



RESEARCH ARTICLE

LOW PARTICIPATION OF HINDU WOMEN ON POLITICS IN BADUNG, BALI

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ABSTRACT

Space for women to take part in the political realm is very wide open in Indonesia. The state provides a 30% quota for women to sit in the legislature. However, the opportunity was not used properly by them. The quota cannot be fulfilled. Likewise in Bali, especially in Badung Regency, women's participation is still very little. The main reason for the scarcity of women participating in Badung Regency is domestic problems, such as busy managing the household, carrying out religious rituals and pursuing careers to supplement family income. This article tries to describe the reasons for women in Badung district. In addition to these domestic reasons, there are several specific reasons that are the basis of Hindu women in Badung District, who have more behind-the-scenes jobs than going directly into the public sphere such as being a member of parliament. This reason is not simple to overcome because this domestic problem has become a culture and is deeply rooted in society. This domestic reason not only became patriarchal dominance, but also because the comfort of the woman herself was in her realm.

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INTRODUCTION

In Badung Regency, the image of the role of Hindu women in the political world is statistically still not encouraging. This can be observed from the election results from year to year. The role of women in the political sector, including the top leaders of policy makers in government, both at the central and regional levels, even in villages, is still dominated by men. This does not mean that there are no political leaders and women leaders in the field of government, but the numbers are still very far from the balance compared to the number of male leaders and political figures. In fact, the population of women is statistically almost the same as the male population. The lack of women as determinants of political policy has led to decisions about public policies affecting women's equality still held by men. This also causes most men think that politics is not suitable for women, that women follow just what political decisions men take. The above matter is represented in the data on the political participation of Hindu women in the Badung Regency Elections in 2009 and 2014.

Data on the political participation of Hindu women in Badung Regency in the 2009 Election

No	Electoral	District Elected Number		Total Elected Candidates
		female	male	
1	DapilBadung I	1	5	6
2	DapilBadung II	0	10	10
3	DapilBadung III	0	7	7
4	DapilBadung IV	0	10	10
5	DapilBadung V	0	7	7
Total		1 (2,5%)	39 (97,5%)	40 (100%)

Source: Badung Panwaslu (2009)

Legislative elections in 2009 showed that legislative votes for women were only one seat, accounting for 2.5% from Badung District Election I. So, of the 40 legislative members only one woman. Similar conditions occur the next five years, namely the 2014 legislative election. Based on the data above, it can be seen that the data on the political participation of Hindu women in Badung Regency from year to year seemed stagnant and did not experience significant changes. The proportion of representation is still very far from the expectations of 30% of the legislative seats. Legislative elections in 2009, only 1 female candidate elected (2.7%). This data did not change in 2014, namely only one female candidate who was elected legislative member in the legislative election process. Two female board members who are now serving are the result of a change of time.

Although according to Huntington and Nelson (1994: 76) political participation is not always a matter of being a government official and can even be done by ordinary citizens, but on the other hand it cannot

be denied that political participation will be felt more when individuals or groups concerned are directly involved in the process of political maneuvers. So that in the case of women's political participation, their political action becomes easier to measure if they are directly involved in politics as public officials who are directly confronted with the political rhythm of policy making, for example in the legislative domain or as a member of the legislature. The existence of women as members of the legislature physically influences women's political participation.

The participation of Hindu women in politics in the legislative elections is also very low. It is very difficult to find Hindu women who want to jump in and fight fully to advance in the legislative elections. Most of those who advanced were only limited to formality, in order to fulfill the quota so that the party could join. Most of these Hindu female candidates have not had a track record in the community, and the regeneration is not yet well-qualified. The fact is that female candidates are not ready to compete in the tough and demanding political arena not only for time, but also the political costs that are not small.

In accordance with Gramsci's opinion, hegemony is a chain of victories obtained through consensus mechanisms (*consenso*) rather than through oppression of other social classes. There are various methods used, for example through those in the community that determine directly or indirectly the cognitive structures of the community. That is why hegemony is essentially an attempt to lead people to assess and view social problems in a defined framework (Gramsci, 1976: 244). In this context, Gramsci places more emphasis on cultural (ideological) aspects. Through its products, hegemony is the only determinant of something that is seen as both morally and intellectually correct. Cultural hegemony does not only occur in relations between countries but can also occur in relations between various social classes within a country.

In accordance with this theory, men's hegemony over women in various fields, including education and politics, seems to have reached a long road of victory, which has entered into a cultural-ideological counseling, where women accept as a fairness even fate that must be lived. Therefore, when the state needs the presence of women on the political stage and other public spheres, the clash of hegemonic practices that are already deeply rooted must be opposed. Women who want to take part in politics have stumbled on the cultural-ideological concepts of men and women in the role of reasonableness. The hegemony is very difficult to penetrate even with information disclosure and changes that have taken place in the community. As a result, women remain in a sub-ordinate position of men. The dominance of men in the field of politics in Badung Regency is indeed very helpful from the concepts of hegemony that have been planted hundreds of years so that women still tend to find it difficult to break them down.

## DISCUSSION

### *Strong Patriarchal Culture*

Patriarchal culture is considered to be one of the main stumbling blocks for women to advance in their political careers. Patriarchal culture causes a narrow movement of women. Everything that women do, must obtain permission and support from their husbands, in-laws, and family. This also applies if a woman wants to advance as a legislative candidate. Apart from that, advancing as a legislative candidate requires a lot of money. Bali with its patriarchal culture places men as the main heirs while women do not obtain inheritance at all. In other words, a woman must seek her own political costs if she wants to go forward as a legislative candidate. This makes it difficult for women to obtain political costs.

In addition, patriarchal culture causes the position of women in the household to be limited to taking care of domestic (household) affairs, customs, and religious ceremonies. When Balinese women are too

busy in taking care of domestic, customary and religious affairs, they tend to feel too tired to add to other activities such as busy politics that require a considerable investment of time and effort. No doubt, women who want to take part in the political world actually get barriers from men in this case their husbands or in-laws. Because there are still a number of husbands who do not want their wives to appear before their husbands.

The patriarchal system that is deeply rooted in the culture of Balinese society in particular and Indonesia in general cannot be separated from the political influence in the New Order era. The New Order period was considered to provide a great significance in the rooted patriarchy system which severely limited women to domestic liability, as said by Hemas, 2012:

The definition of the role of "mother" in the new order era was realized or did not encroach on women in subordinate positions by emphasizing the reproductive function and the "nature of women" to serve, serving as "obedient wives". This pattern was identified as the ideology of "motherism" which was discussed at length by feminist Julia Suryakusuma in the concept of "state ibuism" (Sears, 1996). The concept that includes economic, political and cultural elements is taken from the culture of "wives" or bourgeois housewifization and ibuism (Mies, 1986 and Madelon Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987 in Bali Magazine Sruti edition No.5 January- March 2012).

The government at that time created the institutionalization of "wives" through various regulations, including through the Panca Dharma Wanita which promoted the PKK (Pembina Kesejahteraan Keluarga/ Family Welfare Counselor) to the grassroots level. Even from the beginning of the 1970s, the domestication of the role of mothers (read: women) was increasingly strengthened into the Broad Outlines of State Policy (GBHN), which affirmed the five functions of women, namely as successors to the descendants and coaches of the nation's future generation; as mother and educator of her children; as manager of households and workers to supplement family income; as well as community members (Hemas, 2012: 23 in the Bali Sruti Magazine edition No.5 January-March 2012).

The policy that was wrapped up in the New Order of GBHN (outlines of the country's direction) did not only put women in subordinate positions, it was even worse because they had to carry out the functions of workers to increase family income with men, besides taking care of domestic affairs. Furthermore, according to Hemas (2012), this situation clearly places women as victims of discrimination in a society that is very strong and difficult to penetrate.

It is realized or not the culture of patriarchy in this life system, one of which is indicated by discriminatory treatment of women so deeply rooted. Efforts to eliminate discrimination make women have to penetrate the barricades that confront them. The wall starts from the cultural wall of the most private space: the house.

The next walls do not stand alone because the components of the culture are perfectly mixed in every limit of life. To get to the field leading to the same starting line in starting a political journey in the public space with men is a long and challenging journey. So much energy is drained, so it is not uncommon to run out of stamina in the middle of the road and unable to continue. While politicians who do not want to share power in politics in the public sphere or political space can develop various strategies to tackle women's steps (Hemas, 2012: 24).

This state of patriarchal culture that is very strong rooted is clearly a big stumbling block for women to have a career in politics. Women are becoming increasingly left behind because they spend too much energy wrestling with the patriarchal culture system in society that is very strong rooted in the state of political jungle knowledge that is still so minimal compared to men.

The strong patriarchal culture in society makes a lot of burdens that must be borne by women. Both taking care of the family, carrying out the obligation to share in the community, prepare and carry out the ceremony, and so forth. Especially for Hindu women in Bali, the thing that becomes an additional activity that is very mandatory is to prepare and carry out religious ceremonies. It can be said that women are a major milestone in the implementation of various religious rituals. This makes women have a very narrow space to increase their activities by entering politics. There are several strategies that can be done to break this patriarchal culture, including making the ritual more flexible. Flexible here means that it is not rigid towards tradition, but still emphasizes the true essence. For example, if the time, opportunity, and circumstances do not allow us to make a big gift for the offerings, simply deliver the canang (small portion of ritual but essential). Moreover, the elements of the canang itself represent the truth. The most important thing is how sincerity in making offerings. Small examples like this can be one solution so that women have more time and opportunities to jump into politics and to contribute thoughts to determine policy.

In addition, patriarchal culture often positions women as number two compared to men. Likewise for girls who are not married, they often get barriers from their families to go into politics and prefer to propose boys even though the ability of boys is equal to girls or even lower. The idea that men must appear in the future is a barrier to women's roles in politics and career.

According to Mosse (2007: 82) in his book *Half the World, Half a Chance an Introduction to Gender and Development* the phenomenon of patriarchal structures that are dominant in most societies contributes to the lack of involvement of women in the manufacturing process and decision making. Generally in countries that adhere to patriarchal value systems such as Indonesia, women's opportunities to become politicians are relatively limited due to public perceptions of the division of roles between men and women, which tends towards limiting women's role in domestic (domestic) affairs. However, during the struggle for independence, the need for the presence of many fighters, both men and women, opened up wide opportunities for women to take part outside the domestic sphere with domestic affairs responsibilities. The community accepts and respects female fighters who take part in the battlefield, in education, in medicine, and in logistics management. This opportunity makes it easy for women to fight for issues related to their interests or those that occur around them, including political issues.

### **The Political Stigma of Male Hegemony**

The theory of hegemony is the most important political theory of the 20th century. This theory was put forward by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Antonio Gramsci can be seen as the most important political thinker after Karl Marx. His brilliant idea of hegemony, much influenced by Hegel's legal philosophy, is considered to be an alternative paradigm foundation for traditional Marxist theory regarding the paradigm of the base-superstructure. His theories emerged as critics and alternatives to previous approaches and theories of social change which were dominated by class and economic determinism of traditional Marxism.

It is further said in Gramsci that if power is only achieved by relying on coercive power, the tangible results achieved are called "domination". Stability and security are indeed achieved, while turmoil of resistance is not visible because the people are indeed helpless. But this cannot take place continuously, so that the rulers who really want to preserve their power by being aware of this situation will complement domination (even if it is necessary to replace it) with the second set of work, the end result of which is better known as the term "hegemony". Thus the supremacy of groups (rulers) or social classes appears in two ways, namely domination or oppression and intellectual and moral leadership. This last type of

leadership is hegemony. Thus the power of hegemony is more of a power through "agreement" (consensus), which includes several types of intellectual or emotional acceptance of the existing social and political order. This is clearly seen as a description of the stigma of male hegemony in politics.

The political world is a public domain that is identified with the world of men. Meanwhile, women are almost impossible to become actors in politics because their interests are limited to the domestic domain or domestic affairs. In practice, the current political world is indeed considered masculine. Like there is no room for women to play in that realm. Most prospective women appear helpless with culture and systems that make them seem unable to advance in politics. Political competition in Indonesia is still considered too harsh and dominated by men. The phenomenon of the political world that is still so "macho" is stressed in the 5th edition of the MDG's magazine of Bali Sruti, January-March 2012: The management of all political parties is mostly men who generally do not have a gender perspective. If there are female leaders or administrators, generally they are not key positions and are not necessarily gender-minded as well. The culture and habits of parties are very "macho" and women are marginalized, for example: conducting meetings at night or even outside the city and lacking an adequate portion in political education / regeneration at all levels.

The trust given is generally not large so that women become less experienced than men who have freedom of culture and structure compared to women, as well as in the middle of the community there is still marginalization of women so that for the recruitment of public office political parties still do not get the proper portion. For changes in political parties, political parties need to be implemented by implementing temporary special policies or commonly known as affirmations (Bali Sruti 5th edition, January-March 2012: 5).

Male hegemony in politics may be due to his ingenuity in that realm. So that the male ego emerges to maintain its power over politics. Those who master legislation may also condition that women do not play a lot of roles in politics, also condition that women not be able to move against them in a system that is free of their fierce fighting. Politics in Badung Regency is still a male hegemony, a world of men where women will find it difficult to penetrate. In fact, it is predicted that it will take a very long time to put women in adequate numbers in legislative seats. Meanwhile, political stigma is still thick with men because relatively new women are present in politics. The concept of hegemony is related to three fields, namely economy, state, and the people (civil society). Economic space is fundamental. However, the political world, which is the arena of hegemony, also shows the highest development moment of the history of a class. In this case, the attainment of state power, the consequences it carries for the possibility of full expansion and development of the hegemony has emerged partially, has a special significance. The state, with all its aspects, expanded to include the area of hegemony, giving the class the founding of both prestige and the appearance of the unity of the ruling class in concrete terms, resulting from organic relations between the state or the political community and civil society.



Caricature Depiction of the Community's Views on 30% Quota Affirmation of Women. (Source: Wied N., 'Jeng,' Bali Post, 21 December 2003)

Women perceive that there is a reluctance of men if the quota of their seats is taken by women. The anxiety of these women was even made

into a caricature in one of the largest newspapers in Bali, Bali Post. Hegemony efforts are not only through a series of rules that are still so free but also through patriarchal values that exist in society. The consensus of values and norms in society is also a form of hegemony. For example that women must be at home before nightfall, women who return home late at night are subject to negative stigma. While on one side of the *simakrama* (campaign to the banjar-banjar) it is often done at night and finishes late at night. So it is not uncommon for female candidates to take the risk of taking part in nighttime *simakrama* even though they may have to violate the consensus of women not to go home late at night.

### Division of Work for Balinese Hindu Families

Almost all people have a gender division of labor, which means that some people, such as the people of Bali have truly overlapping gender roles (Mosse, 2007: 65). Hinduism that entered Bali also influenced gender relations in Balinese society. The concept that is clearly seen is the concept of caste which causes the division of society based on caste. Regulations regarding caste affect the rules of inter-caste marriage. The patrilineal system through the concept of *purusa* (patriarchal) which prioritizes men is also influenced by Hinduism. *Purusa* which means men are taken from the concept of Hinduism. In this concept of *purusa* is a cosmology, the subject matter, and is considered to be the cause of the efficiency of the universe. The concept of *purusa* is heroic for the glory of the Vedic scriptures and the welfare of all beings. Referring to this, it appears that the concept of *purusa* (male) is influenced by Hinduism and is considered the main thing for the creation of harmony for all beings.

The basic patriarchal culture that develops in the daily lives of Balinese people has a significant impact on the division of labor in Hindu families. Gender injustice that afflicts Balinese women occurs due to several factors behind it. Factors that cause gender inequality include caste factors and cultural factors that are still inherent in Balinese society, economic factors, and social factors. Gender relations of Balinese society are also influenced by religion, namely Hinduism. Things that will be discussed in gender relations in Bali are relations in the family and the public. In the family, the problem is marriage, succession, and heirs. Because in Bali there is a family unit called *dadia*, the discussion of gender relations in the family domain is not only limited to the nuclear family.

The division of labor in a Hindu family with its patrilineal line can produce gender which makes women become second class citizens in their own families. As if the woman is only a supplement to the sufferer in the family with domestic responsibility, without inheritance rights, without the opportunity to participate in decision making in her own family. This is clearly the biggest stumbling block for a married woman to jump into politics. A married Balinese Hindu woman will enter the *banjaradatsystem* where her responsibilities are not only limited to taking care of her husband and household, but also bear the obligation to socialize (*menyamabraya*) along with her traditional and religious activities. Never mind that the politics of the notary need an investment of non-play time, a career as an ordinary employee seems like a woman is overwhelmed to set the time between her obligations in the family (caring for a child, husband and domestic affairs), obligations in *adat* (*ngayahinbanjar*, *menyamabraya*), religious obligations (make *upakara*, *mebanten*, *ngodalin*, etc.) and office work (career).

The division of labor in a Balinese Hindu family does indeed place women in domestic and customary affairs, such as preparation of daily community supplies and when there are many ceremonies in Bali, women must be held accountable. Women who have to make, at the same time be amazing. In fact, it is rare for men to take this family burden. Likewise, boys from a young age were relatively educated away from this task and immediately handed over to girls which resulted in the understanding that women were the only ones in charge of rituals in Bali. Except for families who are more educated and

adhere to egalitarianism, in the past few years, boys have begun to be ashamed to abandon or bring rules to the temple. But that is still very minimal. Because boys will feel embarrassed when they go to the temple to bring *banten* (offering).



Depiction of Balinese Women in the midst of Tradition, career and Globalization  
Source: Surya dharma, Sarad 2000

Although the division of labor of Hindu families in Bali seems to position women only on domestic tasks and services, women should not completely ignore the political world. To influence various policies in the community, one of the gates is politics. It is through political processes that this country is formed, through the world of politics that a government structure is formed. The ranks of government certainly cover all aspects of society, including economics, social, education, and others. Women are the economic driving force in society. Without women, the economy will be difficult to develop in the community. Women are still very much needed in politics, especially for the development of the fields of economics, health and education.



*Ngayahang Banjar* is one of the traditional-cultural-religious routines Balinese Hindu woman.

Source: Author's Personal Doc

Another thing that is an important factor in influencing the division of labor of Hindu families in Bali is the concept of *purusa-pradana*. This concept causes men to sit as *purusa*, who lead the family, determine the highest decisions in the family. In addition, those who held the role of the main heirs in the family line were *purusa* (male). While women are positioned as number two in the family and obey what men decide.

Such a position of women in the family makes it difficult for women to move to build a political career outside.

The Balinese patriarchal system emerged through the patriarchal or patrilineal law. Explained that family law in Bali is based on patriarchal namely the relationship of a child with his father's family as a single basis for the composition of his family. The family of a father or family from *pancar* male (*kepuru*) is the most important thing. Therefore, Balinese people still idealize the birth of boys (*purusa*). According to Panetje, the family from the male side received more attention than the family on the mother's side. However, it does not mean the relationship of the child with his mother or family from the emanation of the mother (*wadu*) has no meaning at all. The relationship with the *wadu* family has only received attention after the relationship with his father's family no longer exists. The concept of *purusa* is also implemented through marriage. Panetje (1986: 116) explains that married Balinese women live in her husband's family. Women and children from the marriage are included in the family line of their husband or father. The wife is no longer obliged to glorify the objections of her biological family. The woman will officially excuse herself (*mepamit*) in her original refutation and her husband refutes her reporting as a new member.

### **High Cost of Politics**

Political investment is still a frightening specter for those who want to enter politics. In politics, there are several important and absolutely necessary things, including courage, strong will, and cost. Can be termed 3O (Cost, Brain, Muscle). These three things are an integral part. If a candidate has the ability / competence and has strong energy / enthusiasm, but does not have the cost (cost), then it is less likely to be successful.

To introduce yourself to the community, of course costs are needed for publications as well as providing various compensation and assistance to the community. This is not money politics, but more precisely if it is called cost politics. Expenditures are based on the personalities of each candidate, there are those who regularly spend money, some are not too runny.

The choice to issue political costs in a *jor-joran* or not is a rational action. As Max Webber said that rational actions are related to conscious considerations and choices that actions are then expressed. All forms of human action that are related to the extent of the individual who acts gives a subjective meaning to himself and is directed towards the actions of others. The rationality of an action according to Webber will affect how people see actions taken by someone. As easy to understand an action, the more rational the action is (Webber, 1920: 113).

'Political Cost' is entirely a choice for legislative candidates. The choice between 'removing all ammunition' or 'just a little'. In this case, there are candidates who only spent 500 million, but escaped and managed to become members of the board. But there are also those who spend up to a dozen billion. But on average in general, the required cost is at least 1-2 billion per candidate. The costs for political investment are indeed quite expensive. Therefore, becoming a legislative candidate must be prepared mentally and financially, must be ready to lose and be ready to win.

Expenditures of capital costs to run in the legislature can be minimized by activeness in various social activities. This can make someone known to the public, so the costs needed to "introduce themselves" to the community through a campaign can be saved. Achievement through this method also shows that Balinese people are smart in choosing their leader candidates, not only based on how much assistance is given by the candidate during the campaign, but seeing the true competence and dedication in the community.

This financial challenge also mostly obstructs women from advancing as legislative candidates. The rationality in managing finance makes

women think many times to 'give up' hundreds or even billions of rupiah of money as cost politics. It makes more sense if the money is made the initial capital for business needs with profits that can even cover the initial capital or at least deposited with the interest that is certainly tempting. If invested in politics, sitting in a legislative chair is not necessarily able to return the costs already incurred, let alone fail.

Regarding the high political investment, it was also emphasized that a legislative candidate if he wanted to fight had to prepare at least IDR 2 billion for political financing. Even some candidates have to spend up to Rp. 12 billion to win votes. Usually candidates who only spend hundreds of millions will win by chance by counting the votes in their electoral district, not winning by winning a number of votes. These funds are for the purposes of the campaign, the success team, assistance to the community and other financing referred to as political costs. So that with the current conditions, people who enter the political world should be already economically well-established.

Women's views about political costs differ from men. For example, they only have Rp. 1 billion, women are relatively thinking about using it in political financing. Women will think more about opening a business or children's education costs. Because the large amount of funds will be very futile when it fails to fight for the House seats. Likewise women will think, when sitting in a legislative chair it is unlikely that the funds spent will be recovered considering the salary of a Board member is not large and there is always a large expenditure when he is in office. While these considerations are rarely owned by men. Men when they want to become legislative members, will fight very hard and do not hesitate to issue funds which are called political costs. Billions of funds will be spent for an ambition called political ideals. Meanwhile when sitting as a member of the board, the costs spent as a political investment will still be large. This is because a member of the Board must be present in a variety of activities, both traditional, social and educational activities, such as marriage invitations, ceremony, cremation, illness and various other activities. Within a month the funds spent reached Rp. 46 million for social and cultural needs in the context of *adat* (tradition). This is what makes women still reluctant to seriously jump into politics.

### **The Low Level of Women's Education**

Education is very important for women. Broad insight makes a woman become smarter and wiser in living and making decisions. From the results of observations, the title is still very selling when dealing with the masses and political campaigns. A degree is considered more value by the community compared to people who do not have a degree. But unfortunately, not all intelligent women who have high degrees want to go into politics. If you really want to jump into politics, from the start you have to prepare education and a strong mental attitude. They also stated that if women want to progress they must indeed prepare themselves with adequate education.

In conveying aspirations in front of the community, a legislative candidate needs good speaking skills, so as to be able to touch people's hearts. In this case, women have a large capital, namely maternal nature which makes it look soft in speaking. Besides softness, intelligence is also needed in choosing words, so that they are understood by the community. This is obtained through education. Extensive insight, tenderness, intelligence, and high knowledge make women look far more perfect in front of society.

Skills and abilities are difficult to be recognized by society if not proven by an academic degree. A high academic degree will certainly be an added value as a consideration for the community to choose their prospective leaders. Educated people are considered likely to have more mature thoughts and far more analytical power. The community paradigm regarding education encourages legislative candidates to have academic degrees, this also triggers 'self-confidence' to appear before the public. It cannot be denied at this time that illiteracy rates were much more carried by women. This is closely related to the

patriarchal culture of the community who assume that women will only be in charge of the kitchen and family, so that they do not need too high education. Therefore, women who have the ability and willingness to go into politics must prepare themselves from the beginning, both in terms of mentality, ability, and level of education.

In the world of politics, academic titles are added value from someone, people's views will be different for people who have high degrees compared to people who only hold S1 or no degree. Here lies the weakness of a woman where we know that it is very rare for a woman to have a degree to a Doctor, even though when viewed from the stage of her education, it is women who mostly occupy the achievement category. In achieving education to university, in terms of population, the number of women is indeed less than men. When viewed with cum laude scores, the highest scores began to be achieved by women (Suryani, 2003: 56).

### ***Politics Still Identical to Cheating***

The political world in Indonesia is more often identified with the world of men. This happens because politics is considered an activity whose power is considered dirty, full of intrigue and inappropriate for women to enter. Politics is an activity that is synonymous with negative power, arbitrariness, violence, the mobilization of times and open competition, where conditions are not inherent in women and feminist sides that prioritize peace. Even if speaking of real power, the power is neutral, because it can be used for good or bad. In the world of politics, power can be positive because it can realize compliance, change and renewal.

Fraud is not only during elections, but indications of fraud and discrimination in women also occur even in the body's content before the candidates are finally born as legislative candidates in the election. According to the MDG's Forum published in Bali Sruti 5th Edition January-March 2012 the Party's oligarchic system to date is clearly difficult for women.

The very thick oligarchy in the Party is felt in every breath and movement of political parties. This is a major obstacle for women political parties. The absence of openness in recruitment and the absence of special policies while the internal party also contributes to the slow contribution of increasing women's transparency in politics, for example: lack of financial assistance or campaign props for female candidates, placement in small serial numbers that opens up greater room for electability, regional certainty trained cadres and not transferred to other electoral districts before the election. Other things are the life of nepotism, the electoral system that suddenly changes at the end of a long campaign period, pragmatism of candidates and voters etc.

If a female cadre, even if it is very potential, is brave enough to question, moreover, to question party / leadership policies, the consequences will certainly be fatal to the person alias suicide and her career does not get "plots" in party rape and candidate lists. So it is well understood that dealing with such party oligarchs, party women cadres as good and as strong as anything, cannot freely "voice" their aspirations because it will have an impact on the assessment of compliance norms, loyalty and integrity with the benchmarks of the Articles of Association and the General Budget (AD / ART) of the Party (Bali Sruti 5th Edition January-March 2012).

So far, in Badung Regency in particular, it has been proven that female candidates tend to be more honest and obedient to existing norms in participating in the electoral process. This is evident from the absence of fraud cases committed by women. In fighting on the political scene, women prefer to use peaceful, touching, non-blasphemous, and so on. They also stressed that in the process of reaching positions in government seats through political channels, it does require time, effort, cost, struggle, and an unyielding mentality. The principle of the political world is actually very good and noble,

but the application depends on who applies and how to apply it. Not necessarily the honest is always broken.



Many women are reluctant to jump into politics, because the political world is synonymous with fraud and attitudes justifying all means. This causes his own fear among women. Women with subtlety prefer to win honorably or not win compared to using cheating methods. There is no denying that there are many ways to take political seats. Indeed, the State and the party have indicated that they are honest and courteous politics, but sometimes the reality on the ground is a lot of cheating in the name of political goals and different ways. It is not even denied by using the sciences of magic to get rid of other candidates and achieve victory. The political world must indeed get a touch of virtue in order to eliminate the old ways that are actually not polite.

### ***Relatively Lay Women Are Political***

The situation of women's political regulation at the time before the 2009 elections was quite conducive to the existence of Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties and Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning Legislative Elections. Both laws accommodate articles that support increased representation of women in politics. There are provisions regarding 30% of women in the requirements for the establishment of political parties and management at the central level, as well as articles on the zipper system on the list of legislative candidates. The application of the zipper system requires that at least one female candidate be placed in one of the serial numbers among the three candidates. This system is a strategy so that female candidates are placed in small serial numbers and increase the chances of electability. The success of the women's struggle was broken by the issuance of the Constitutional Court (MK) Decision No. 22-24 / PUUVI / 2008 Regarding the Testing of the Legislative Election Law against the 1945 Constitution, which aborts the zipper system. With the determination of the elected candidates based on the most votes, the strategy to increase the chances of women's electability through the zipper system is in vain. The sequence number does not affect the level of electability. Initially, this decision was feared to cause a failure to increase women's representation in the legislature.

However, the results of the research of Women Research Institute (WRI, 2010), actually show that representation of legislative women in several districts / cities has increased. The same is true for the DPR-RI. The number of women members of the DPR-RI in the period 2009-2014 has increased. From the number of DPR-RI Members in the previous period which only amounted to 11.8% to 18% (101 people out of 560 DPR-RI Members). This amount is the highest achievement of women's representation in parliament since the Provisional Parliament.

During the New Order period, elections played a role in legalizing the politics of uniformity in all lines, that one of the uniform politics that had been built during the New Order was politics without representation, namely politics which ignored the rules of representation. In a political system like this, women experience political marginalization. Political parties never pay attention to the aspirations of women, if there are only just before the election. Furthermore, if the election is over and the candidate has become the representative of the people and the region, then the woman is again

left behind. This has indicated that women's position in the political world is still very low. Besides that, even though the political system has changed, the fate and political awareness of women have not changed.

The general picture of women's participation in politics in Indonesia shows very low representation at all levels of decision making, both at the executive, legislative and judicial levels in government bureaucracies, political parties and in other public life. In this case, the low quality of women's participation in politics occurs in Bali, namely in the executive ranks. Likewise, at the echelon II level, none of the women occupying this position, namely from the fact that there were as many village heads in Bali as there were no women who had held many positions as lurah, even if there were only a few.

In addition, in the organization of the Community Empowerment Institution (LPM) in Bali, it is rare and there may not be women who become BendesaAdat or BendesaPakraman (head of traditional people). This is also evident in the management of other organizations such as youth clubs (*sekunateruna*). In such organizations it is rare to find women becoming chairmen or holding positions as chairmen or deputy chairmen. Based on this, considering a gender perspective by involving men and women in the decision-making process is the basis of a democratic framework that will lead to equality.

### **Women's Representation in Parliament**

During the last decade there has been a tendency to increase the role and participation of women. On the one hand women do not have enough confidence to be involved in politics while voters feel skeptical about their abilities. On the other hand, Political Parties have not maximally provided cadre education in a gender perspective. As a result, the composition of women in Political Party Daily Administrators is still minimal. The opportunity to improve women's representation should be balanced with commitment by Political Parties to prepare good cadres. In fact, the most important thing is to open up access to capacity building in the political actualization of women, and further encourage the involvement of women to sit in decisive positions in public policy.

Opportunities in political engagement and leadership roles for women, it is important to continue to be improved not only to influence the political decision-making process, but also to build a better political system and ethics. Related to the capacity of women as voters, leaders of political parties, legislators, or government officials must increase public policies that reflect the alignments of the people and have a gender perspective and accompanied by a higher degree of sensitivity to various problems in the country (Hemas, 2012: 27).

Women's representation in parliament is something that should be realized. This affirmative action with a quota of 30% of women in parliament is an effort to increase women's representation to be so important in providing justice for women for their political rights, by producing policies that protect women's political rights. Although for the Bali context, it was noted that in the three times the election of women elected as legislators in their quota both in the regional parliament and in the province was still far from the figure of 30%.

Representation in parliament is a function that must be carried out by parliamentarians in carrying out their role as people's representatives. This function has a huge influence to produce policies that favor the people. The purpose of the existence of women in parliament should be able to influence the political process that occurs within parliament with a gender perspective. Women in parliament must be the main guard in determining various policies relating to gender equality, health, education, economy and so on. This is because women tend to have skills and sensitivity that are much higher in some of these fields than men. So that later the policies taken can be right on target and effective for improving people's welfare.

Bali itself, especially in Badung Regency, women's representation in parliament can be said to be not optimal. If in Java, almost half the number of legislative candidates are women, and many of them have managed to qualify to occupy board members with a fierce number of competing votes with men. Whereas in Bali, only a few parties whose female candidates managed to qualify in the seats of the council. In addition, the number of votes achieved by women and men is still relatively far away. This means that the highest voice is usually achieved by men, and women are far below it. Political representation is an activity that makes citizens' voices, opinions and perspectives appear in the public policy making process. Political representation will occur if politicians / political actors speak and advocate.

Men are still hegemony in politics. The Republic of Indonesia DPR Chair from Bali (9 seats) in the 2004 election results actually succeeded in placing two women in place, then in 2009 and 2014 they were again dominated by men. Likewise, the DPD RI, in 2004 had been captured by one woman, then the 2009 and 2014 elections were again only filled by men. The DPRD of the Province of Bali with 55 seats in the 2004 elections only managed to seat 4 female cadres, while 51 men, in 2009 only 4 women managed to escape and the 2014 women's elections increased to 5 seats. A similar situation also occurs in the Regency where women's representation is still very minimal. This generally shows that women's representation in the political field is indeed still far from expectations.

Related to the above issue, Tamerius (1995: 97) further argues that there are four aspects of gender that can make female parliamentarians (also men), will have sensitivity to the issue of gender groups. The four aspects are:

1. Content (difference in life experience), which greatly influences the formation of a person's perspective, and how they understand the values of life.
2. Perspective (perspective formed based on different experiences and needs of life). This affects a person's sensitivity to a group or interests outside of him.
3. Mutuality (understanding of the needs of the interests of their own sex group); and
4. Association (joining in an association will affect experience, ideology, and shape one's life goals).

In fact, representing women's interests is not an easy thing to do. Rather, there are complexities that depend on various levels of circumstances, starting from the individual level, support groups, political systems, and other external forces. Individually, a woman does not necessarily have a female perspective, because of the influence of their life experiences. The experience and needs of a woman are not necessarily the same as other women, so that a female member of parliament does not necessarily have concern for gender issues and or fight for women's interests. Likewise, the representation of women parliament until now is still regarded as mere representation of gender.

Women's representation in parliament must indeed be fought for given the importance of the presence of women. Indeed, if viewed from a gender issue, it is very possible for female candidates to win the fight, because the number of female voters is quite large. The 2014 legislative election voter list (DPT) data of 350,405 voters showed a number of female voters who were not small, namely 176,340 female voters or around 50, 32%. This number is actually more than male voters totaling 174,065 people or 49.68%. The number of female voters was actually more than that of men, but only one female candidate was elected. Thus there are indications that female voters do not vote for female candidates.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

The political dynamics in Badung Regency are very interesting to study. Even though Badung Regency is a political barometer in Bali Province and the incessant flow of information in this region known for

its tourism charm, women remain powerless in political battles. In the 2009 legislative elections, only one female candidate was elected. Likewise in the 2014 election, female candidates who were elected were only one person or if they were disputed only 2.7% of the total 40 legislative members. While the number of men is 39 people or 97.5%. The same thing also repeated in the 2014 legislative elections, namely only one female candidate who managed to sit in the Badung Regency DPRD member. The next three people, including two women, became substitutes for time (PAW) because they resigned as legislators. The 30 percent quota of women cannot be met in Badung Regency. Various factors form the basis of the low political participation of Hindu women in elections such as the culture of patriarchy, the political stigma of male hegemony, the division of labor of Hindu families, the existence of relatively lay women in politics, representation of women in parliament, and a political world that is synonymous with fraud and high political costs. Men still seem to hegemony political battles in Badung Regency.

Women's political activities have very broad implications. In the field of politics and the democratic system, the presence of women will bring great change, breaking up the violent political system dominated by men. Women who are in the political realm have a positive impact on development in Indonesia. Politically, women are considered to be better able to understand the needs of the community, because their special abilities are in the form of sharpness of heart and refinement combined with intelligence of the mind.

The involvement of women in politics has brought positive changes to the development of democracy in Indonesia. Women have begun to dare to voice the rights of their people and begin to think about the future of their nation and country. The involvement of women is considered by many to be very important for development in Indonesia. In addition, various legal policies and legislation were initiated specifically for women which had broad implications for the legal system and government.

In the socio-cultural field, the involvement of women in the political field brought enormous changes. Women are not seen as subordinates with a thick domestic role but are born with intelligent women who are able to provide changes to the social environment.

Implications also occur in public policy, where women as determinants of public policy are more siding with women or public policies that really bring more humanist change. In addition, it also has strong implications for the world of education, where women will be increasingly enthusiastic in taking education to prepare themselves. Women's involvement also influences women's career planning, where more and more young women aspire to take on public roles and appear in various domains that have been dominated by men.

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