WOMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER ISLAM

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GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

By

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Women and the State in New Order Indonesia

Gender Ideology & Political Control
Historical Background

- Military-dominated, “developmental authoritarianism”
- Rallying calls of government:
  1. “national development”
  2. “national stability”
  3. “anti-communism”
  4. “asas kekeluargaan” (family principle, the basis of the 1945 Constitution)
Mechanisms of State Control

- Paternalism & forced consensus through:
  1. State ideology: Pancasila (P4 indoctrination courses)
  2. Constitution: Undang-undang 1945 > integralistic state (society seen as organic whole, individual interests subsumed by the state)
  3. Dual-function of the military in political, social and economic sphere
  4. Government economic and social policies, including use of KKN (collusion, corruption, nepotism)
  5. Politicians using networks of gangster organizations (eg. Pancasila Youth)
Mechanism.... (cont)

- Coercion:
  1. Military and police force
  2. Censorship
  3. Charging people with subversion, charges of “communist”, “socialists”, “liberal”, “religious extremists”, overt homosexuals, human rights advocates, critical intellectuals, etc
  4. Cutting people off from business opportunities (part of KKN)
Political System

Political groups:
1. Nationalist
2. Religious
3. Military
4. Golkar (functional group, based on professions, but backed by military). Became New Order ruling ‘party’, garnering about 60-70% of votes at each ‘election’.
Political system... (cont)

- Political machinery:
  1. **State bureaucracy** (as core of political base)
  2. **BAKI N** (State Intelligence Coordinating Body)
  3. **Kopkamtib** (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), since 1985 replaced by **Bakorstanas** (Coordinating Agency for National Stability)
Narrowing the political arena:
1. Centralisation of power and dominance of executive branch (government = state)
2. Extensive security apparatus
3. Territorial command structure: military // state bureaucracy > “greening” (militerization) of government and state enterprises
4. Simplification of political parties: nationalist, Islamic with Golkar (functional groups) as the ruling party
5. Dismantle mass organisations
6. “Floating mass” - depolitization of urban and rural masses
7. Creation or corporate structures - workers, peasants, fishers, journalists, youth, women, artists, etc.
Integralistic Organic State

- Society seen as organic whole, individuals and groups are part of the whole
- Hegel: “The state is the embodiment of the general interest of society, as standing above a particular interest and...able to overcome the division between civil society and the state”
- Ideologies created to fuse state and society through creation of mediating vehicles
- Corporatist approach (top-down, centralised)
Politics of Power and Indonesian "Womanhood"

- State power concentrated at centre, radiates outwards to all sectors and levels of society through ideologies, implemented through mediating bodies
- State Ibuism: the social construction of womanhood, or state ideology on women
- Created for their power interests
- Derived from two main concepts:
  1. "housewifization"
  2. "ibuism"
“Housewifization”, coined by Maria Mies, links relations of production with gender ideology.

Definition: “a process by which women are defined as housewives, dependent for their sustenance on the income of their husbands, irrespective of whether they are defacto housewives or not. The social definition of housewives is the counterpart of the social definition of men amd breadwinners, irrespective of their actual contribution to families” (Mies, 1982).
Women’s Organizations

- Historical background:
  1. Existed since 1912, part of independence movement
  2. Started as middle and upper class, but in 1950s reached rural women
  3. Main women’s groups:
     - Islamic (affiliated to Islamic groups)
     - Gerwani (communist party affiliated)
     - Perwari (Association of Women of the Republic of Indonesia, independent)
Women’s Organizations (cont)

- New Order, creation of:
  1. **KOWANI** (Indonesian Women’s Congress), an umbrella (corporatist) organization, made up of 55 women’s organizations
  2. **Dharma Wanita**: civil servants’ wives association, counterpart of Korpri (civil servants’ association)
  3. **Dharma Pertiwi**: military wives’ association, counterpart of the ABRI (military) made up of ADRI (army), ALRI (navy), AURI (air force), POLRI (police)
  4. Women’s pseudo NGOs
  5. **PKK** (Family Guidance Program): exists in all villages in Indonesia as part of LKMD (Village Resilience Council)
State Ibuism

- State ideology/social construction of womanhood, derived from:

1. “housewifization”: a western bourgeois concept, coined by Maria Mies, based on sexual division of labour in capitalist society - a Marxist analysis, corresponds to economic sphere
2. “ibuism”: a Javanese feudal notion, adopted by Madelon Djajadiningrat - an anthropological-historical approach, corresponds to cultural sphere
3. Keywords/semiotic approach to the state, by Michael van Langenberg - corresponds to political sphere
Housewifization

- Links relations of production with gender ideology
- Definition: “a process by which women are socially defined as housewives, dependent for their sustenance on the income of their husbands, irrespective of whether they are de facto housewives or not. The social definition of housewives is the counterpart of the social definition of men as breadwinners, irrespective of their actual contribution to their family’s subsistence” (Mies, 1982).
- Women relegated to becoming dependent, non-productive housewives, providing ‘free’ labour... becoming isolated, atomised, disorganised and deprived of political and economic power.
Housewifisation (cont)

- Housewifisation associated with growth of capitalism; the ‘rise’ of the nuclear family, and housewife at its heart to fulfill the needs of industrialisation, pushed through by state and church intervention
- Housewifisation = strategy for creation of labour force, and agents of consumption
- Housework essential to the accumulation process, but cost that would otherwise be covered by capitalist is ‘externalised’
- Men are ‘free’ to sell their labour as result of non-freedom of housewife.
- Proletarisation of men based on housewifisation of women
Ibuism & Priyayisation

- Ibuism is a notion adopted by Madelon Jayadiningrat, who formulates a cultural historical model which takes into account the specific context of Indonesian women.
- Identifies ideology of Ibuism developed in late 19th & early 20th century > a combination of petit-bourgeois and traditional priyayi (Javanese elite) values.
- Definition: an ideology which sanctions any action taken by the mother who looks after her family, group, class, company or the state (Djajadiningrat, 1986).
- For current day Ibuism, it does not merely sanction, but defines women in that capacity.
- This women don’t exist in their own right, but always in relation to something or somebody.
Ibuism... (cont)

- Relates *ibuism* to notion of *priyayisation* (akin to ‘embourgeoisement’ in the West)
- Interest in *ibuism* and *priyayisation* > to see how traditional values are functional to the process of modernisation
- Djajadiningrat’s approach somewhat functionalistic, but useful to see how both notions demonstrate the process of transformation and use of traditional values to sustain development, modernisation and control of power in the New Order state
Michael van Langenberg analyses the relation of the Indonesian state with the production of ideology.

- Identifies five facets of the state under the headings of power, legitimacy, accumulation, culture and dissent.
- Post-independence of Indonesia characterised by gradual centralisation of power, dominated by the military and the presidency.
- Other keywords: bapak (father, the patron leader of the family collective), priyayi (Javanese hereditary elite, representing the bureaucratic and cultural continuity between the colonial and post-colonial state).
Keywords (cont)

• Four keywords intersecting power:

1. *Ketertiban* (order and control): law-and-order dimension of state control
2. *Pembinaan* (guidance): implies indoctrination, construction and management; mobilisation of society by the state
3. *Stabilitas* (stability): vital prerequisite to economic development, supported by state power
4. *Dwifungsi* (dual function): legitimises the involvement of the military in non-military affairs and state matters
Keywords (cont)

- Three keywords intersecting legitimacy and accumulation:
  1. *Pembangunan* (developmentalism): central tenet of New Order emphasis on economic development
  2. *Modernisasi* (modernisation): essential underpinning to the paternal, developmentalist state
  3. *Pemerataan* (equitable distribution): a policy recognition of the gap between rich and poor; legitimises state capitalistic enterprises

Keyword within the realm of legitimacy: *Pancasila*, the five principles of national philosophy, legitimising all aspects of state power.
Domestication of Indonesian Women

- Housewifisation has economic implications; ibuism primarily cultural
- Domestication implies taming, segregation, and depolitisation of women
- Women tamed in accumulation process: state works with capitalist enterprises to induce docility of female workers to buttress domestic light industries
- Women are segregated in the development process, in policy and practice, reflected in gender specific programs, even a women’s ministry
- Women are depoliticised, as is the entire society, through notion of “floating mass”
Domestication.... (cont)

- Process of domestication is in line with the ketertiban (order and control), pembinaan (guidance) and stabilitas (stability) goals of the state.
- The state propagates the ideology of State Ibuism, provides the structures, presides over the accumulation process and defines a gender ideology designed to serve its interests.
- State Ibuism: combination of ‘housewifisation’ and ‘ibuism’, but less ethnocentric and rigid; a more inclusive concept as it incorporates the economic, political, ideological and cultural spheres.
Hierarchy of gender and bureaucratic state power

- Hierarchy of gender imposed on hierarchy of bureaucratic state power: the state controls the civil servants, who control their wives, who control their husbands and junior wives, and their children.
- Thus, control and propagation of a certain kind of society - a Pancasila society - that is instrumental to state power is ensured.
- Idolatry of women in New Order state: “pillars of the nation”, “keibuan” (motherliness), sacrificing and serving nature, etc, etc.
- In reality, creation of the “ikut suami” (follow the husband) culture, where women have no identity of their own.
Contradictory Messages

- Women urged to ‘participate’ in the development process, but never to forget their ‘kodrat’ (true nature, destiny - a biologically reductionistic concept)
- A clever use of different models of womanhood, whereby state derives it’s social construction of womanhood from the most negative aspects of both bourgeois and priyayi gender ideologies
- The propagation of the nuclear family norm (with the husband as legal head of household); the segregation of women into gender specific programs; increasingly middle class images of women in the media
Effects of State Ibuism

- Women defined in their capacity to serve the husband, family and the state
- Elite women are entrusted (no compensation!), to run programs for women from lower urban and rural classes
- Layers and layers of hierarchy piled on top of each other, creating an effective chain of command
- Women in poor urban and rural areas bear the weight of the imposition of values, structures, policies, programs and economic constraints, in the name of “enhancing the role of women in development” - the mobilisation of society for the development interests of the state
- In line with centralised nature of the New Order state, directives (and funds) come from centre, and hierarchy extends from the president to the wife of the village head.
Effects of State Ibuism...(cont)

- Feudalistic: in hierarchical structure, undemocratic processes, status orientation, deference to women with an organisational position, derived from being someone's wife, not merit
- Urban-oriented, often propagating activities and values unrelated to the realities of rural women
- Elite women have power over lower class women, but it is a derived power, and only used as medium to channel state power, or the power of the paternal bapak (father) to his people
State as family

- State defined itself as “family”, expressed in propagation of *azaz kekeluargaan* (family principle). Its members expected to contribute to the welfare of the state-cum-family without *pamrih* (expecting anything in return)
- Notion of Indonesia’s *kepribadian nasional* (national identity) and *adat ketimuran* (Eastern values)
- *Bapak-Ibuism* = Predominant gender ideology. *Bapakism* presides over formal power, *Ibuism* (as female and feminine counterpart of Bapakism) over informal power, but is pseudo power that has been deprived of any real autonomy
Women’s Organisations harnessed by state

- Women’s and wives organisations harnessed for government activities
- Panca Dharma Wanita (Five Principles of Women):
  1. Women as loyal companions to husband
  2. Women as procreators for the nation
  3. Women as educators and ‘guides’ (pembina) for their children
  4. Women as ‘regulators’ (managers) of the household
  5. Women as useful members of society
Dharma Wanita

- Civil servants wives organisation (replica of US military wives organisation), counterpart of KORPRI (Corps of Indonesian Civil Servants)
- Epitomises State Ibuism, embodied in Panca Dharma Wanita
- Only a member of KOWANI, but dominates it (together with Dharma Pertiwi, military wives organisation)
- Established in August 5, 1974 as a federation of member organisations
- In 1979 dissolved to become single organisation, dissolving individual identities of its member organisations and establishment of “vertical lines of authority”
Dharma Wanita (cont)

- Membership obligatory, but voluntary nature emphasised
- From 1979, DW geared to fit in with workings of state bureaucracy, with following aims:

1. “To promote the activities of wives of civil servants of the Republic of Indonesia to develop a sense of consciousness and responsibility toward the nation
2. To promote a feeling of solidarity and a common fate in order to enhance a sense of community, a sense of being one family, unity and togetherness among the wives of civil servants of the Republic of Indonesia
Dharma Wanita (cont)

3. To integrate the activities of the wives of civil servants to be in line and in accordance with the duties of civil servants of the Republic of Indonesia as an apparatus and servant of the state.

4. To enhance the role of Indonesian women in all sectors of state and social life.

- Structure of DW:
  1. Centralised, has hierarchical structure which starts from the President of the Republic of Indonesia to the wives of heads of the sub-district level.
  2. Mirrors the husbands hierarchy (functionalisation)
Other implications of DW

1. **Ideological**: moulds women into model of State Ibuism, the ‘modern ideal’ of the nuclear family, and ‘ikut suami’ culture. Also inculcates Pancasila into all layers of society
2. **Political**: mediates state power and military notions of dwifungsi, security and control, and pembinaan through its hierarchical structure. Also, vote-getter function
3. **Cultural**: mediates priyayisation, Javanese ‘feudalism’ and asas kekeluargaan (family principle)
4. **Social**: mediates notion of domestication of women thru mobilisation and volunteerism
5. **Economic**: supports modernization aims of capitalistic, state-led development