

## **Political Communication and Outhonomy Perspective on Candidat Parliament of Dki Jakarta Province In 2009**

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### **I. Background**

Implementation of regional autonomy since 1999 have not brought positive results for the area including the development of human resource development (HRD) of women as one of the stakeholders in regional development. It is precisely the implementation of regional autonomy is an impact on women. There are at least three records pertaining to the impact of regional autonomy for women. First, the strong tendency of political identity, the politicization of religion, and the revitalization of the nuances of traditional restrictions on women's public role. Second, decentralization does not necessarily improve the welfare of the community. Third, women's participation in policy making is still low, women's representation in decision-making institutions fell significantly, and leadership of women as leaders in local areas the amount is negligible. (Compass, Voice, Saturday, July 29, 2006)

Various reasons women dikemukakan observer quota of 30 percent representation of women in political parties and legislative. Among them is the marginalization of women's long-standing and become integral in the socio-cultural and political process, so as to break the marginalization of these inequalities requires a special policy in quick time from being able to provide therapy during this politically marginalized. Marginalization of women is a classic problem and occurred throughout human history and continues to grow and take root in a culture that is fully supported by the structure of the state statute

Another reason is the system of patriarchal culture that is detrimental to women. Patriarchal culture system is a system that has the values of the dominant side with men. More firmly rooted patriarchal system, hegemony, and as having the legality of the truth when it states, as the dominant structure of society, maintain and conduct involved the omission of the value that occurs and harms women. Systems of domination and patriarchy that supports the view that men with masculinity as power over women, the view has implications for all sectors of life based on the relationship between women and men.

A decade or 8 years of struggle Affirmative Action, quotas of 30 percent can be seen in reality that is based on the results of the 2004 elections, women's representation in political / legislative just 11 percent, 11 percent of the results of women's representation in parliament after the elections is supported by the Law No. 22 of 2002 Article 65 Paragraph 1, which requires 30 percent women representation in the legislature. The decrease results from the election results in 1999 which reached 9 percent. Based on these realities, whether the results of the 2009 election results in significant increase women's representation in parliament / legislature, with the growing strength of the force of law or legislation which became the umbrella of the implementation of affirmative action, quotas of 30 percent?

The question is rightly emerged as the implications of the rule of law No.2/2008 on Political Parties has mandated that 30 per cent quota for women in politics, especially in the Parliament of Article 8 of Law No. Item d. 10/2008, for example, mentions include at least 30 percent representation of women at the party 30 percent of stewardship as one of the requirements of political parties to take part in the elections. And it is corroborated by Article 53 The law also says that the list of candidates also includes at least 30 percent representation of women.

Law on political parties did not provide an absolute force of law. But rather as persyarakatan that can be understood that political parties do not have to meet it. Terms persyarakatan quota of 30 percent is supported by Article 57 of Law Legislature example of administrative completeness verification of prospective candidates, which if the parties do not meet the quota of 30 percent, stated that the KPU, Provincial, Regency / City KPU will provide an opportunity for the parties to improve prospective candidates and provide written reasons.

In the 2009 elections will be fighting 11 000 candidates nominated by 38 political parties throughout Indonesia both at the nasional, provincial and kapupaten and DPD candidates. according to data from Puskapol Fisip UI (Day General COMPASS, Tuesday, October 14, 2008) which refers to the General Elections Commission (KPU), that there are five parties that put 40 percent or more representation of women in the DCS (temporary candidate list), the Party of Work Care for the Nation (PKPB) 48 percent, Unity and Justice Party of Indonesia (PKPI) 45 percent, Democratic Development Party (PDP) 40 percent, the Sun Party (PMB) 42 percent, Indonesia National Democratic Party (PDK) 40 percent, the Reform Star Party (PBR) 40 percent, and the Nahdlatul Ummah Unity Party of Indonesia (PPNU) 47 percent.

State has provided an excellent space for women, with the birth of the Election Law in 2003 and perfected by the Election Law of 2008, and finally water mark of this system changes, the provisions *pemilihterbanyak* vote that will determine whether or not a candidate elected as member of parliament, despite the provisions of a number sequence remains a factor that also come into play. In the context of Gramsci this situation, the balance of bargaining power has been reached between the women's movement, which is represented as a civil society, the state, which he calls the political community, in a battle of ideas between the two. State as a political community is believed to have committed during the political hegemony over civil society, which in this context are women.

At the level of superstructure, the hegemony of the state has been overtaken by the idea of civil society and the fight was won by the women that led to the new values are more pro-women. In this phase Gramsci called it a movement of 'counter hegemony', where women are able to appear and give birth to a new hegemony after winning the battle of ideas against the old hegemony. Elections Act 2008, can dikatakann as a victory for women's civil society.

In an attempt to '*counter hegemony*', the women, as mentioned above, must have bargaining power (bargaining position) is high. High bargaining power is influenced by many supporters of the instrument which contains the Media. The need for support of the media industry to be an unavoidable choice. This is due to Media Industry has a wider resonance and tend to be more acceptable to the public than the media community. Besides the media industry is also able to place itself as an instrument required by the community. This is caused by a strong symbiotic relationship between the media industry with the community itself

Mass media with all the devices also have their own interests and ideology. In concept Gramsci, mass media interpreted as an instrument to disseminate and reinforce the dominant hegemony, but the media at the same time can also be used to disseminate and reinforce the ideas and the movement of counter hegemony. (Stillo, 1999:10) In the reality of capitalist ideology, hegemony and domination of men also took place in the media. Media is not possible to break away from the interests of the institution's own media manager. Due to the tendency of media managed as industrial capitalism was the emergence of media. The condition is reinforced by the way managers think the media itself is shaped by the patriarchal culture of understanding resulted in impressions-impressions about women around the text-only households, and fashion. This happens not only on the impressions that besifat entertainment but also at the news that should be more neutral. Images or prototypes of women in general is more to what she likes and sold by the mass media which then affects the writing and perceptions about women and their activity in politics.

Based on the considerations described above, the formulation of the problem of this research are: 1) Is the policy of affirmative action based on the 2003 Election Law and the Law on Political Parties 2008 yan an appropriate policy in an effort to increase women's representation in parliament in the implementation of regional autonomy? 2) What about support for political parties to the process of fulfilling the quota of 30 percent on the basis of the Election Law, 2009? 3) What is the role of mass media in the political process of women candidates in the 2009 election? 4) What is the quality of political communication of Jakarta province of women candidates in 2009? and 5) Are the provisions relating to the struggle for women's quotas and regional autonomy is counter hegemonic movement?

Based on the issues, theories, research methodology and analysis used by researchers, the research objectives are 1) Disclose Affirmative action policy based on the 2003 Election Law and the Law on Political Parties 2008 yan an appropriate policy in an effort to increase women's representation in parliament within the framework of regional autonomy. 2) Describe the support for political parties to the process of fulfilling the quota of 30 percent on the basis of the Election Law of 2009. 3) Explain and criticize the role of mass media in the political process of women candidates in the 2009 election, 4) Know and explain the quality of political communication Jakarta women candidates in the 2009 election, and 5) Explain the provisions relating to the struggle for women's quotas and regional autonomy is counter hegemonic movement .

Studies using the base frame of the critical thinking in this critical analysis based on the idea Antonio Gramsci, is able to reveal the dynamic interaction between the presence and strength as well as the mass media in the struggle for women's representation in parliament to a significant and satisfy the justice of women and modern democracy so as to provide results suggest that an approach to the field of science Gramscian analysis of political communication. Especially the enrichment of understanding the theory of critical groups that still are very rarely used Gramscian analysis in the study of communication in Indonesia as an alternative approach would be capable of yielding the authors explain in greater depth and substantial depth in the review of communication issues, political and social culture.

## **II. Paradigm Research**

Paradigm is the perception of reality, and is a fundamental belief system that directs the flow of thought in order to determine the options approach is used and how it was done by researchers in the field (The Paradigm Dialog, Egon C. Guba, edt, in *The Alternative Paradigm Dialog* , 1990:17). Guba further mentioned that the paradigm is a human construction hasill (Human Constructions) which is probably a mistake in the

process and understand the differences there may be a reality by the researcher based on the choice of paradigm will be used to understand the reality or phenomena .. Each person / researcher studying the reality based on various views are believed appropriate and suitable to understand the facts in question or the object of research.

The paradigm used in research on Regional Autonomy and Political Communication Candidate Member of Parliament Election 2009 (Analysis of Affirmative Action Against Gramscian, Demand 30 Percent Representation of Women in Parliament in Jakarta Provincial Electoral Districts are "Critical Paradigms" or Critical Theory, which is characterized by Paradigm Ideologically inquiry oriented approaches such as neo-Marxism, materialism, feminism, participatory inquiry, and various other theory including critical theory (Guba, 1990:23).

Critical paradigm is the paradigm that is very much concerned about aspects of the demolition effort is hidden behind the visible reality in order to do a critique and change (critique and transformation) of social structures (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:109). Assumptions contained in the theory of critical thinking Antonio Gramsci used by the author, untu see, to criticize and simultaneously explain the phenomenon. It is as well explained by Chantal Mouffe (1979:9) states that the Gramscian analysis discusses the problems of the working class (the working class), superstructure, civil society, collective will, of class struggle, political praxis-counter hegemony hegemony etc. , so putting the thoughts and analysis of Gramsci as a Marxist thinker, rather Marxist Humanist. Similar understanding is expressed by stating that Nabento Boobio theses Gramsci has nothing to do with the Marxist tradition (in, Mouffe, 1979:27)

### **III. Theoretical Framework of Thought**

Grand theory is used in this study is the theory of political communication. Politics as an activity that involves many aspects such as political actors, political systems, public / folk, and media campaigns that transform audiences and followers of the mission, vision, issues and political program. Transformation politilk message is part of a political campaign that is going on in the process of political communication between the two parties involved in the political process

In the political process, communication and media are the means by which a large scale to transform ideas, concepts and messages politilk lasted well into a vehicle of communication between candidates poliotikl the audience / followers and the people in the campaign, mass media play a vital role. Mass media to channel the transformation of messages that can reach the audience or followers / community in a very broad, as well as media capable of constructing the image of a candidate who can affect or is not selected by the community

Political communication is a necessity for the political process in this context is that women political candidates running for parliamentary candidate. Hence political communication is indispensable in political activity and it is impossible for the candidates to ignore the role of media in the political process is in progress. Media that are known to have the power to reach and influence the political masses in vast quantities, is also economical, widespread and simultaneous. However, the existence of the mass media certainly will not eliminate komunikais face-to-face between the political actors with followers or members of the public. The strength and involvement of the media to be a prerequisite in every process and activity poolitik in the political system in Indonesia. By Brian McNair in his book *An Introduction to Political Communication*, 1997:11) states that the mass media serve as transformitter political communication from the outside of the media organization itself, and the sender's political messages are constructed by media workers / journalists. (1997:11)

Mass media as credible as long as it has supported the dissemination of democratic values. Democracy is the main condition that causes the media to grow freely and flexibility in meeting the information society. By contrast media in the era of democracy gives people freedom to access a variety of media content that conformed to their needs. Media and becoming a major player on the basis of economic considerations, the media happily be a means of promoting political candidates.

According to McNair (1997:21), there are five functions of the ideal type of communication media in a democratic society, namely:

1. The media should provide information to the public (citizens) about what is happening around them (surveillancefunctionangmonitoriungfunctionofmedia).
2. Media should educate so that the information has a significant association with the facts.
3. Media should have a public platform for political discourse, facilitate other forms of public opinion.
4. The media gave publicity variety of government activities and political institutions-the role of watchdog journalism.
5. Media in the community serving as a channel demokrastis advocating political views.

Increasingly important role of mass media according to Curran Gurevich in his book *Mass Media and Society* (1992:76), that the media is able to construct the image of the world and social life and well mmapu defining social reality. People tend to understand the social reality of the impressions that their media consumption, as the actual social reality, and became a reference in understanding, mempertimbangan and

decide something. The same conditions berlangsung in political life, political candidates need to convey the concept of mass media and political issues to the public in the hope of knowing the community and have positive perceptions related to political activity.

In other words, political communication is very important in the political process as candidates in the running for parliamentary candidates. Female political candidates should have an understanding of politics and communication skills so that they can manage the ongoing political process. Without adequate communication skills, it tends to be difficult to compete with others in the era of communication technology today. However penggunaan media in campaign activities, is also not cheap, but require huge funds, amid media ideology that embraces the ideology of capitalism.

Related to the understanding of political communication, the Communication Brian McNair stated that politics is public discussion on the allocation of public resources, the authority of the authority (who is given the power to make legislative and executive decisions) and the authority to give sanction (reward or punishment by the State), (1997:1) The process of political communication is essential for female candidates who are berusaha competing with tens of thousands of other candidates. Therefore, to win the competition that exists between the candidates, it is very important to use the mass media, in addition to the elements of political communication sebagaimana Briang described by McNair. Communication Kemampuan women candidates in the nomination process or to the parliamentary election campaign is a dominant factor that determines how their political activities are known, known and loved by audiences of voters, and able to shape public opinion and public confidence over what they campaign for.

Another concept of decentralization as a policy in local government. Implementation of regional autonomy provided for in Act No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government. UU/32/2004 Article 2 states:

1. The unitary Republic of Indonesia is divided into areas of the province and the city divided into districts, each of which has a local government.
2. Local government as paragraph (1) organize and administer their own affairs according to the principle of autonomy and assistance.
3. Local government, as paragraph (2) run a wide-ranging autonomy, except in matters of government into the affairs of government, with the aim of improving public welfare, public services, and regional competitiveness

A variety of resources including human resources of women to be very important in exploring and developing potential areas for tercapainya progress of an area. The role of women is expected to be optimized in line with the mandate of the Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. Instruction is born with a view to improving the status, role, and the quality of women, and to realize gender equality and justice in family life, society, nation and state.

In the context of decentralization, there is a difference between agencies and national and local institutions. It is more technical stipulated in Government Regulation (PP). 38 of 2007 on the Division of Government Affairs between the government, provincial, and district / city governments. Further setting the PP. 41 of 2007 on the Organization of the Region, which gives authority to organize the best possible organization perangkat area. Up to now there is a variation of an effort to empower women with the strategy of gender mainstreaming in local development.

In the political context of women's roles are not set in local government legislation. Political role of women continues to set the political party law. Political role of women empowerment in the context of autonomy still refer to the policy (Political will) about 30 percent women representation in parliament is a temporary kebijakan expected to encourage more significant involvement of women in politics. Law on Political Parties Article 53 paves the way it has been clear to women in particular and politics in Indonesia generally, which has been synonymous with the political men and masculine women become very marginal in the political arena both cultural and structural reasons.

Openness is supported by the law, though still the same spirit with the 2002 Election Law Article 65 Paragraph 1, which called for the need for more women representation in parliament signifikan, with a particular policy (Affirmative Action), a quota of 30 percent. Provisions of the quota, 30 per cent according to the Law on Political Parties mandated by Article 53, a wide open opportunity for women kaum to get involved in politics, especially in the running for a parliamentary candidate in the upcoming 2009 election. Provision, the political parties to mobilize abuzz in a very short time requires them to meet the requirements of 30 per cent quota in the list of legislative candidates.

The era of regional autonomy, which gives ample scope to the area to develop and build the region, is expected to accommodate the role of women in politics. Perempuan involvement in the legislative body in the area will bring its own color and become bargaining position to the position of women in the area. The struggle can be successful, if women who are members of the House and the Parliament are individuals who are gender sensitive and willing to fight for women's interests. Quality as well as member of parliament members of the initiative that the member is capable and courageous fight for gender equality in parliament in all products produced policies and laws.

Another study of mass media theory in the perspective of Antonio Gramsci. This theory confirms the concept of mass media in this study. Mass Media in the constellation Exchange Position (war of position) between the Community and the Politics of Civil Society. The mass media have the communication skills that are mass media and often contain elements of 'doctrine inrmation' information is one way that the media be free to construct an information. The mass media are also seen as a tool that has a central power (powerful) and strongly influenced by the dominant ideology of the political system, economy and culture. Influence of ideology and belief systems (belief system) media impact on production, the scale of production and diffusion of communication. Scale of production and diffusion of communication is an activity that is always done with all the media devices in it that result in dependence on their audiences and the media on the contrary dependence on the mass media audiences.

Media is able to provide diverse information needs and determine the formation of reality, thought and a particular view of the world and social reality (Fenton, in Taylor, ed. 1999:297). Further illustrated by Jenny Kitzinger (in Greg Phillo, ed, 1999:16), that the media introduce people to the fact, the phases of the life and history of the world or image, all of which can sometimes be one and a very effective tool to determine the accuracy of the information presented.

Media are also part of the culture industry is bound by the communication system that is managed as an industry organization that has its own interests and inclinations. Media interest and inclination are determined by social, economic, cultural and political environment that determines media framework construction, working and managing media behavior and mass media. The mass media are not likely to break away from the values, ideology, interests and life of the existing system where the media is growing and developing. On the basis of these considerations, the mass media in the Marxist understanding of the experts is a strength that is able to define reality based on the reality of values, ideologies and systems. Economic forces affecting social production directly influence the industrial society, is also determined by technological developments, in turn strengthen the domination by the dominant group and makes the process more complex. The process can not be separated from the influence of the ideology that gave legitimacy of power. In this process of Antonio Gramsci explained that there had been the hegemony of the dominant ideology. Superstructure of ideology as the institution where the institution is producing a constant struggle over the meaning and power. (1999:299). Dominant ideology is then to determine and mamaknai social reality, culture and politics of political society and civil society including women's political reality.

Media play a role in that context it becomes part of the ruling class and the bourgeoisie, the political community and the dominant ideology, so the media is only one color or a tendency to transform the reality in which reality is dominated by the ideology of the ruling group. Understanding this situation in accordance with the mass media by Marxist theories of principle that the media as the 'instrument', and a position as a custodian of what the company owners and are used to communicate control. Control exercised over the production of culture in order to maintain the "status quo '.

Antonio Gramsci viewed the media is not only a tool that can be used by the authorities or managers of media with their values and supports the value (deterministic approach). According to Gramsci (Stillo, 1988:8), the media also 'can' be used by civil society, which in this case, the female fighters to spread and reinforce the ideas of liberation. It all depends on women working for the media sought to become part of the fight is done, so that the content of media texts not only as long as this trend is in a form that is affected by the construction and ideologi capitalist patriarchal culture, but also can appear alternatiff alternative-media content and impressions with diverse perspectives to allow the debate 'public' about ideas, concepts and even the ideology of what is appropriate in the community.

Researchers are also using the theory of hegemony - Counter Hegemony Antonio Gramsci as the strength of civil society. In the book 'Political Ideas Antonio Gramsci' (Roger Simon, 1999:11), stated that Gramsci's concept of hegemony is expressed as a very advanced concept. The concept is built on the recognition that people's struggle for democracy and parliamentary institutions that have been formed not need to have a class character. Instead these institutions should be channels for the political struggle between two main classes, namely the working class and capitalist class. Further explained that in order to move forward to socialism, the labor movement must find a way to mempertautkan democratic people's struggles with socialist goals is to build alliances that allow it to reach the position of national leadership (hegemony). These people form the last named by Gramsci with civil society (civil society). (Simon, 1999:12)

Hegemony of the dominant ideology of the ruling class and run in a civil society by taking classes that are below (subordinate classes) to accept the values and ideas that telag taken by the dominant class itself by building networks of cooperation that is based on these values. Socialism steps performed by constructing counter-hegemony (counter-hegemony hegemony) by women as a civil society. This step requires a process of moral reform and an ideology that long. Gramsci menyebutkanya position" war "(war of position). (Stillo, 1999:4-8).

War of the position according to Gramsci (Stillo.1999: 8) is one way that can be used by civil society to fight for the hegemony of civil society in ways rational and gentle on the strength of intellectual and moral

leadership and it is only right and can be done in the community which has been developed and democratic. Civil society groups resulting from the alliance or relationship in which there was a debate of ideas for power to be used to fight the tyrannical power of the state of political society and political parties. Resistance to hegemony and dominant ideology can be done with the control system is superstructure conceptual and political power. It is as diyatakan by Antonio Gramsci, that the keyword of Gramsci's concept of hegemony is a system of 'superstructures and political power. Superstructures are very important in the thinking of Gramsci to mempenjuangkan strength of civil society because supertsruktur seen as 'soul' or spirit that underlies and gives strength to the movement performed against the tyranny of the dominant hegemony.

Furthermore, Gramsci states that power should be understood as a relationship. Social relations within civil society and the relations of power so that power can be evenly distributed throughout civil society, not just materialize in the state apparatus that is coercive. Every social group can become a member of hegemony. Lower group can only be a hegemonic class by strengthening the ability to gain support from other classes and social forces. This group of corporations must perform activities beyond their own interests (in Stillo, (1999:30). Common interest which is driven by the joint forces in the 'collective will' to do pernjuangan (class of struggle), which is expected to be able to spread ideas support the interests of civil society.

The concept of hegemony Gramsci (in Hendarto, 1993:56) lies in the recognition of the role of 'subjective consciousness' (subyektive conciosness) of the actors in achieving a harmonious mutual relationship between civil society and state. This is an agreement of subjective awareness of civic groups that formed an alliance to fight the ideology to the debate with the dominant ideology is the ideology of the state and ruling class. Of these efforts are expected to emerge an alternative ideology that can change a variety of state violence done to women as civil society over the years.

Hegemony that produces the dominance of the power of civil society should be guided by the power of ideology, social and cultural rather than physical force because the force sustained by ideology, social and cultural power and hegemony will create obtained voluntarily or full public awareness, not awareness or compliance spontaneous nature. It can be understood as Gramsci hegemony dilandasai prefer the power of ideas / thoughts, social and cultural power and obedience which obtained in the manner and gentle way (soft) or argementasi through debate over ideas rather than physical force to force.

Theories and concepts about women is about power and the Subjectivity of Women and feminist studies. Heliwel and Hindes explained that the power (Power) is some entity that is the quantity, in order to obtain more or less. In this understanding of power has always been seen as a capacity-the capacity to obtain the desired according to the road or the way they have. (In Taylor, edt, 1997:73). The issue is very important in the distribution of power is power. Distribution of power is understood as an analogy of welfare. Equitable distribution of power will be able to bring a harmonious relationship between civil society and political society (in Taylor, 1997:76)

According Gramsci, power can not be obtained and maintained only by violence, but also can be obtained and maintained with a soft manner, he called hegemony. The group that had been considered subordinate or even against the ruling authorities can just build a new alliance to create a new hegemony. Dominant class, as Marxists understand that is used to describe the power relations in bourgeois society, are the dominant group that uses state hegemony and economic resources and production results in the subordination of power and economic resources and production for the working class.

Above reasons, women should have the power to change the reality that harms them and create new realities in a fair and equitable. Changes can be done with active politics and gain power and become a part of practical politics, part of the decision making process, ensuring a variety of policies and laws are not discriminatory and supports the reality of women, and most importantly, is able to campaign and understanding the reality of women's socialization been the construction of the male is not the reality of the real woman. All these constructions can be changed by women and other social forces.

#### **IV. ConceptualFramework**

The relationship between women and the country has emerged conflicts that arise throughout the history of the country, especially in politics. Adverse conditions of this conflict and the reality of the political role of women wake up from the reality of cultural and social structure of an integral in the political process is in progress. That's because no matter what the state system, state structure and political system established by individuals dominated by an understanding of cultural and social structures that favor men. Political conditions of women who experience social injustice is a reality that must be questioned, criticized, and resolved to find a way out of inequality and finally able to make changes if possible and necessary to win the debate arena to achieve an understanding of power by a new hegemony.

The birth of election laws and the 2002 Political Parties Act 2008 which requires that 30 percent representation of women has led to ongoing debate among many people, especially those who do not support the policy of reservation of 30 percent. Polemic appears that questions about the 'quality' of women who had not been adequately considered women to be candidates in the election candidates. List of candidates for the

requirements stated only 30 per cent quota to meet the quantity, which is actually quite difficult dioleh by political parties. It is believed that the difficulties due to insufficient availability of the women who would choose politics as their professional activity.

In the women's struggle, it is important that efforts to revive the will bring together / 'collective will' among groups of people who have been subordinated by the dominant group has to bring the power to debate and struggle towards change for the better. In this understanding Gramsci introduced the 'struggle', the struggle must always be possible occurs between the dominant and subordinate groups. Gramsci argued that, common sense previously received by the subordinate group are caused by the dominant group is not something fixed and can not be changed. But it is always possible to move and change as a way to transform new things. In this case the mass media should also be in this understanding, which is run by ideology to the debate. (Site ideological struggle). The struggle of hegemony (moment of struggle of hegemony) is a perfect event of Gramsci's concept. The struggle is a battle position event (war of position) between political society and civil society. Civil society struggling with the aim of changing the hegemony of the dominant state and the bourgeoisie, or ruling, while the political community wants their hegemony remains dominant for the sake of maintaining their power, because if civil society does not fight for their ideology and establish a new hegemony, the hegemony of the ruling is likely to be one The only hegemony and tyrannical.

Collective movement will also be supported by existing intellectual Capacity as a civil society. Therefore, the independence of the intelligentsia is very important that they are able to create and propagate their own ideology. The spirit of togetherness in perjaungan can also be an effort to build quality together and raise awareness of women's support universal secraa, khususnya in Indonesia that women's political bdan is not taboo, but it becomes an activity of equal value with other activities, or the same value as men to enter politics. That process and political activity is a shared responsibility between men and women.

## **V. Research Methodology**

Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln in the book *Competing Paradigms In Qualitative Research* (1994) Critical Theory Explain that this approach contains methodological implications of the dialogic and dialectical. This research needs natural membuuthkan transactional dialogue between researchers and research subjects. That dialogue must be dialectical in nature to transform rejection and misunderstanding that leads to more awareness of that form, in an attempt to see how the structure can change and understand the actions necessary to effect the changes.

By reference theories, paradigms and approaches to social reality, this type of study and research purposes, then the appropriate type of research is "qualitative". Methodology is a term that refers to the process, principles and procedures in trying to approach the problem and found the answer. Qualitative methods refer to procedures that produce a description of research data; the writings or conversation of a person who produces words, the events and atmosphere, which is equipped with observation langsung, as well as perform in-depth observation of behavior. (Robert Bogdan and Steven J. Taylor, 1985:4). As explained by Allan Bryman (2001:285) that is characterized by qualitative research; produce data that is an interpretive descriptive words, pay attention and understand the point of view of participants in the study, researchers 'close' to the participants and the subject of research, trying to come up with assumptions, views and even a new theory. And seek to understand the contextual events, rich data and in-depth, micro nature, considering the significance and natural settings.

Researchers looked at the subject of this study as a case that is still very actual. This was marked by events that are still ongoing electoral process in 2009. 30 percent of the quota issue is also a central issue of the struggle over the past two decades is among the women activists around the world. Similarly, in Indonesia the issue of affirmative action, quotas are 30 percent of new issues began to emerge from 2000 and the subsequent struggle in 2003 gave birth to Article 65 Paragraph 1 of Law 2003 election year ago that suggested 30 percent women representation in parliament. Fatherly struggles to strengthen the legal basis of 30 percent quota provision continues with the birth of the Political Parties Law Article 53 which requires 30 percent representation for political parties who want to join the 2009 election. The research was in tune with the views of Feminist Research, the research uses feminist perspective. W. Lawrence Newman and Allyn & Bacon (1997: 80) states that feminist methodology seeks to give voice to women and questioned the re-oriented perspective of men, where it has determined the development of social sciences. Further Lawrence et al. explains that feminist research tends to resist quantitative analysis and experiments, but they use this type of quantitative research. This was based on the consideration that the use of qualitative methodology will be better able to assess and find answers to the substance of the issues studied, not just the runway surface. This approach will also be able to explain the answer to the problem based on the tendency of research subjects and not understanding the tendency of the researchers.

In this study, among the units of analysis, or expressed views about the political communication of women candidates who are candidates for parliamentary elections in 2009 in Jakarta provincial Dapil. Examine issues related to the concepts of Gramsci as an analysis of the quota policy that is trusted by the women as the only method while with the aim to increase women's representation in parliament. Criticize the subjectivity of

women, the concept of female power, the ability to build cooperation that become obstacles in women's political process that led to a polemic that female political candidates do not fulfill the quality is adequate. Bagaimaan cooperation among women organizations in forming alliances and collective will to create them so that common interests emerge, which was then fighting for the sake of it. What are the forms, processes and factors that encourage and hinder such co-operation in relation to the concept of hegemony and analysis.

Research using Multiple Analysis for this study uses multiple social realities that became the subject of research and analysis coverage of research, including:

1. Female candidates and male candidates in the parliamentary elections in 2009 in Jakarta province.
2. Which political party is a container in which the regeneration process of political cadres and the development of quality candidates.
3. Mass media, as a medium of transformation of ideas, concepts and the influence of political parties and women candidates in the 2009 election.
4. Women's organizations / activists as a pressure group Political Parties.

This study uses case study is a research strategy that refers to the forms of questions: why, or how. In the study, researchers were not too menontrol events studied, the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within the context of life. It is as stated by Robert K. Yin in his book *Case Study: Design and Methods* (1989:13) that the case study research strategy used to examine contemporary events, which deals with behavior that can not be manipulated.

To obtain the facts / evidence from the cases studied, according to Yin (1989:19-20) that the cases studied in two ways: direct observation and systematic interviewing. Method of direct observation and systematic interviews are expected to reveal in depth what is contained in the studied subjects. It is necessary to obtain the data / facts / evidence and directly to the main source where these events take place. Case study therefore believed to have unique strengths: the ability to use a variety of sources and evidence such as documents, artifacts, interviews and observation.

#### **The method used to obtain data in this study are:**

1. Observation, the observation of aktiitas and political realities of women. Women are still a sweetener and general elections are not yet part of the important issue of political process. Observations made on their nomination process, how the political parties. 30 per cent quota of women have grown up study was expected to be able to reveal phenomena that are in the process of nomination of women candidates for parliament in Jakarta provincial Dapil. Whether they meet the political quality; that even this is only defined for men These observations will likely be able to reveal the reality of the polemic, or just the quota is paving the way for the new discrimination. And policy action affirmative just become a means of fulfilling the quota quantity under consideration only.

2. Interviews, which used data collected weeks to reinforce the reality of the text observasisi with efforts to obtain information from women who become candidates in the 2009 election the party legislative candidates in the Constituency (Dapil) DKI Jakarta Province. Interviews were conducted in order to know and understand more deeply the reality of the real quality and quantity that there are women candidates. Interviews were also conducted to the mass media, as a new social system which was memiliku power of persuasion, influence and propaganda are very strong in order to establish the reality of thought and practical people so they have a positive or negative perceptions of candidates, members of parliament. Interviews were also conducted to a political party is a pang that the door of a female candidate nominated as a candidate member of Parliament. To see the cooperation and networking as part of kemmapuan in political communication, the researchers also will interview both women's pressure group organizations, other mormas supertstruktore to support the understanding of women in the political process, including political parties as a society within the concept of Antonio Gramsci.

## **VI. The findings and data analysis**

Cultural hegemony of patriarchy that has lasted throughout the history of women's lives were affecting their lives. The condition is more strongly reinforced and affirmed by the state against the reality of women's lives is called systemic oppression. In essence, the state is obliged to protect its citizens regardless of male or female, but the fact is overlooked women's specific interests, whether in parliament, government and other social institutions.

Regional autonomy is decentralized expected to change the conditions of inequality experienced by women in politics. Implementation of regional autonomy in the spirit of the area should be able to move his forces to be one solution for improving the quality of women's politics in particular, and the quality of society in general. It is important, so the more open opportunity for women to get involved in politics, so that women have



sufficient political experience and is able to compete with men who had dominated the political reality is otherwise.

In the realm of politics, discrimination and violence caused by the hegemony of the state is very factual. One indicator that is visible is the lack of women representation in parliament, both the central level. Provincial and regency / city, and in the high state institutions. All forms of discrimination are part of a historical process that has been entrenched in the language of cultural Gramsci called hegemony. Kondisis is one of them disebabkan by centralized political system prevailing in Indonesia's political system. Therefore, one way to do is replace the centralized system with a decentralized system, as mandated by the Autonomy Law Th. , 2003. Autonomy granted to the regions to give greater authority to all parts of Indonesia to set themselves to the development of regional autonomy, including autonomy in the empowerment of women and other people left behind.

With the system of regional autonomy should further encourage the implementation of the quota of 30 per cent towards the better. Women in the context of regional autonomy should be more autonomous and have better quality than in the centralization.

Decentralization becomes an opportunity for women to continue to grow, including in politics. The reality is that decentralization would bring a lot of old practices that harm women, and all in the name of cultural values that are subjectively interpreted by men. These conditions make the fact more women experienced domination by the local values that have been less than a place.

Gramsci (Stillo, 1999: 17), claim that the hegemony of one group dominates other groups in society are fundamental, is a fascist. Domination that took place resulted in the violence of the dominant group of subordinate groups, so that appears is the dominant ideology which controls the reality of people's lives. Conducted domination of men over women took place at all times, in various sectors, both public and domestic life. Dominance in public life such as politics by the state and political parties is a form of state violence against women in politics. Systematic violence affects a variety of policies relating to women's dignity, life, politics and even there the female body (Physical sphere) by the state for the sake of maintaining the status quo.

Preformance of it, civil society as the dominant group thinks the state or society thinks, based on their dominant values are regarded as subordinate group thinking. The public does not realize that they actually have been dominated and run the plan from the state and the hegemony of the dominant / ruling. Gramsci states that subordinate groups to help maintain the status quo even the dominant or ruling groups and did not try to fight the conditions that lead to dominant, what Marxists refer to as false consciousness (false consciousness). Women in politics become more passive participants, cheerleaders and an asset in the campaign to win the vote when elections take place. Conditions that take place throughout the history of elections in Indonesia is caused by a system of patriarchal culture that result in women not have the autonomy and independence in politics.

Gramsci stated that the State uses 'consensus spontaneous' people in this case women to maintain their status quo, although essentially the condition of compliance is not a conscious compliance and on the basis of rational considerations, but rather because it is a common understanding of the unfamiliarity reality. This condition is favored by the state and the ruling class so that people do not feel there is something disturbing relations of states and people.

In politics, Marginalization happens in the body's control of political parties lead actress in women's political difficulties through strategic levels in the stewardship of the party and their impact on the difficulty of a legislative candidate. In the next phase of this situation led to an opportunity for women to become politically qualified thinning and lead to the maintenance of male hegemony in the public / political. In fact, as it is understood, politics is a strategic space for the birth of the various decisions that are binding on states. The lack of women in strategic positions and public office, which allows the influence of women in decision-making, not only in the House of center, but the condition is more severe in the Provincial and Regency / City in Indonesia. The same thing happens in public institutions and other political. Low representation of women is ultimately very limiting their role to influence policy to make it more gender sensitive. Based on the above situation, then ketertuan 30% quota for women in the legislature is not a goal, but merely act as an instrument to the next level of struggle, namely equality and equity between men and women. State is an instrument and have the apparatus, the state is not eternal and not the end of the 'historical bloc'. Gramsci describes the state does not represent the universal interests, namely the people, but prefer the interests of some groups (particular). The fact of the second data obtained by the mass media that the country does not represent the interests of the majority or people in general (universalistic). Women who constituted the majority with the highest turnout of 57% are not represented in parliament pereka political participation, as well as other public region (see table on women's representation in parliament and also the table of women's representation in public institutions.

Provisions of the Political Parties Act 2008 has actually been able to move the political parties, whether forced or not political parties to give greater space for women candidates who have been less inclined to the attention of political parties. Where in the 2003 Election Law, the provisions only a recommendation and not binding, whereas in the Political Parties Act 2008 specified explicitly and has a provision of law, namely the

political parties that do not meet keetentuan 30 percent female candidates, it can not follow the 2009 election. Political Parties Act 2008 can be regarded as a major advance for women, although limited to the realm of politics, that it is a political event is phenomenal for a change and the relationship between civil society and the state / the Parliament as a political community. The next step is to make changes among women themselves, so it's ready to compete with other candidates, which in this case is male, which is also understood politically and culturally considered more qualified than the women.

Motion can be stated quota of 30 percent has become a common issue, especially for the components involved in the political realm. The program is a logical implication of a country that the democratic system as a cornerstone in the government run and manage the country and its people. In other words, in a democracy, all the people / citizens should have the space and equal opportunity / equal in expressing themselves in various activities as citizens, including in politics. 30 per cent quota of women's political representation is not intended to be settled, but this policy is a temporary policy in an effort to balance the quota of female legislators and men. As a temporary policy, it means that only a policy that required due to the condition of women in the political left of the man. In Indonesia situastion, would still require considerable time to reach equilibrium due to the diversity of Indonesia who represent diverse mindsets, values, belief systems, people, language and interests.

Related to regional autonomy implemented in Indonesia as a new concept and system of government relations in Indonesia. Before the reform, or the year 2003, systems and relationships are central and local government centralization, which is the center of power is held solely by the central government. Relations system has led to centralization kemamdulan areas that do not have keleluasan to organize themselves as a stakeholder area. Area during this hnaya become an extension of the central government. Understanding and acting centralization has affected all levels in public life, which eventually led to the regions are not autonomous, they are not allowed memilikirkan their own interests and needs, although the actual area to understand their needs.

Affirmative action policies, quotas of 30 percent women representation in parliament relating to the autonomy of the present day, can open up better opportunities (large) for women to get involved in politics; become party leaders, legislators and candidates in a more real representation of 30 percent women as public officials in local government. On the other hand, the system of regional autonomy signifkantan not have a policy of affirmative action with quotas of 30 percent women representation in parliament, because even an area to run the system of regional autonomy that has the authority to regulate and take care of themselves, but do not touch policy development at the level of female. Or in other words, the area does not have programs or policies that lead to the support of 30 per cent quota of women representation in politics.

Ketarkaitan between policies as affirmative action quota of 30 percent with a system of regional autonomy can be seen also from the encouragement and support given to women in the running for legislative candidates. The existence of nearly equal understanding of all parties on the importance of equal participation of women partisipais men in politics. Politics should be considered taboo, dirty, and activities that are not feasible for the women. Changes in understanding or mindset of this is very important in the struggle to change the political system. It could be argued that the substance of the changes to the importance of the role and activities of women in politics has been accepted by the public although not comprehensive. Barriers to women's political participation appears also from the political system and government that had been shaped by deeply rooted patriakri system that gave rise to injustice and gender inequality that affects the understanding that all sectors of public life. Autonomous systems with the concept of decentralization as described earlier to chance / way for women to develop themselves politically, but the reality constraints and increasingly complex problems and be seen clearly, and not easy to eliminate the problem and the obstacles that arise. This, because Indonesia is unique compared to other countries that impose a quota of 30 percent and regional autonomy, such as India and Germany. Both countries are relatively easy to run and socialization uniformity due to the above two programs they have.

Jakarta, as the provinces / regions have more quality of life and better education, injustice and inequality should be less than another regions in Indonesia. Implementation of quota of 30 percent in the frame of regional autonomy is also better. However women inJakarta is no better representation of women in parliament, especially in government. The condition was explained that a good rule is not enough to improve the achievement of the quota of 30 Percent. But more is a major and substantial change of mindset and belief system of many parties on gender unequal which has placed women as subordinate to men. In other words there is no guarantee that Jakarta implementation of the quota policy 30 percent better than other regions.

Comprehensive support to the importance of the provisions of the quota of 30 percent is a form of political policy comitment as they must run. The provision is also a form process of democratic values to all citizens. Favor of one element over the nation is experiencing inequality in politics is a real necessity ditengan reality the roles of women in government and other public spaces that still in hegemoni by men. On the above rationale, it would require significant changes in the Law, 32 2002 on Regional Autonomy. Necessary additional rules relating to the development of support for women, such as the obligation of 30 percent representation of women sebgaia public officials in every region, gender mainstreaming in all

development programs in the area, better service system for people, mothers and children, the system educational considerations of gender mainstreaming, etc.. Tersbeut changes needed to strengthen the struggle of the quota of 30 per cent of women and regional autonomy are expected to improve the equality of women in the area, based on a decentralized autonomous system, then the decision-making in many policy areas are the rulers and local leader. And therefore the leader must understand the issue and sided with the women and other marginalized.

In order to achieve that, the necessary regulations representation of 30%, the relationship between the civil society in local politics. Basically these provisions can be engineered or modified by the local government, even it can also be done for the whole massif throughout Indonesia Indonesiaannya that we should use the hook ledengan legislation bersifar thorough change of the center. Women have to fight and not just rely on the quota of 30 percent. All require the impossible suddenly become a member of the legislature, but preferably through a continuous process. Ways that can be taken is active in politics. With through the process, the better the quality of women are healthy and ready to compete with men. Not question the view that the election of women candidates for City Council members from several political parties, of course, not entirely because of the quality of women is less than the men. However, many factors that cause it such as:

- a. Political parties do not have a cadre that is ready to support as legislative candidates, but more because of the appointment at once to fulfill a quota of 30 percent.
- b. Critical time so that the determination is in a hurry.
- c. Women in general are not political activists partsi, but more because of the prospective instant.

But that must be observed is the cost of political communication, including political campaigns for women financially costly and become one of the crucial issues. Even if women candidates are having a good capability political communication, evening political campaign as a model of economic value associated with the transaction. Candidates did not set a lot of women-candidates who has an opportunity to promote themselves or communicate openly due to lack of funding.

Finally, one way that can be taken by women are campaigning in person, must work from the beginning to implement strategies to meet their constituency directly, but because of the pragmatic attitude of society, still sebagain tactical funds received by the main attraction in choosing a candidate. Is at the center of Jakarta's central government and lack of resources untouched by social movements and advocacy directly to the center of the community. Jakarta is much more concerned with economic issues and politics, and tend to be bogged down in the process of socialization to the public. It should be understood as the public character of Jakarta which is more diverse that women's issues specifically excluded. But regardless of political communication skills of women are still less, 30 percent quota provision in the field is filled with either political party. Political parties support the quota of 30 percent, both as a manifestation of the Law on Political Parties or also urging the public including the media. In fact the reality is there is a real political party candidates throw the man to meet such requirement. If then women are not adequate terpikih, which must be viewed as a shared responsibility of nations especially elememn political parties to seriously do pendiidkan politics to women's political parties so that the process takes place in a responsible, not the only activity at the time of nomination.

The problem that arises is, because a lot of new political parties, then they do not have a woman who has sufficient quality to be nominated as candidates. The nomination took place as political exchanges, which political party they are looking for women who want to register without too much consideration to their political communication. This can be understood as the first step is how to meet the 30 percent provision for the representation of women candidates. These conditions eventually lead to internal conflict parties, especially for male candidates who have been active in political parties, they do not get a serial number or not dicalonklan because quotas for women.

Face to face methods used by DKI Jkaarta women candidates in the election campaign 2009. Tersebut methods are the advantages possessed by women and therefore it can be a force in women's political campaign. Women can talk to women voters in particular the problems that are close to the lives of women and closeness can be menjai capital to grow the trust of voters to legislative candidates in a campaign that is being done. In other words, according to Ida Mahmudah, campaigning door to door / face to face should be Merode campaigns by political candidates of women, because women disanakan strength. In practice in the field memnag many problems and obstacles, but speaking directly to voters can be the most powerful way to know apoA separately they think.

According to researchers, although the method of campaigning face to face, still require the ability of political campaigns. The women who choose this method must have the knowledge, energy and strong will to real personal menghadapiu in the community. Not that method of face to face that does not require any personal bersifar political communication, but any form of campaign dipili, still require the ability of political communication. And this is supposed to be realized by women and political parties should support the process

of increasing women's political communication. So that if the upcoming election, kandidat women have sufficient capital to compete with male politicians.

Based on the reality of female board members, then there are some things you can do to improve the quality of their political communication, the first female fellow rid of negative thoughts to members of other women, eliminating the thought that other female board members are competitors. So it should help each other to enhance the ability of other women. Second, self-confident with-maisng maisng appearance and do not compare with other women. Third, women must menguasai adequate knowledge in general, and particularly in areas that are occupied / commission. Kempat, trying to improve themselves continuously especially kemampuan public face and talking on the forum. Fifth, it has a clear and strong motivation invoke the duty, should be the main motivation is to fulfill the interests of the people, constituencies respectively towards the better.

The way out is to strive for continuous improvement is thorough, more substantial and not just the moment when bersifar sudden and noisy bingan elections every 5 years. Efforts to do is continually strengthening melkaskan in the community by all components of the nation, such as politii party, state, community organizations and all government agencies. Integral support of all parties in the socio-cultural and political aktivistas necessary so that all programs work together to support the development of women and other marginalized.

Because of the dominance of men over women is likely to continue, it would require a model that supported the struggle of women olehb policies that also support women. At the policy level women should keep political constellation with the provisions of the management quota of 30 percent in political parties and candidates for parliament, if possible, face the 2014 elections strengthened the rules legally binding.

At the community level, the struggle required for making strong civil society, civil society organizations, and a stronger state support for women's empowerment. Women themselves, have to venture out of the public stigma, that politics is taboo, dirty and hnaya decent man in politics. Women's organizations and cooperative relations continue to strengthen their alliance over the issue of the struggle.

Talking about the representation of women in politics and the legislature relating to affirmative action, quotas of 30 percent, then it is highly dependent on the policies of political parties. Support political parties, as mandated by the Political Parties Act in the determination of legislative candidates. In other words, only through of political parties, candidates can register for the elections. A political party is the entrance for the politicians to become members of the legislature. A political party is a place where politicians, both men and women to take part in practical politics. Political parties have a very strong role relating to elections and candidates. It is also clear that the candidates should know and be part of a political party as the instrument and at the same time in Indonesia's political system.

Political parties should support the ongoing programs and actual experience over the years, in which political parties tend to be reluctant to support the participation of political parties if it is not forced by the moral sanction of the public and media pressure. If support for a political party is serious and well-planned and then when the time of determination and legislative candidates must meet the 30 percent representation of women, political parties, especially the old political parties and are not difficult to do so because of inadequate female candidates. It describes the reality of political education are so far not carried out continuously by the political parties, so that the participant or a member of the party is not ready mengahadpi legislative elections.

Mass Media Support of Women Candidates in the Election Process 2009. The mass media plays a very important to build public opinion and the imagery associated with the candidate or candidates in the race for seats in parliament. With a very important role, the mass media to the politicians seizing both men and women to get a place or a reported associated with their nomination in the mass media. But for legislative candidates, particularly women candidates is not easy to get a place associated with his candidacy or reported in the media. Business orientation as a consequence of the development of media industry that gave birth to the commercial media, a fact that must be faced by women candidates in the 2009 election. Profit oriented to the media is an absolute must-have by legislative candidates, if you want to appear in ad slots in the mass media. The point is that the mass media have an interest in the economic benefit of legislative candidates, including women candidates.

The mass media of the view that the presence of women candidates in the 2009 election has not been highlighted in the media is so worthy of the quality perseorang. Too few female characters who become candidates for legislative candidates in the 2009 election, if any of these figures are old figures that are often appeared in the media. The mass media does not have a specific agenda to support or fight for women candidates in the 2009 election. What does the media is inseparable from the interests of profit-oriented business for the media itself, then the issue: whether the issue of interest to the mass media, and whether women legislative candidates who competed in the 2009 election were able to show their qualities: so worthy of appearing in the media mass.

Can unequivocally say that the mass media do not support a particular candidate in the election of women candidates in 2009. The space opened by the media in support of women candidates in the elections is

still very minimal. Issues of women candidates in the 2009 election seemed to disappear along with the Constitutional Court ruling on Affirmative Action 30% female representation. This further makes the struggle of women in politics is not supported by the mass media. Interests of capitalism, business-oriented media into the media reason to accept and use the power of money to fight for women candidates in politics. If the candidates have the money then the legislature will get space in media. There are things that can actually be said to be an exciting thing to spur quality kandidate female candidates, ie when the mass media would raise female figures of women qualified and able to think outside the main narrative to appear in the mass media.

Affirmative Action in the Context of Struggle Autonomy as Counter Hegemony Movement. Struggle is an affirmative action efforts and global issues to work on the assumption demands and achieve equality between men and women in the political field and the field of life. Equal rights is an important issue, and to achieve that quota is determined to be cultivated in the public policy of state law.

It was necessary necessary for various reasons, such as omission of women than men in the public world, especially politics. This is something that can not be tolerated, because as human beings are considered equal and parallel yag level of rationality to men, women have equal opportunities in all fields. And efforts to come out of existing conditions should be done as perjuangan to obtain the rights of women as citizens and also align themselves with men.

In the context of regional autonomy, which is given the opportunity to develop the potential of areas including human resources of women. When viewed in the context of affirmative action policy of regional autonomy will open up equal opportunities between women and men to participate in the development of the area. Regional autonomy is wide open opportunity for women to compete to put yourself in public areas, including politics. In the political context of women's roles are not set in local government legislation. Organized women's political role in the political party law and the legislature. So that the political role of women in the context of regional autonomy can not be implemented optimally. But in the process of regional development role of women is expected to be optimal in line with the mandate of the Presidential Instruction No.. 9, 2000 about the government's policy on "Gender Mainstreaming in National Development". The absence of affirmative action for women's political role in the context of decentralization shows that menghegemoninya state domination. Execution and implementation of regional autonomy are regulated in Law No. 32 Year 2004 on Regional Administration does not regulate the role of women. However, the implementation of regional autonomy sebanarnya opportunities for women to compete in a political position with establishment of the area.

## **VII. Conclusion**

Women experiencing a cultural and structural majinalisasi that lasted throughout the history of human life. Marginalization experienced by women construct all sectors of life including politics. Politics is a public area berorientasi in the public interest and is managed by the state. Things that lead to inequities in the representation of women in public and political arena. Is a deep rooted understanding of the middle social systems and structures and has become a cultural system that is patriarchal system.

Patriarchal culture system is more firmly rooted and seemed to have the legality of the truth when the State, as the dominant structure of society, maintain and conduct involved the omission of the value that occurs and harms women. Countries, especially in the era before the reform to be almost the sole interpreter of the meaning of the political realities of social life that puts women sebgai two-class society, especially in the realm of politics. Political activity dipahamkan be taboo, dirty and hard, and therefore only appropriate for men. Men into primary and community groups to use its authority over the translation of the political social realitas is much injustice against women.

The importance of influencing state policy to be more pro-women have a lot in the perempuan understood by itself. But the State itself is often pressure to give birth to a policy requiring a particular policy. And pressure on the country can only be done by women if they have the bargaining power (Bargaining position) are balanced, or more strongly with the state. Bagaining is needed by women in order to compete with men and more open to opportunities to achieve it with the birth of the Political Parties Act 2008 and the enactment of the Regional Autonomy Law.

In Gramsci's concept, the balance of bargaining power between the women's movement, which then represented as a civil society, the state, who then called the political community, will give birth to the battle of ideas between the two. Hegemony and the state could have lost the battle of ideas can be won by women so it will show the new values are more pro-women. In this phase Gramsci called it a movement of 'counter hegemony', where women are able to perform a new hegemony and elahirkan after winning the battle of ideas against the old hegemony.

It is also a form of 'counter hegemony' to do as a civilian woman who suffered during this political injustice. Women, as mentioned above, must have laughed position (bargaining position) is high. High bargaining power is influenced by many supporters of the instrument which contains the Media. The need for support of the media industry to be an unavoidable choice. This is due to Media Industry has a wider resonance

and tend to be more acceptable to the public than the media community. Besides the media industry is also able to place itself as an instrument required by the community. This is caused by a strong symbiotic relationship between the media industry with the community itself.

Media Industry, as an institution that has an ideology of capital, it is not impossible that utilized by the women's movement to fight for his ideas, especially when considering that so much emphasis on the ideological orientation of the capitalist financial (profit oriented). Financial orientation itself is heavily influenced by how much of an interest in the media industry is able to achieve in the community. Community itself, although the pattern of patriarchal culture they have, so have an interest in the knowledge that most of them can get through the media industry.

Counter the hegemony of women's struggle very hard to do if the fight is done partial / split. History of Indonesia noted that the individual spirit of Kartini and 'fighting movement' a Goddess Sartika did not have significant bargaining power to change existing cultural values even at the level of 'cross wall' though. On this concept is clear that the 'ideology of liberation' was not powerful enough to add to the movement but rather a shared vision and mission of all elements of the struggle to be able to bring great energy to achieve the goals of women. And the great energy that is 'collective will' of the women themselves. Hence it is clear that making 'collective will' as an ideological struggle is a must so that ideas of women's struggle to have a constant and significant energy.

**Research conclusions are:**

1. Provisions of affirmative action, quotas 30 percent turned out to be more developed in the presence and the Law on Regional Autonomy. Regional autonomy has not been able to increase the representation of women in politics, it is because the provision of regional autonomy would bring a new community groups and governments are also less supportive of women's political empowerment.
2. Political parties not to support the implementation of the overall quota, but supports only the fulfillment of Political Parties Act 2008 in determining legislative candidates in 2008 elections ago. It is seen from the unpreparedness of the candidates who determined the party is generally not a party activist.
3. Patriarchal system is still going on in society and supported by the state and even by some of the women themselves thus creating an adverse reality of women in public areas and this has become an entrenched belief system that mmebutuhkan great struggle of the women to able to change ways of thinking and acting against variety of state policy.
4. Women need a communal ideology to ensure the continuity of the struggle which is not yet
5. finished, and the ideology has to offer is the 'collective will', while gender equality and justice as well as the 'liberation' is more of a destination. It takes smart effort and compromise with capitalist values for the media industry can achieve a mass media support for the movement of women's struggle to raise their bargaining power against the dominant ideology of the state.
6. Political Communication quality is still not enough women candidates based on the phenomenon of women who become candidates for the legislature. This is because the political experiences of women are still sorely lacking in politics. Therefore, women should be actively plunge in politics, so ready to become a qualified candidate.
6. Women's struggle is not finished. quota of 30% only is affirmative action towards a more ideal situation for women. Gerakan is a movement "counter hegemonic movement Indonesian women had only been in the early phase".

**More specifically, this thing can be summed up in this study include:**

1. The mass media did not act as a starting point that gave birth to the idea, but only plays a role as a 'phenomenon picker' based on its own interests. Media to be poor ideology related to gender issues. An event is deemed by the news media as mere objects to be loaded only if it is considered to satisfy the public curiosity so sold. Mass media in the context of the struggle of the women's movement still plays his behavior as a media capital who have no ideological willingness to construct public opinion. Media did not have a vision about the tendency of opinion that can be created through the news delivered. If it is considered a form of media independence and professionalism, it became indisputable when in some cases, even footing the media perspective is grounded in patriarchal culture that developed in the community so that the media acts as legitimator justification for the ongoing culture and was validated by most of the community.
2. Women as civil society who have menindasan, even by the media itself, struggling to gain the sympathy of the media in their political activities, because the media still look different between the political activists of women and men. And the media tend to prefer male candidates, except in the case of certain cases in which women had to prove something more than men in general.
3. A new hegemony is the hegemony of civil society which produced women's struggles Indonesia about 30 per cent quota to the provisions of the Political Parties Act 2008 and Local Autonomy 2003, is the result of

counter hegemonic struggle of women in civil society that has experienced the hegemony of the dominant and the dominant ideology performed by the state, authorities and political parties. It all has led to the women left behind their participation and representation in politics and also in other public areas. New Hegemony is a form of democracy and justice for women in politics.

4. Women's movement in the fight for 30 percent quota provision, when viewed from the struggle waged, as the collective will, to build alliances with, struggle to break down discrimination and political hegemony and dominant ideology which is caused by the state and other dominant classes based on cultural understanding patriarchy, the struggle for women's movement won 30% quota can be considered a counter hegemonic movement. All this in essence is to achieve the goals of democracy and the creation of political justice, equality and justice between women and men.
5. In the understanding of Gramsci, hegemony struggle of civil society counter such women were more ideological, the struggle must have a foundation of ideology so as to steer, focus and create a 'soul' or spirit of the struggle waged. But that does not mean political practical action is not important, but it is practical politics (political praxis) in view of Gramsci on hegemony is superstruktural and at the same structure. Politics as a superstructure to create a process of struggle to have their strategies, while the practical politics as the means by which an understanding of the structure and political strategy and the struggle diwujudkan through the debates that took place between civil society and political society.

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