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# COULD NEW ORDER ADMINISTRATION POLICIES IN WOMEN DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMS BE USED AS ROLE MODEL FOR RECENT PROGRAMS IN INDONESIA? (A GOOD PRACTICES OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDONESIA NEW ORDER ERA)

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## Abstract

In each regime has each own characteristic in empowering women. In general women position in Indonesia are still marginalised. This is because of three factors identified; cultural reason, less access to income, no adequate support in education and difficulty in accessing health services.

Indonesian new order administration was well known as an authoritarian regime. This regime controlled by Soeharto, a military general retirement. Soeharto as individual and as president dominated the bureaucracy. However despite of his style in running the administration, there were some good practices of his policies especially in women development that could be inherited for recent administration.

Recently there are some programs that run in the community, however the position and the impact is not big as the program that provided in the new order administration era. This writing is trying to provide a suggestion in redesign the new order program with recent issues and recent methods in order to maximize the community empowerment program that could be implemented recent administration.

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Keywords: Women Empowerment; New Order administration

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## 1. Introduction

In general, women's participation in public chores is still undervalued. It is not only because of the effects of men domination, but also women themselves find it difficult to participate in the community. This is because the norms of traditional embedded gender, in which women were largely, perform as a housewife.

New Order administration was well known as an authoritarian regime; however there were some good practices especially in women development that could be inherited for recent administration. For example, Posyandu (Pos pelayanan terpadu- comprehensive community services centre), PKK (Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga- Family Wealth Education), Dharma Wanita (government employee's wife association) and many others.

This writing would like to describe good practices of women empowerment policies in new-era administration that could be reimplementation in recent era, therefore this writing structured as follows. As introduction, the women position in development describes briefly. Secondly, the methodology that used in this research. Thirdly, describes and discuss the finding. In the finding section divided in to three sections. The first section will the briefly portray women development policy that set up by new order administration. Second section explores the problem faced by women. Third section discuss about the lesson that could be learned from the past administration. The last part is conclusion and recommendation.

## **2. Women and Development**

The Indonesian government has been issued the presidential decree (Inpres) No. 9/2000 about the gender mainstream and national development as guidance in maximizing women empowerment in development. There are at least three issues underlined. Firstly is that the women access to education. Women education is become crucial issues because the women position as mother has function as agent of change in family. It is impossible to achieved better family quality and ignored the women quality. The achievement that should be attained is that women as mother should have open minded main set. Therefore insightful, positive thinking, and wise in making decisions are the manners that should be owned by women. This manner is important to be taught to their children in order to raise and educate them to be a strong personal and better generation.

The second issue is that the women access to health system. This issue is parallel to the previous issue occurs. The women access to health system is to support her function as agent of change in the family. The access to have adequate services in reproductive health such access to the family birth control program or has special treatment or consultancies for her monthly period. In other worlds government should guarantee the women freedom to control her reproduction right.

The third issue is that the women access to income. It cannot be denied that Indonesian women mostly have less access to income compare to man. Therefore government try to provide or facilitate a program that could empower women in accessing income. For example, In Kredit Usaha Rakyat (People business credit) programs, government prioritise to female business women. The evidence show that the microcredit that provided in KUR program more than 50% was accessed by female micro business. Interestingly, this female micro business has lowers rate of debt collectability.

Despite of all the inadequacy and boundaries that faced by Indonesians women, it is believe the recent Indonesian women is now different compare decade ago. In the past women passion is just around at the family and household but recently we could seen that Indonesian women has much better position in almost all work sectors and profession. It shows that slowly and gradually the Indonesian women quality increasing and equal compare to male. Therefore with this equality is believe would adjust the development progressively.

In order to enhance the women development program, Indonesian government ratified the United Nation convention about the Women right in 1969 and it is followed by the Habibie administration that also ratified the option protocol from CEDAW (The UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women - CEDAW) in 1984. Since then, as result the Indonesia policies have been change and more sensitive in gender mainstreaming. Evidence of the changing is that the occuring of Presidential decree 9/2000 that gave instruction for all government agencies to implement gender mainstreaming policies. (Bylesjö. Cecilia and Ballington, Julie.2003). Due to that, many programs were set up. For example since 1971, the Indonesian government has launched numerous programs to empower women such as establish ministry of women empowerment in1983. The interesting case is that when government mobilizes the wives of government employee in one single organization that called Darma Wanita (The women's contributions). Based on Darma Wanita movement, Soeharto's administration promote the increasing of families' wealth by using women activities that was called PKK (Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga- Family Wealth Education) to mobilize the non civil servant wives. However, both program used women in education approach. Rathgeber (1990) explains that women in development approach focused only on how women could be better integrated into on going development initiatives. That approach was interpreted by segregated the female's jobs and male's jobs in because in both organization. Therefore the government just gave "females' jobs" training such as sewing, cooking, gardening, hair dressing but without giving knowledge how to market the result from the training. As result those organization just government tool to marginalized the women position in societies. It is proved not many female who has key responsibilities in decision-making position in that time.

Regardless of that politicization of women development program in new order administration, the programs were really run in community and could enhance the community quality through the posyandu program or PKK programs. Even though recent condition provide better access for women in politics and government administration but the real women empowerment in the community seem to be stagnant.

Therefore this writing is to encourage more women empowerment program that could be run in community not only that initiate by the community it self but also could support by the government agencies.

### **3. Method**

#### *3.1. Research Framework*

Exploratory will be taken in this study with the aim to understand and compare the women development program prior and after the new era administration. The research conducted based on case studies with the aim to collect detail information (Yin, 2011). The case study approach is chosen because of several reasons as follows.

- This case study is a proper method to explore good practices in women development in various regimes.
- This case study help the researchers to gain valid data related to women development practices which may be too complex for surveys (Yin, 2011).
- This case study also provides an opportunity for researcher to gain lot of experience in regards to personal communication (Blome and Schoenherr, 2011).

Beside that, this study also uses regulatory impact assessment (RIA). A comprehensive evaluation system that analyses the potentials impact of certain regulation in order to determine whether the regulation is achieves the desire objective or the regulation has wider effect through the social live aspects. In other words RIA would identify the background of the regulation and the contingent's effect that is resulted. In short the aim for this method is to addresses the factual causes that occur in societies that have contribution in restrict women to get more active in Public arena.

##### *3.1.1. Case Selection*

The entities in women development are purposefully selected because the complexity of the issue. Each entity will be nominated as the unit of analysis. The following entities will be selected: central government, women organization, civil organisation, educations institution, and community. These entities will also be selected as case studies. The reason for this is that researchers are able to ensure the saturation of theory. These case studies provide range of perspectives as well as demonstrating best practices in women development

##### *3.1.2. Data Collection*

Secondary data collection is the main source of entities case study. Personal note and interpretation used for triangulation after obtain the data. Relevant information and supplementary material will be storage and structured in logical framework that prepared. Therefore, information from the case studies related to their annual reports and other data will be included (Gibbert et al., 2008).

### **4. Discussion**

#### **4.1 NEW ORDER AND WOMEN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

The Soeharto administration had been characterized by a high level of state control over politics and policy in which Soeharto as individual and as president dominated the bureaucracy (Liddle, 1985). King (1982) portrayed that Soeharto's "New Order" regime can be understood as a bureaucratic-authoritarian regime. Nevertheless, since 1971, the Indonesian government has launched numerous programs to empower women such as establish ministry of women empowerment in 1983. Moreover, Soeharto administration mobilizes the wives of government employee in one single organization that called Darma Wanita (The women's contributions). Based on Darma Wanita movement, Soeharto's administration promote the increasing of families' wealth by using women activities that was called PKK (Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga- Family Wealth Education) to mobilize the non civil servant wives. However, both program used women in education approach. Rathgeber (1990) explains that women in development approach focused only on how women could be better integrated into on going development initiatives. That approach was interpreted by segregated the female's jobs and

male's jobs in because in both organization. Therefore the government just gave "females' jobs" training such as sewing, cooking, gardening, hair dressing but without giving knowledge how to market the result from the training.

Since the middle of June 1997 riots that forced former President Soeharto to resign, the women barriers in politics has been reduced gradually. The significant changes that identified is that the women's barrier in public policymaking involvement is gradually reduced. Evidence of the changes is that the implementation of new law that granted the female representatives in politics. The law is Law No. 2/2008 about Political party and Laws about general election. In those laws gives more change for women by giving quotas for women. In chapter 2, articles 2 mentions that political parties could be established by at least 50 Indonesia adult citizens and involves at least 30 % females on regency/Municipally, province or in National board. More over the election law also emphasizes in chapter 53 and 55 that for the legislative ballot, political parties have to involve 30% female candidates and in each three candidate there are should at least one candidate.

However, even the recent political climate gives more equal portion for women to be involved. But the program that could be run massively in the community that aimed for women empowerment seems to be stagnant. The programs are run mostly politicized or just for certain groups of people. In the article 27 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution states that. ... "without any exception, all citizens shall have equal status in law and government, and shall be obliged to uphold that law and government". This means that the entire program that set up should be accessed by all citizens without any reprecursion.

Before discuss further, the following section describe the problems faced women

#### **4.2 PROBLEMS FACED WOMEN**

There are at least four problems faced by women, firstly is that cultural Barrier, secondly is that acces to income, thirdly is that acces to education. Lastly is that the women acces to heath system. In this section describes those problems briefly.

Cultural obstacle, Eventhough some ethnic groups are recognized as matrilineal, such Minangkabau in the West Sumatra, but the culture domination in Indonesia is patrilineal. As Bessel describes (2007) Javanese Culture dominates Indonesian culture. Javanese culture is known as male dominant. For example, in traditional Javanese culture, a boy is forbidden to do domestic chores, even to wash his own clothes. Moreover, a boy has a huge responsibility to continue the family custom and tradition. Therefore if they get married, they tend to stay on the family land. It is different for girls. They are expected to do all domestic chores and have to learn how to become a good wife by learning cooking, sewing or cleaning the house. Meanwhile when they get married, they have to follow their husband.

Further evidence that Indonesia is following a patrilineal system is shown in the Indonesia Marriage law no 1/1974. In the chapter 34 articles 1 mentions that husbands are the main breadwinner and in the same chapter on the article 2 mentions the function of wives just in domestic chores.

One of the effects of the patriarchal culture will result in gender discrimination. For example, in the 1980's and down, there were many Javanese families that did not send their daughter to get higher educational level than their sons. This mind set was result from the patriarchy consideration that the boy would have responsibilities as breadwinner.

Interestingly, since the economic crisis that occurs 1997, this trend has been change. During the crisis there was many company collapse and they fired a lot of their employees as a result there were many husband jobless. In order to support get income for their family many wives work in informal sectors such as become street sellers (PKL-Pedagang Kaki Lima) or open small store in front of their house that sells household stuff that called mracang. Moreover Dzuhayatin (2003) shows that more than 75% of the Indonesian women are working for the family survival. Even the patriarchy culture still dominates but the existing practices shows that women's activities have significant and equal contribution in daily lives activities. From the sequences above show that Indonesian culture is male dominant.

The second problem faced by women is that the access to income. It is well known mostly females have less income than males. This is because most women work in unpaid sector then in formal sectors. As Beneria (2000) states that "in contemporary societies, women perform by far the largest proportion of unpaid activities". Following that she cited from UNDP data that describes if those unpaid sector were valued at current wages they would amount up to \$ 16

trillion or about 70% of total world output. The amazing thing is from \$ 16 trillion; \$11 trillion represent women's work. What is more in formal sector that have well define wages, the females worker get lower wages from males worker because they was estimated have less skill than males workers ( Blau, 1998; p.16). Beside that the Blau (1998. p 17) explains that the traditional division of labour in family values has influenced the gender wages gap. Moreover, Asplund (1998) gives example in white-collar sectors, at start jobs male workers get bigger salary than female workers, but following the time the female workers get bigger salary. This because for beginner position, the female workers supply were bigger than male and following times many male worker changes their jobs or looking for better jobs whereas the females workers still in same jobs.

The third problem is that the female access to education. It is well known that Indonesian female is less educated than male. It is shown by the literacy rates from male and female. Indonesian male have better literacy rate than Indonesia female. Based on the Indonesia Statistical data, in 2003-2005 the male literacy rate was around 6% higher than female. In addition, the lengths of schooling rate in same year's shows that woman that could access education just 7.1 years. It is lower than men possibility attending school which is 8 years in average. Another scoched data describe that from 81.15 million female workers, there are approximately 56 percent or 45.4 million people of whom graduated from Primary School. Only 4.7 percent, or 3.8 million graduate from higher education institution or university. What is more, BPS data also indicate that many girls drop out of school cases caused by the economic reason, they are forced to work for helping their family earning. As result there are more school-age girls working than boys.

The last problem that identified is the women access to health system. It is showed by the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) in Indonesia has decreased, but it is still high compared with other countries in ASEAN. MMR in Indonesia was last in the number of live births after previous 228/100.000 307/100.000 for live births.

After portaying the potential handicap that faced by women, the following section identifies the good practices of new order administration in women empowerment programs that could be redesigned for recent condition.

#### **4.3 GOOD PRACTICES**

Since the reformation that gave more sphere for women in political activities, make the women social empowerment little bit ignored. Most attention is given just for women position politics such giving quota in parlement. The law that granted the female representatives in politics for the first time is Law No. 2/2008 about Political party and Laws about general election. In those laws gives more change for women by giving quotas for women. In chapter 2, articles 2 mentions that political parties could be established by at least 50 Indonesia adult citizens and involves at least 30 % females on regency/Municipally, province or in National board. More over the election law also emphasizes in chapter 53 and 55 that for the legislative ballot, political parties have to involve 30% female candidates and in each three candidate there are should at least one candidate.

In addition since the economic crisis strike Indonesia in mid 1997 caused many women has to actively work to help their family income due to their husband had been fired. As result many program that use to be administrated by women community tend to be neglected. For example the Posyandu program, or Kejar Paket Program or even the PKK activities.

Posyandu in the new order era served with excellent. The posyandu cadres helping government to promote healthy lifestyle such KMS (Kartu Menuju Sehat-Guidance to Healty Life Card) program that guidance mother in rearing their children with certain standard that noted in the card (KMS). Another a good example is the work of Kejar Paket cadre that helping illiterate people how to read and write. These cadres work voluntary and just had small support from government.

An interesting case happens in Surabaya through PKK. PKK Surabaya has program in reducing domestic waste that trough to the garbage centre (TPA-Tempat pembuangan akhir-Final Rubbish Dump). Each percint (kelurahan) founded recycling groups that functioned to separated the organic waste and non organic waste. This group's mobilized by PKK. By doing recycling activities, this organization could funded other program such supported early education institution (PAUD-Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini). By supporting this activity PKK has

double function firstly to promote sustainable development by recycling the domestic waste by separated and segregate the waste into organic waste and non organic waste. The organic waste could use as fertilizer or called compost, then the anorganic one is collected and sell it to the factories that use that waste for their recycle products. Secondly, this program also could support the early education program budget. By providing additional food for the children or providing sustainable material in teaching activities. The recycling groups are mostly generated by housewife in each percent.

## 5. Conclusion

All in all national development is not only certain people responsibility, it needs community participation. Development in Indonesia must be implemented by all communities as having the same rights and obligations as stated in the Constitution in 1945. No exceptions to the role of women in development are considerable. Beside that the previous policy that could be use should be considered if has positive impacts in community. For example, new order administration in women empowerment through PKK, Dharma Wanita or Posyandu could be mobilise massively in order to strengthen the community participation development. It cannot be denied that there's some negative aspect from that programs such it usually use as one of politic practice movement or used political party for gathering people support in election. It is believe by re constructs the program and reducing the negative of the program and add the other positive thing could enhance the development. Recently there is a program called PNPM-Mandiri Perkotaan (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat- National Program of Community Empowerment). This program is focusing in women participation in each level administration. This program provides an opportunity for women to speak up and drive their opinion through development process. By involving the community in development process its believe will result in better development especially if also considering the previous policies that has positive impact to community could be continued with modification that adapt with recent condition.

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