A Model of Education and Struggle of Social Status of Rural Women in Practical Politics at Bali Province

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Abstract
The targets of this study were: find out a model of the political education for rural women in the province of Bali based on the wisdom of local cultural values. For the first year (2012), the product of this study consisted of: the constellation of practical politics of Bali woman profile, the draft of a model-based political education gender equality, gender mainstreaming draft models for Bali women in the political, scientific articles published in accredited journals. Overall the research data was analyzed using descriptive qualitative analysis techniques and statistical analysis to test the effectiveness of political education model for rural women in Bali. Based on the overall research process, it gained some critical issues related to gender mainstreaming in politics at the indigenous Bali as a conclusion of this study, namely: 1) the pattern of communication and daily activity of customary village communities, the role of women’s political participation tends to be low Bali. It is mostly contributed by the application of patriarchal ideology, an ideology of kinship that put men as central ownership of the rights and obligations of the public at the level of everyday life, so that the position and status of women are subordinated. 2) The status and role of women in politics so marginalized activity, except in some aspects that still exist within the family environment, as can be seen in a symbolic meaning for the name pungkusan each nuclear family. (3) Climate and communication patterns of family life, customary village and administrative village, school does not support the process of political education for indigenous Balinese women to achieve improvement. (4) Customary village as the as the highest symbolism level of the indigenous Balinese, structurally, yet real activity in relation to the political education of the girls. (5) The process of the formation of Indonesian civil society, in conjunction with the purpose and characteristics of the indigenous Balinese customary village turned out to be quite relevant in creating a climate of gender equality.

Keywords: political education, Balinese women, gender equality, practical politics

1. Introduction
The struggle to mainstream equality of power relations between women and men (gender) in the bureaucracy with purpose to change policies is not an easy task. Especially, if it is related to religious values that are believed to be a single truth. “I received many threats and terror, and career stagnation. However, I did not back down”, said Farisa (2006), a researcher and member of the Department of Religion’s Gender Mainstreaming Working Group at a seminar on gender in a bureaucratic format. It also goes on to say that: in fact, “many old books support equality, but they have never been brought up”. Thus, religious interpretations can be used as a political tools to dominate certain groups.

History has recorded, so tough and complicated the struggle of women to be able to align themselves with men in a community. Since 350 BC, Aristotle, in his treatise entitled “Politics”, stated that women, children and slaves were not citizens. This fact has been passed down for centuries in the constellation of society, so that women remain second-class citizens in the midst of the progress of their society. Men, which are emphasized by the statements of several figures, place that women have very sharp differences in intellectual matters (Misbah, 2000), as well as for physical reasons and the inability of women to solve surrounding problems.

The door to “equality begins to open when the history of male chauvinism begins to be threatened, with the birth of various women’s movements that began in the American and European regions, which eventually gave birth to various dilemmas in the midst of society. In the Western world, there is a feminism movement, which can be classified into three groups, namely liberal feminists, radical feminists, and socialist feminists (Moraless, 2004). The aim is
to make women aware of their rights and they must demand emancipation, carried out by confronting men. The main focus of this research is: the development of a model of political education and gender mainstreaming of women in the political field, especially for rural communities in the Province of Bali. Related to this, in detail, the specific objectives of this study can be described as follows: (1) Identifying, formulating, and mapping the basic concepts of political education that have been and are being carried out by local governments, political institutions, custom institutions, and non-governmental organizations community, both programmed and personal (need assessment). (2) Formulating and integrating the socio-cultural characteristics, and needs of Balinese women in politics, so as to realize optimal understanding and awareness of rural women, about political concepts and practices in their respective regions. (3) Developing a new approach to empowering women in politics, by accommodating the existence of local institutions, the cultural values of the local community, the needs and political orientation of the local community, and the formal institutions of the local regency/city government. (4) Developing a social engineering model of empowering rural women in politics, with the involvement of customary village (desa adat) as a symbolism of the strength and integrity of customary village in every Balinese Hindu community. (5) Building social networks for the alleviation of political blindness among rural communities in Bali, through the synergy of potential and resources between campus world (research institution, customary village, regency/city government, and non-governmental organization in each research location.

At the seminar on: “Women in Bureaucratic Format, concluded that: so far the law has been used as a tool to define the power of certain groups so as to limit the space for women, not responsive to women’s problems, including crimes against women’s humanity (Sulistiyowati, 2006). The issue of women, is very vulnerable to be entered and made a political issue because political symbolization is attached to the sexuality of the body and the existence of women. Related to this, Farisa (2006), a social researcher who focuses on women’s issues, reminds the importance of legal reform to achieve gender equality, but must be aware if the draft law is laden with interests to rule.

The openness of the role of women in political contests, first appeared and interpreted in Islamic sharia, which explains the sharia rules regarding men and women (Ansyar, 2006). However, this fact cannot be translated as equality treatment between men and women in the political arena. The new Sharia reflects that there is a problem of equality between men and women in the world of politics, which requires a solution. According to Ansyar (2006), the question of equality or lack of equality between men and women is not something that should be discussed in the Islamic world, because it is an expression that is not contained in Islamic legislation. Concerning the prepositions put forward by Ansyar above, Farisa (2006) states that equality between men and women in the political world, is not a matter for debate, nor is it a problem that is a subject in the Islamic social system. According to Farisa (2006), women become equal with men, or men become equal with women in political eyes, is not an important matter, which has influenced social life broadly, and is not a phenomenon that should be present in Islamic life. But it is an expression that only exists in the Western world. This psychological condition is not found at all in the Muslim community, except for those who imitate western culture, which means it has violated the natural rights of women themselves in their capacity as human beings. This phenomenon is for some people of the western mindset, calling it a restitution (recovery) of rights that were previously not restored yet (Ansyar, 2006).

In line with the generalization of gender equality in politics as described above, the Bali Aga community which is a community that is independent of the “descendant of emigrant Majapahit has believed that the women, as is the case with men, are a community that must always think and act in the interests of the community and its essential beliefs, so that other issues including politics will follow and adapt to the conditions and interests that accompany it (Arfa, 2003). Strengthening this fact, Balinese society is currently positioning women are equal before God, so that women are also permitted and encouraged to participate in politics as long as it does not jeopardize their main duties as wives and mothers. In line with this, Islam also allows a woman to participate in politics, as long as she does not neglect her main
duties as a husband’s companion. In Islam, it is a woman's obligation to deliver da'wah and carry out rules or governance (Ansyar, 2006). However, the contribution of women according to Islamic sharia, cannot be equated as men.

According to Bae (2002), there are a number of things needed to support equal opportunities for women in politics with men, namely: support from both superiors and fellow female politicians, the need for women to equip themselves with various skills and build themselves to commit on their work. This is important, because sometimes political practice requires sacrifice, both individual and family. In terms of competence, women are also required to improve their abilities, especially in terms of courage and self-managerial and the ability to produce a political work that can be known to others. In other words, these factors are needed to improve bargaining positions for women in politics (Orr, 2002).

Women are the organizers of the household, forming the nation and the world. You are mothers who foster generations, where the principle of womanhood is expressed as an illusion imposed by God on Himself, as energy to equip Himself, on His own will, and this is the “virtual form of feminism (Rg.Weda, Sloka XXI-17). This concept causes women to be seen as a manifestation of God’s power in the Balinese Hindu cultural construct. A woman is a faithful companion to a man, and his luck, a woman is a mystery, a miracle, a manifestation and principle that is protective of a man’s household, a source of luck, and light that illuminates his home (Rg.Weda, Sloka XX-21).

Naya (2005) states that, in the concept of Balinese Hindu society, women are an arena for storing God's power that is in no way lower (than men). This is due to how loaded the woman’s nature with fortitude, patience, and pure love, and their ability to control themselves is rarely matched by men. In the ideal concept of Hindu, women are role models and guides in taking spiritual life, because pure love and selflessness are inherited in women, so that they can bring comfort to men. According to Bawa (2005), in Balinese society, women who are knowledgeable, cultured, bound by love, and always alert to consider whether their words and deeds are in harmony with dharma, and such women are Goddess Laksmi, Goddess of Wealth, who bring joy and luck to the household, the house where the husband and wife are bound to one another by pure love, the place where both are absorbed in reading books on spiritual food, where the name of the Lord is always sung and His glory is always remembered, that kind of household is truly God's place.

A woman who is bound to her husband by love is truly a rare flower that emits fragrance (Rg.Weda, Sloka XXII-33). Furthermore, it is stated also that women are jewels who radiate light in the family, a wife who has virtue and exemplary for her child and husband, truly is a brilliant gem in the eyes of the world and before God as their creator. According to Bagus (2001), there are a number of women who position themselves as “dive or rays for the lives of their people, namely: attitude of modesty, humility, fortitude, and devotion to God, all of which are true ornaments for women in the level of Balinese Hindu culture.

At the level of Balinese culture, at home, women are respected as Goddess Laksmi, as companions in pilgrimage to God and true self-awareness, and as household fragrances (Bagus, 2001). Virtue and purity are ideal potential for every Hindu woman. Through the strength that comes from within themselves, and the virtues they have, they can achieve anything, because virtue and purity are women’s crowns, and that is where the virtues of women are most praised before Balinese Hindu culture. The benefits arising from being and the role they play cannot be described, because purity is a breath of life for women. With virtue, holiness, and the power that comes from all that, a woman can save her husband from moral destruction, but sometimes women are morally destroyed by men (Naya, 2005; Bagus, 2001).

2. Methods

This research was conducted using the “Critical Ethnography Research” approach in the paradigm of qualitative research (Anderson, 1989), which emphasizes social research as a form of social and cultural criticism of society (Miles and Huberman, 1992). Through this approach system, relations were formed by using analyzing and synthesizing the interrelationship between actions, subjective experiences, and social conditions that are

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directly related to the research problem, namely the reconstruction of gender mainstreaming in practical politics in an actual description and narration, comprehensive, contextual, holistic, and meaningful.

The location of this research was in the Province of Bali, especially in customary villages in the Province of Bali. The selection of research areas was based more on efforts to fulfill and comprehend the data related to the focus of the research problem, so that later reconstruction and gender formulations can be formulated in the political context in each research area, and reflect the overall Balinese community construct. In accordance with the type of data needed in this study, the data collection in this study adhered to the principle of “the researcher is the main research instrument” (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975), but in its implementation, the researcher also implemented several aid data collection tools. Based on the approach and characteristics of the research, then the data analysis in this study were carried out continuously from the beginning to the end of the entire research process. The detailed process of data analysis in this study followed the stages of research analysis Critical Ethnography Research from Carspecken (1996), which includes preliminary steps, namely: (1) compiling primary records, (2) preliminary reconstructive analysis, (3) dialogical data generation, (4) describing system relations, and (5) system relations as explanations of findings.

3. Results

The dominance of power and political role of men in the structure of the linggih desa tegak and the governance structure of the Customary Village of Bali as described in Chapter IV cannot be separated from the fabric of the value system that underlies the social and cultural life of the Balinese community as a religious society that does adhere to the legal system and patriarchal culture. This means that, in the socio-cultural reality of Balinese society, the dominance of men has very high legitimacy. This dominance is very prominent in various fields of life, both at the level of the family, indigenous people, and village government. The consequences of patriarchal culture inherent in the life of indigenous village communities, it also seems to carry over in the administrative structure of the administrative village (desa dinas). This can be seen in the official village government structure, where there are only 2 (two) women who hold positions as head of affairs (kaur), while the rest are filled by men. This reality is one proof that women in the Customary Village of Bali are marginalized in public.

In the Vedic scriptures, generally, there is no mention of a person’s dignity parameters based on sex or birth. An incantation in the Rigveda states, “Stri hi Brahma babhuvitha, the real woman is a scholar and guide (Rigveda VIII.33.19). Hereinafter, mentioned in Bhagawadgita, “kirtih Srir vak cha narinam smritir medha dhritih kshama. That is, among the characteristics of women, I am fame, prosperity, subtlety of language, pleasure, intelligence, determination, and patience (Bhg. X: 34). Based on the Scriptures above, it is clear that women have an honorable position.

The indigenous Balinese (Bali Asli) community as an autonomous community, has its own socio-cultural patterns and dynamics. The family as the smallest social unit in the customary village government structure, is the first and foremost institution which is a medium for every member of the indigenous Balinese community to get to know the social and cultural environment. This means that it is through family institutions that a person will get to know the wider social and cultural confusion of his community. In family life, they will be introduced and taught a variety of basic concepts regarding values, norms, and customs that must be respected and implemented in the community. This is in line with what is presented by a Balinese education expert, Dantes (1989), that the family is the first and foremost environment for children in obtaining personality education and social education as well as various other life provision skills.

The indigenous Balinese community is an autonomous customary institution. This means that they have rules and authority that are intact in regulating and empowering all potentials owned by the customary village itself. The indigenous Balinese as a community that lives in a cultural setting that is characterized by patriarchal ideology, has a set of rights and obligations. As members of customary village, each head of the family has the right to the village land (tanah paruman desa), in the form of property, plantation, and graveyard. The
acquisition of these rights must be balanced by carrying out certain obligations imposed by the customary village to each indigenous villagers.

According to the Indigenous Balinese Customary Village’s Rules (Awig-awig), customary villagers have a number of obligations, namely to obey all the rules that are applied in the customary village, so that an orderly society is formed based on the ideology of Tri Hita Karana. In this context several dimensions are covered, namely: (1) sukerta tata pawongan or participation in the pawongan system, namely harmonious relations between humans and humans, (2) sukerta tata palemahan or participation in the palemahan system, namely harmony in the relationship between humans and the natural environment, and (3) sukerta tata parhyangan or participation in the parhyangan system, namely harmonious relationship between humans and the villages or the God.

The indigenous Balinese customary village community as well as other communities in Indonesia are in a gradual and sustainable process in order to build a new Indonesian society, namely civil society. Along with the reform process in Indonesia, Indonesian society is now entering the civil society process. Civil society is not something that is conceptualized or conceived, let alone the idea of import, but as stated by Suseno (in Jacob, 2000), is a society that is factual, not normative, desired or aspired along with the process of changing Indonesian society in the civil society movement.

The indigenous Balinese community as part of the development unit, especially as a rural community that has a set of potential that can be developed, also undergoes the process and movement of the ideals of civil society, so that in analyzing civil society movements within the Indonesian community generally and in certain community groups, the problem is not whether the community group understands or has the concept of civil society or whether the community agrees with the concept of civil society, but rather whether there is a civil society reflected in the life of the community, to what extent, and what the implications are. Therefore, in relation to the civil society process, in the indigenous Balinese, the above problems will also be examined. Judging from the goals or ideals of the indigenous Balinese and from the joints of the dynamics of their community life in relevance to the ideals and movements of Indonesian civil society.

Equality and the expansion of dimensions of life is one of the indicators of democratization as an element of equality in politics (Tilaar, 1999). Based on the above reality, it appears that indigenous Balinese women have had an orientation and vision going forward that is in line with the spirit and characteristics of equality in politics which is the hope of all countryman of the Indonesia. Political education is not poured from above, in terms of government interests solely, and is dominated by men, but education must be fostered from the community itself based on socio-cultural values that grow and develop in society. Indications of the above are that society is not an object of education which only carries out the wishes of the government, but must be given active participation where the community has a role and contribution in each step of the education program while still upholding the principles and models of equality. Equality meant by indigenous Balinese women is that there is no longer any subordination of women by men in politics and work, because essentially equality is the real need of all societies for a better and prosperous future. In this context, it does not mean that women are subordinated to men, and only waiting for mercy and demands, but that they are given the same responsibility in taking roles in all aspects of life, so that there is a dual equality pattern in community life.

Political education should rely on the principles and cultural values of the community that have been understood and made orientation by members of the community in accordance with the demands of the public interest. This means that in designing and formulating policies and models of political education, the contents and values contained therein should be taken from local cultural values that qualitatively have competition power. The relevance of the indigenous Balinese women’s political education process viewed from the dimensions of social, cultural, economic and strata life above with the enforcement of the pillars of equality in Indonesian politics can be interpreted from the relationship between the position and role of women in the context of family and community life in their capacity as husband’s companion (male).
This pattern of relations between women and men gives the color of the life units of the local customary law community which is an autonomous entity and participates in providing control for the implementation of governance (administrative village) in achieving common goals democratically. As an autonomous customary village unit, certainly the family in the level of the indigenous Balinese community has government functions carried out on the basis of the principle of independence in a narrow sense. Independence as an important indicator in equality in politics can be carried out by every family in the life of the indigenous Balinese, because basically they cannot be released from their obligations in carrying out their customary village government independently in line with the changing times.

It can be said that the family in the indigenous Balinese life level can walk and develop along with the dynamics of the times in a conducive climate without any collision. Family life, as the basis of political education for indigenous Balinese women, is an integral part of the customary village government structure. The customary village and administrative village officers say that the existence of a woman in a family in indigenous Bali has a very deep social-religious meaning and function, and has a causal relationship with the existence of the customary village as an autonomous organization.

The dilemma between the political values of men and the social-religious values of women who are considered to have the same values of honor by indigenous people, as a whole is part of their activities as an integral part of the family which is the main pillar of indigenous Bali, as well as their participation in customary villages and temples. It is very difficult to say that the position of indigenous Balinese women is subordinated. On the other hand, the existence and role of women in indigenous Balinese society, as well as their orientation and future vision, basically indigenous Balinese women have very high insight and expectations regarding equality and dual roles in all aspects of life with men. The process of political education undertaken by indigenous Balinese women, especially in the family environment and daily activities in the community as described above, indicates that indigenous Balinese women have played a role that refers to the realization of equality in Indonesian politics.

4. Conclusion

Based on the entire research process, several important things were obtained related to gender mainstreaming in the political field in the indigenous Balinese community as a conclusion of this study, consist of:

First, judging from the patterns of communication and activities of the indigenous villagers, the role of Balinese women’s political participation tends to be low. This is much contributed by the application of patriarchal ideology, which is a kinship ideology that places men as the central ownership of rights and public obligations at the level of daily life, so that the position and status of women is subordinated. The tendency of the status and role of women who are subordinated can be known from the historical process of the development of the indigenous Balinese customary village, the position and role of women in the structure and system of customary village governance.

Second, the position and participation of women in political activities are marginalized, except in some aspects that still exist within the scope of the family environment, as can be seen in the symbolic meaning that is in the name of the pungkusan of each nuclear family. The position of women is politically, very marginalized, both within the scope of the family, customary villages, and practical political activities.

Third, the climate and communication patterns of family life, customary villages, administrative villages and schools do not support the process of political education for indigenous Balinese women to achieve improvement. In this context, women are always marginalized both physically and psychologically. But in the midst of that dilemma, it can be seen that the original Balinese women accepted the marginalization consciously and naturally. This cannot be separated from the cultural value system of the indigenous Balinese society which is oriented towards religio-cosmos, so that it places the lowest political orientation of women’s values after religious, socio-economic, and autonomous values as a republic.
Fourth, the customary village as the highest symbolism in the level of indigenous Balinese, structurally has not carried out any real activities in relation to political education of its women. This cannot be separated from the existence of a patriarchal dogma that has indeed been attached to the existence of indigenous Balinese customary villages. On the other hand, in the life of the indigenous Balinese, there has begun to be openness, especially in the youth, where women have begun to dare to come out of patriarchal patron, such as in determining choices during national election or village head election.

Fifth, permanently, there are no significant differences between research location in relation to the model of gender sensitization and awareness, because sociologically between indigenous Balinese villages have cultural ideological similarities, so patriarchal culture has become an integral part of their social and political activities. But, on the other hand, in relation to the mastery of human resources, or family modality, women are given a certain portion dominatively, such as taking care of children, family spiritual activities, fraternity, and other activities that support her husband before customary village. The process of the formation of Indonesian civil society, in relation to the aims and characteristics of the indigenous Balinese customary village turned out to be quite relevant in creating a climate of gender equality.

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