? History has shown that women have protested against oppression by carrying out various forms of struggle at the political, economic and social levels, both individually and collectively. Forms of individual resistance can be directed to the husband by fighting, and complaining about deficiencies in the family and neighbors. There are women who protest by keeping silent and refusing to communicate. Some expressed their anger and voiced their desires. However, these forms of individual resistance may function more to reduce tensions, do not affect the status quo and do not result in desired changes. Another alternative are forms of collective resistance that have proven effective in driving change. Achievement of things, such as suffrage, ownership rights, higher wages, and campaigns. By carrying out protest actions and social, cultural or economic initiatives all at once, an awareness process is involved. When this activity is strong enough, women often form an organization to gain legal legitimacy and public influence. Thus, their participation in the political system was achieved. When in movement formation, there will be many initiatives in the social, economic and political arenas that will help women

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form awareness, create economic and social mobility, and encourage political reform. That is, if incorporated in a movement, women have a place to express their ideas and ideas openly, and there is a mechanism for massive resistance. SEWA (Self Employed Women Association) is an association of self-employed women in India is an example of how a women's economic activities can grow by including social and cultural activities. In Indonesia, the women's movement can be said to find form and "autonomy" after the 1980s. In an effort to eliminate violence against women, the repertoire of action has grown rapidly since the rise of the women's movement in the 1980s.

This repertoire grew from efforts to form discourse and public awareness in the late 1980s, the provision of services to victims including assistance, counseling, opening hotlines and providing safe houses. This all led to the formation of the Women's Crisis Center (WCC) in the early 1990s, and then developed into providing legal assistance to victims starting in the mid-1990s. This action repertoire was growing in the post-Soeharto era. But it must be recognized that the women's movement and awareness to involve women in decision making in the public sphere are understood by limited circles in society. They are mainly middle class, educated or professional groups, and the majority of them are young people who are generally in urban areas. This means that there is a majority of rural residents, those who are older and less educated, and that the women's movement has not found a real form. As a result, it is very visible, the problem of rural women's participation in making decisions in the public sphere remains an unresolved problem.

Another fundamental issue that makes the women's movement unable to touch the problem of rural women's society is because of the strength of the women's movements that were co-opted by the New Order and at the same time became an extension of the state. Meanwhile, according to Soetjipto (2005) the failure of the women's movement was due to; (1) the character of women's organizations is very pluralist; (2) sisterhood solidarity (female brotherhood) has not been understood singly; (3) unity in fighting for strategic issues; (4) the women's movement is still urban biased, and has not yet become a massive movement to the local / rural level. The experience of Fatayat NU Chairperson Maria Ulfah (Kompas, 27 September 2004 in Yunying) shows that although the women's movement has succeeded in making women's issues a major issue, for example by including temporary special measures for women as legislative candidates in the 2003 election law and passed Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning Prevention of Domestic Violence, apparently in the field still encountered many obstacles. This is because there has been no attempt to make a simultaneous movement from the level of policy making and at the community level. With a total membership of four million people, what needs to be done is to strengthen the organization that is led so that it is not easily intervened by the NU and non-NU political elites.

This is because Fatayat membership is dominated by rural women. Admittedly, a deep-rooted patriarchal culture and a male-dominated political system has a huge negative impact on rural women's efforts to gain the right to express their aspirations in the public sphere. Women are not supported and in many cases are even prevented from taking active roles in the public sphere. Even in the current reform era, the dichotomy of the concept of public-private space still dominates Indonesian society which results in Indonesian women having to overcome the practice of discrimination and gender blindness in various public decision-making processes. Meanwhile, according to Yette (1994) there are four factors that constrain women's participation in public affairs; (1) women play two roles at once, namely reproductive and productive roles, inside and outside the home. This dual burden and the limited control of women over their reproductive life, limit the time and choice of women to participate in other activities that can increase their burden; (2) women have relatively lower education than men. The low level of education of women and the difference in opportunities that girls and boys have in the world occur. As a result, the number of women who cannot access information about business opportunities, job opportunities, and participation in political life is high; (3) there are cultural

barriers related to sexual division of labor and patterns of interaction between women and men that limit women's movements. In addition, restrictions on women's mobility based on security considerations are also a frequent obstacle; (4) there are legal barriers for women such as a ban on land ownership or a prohibition from participating in education or family planning programs without the consent of their husband or father.

Based on the explanation above, it appears that there are many obstacles that make the women's movement unable to create a public space that becomes a means of communication free of domination for rural women. It seems that the struggle and journey is still very long for village women to find public spaces for them. For this reason, we need a synergy from various parties; the women's movement, the government, academics and rural women themselves to realize social movements, not just men's movements that can create public space for rural women. Based on the search of some references there are several things that can be noted as traits or characters inherent in social movements, first, social movements are a form of collective behavior. Second, social movements always have a goal to create social movements or to maintain a condition. Third, social movements are not identical with political movements involved in power struggles. Fourth, social movements are organized collective behavior, both formal and not.

It is time for the women's movement to work together to build networks and not work sporadically, but to build a movement that has the same goals and vision. However, more than half of Indonesia's population are women who live in rural areas and have weaknesses in accessing, let alone controlling, resources, it is time for them to be fought to be autonomous, intelligent, and able to express their aspirations in public spaces - public spaces free from anyone's domination.

3 Obstacles to Women's Political Participation in Indonesia

Patriarchal Culture

Patriarchal culture has deep roots in Indonesia. Most of Indonesia's population is Muslim, while Islam teaches that men are leaders for women (QS 4:34). When Megawati ran for the presidency in the 2004 elections, some groups, especially those with Islamic backgrounds, mentioned this Islamic law, and some suggested that Megawati was not fit to run for president. Megawati is considered to violate nature as a woman, who should be a group led by men. The position as customary head, tribal chief, or regional head is always dominated by men. Likewise in the feudalistic system of government in several ethnic groups in Indonesia. Kings and sultans are men, who were previously crowned crown princes, and this position cannot be passed on to daughters for whatever reason. In fact, noble titles in the kingdom and Sultanate like this are also passed on through the father's line. The characteristics of Indonesian people who understand religious teachings and are inseparable from their customs and culture are obstacles for Indonesian women to be able to rise up and participate actively and manifestly in politics. This is a cultural barrier.

The stereotype attached to women

There is a stereotype that views women as being responsible for maintaining valuable values at home, connecting offspring, weak, gentle, more emotional, less rational, spoiled, dependent, physically less strong, passive, weak, timid, being a sexual object of men, inferior and tend to budge. In fact, women are stereotyped as being to be seen, not to be heard. Women are more regarded as an object and placed in a subordination position below men. With the stereotype that women are emotional, less rational, passive and weak beings, women are discredited in their work in the public sphere. Women are considered inappropriate to play the role of leader and policy maker. Women also tend to be underestimated in argumentation. Therefore, women tend to encounter obstacles when arguing, especially in public spaces. In political campaigns, in addition to trying to create a good reputation, a woman politician must work harder to persuade the community.

Most women have economic dependence on men

Another inhibiting factor is women's economic dependence on men. Economic dependence makes women weak in other aspects, including independence in decision making, social access, politics and opportunities to develop themselves. Most women politicians also face economic dependency issues. Political campaigns require a lot of funds, even at the lowest level (the election of village leaders). Women who are economically very dependent on men will of course encounter major obstacles in funding this campaign. Despite her qualifications as a potential political figure, women who are not economically independent cannot do much. Her political ideals and career will depend on her husband whether he wants and is able to fund his political campaign or not. In general, in families where the husband's role is very dominant, women with more financially secure conditions will still obey their husbands in managing their finances.

Lack of desire of women

In general, the desire or political will of women to be able to fight for themselves as equals to men is still low. In fact, at this time the freedom of women to enter politics has been firmly guaranteed in changes to political legislation.

Only a few political parties have female cadres

In general, political parties participating in the election do not yet have female cadres who have considerable potential and are sufficient to be able to be relied upon as cadres to support a quality organizational structure of political institutions. Indirectly, this shows that political parties are not sure of using female cadres to improve the quality of parties in gaining a sizeable sympathizer from the public or voters, which in the end will win political parties in every election.

The political education module has not yet been compiled which contains content or substance based on the principle of gender perspective nationally or gender substance regionally, internationally or globally. Thus, efforts to uphold the equality of women and men in politics are still hampered by the views and thoughts of the general public who do not understand about it. The absence of this module also slows the dissemination of the ideology that women have the same absolute rights as men in politics.

Coordination is still weak

The still weak performance and networking between women's political institutions that have existed in seeking to increase women's political roles, both qualitatively and quantitatively, at the central and regional levels has caused women's efforts to gain political roles to be less accommodated.

Lack of political communication

Communicative links in the form of network work (networking) between women's political institutions between government, central, regional and community as well as the press or the media to gather women's political power have not yet been developed. The struggle for women to get a political role is still carried out individually without integrated support.

Strategies to increase Women's Representation

- a. Build and strengthen relationships between women's networks and organizations

In Indonesia, there are currently several large associations of women's organizations. For example, the Indonesian Women's Congress (KOWANI) is a federation of 78 women's organizations, which works with women from different religions, ethnicities and professional organizations. The Indonesian Women's Islamic Organization Consultative Body (BMOIWI) is a federation of about 28 Muslim women's organizations. The Center for Women's Political Empowerment is a network of organizations that disregards party, religion and profession and includes approximately 26 organizations. All of these networks have important potential to support increased representation of women in parliament, both in terms of quantity and quality if they and

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their member organizations work together to create a business synergy. The development of women's organizations' networks, and the creation of a business synergy, are crucial to supporting women in parliament, and those who are struggling to be elected to parliament.

b. Increase the representation of women in the organization of political parties

Seek to occupy strategic positions in the party, such as the position of chairman and secretary, because this position plays a role in deciding many things about party policy.

c. Advocate for leaders of political parties

This is necessary in an effort to create awareness about the importance of accommodating women in parliament, especially given the fact that the majority of voters in Indonesia are women.

d. Establishing access to media

This is necessary because the print and electronic media greatly influence the opinions of party policy makers and the general public.

e. Increasing women's understanding and awareness through education and training

This needs to increase women's confidence in their own ability to compete with men in their efforts to become members of parliament. At the same time, it is also necessary to socialize the concept that the political arena is open to all citizens, and that politics is not an arena full of conflict and frightening intrigues. As carried out by the Indonesian Political Women Caucus (KPPi) DIY which plans to hold a roadshow to all districts and villages in DIY to empower women in politics through the socialization of the Election Law (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 05/05/2008).

f. Improve the quality of women

Women's representation in parliament demands a qualitative capacity bearing in mind that the process of political recruitment should be carried out on the basis of a merit system. Improving the quality of women can be done, inter alia, by increasing access to economic, health and education facilities.

g. Give a quota to increase the number of women MPs

Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning Elections has again required a 30% quota for women for parties participating in the election. An affirmative action step that we should support.

IV. CONCLUSION

Although Habermas's theory of free communication is dominated by many critics as utopia, an attempt to always achieve the ideal type of condition is necessary. It is at this point that the alignments to continue fighting for rural women to have a public space that allows them to develop themselves and convey their needs as an autonomous and urgent person is done. However the involvement of women in policy making will be able to bring Indonesian society to a change in a just system.

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