

The Political Participation of Fishermen's Wives in Surabaya City, East Java, Indonesia with Human Action Planning

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ABSTRACT

Political participation of fishermen's wives in the coastal areas of Surabaya City, East Java, Indonesia is indicated low. The fisherman's wives are very passive both in the politics and in influencing the public policy. This condition contrasts with Indonesian government policies that has to protect and to encourage the political participation of women in the country, as evidenced by the promulgation of act No. 31 of 2002 on political parties and law No. 12 of 2003. This research aims to know the causes of political participation in Surabaya City, East Java, Indonesia and to find out the ways to increase their political participation. The research shows the causes of the political participation of in Surabaya City, East Java, Indonesia are both internal and eksternal factors. Internal factors consists of the minimum fishermen's wives education, skill and organization experience, and also double-status and reproduction function they have. Eksternal factors includes patriarchy culture and the absence of the society achievement for them who are active in organization. The analysis suggests that to ensure the political participation of fishermen's wives in Surabaya City, East Java, Indonesia is using the the mixture of utonomous and mobilization ways, evethough the autonomous way is more preferable, considering their motives to participate are psikological and social motives, rather than economic and political ones. These points are included the human action planning approach in development. The people as a subject of development, not as an object.

Keywords: *political participation, autonom, mobilisazation model*

INTRODUCTION

Political participation of woman in general is still low. This is proven by previous researcher, such us Lany Verawaty (2003) and Maskamian Andjam (2006). Lany Verawaty found that political participation of Minangkabau women in matrilineal system is low. This is caused by several things:

1. Minangkabau woman has a great responsibility in the household while politics is considered dirty, rough and demanding a lot of time.
2. The interpretation of religion that women are prohibited from serving as a leader, because the right is the male lead, such as understanding the priest in prayer.
3. People view that women who participate in politics are the women who are not responsible for their families because of the time spent outside the home rather than take care of his family.
4. High expectations of a society that women who are successful in politics, must be managed in the household or in other words, women should be able to do everything commonly referred to as mighty women.
5. There is no goodwill from local women to include women on the view that the capacity of women is not enough to be seated in a position in the government.

From the research, Lany proves that the cultural radicals theory is true, which view the role of women weaker because of a cultural limitation that considers women as identical with the nature of soft, supple, weak and dependent on men. Minangkabau culture also views that politics is suitable for men who are seen as more manly and powerful than women. In addition, the results showed the truth that the theory of radical liberal is also true, that view that women have reproductive responsibilities and duties at home so that it impedes women's participation. Minangkabau woman much appreciated and deemed successful if the running duties as a wife and mother over her children, thereby directly inhibiting gait Minangkabau women in politics.

Maskamian Andjam (2006) also found that political participation of Banjar women, South Kalimantan in the year 2006 is really minimum. The quota 30% in Legislative Institution of South

Kalimantan is not full, and tend to decrease, from 55 Legislative members, there are only 2 women members.

According to data from BPS (Statistics Center Agency) in 2001, the population of women of Indonesia about 50,3% of Indonesia's population but at every elections the number of women elected only ranges 8 to 10% (BPS: 2001). Meanwhile, according to a study of the Ministry of women's empowerment in 2004 shows the representation of women in Parliament is only 8.8% of the whole number of members of the House of Representatives in 2002. This is due to:

1. Men are more active in the institutions of the executive, legislative, judiciary and universities.
2. The woman education are lower than male, unsupported culture, less woman who are active, and the opportunities that are given less balanced between men and women.
3. Women have less ability to lead because women are less rational, emotional and tend to have more doubts than men so that the main barrier to be considered a leader.
4. Socio-cultural factors or culture of the society that has not been supportive of gender equality.
5. In political circles, women were considered less fighting, less support from family (husband) and the limited qualified women cadres in the party.

Of course, this condition contradicts with the Indonesian Law No. 31 of 2002 about Political Party and Law No. 12 of 2003. Law No. 31 of 2002 article 7 (e) states "political recruitment in the process of charging political office through a democratic mechanism, with attention to gender equality and justice. Article 13 paragraph (3) mentions "management of political parties in each level democratically elected through the political party consultative forum in accordance with the articles of association and by laws with attention to gender equality and justice." Law No. 12 of 2003 on general elections, especially Article 65 paragraph (1) mentions "every political party electoral participants may submit candidates for members of parliament, provincial legislators, district leader and city/region for each area of legislative election with attention to the representation of women at least 30%.

The fishermen's wives in Surabaya City are mostly not interested in public activities as a place to articulate and to aggregate their interests. That phenomena can be also seen from the social

devotion's report of Hang Tuah University, Surabaya in the coastal areas, such as Kenjeran (2007), Sukolilo (2007), Medokan Semampir (2008), Morokrembangan (2009) and Kedung Cowek (2010). So far, the persons who active are not fishermen's wives, eventhough their population are minority in the area. They are busy with private sectors activities, such us cooking, caring the children and help their husband in processing the fishing products. This makes fishermen's wives "close" from public activities that make their lives also seemly not change time by time. Their houses do not change as well as their economic condition. Beside that, the survey and observation shows that they do not interested in to political or public policy discussion that are going to applying to them.

In addition, the survey and observation results during this research conducted showed that the fishermen's wives are also not interested in discussions about politics or public policy that will applied to them, there's even an impression they were "indifferent" to the tumultuous politics. So it could be summed up political activity of women in institutional fishermen is very weak.

THE RESEARCH PURPOSE

This research purposes to find the factors that cause the weakness of political participation of fishermen's wives in Surabaya City and also to find the best model to increase their participation in politics.

THE DEFINITION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Before discussing about political participation of fishermen's wives, firstly, it is better for us know about definition, format and participation motives. According Keith Davis (1981), as cited by Poerwadarminta (1961), participation is mental and emotion involvement from people in group situation that support them to contribute to the goals of the group and are equally responsible for it.

Political participation is the activity of a person or group of people to partipate actively in political life, namely by choosing the country's leaders and directly or indirectly influence government policy (public policy). This includes actions such as voting in elections,

avoiding a general meeting, a member of a party or interest group, make contact (contacting) with government officials or members of parliament and so on (Budiardjo, 1982: 1).

Budiardjo also cited the definition of political participation by Herbert McClosky (1972) namely the voluntary activities of citizens through which they directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy process. According to Norman H. Nie and Sidney Verba (1975) in Handbook of Political Science noted that political participation are the actions aimed at influencing government decisions once the focus is actually wider but abstract that attempts to influence “the authoritative allocation of values for society” (by political participation we refer to legal activities by private citizens and more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or less directly). From the definition, it appears that political participation has a broad sense includes the role of the voluntary or community activity to shape public policy, and efforts to influence government decisions affecting the allocation of value to society. This sense is used as a handle in this research.

THE FORMS OF PARTICIPATION

Forms of participation described here need to map out how the forms of participation undertaken by fisherman’s wives in Surabaya City for this. Forms of participation in question is that stuff contributions of a person, group or community that participates, in connection with such explanations and opinions. Hamijoyo and Iskandar, quoted in Huraerah (2008: 102-104) specifies the types of participation as follows:

- a. Participation thoughts, given the participants in meeting or conference.
- b. Force participation, given the participants in various activities for the improvement or development of the village, help for others, and soon.
- c. Participation possessions, given people in a variety of activities for the improvement or development of the village, help for others, and soon.
- d. Participation skill and finesse, given the variety of forms to encourage businesses or industries.
- e. Social participation, which is given as a sign of sociality, for example, social gathering, cooperative, invitation.

While Sulaiman (1985: 23) divides the forms of social participation into five types, namely:

- a. Direct participation in physical activities together and face to face.
- b. Participation in the form of contributions of money or goods in participatory activities, funds and facilities should come from within the community itself. If forced is needed from the outside, is only temporary and as bait.
- c. Participation in the form of support.
- d. Participation in the decision-making process.

Representative participation by providing confidence and credentials to representatives who sit in the organization or committee.

Forms of political participation, namely; (1) with respect to the selection of activities (2) lobbying (3) organization's activities (4) look for connections and (5) influence the political process through violence. According to this definition, organization's activities will be made a base of the research focus, beside lobbying and look for connection in the organization.

THE MOTIVES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

According Billah as quoted in Huraerah (2008: 105-107) can be seen five motifs, each of which can work alone or work together, the five motives are:

a. Psychology motives

Personal satisfaction, achievement, or feeling tired achieve something (achievement) can be a strong motivation for a person to perform activities, as well as to participate in activities or participation although it will not produce a profit (either money or material). Therefore, efforts to increase the participation also means the effort provides the opportunity for every citizen, the opportunity to express themselves and express their aspirations and flexibility to allocate available resources. The problem is how to set up a mechanism to achieve the satisfaction of business it does not harm other members of society.

b. Social motives

There are two sides of social motives, namely to gain social status and to avoid exposed to social justice (social control). People will willingly participate in an activity (construction) if their participation will impact the rising social status. On the negative side, people will be 'forced' to participate in the activities (development) because of 'fear' 'exposed to social sanctions (excluded or ostracized by the community). Such motives were controlled by social norms that are still strong in the community. In this case, a strong linkage between the societies with institutions that exist in the society concerned. In other words, activities (development) should be taught to the idioms and symbols of the local community.

c. Religious motives

In contrast to the psychological motives that are based on achievement and social motives based on social status and social control, religious motives based on confidence in the strength that exists outside the human (the God, something supernatural, supernatural), religion as a social ideology that have a variety of function to its adherents, which functions inspiring, normative, integrative, and operative / motivational. Through the actualization of the functions of religion may increase the role in the development process, and more than that religion can boost its adherents role in the development process. The problem is how to find idioms and symbols that can integrate religion with the development process.

d. Economic motives

Income (profit) is the economic motive that can be effective and even encourage people to take the decision to participate in the activities (development). Decision-making (which are economic) strategy of data takes two forms, namely: maximum profit and minimum cost. By using this economic reasoning system will decide to participate (in an activity) when such activities can produce benefits/advantages for himself or for the company/group, or at least he will participate if it is not going to obtain the least harm or loss gained from participation smaller than the harm that can be suffered due to non-participation.

e. Political motive

The main basis of this motive is a political power, therefore, the participation of a person or group will be determined by the size of power that can be obtained by participation in various activities (development). The greater power that may be obtained from their involvement in the activities (development), then the stronger will be the possibility to participate.

From the description above, the motives can be understood partially or simultaneously. In addition, in order to increase the participation can be “manipulating” the motive itself. An optimal combination of various motives might be happen. Therefore, it is very important to know the “map motive” that exist in a person, group, and in the unity of the community. Only by knowing “the motive map”, it is likely to make an optimal combination of various motifs wide open.

HUMAN ACTION PLANNING APPROACH

Human actions planning is a method of development planning that is affecting the levels of community participation. Human actions here are interpreted as planning that emphasizes the role of the planner as an attempt to systematize the aspirations that exist in society and put them in a document of this approach will see that the community is something “turbulent” or filled with social values and dynamic culture. In other words, this approach see that society as a “system” that is self-contained. Therefore, instead of manipulating the planning system into “subsystems” depends on “suprasystem” but rather aims to create harmony between the two systems, namely micro and macro systems. This approach is very pro democracy as in the manufacture of development planning always involves political participation of the community. Therefore, this approach is believed to increase the political participation of society in the development process (Huraerah, 2008: 97-98)

During the Indonesian nation implement more “mechanistic planning” who see planning as a function of mechanical effort to change a situation. In this approach, the development planner serves as a technical expert in charge of making changes to the blueprint and creating the effort can make society follow the pattern of changes designed. Communities in this approach is simply “subsystem” is

assumed to be a passive part of the “system development” created by the planners. The planners are also very obedient to the implementation guidelines and technical guidance in the implementation of development.

On the basis of differences in the method, then when the method is applied for the Indonesian nation changed from “mechanistic planning” towards “human action planning” is believed to be able to automatically change shape and increase political participation model of society. In this study, the target group is a fishermen’s wives in Surabaya City.

To increase the political participation, there are ways, they are: (1) autonomous, when the participation is supported by internal motives, from inside individual (2) mobilization, when the participation is supported by external motives, from outside the individual.

FACTORS THAT AFFECT PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTEXT OF FEMINISM THEORY

Then viewed from feminist theory, there are a lot of factors that affect women’s participation in the public sphere, including politics. Some feminist theories used in political participation involve fishermen’s wives Surabaya City are liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism and existentialists feminism.

Liberal feminism theory sees that the roots of women’s oppression and under development caused by the fault of women themselves. Women backward in education, skills and the economy so that the increase of the three this is the key to match the capacity of women to men.

Unlike the liberal theory of feminism, radical feminism consists of mainstreamings, namely: 1). Liberal radical feminism which describes the roles and responsibilities of reproductive and sexual functioning often restrict women’s development as a whole human being. 2). Cultural radical feminism which argued that women’s inequality to men because women have value and nature of which are culturally connecting it to women like like hanging, emotion, love to share, peace, absence of hierarchy and so on.

Socialist feminism theory states that the inequality of women to men is caused by the multiple roles of women. Women can not move freely in the public domain, because the role of women as housewives,

bear children, serving her husband, taking care of children and so on so that when the activity outside these obligations, women can not achieve as much as men.

Existentialists feminism states that women motivation to active in public area because they want to be exist, and be awared by the others.

Based on the formulation of the problem and the various concepts, definitions and theories above, in this study the conceptual framework can be made as follows (see Fig 1.)

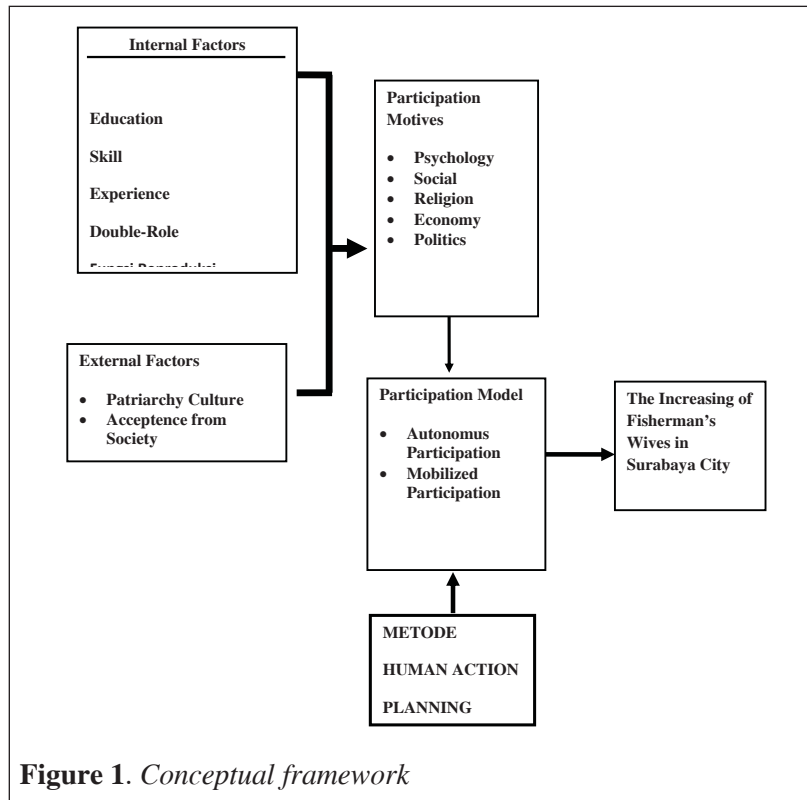


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative descriptive approach, which aims at understanding a social situation, event, role, and group interaction by taking location in Coastal Areas in Surabaya City, those are: Sukolilo,

Bulak, Kenjeran and Morokrembangan sub-districts. Sources of information (informers) are the fishermen's wives who active and non-active in public organization and supported by information from relevant parties. The collecting data uses observation, interview and documentation. A data analysis technique uses qualitative analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Internal Factors Causes of Poor Fishermen's Wives Political Participation

From the data in the field are known factors that cause low political participation of fisherman's wives are low education, skills and minimal experience in public organization, as well as multiple roles and their reproductive functions. All of these belong to the internal factors.

Average educations of fishermen's wives are Elementary School and Secondary School. On average they also do not have the skills to process the results except helping other fishing activities, such as preparing the necessary tools fishing for the husbands. Their other skills are associated with the processing of marine products, such as trade or sell seafood. This is an evident in the activities fishermen's wives who each day preoccupied with the processing of marine products. They are also reluctant to do other activities because it is convenient and comfortable to do the routine activities.

Field data also showed the fishermen's wives tend to be active in the organization of informal rather than formal organizations, such as Islamic activities and even then carried out after finishing her regular job.

Meanwhile, in terms of the economy, the household income of fishermen is also low, with an average family burden as much as 4-7 people. Most of the fishermen are fishing laborers who work or rent a boat at the squire. They are usually sold to squire at a low price because they are bonded debt earlier. Even more, the fishermen's income depends on the season, if the tides, they usually go to sea again idle and at low tide, so the income is uncertain. Economic conditions that are less makes the wives help her husband to supplement the family income.

Later on, education, skills, experience lack of organization factors causes the fishermen's wives do not believe themselves to be active in the organization. They feel unable to organize and feelings prevent them to actively organize. There are only a few people from active informants in the activities of public organizations, participate in elections and active as a committee voting.

This condition is in an agreement with the liberal feminism theory which states the low role of women in public life due to lack of education, skills, experience and coupled with weak economic factors.

In addition, from interviews and field observations is unknown if the fishermen's wives have a dual role as both wife and mother so that almost all of the time used for reproductive activities, such as cooking, caring the children and the husband, and sent their children to school. They are also helping the husbands to treat their fishing results. Almost certainly the fishermen's wives could not follow the politics or participating in the public organization that are held during the day. Moreover, they seldom follow the organization activities because recitation is done at night and the time was not every day.

If the thought conveyed liberal radical feminism, the reproduction functions associated with inhibited female compared to male public sphere is conducted to find the truth.

External Factors that Cause the Poor Political Participation of Fishermen's Wives

What is interesting from a field study that was conducted in addition to internal factors, there are external factors which also contribute to the low political participation of fishermen's wives in Kenjeran and Bulak Sub District, that is still the appearance of a strong patriarchal culture in communities. The fishermen's wives are going to ask for permission from their husbands if they want to follow the activities outside the home. If the husband permits, then the wives will follow the activities, but if not, then the wives stay at home. The wives can not make their own decisions on life. Even the wives will see husbands and busyness needs before deciding its activities. Culture is thus very strongly influenced the lives of fishermen in the coastal areas of the Surabaya City, in which the husband is so dominant in the decision. Therefore paternalistic cultural factors (dominated by men) have a negative impact on the political participation of fishermen's wives in the coastal areas of the Surabaya City.

Then other external factors that inhibit political participation of fishermen's wives are not the recognition of the community if they are active. The fishermen's wives who are active only be known in a particular environment, such as in the community 1 RT/RW alone but for the people in the RT/RW/ others do not know. For those who are active also no appreciation that makes them satisfied, for example by giving them a gift or other external incentives. Thus, the majority of them chooses at home taking care of the house, children and husband rather than engage in activities outside the home. They consider their energy and attention needed in the home, especially when her husband went for fishing. Economically they feel more productive when helping the process the results fishing rather than here for the organization's activities. This in turn negatively affects the political participation of fishermen's wives in Surabaya City.

The dominance of paternalistic culture, multiple roles and functions of the reproductive apparently caused political participation of fishermen's wives is low and this is in accordance with the liberal radical theory which states discrimination against women is their dual roles and reproductive factors while under radical cultural, discrimination due to the dominance of patriarchal culture

The Motives of Fisherman's Wives Political Participation

From the data in the field is known that most of fishermen's wives are not active in the politics and other public organizations. Many of them who are active have social and psychological motives than economic and political ones. Socially, the purpose of their organization is to gather with neighbors. The fisherman's wives could hang out and exchange of knowledge from one person to another.

Psychologically, they are also supported to participate to organize and meet each other, increasing closeness between people, even those like a family. The fisherman's wives know each other well, feel kinship shared causes and help each other without any tendency.

The Model of Increasing of Fishermen's Wives Political Participation

As mentioned earlier of the informants, only a small informants who are active in politics (public organization) and they are more active because of the will, voluntarily. It's just as big of a fishermen's wives

prefers doing household activities and other reproductive besides no influence over the decision-making husband to political participation. They already feel comfortable with the choice of life now. It is also why they are difficult to participate in politic even when they are forced though. Conflict of time and density of reproductive activity during this make them choose not active

Therefore, here I found a model of increasing the political participation of fishermen's wives by combining the two models at the same time, these are the model of the autonomous (autonomous participation) and a model of mobilization (Mobilized participation).

Autonomous models applied to the fishermen's wives who had begun to realize about public organizations. From the data in the field is known that the fishermen's wives who is active as a motive or encouragement of social and psychological than economic and political motives. Socially, the purpose of their organization is to gather with neighbors and add insight as to meet a neighbor. The fishermen's wives could hang out and exchange of knowledge from one person to another. This situation became a major capital in the autonomous model of political participation. Psychologically, fishermen's wives would organize for their organization as a place to meet each other, adding to the closeness between people, even those like family. The fishermen's wives could be well acquainted with each other. They feel kinship shared causes and help each other without any tendency.

Meanwhile, the fishermen's wives who are more difficult to organize are suggested to implement the mobilized model, which encouraged and pushed at once made aware of the importance of organizing. Thus the fishermen's wife either conscious or not aware of the importance of volunteering in organizations is to mix the mobilization and autonomous models.

The important thing is the fishermen's wives should be made aware to play an active role in politics, and then made adjustments of the activites time to their leisure time. As a result, when they are active, they will not regret it and waste time as they are perceived so far.

CONCLUSION

The factors that causing the weakness of political participation of fishermen's wives in Surabaya City is an internal factor, those are low education, skills and experience of organizing, as well as multiple

roles and their reproductive functions. Besides, there are external factors that inhibit the political participation of fishermen's wives are patriarchal culture that is dominant over the decisions taken by the husband and lack of public recognition of the fishermen's wives who is active in politics.

These internal and external factors cause very little fishermen's wives who active participate in politics and for those who more motivated because of the social and psychological motives, rather than other motives such as economics, religion and politics itself. To push the increasing of political participation of fishermen's wives is used a combination of autonomous and mobilization models in the context of human action planning approach.

RECOMMENDATION

1. Applying the combined model of autonomous and mobilization in increasing political participation of fishermen's wives in Surabaya City.
2. Make an education and training mechanism for the improvement of education, knowledge and organizational skills to fishermen's wives so that they are more confident in the organization
3. Giving socialization that leads to the division of reproductive function between husband and wife that the wife is not confined fishermen in the house. At the same patriarchal cultural shift toward balance in decision-making between husband and wife in the household.
4. Provide incentives that are external to the wives of fishermen are active, especially the recognition.

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