Artikel

# Papuan Women's Participation Perspective In Political Leaders

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Abstract: This study observes that the participation of Papuan women in politics is very small to date, even after the government's policy of 30% women's representation and changes in cultural and customary perspectives in Papua towards the position of women still have not been able to increase the participation of Papuan women in the ranks of political leadership., so that the purpose of this study will be to describe how the perspective of Papuan women's participation in political leadership is. This study uses qualitative research methods by using literature/library studies that support the results of this study. The framework of this research uses the Longwe analysis approach (Sara Hlupekile Longwe) or commonly referred to as the Women's Empowerment Criteria or Women's Development Criteria, is an analytical approach developed as a method of empowering women with five analytical criteria. include: welfare, access, critical awareness, participation, and control. However, this research will focus on the cultural background and the dimensions of participation. The results of this study found that there was already the participation of Papuan women in political leadership, but the number was still small due to external factors, especially the background in the form of an existing culture, and internally

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## 1. Introduction

The number of women on the political stage is a very interesting issue. The majority of political activists, female figures in political parties, academics and non-governmental organizations (SDM) agree on the need to increase women's political participation in Indonesia. Papua is one of the unique areas to be studied because of the anomalous situation of women's representation between the center and the regions, where the representation of Papuan women in the DPR RI has reached the minimum quota, which is 30%. Meanwhile, the representation of women in the Provincial DPRD only touched 7.8%. Of course, this condition cannot be separated from the socio-cultural background and customs prevailing in Papua. Papua has more than about 315 tribes (ethnics) with different languages and cultures. It is divided into three broad categories, namely coastal, lowland/river, and mountainous ethnic groups (Mansoben 1995: 46-50). "Adat" is seen as very strong in shackles the Papuan people in general. Specifically in terms of gender relations, according to Petrus Tekege, "Women are completely controlled by men. Women are seen as mere objects belonging to men" (Tekege 2007: 15). Papuan customs have undergone many changes since the presence of missionaries in Papua, where there has been a change in the view that women are no longer isolated by adat and the recognition that women have the same degree is developed (Tekege 2007: 15). Furthermore, the role of the church was also recognized by the (late) Beatrix Koibur who said that the church played a role in producing female leaders (Feith 2001). Based on the brief explanation above, where there is a shift in views on the position of Papuan women, however, the participation of Papuan women in politics is still very small, so it is of interest for researchers to describe how the perspective of Papuan women's participation in political leadership is.

## 2. Research Method

The type of research used in this study is to use qualitative research. The qualitative research method is a research method based on post-positivism philosophy, used to examine the condition of natural objects, (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is the key instrument, sampling data sources are purposive and snowball, collection techniques are triangulation (combined), data analysis and qualitative research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization. (Sugiyono, 2010: 50). This type of descriptive research aims to make a systematic, factual, and accurate description of the facts and characteristics of a particular population or object. This research is a descriptive study, which provides a description or description of a social phenomenon being studied. In this case the researcher describes, or describes a phenomenon that is happening based on certain indicators of the operationalized conceptual, and does not intend to explain a relationship between variables (Sugiyano, 2010: 100). Descriptive method is a method that is focused on solving problems that exist in the present time by collecting, compiling, explaining, analyzing and collecting data. Thus, the results of this research will later be presented with data relating to the political participation of Papuan women.

# 3. Result

Participation

Participation is the involvement or participation of a person or group in an activity. According to Davis, participation is the mental and emotional involvement of a person or individual in a group situation that encourages him to contribute to group goals and take responsibility for his involvement. Djalal and Supriadi (in Yuwono, 2001: 201-202) in their book he explains that the meaning of participation is decision makers by suggesting groups or communities to get involved in the form of delivering suggestions and opinions, materials, skills, goods and services. Community participation according to Isbandi (2007: 27) is community participation in the process of identifying problems and potentials that

exist in the community, selecting and making decisions about alternative solutions to deal with problems, implementing efforts to overcome problems, and community involvement in the process of evaluating changes that occur.

What is to be achieved by participation is to increase the ability (empowerment) of everyone who is directly or indirectly involved in a development program by involving them in decision-making and subsequent activities and for the longer term. The principles of such participation, as stated in the Guide to the Implementation of the Participatory Approach compiled by the Department for International Development (DFID) (in Monique Sumampouw, 2004 are:

- 1. Coverage. All people or representatives of all groups affected by the results of a decision or development project process.
- 2. Equality and partnership (Equal Partnership). Basically everyone has the skills, abilities and initiatives and has the right to use these initiatives to be involved in every process to build dialogue without taking into account the level and structure of each party.
- 3. Transparency. All parties must be able to develop communication and an open and conducive communication climate so as to lead to dialogue.
- 4. Equality of authority (Sharing Power/Equal Powership). The various parties involved must be able to balance the distribution of authority and power to avoid domination.
- 5. Equality of Responsibility (Sharing Responsibility). Various parties have clear responsibilities in each process because of the equality of authority (sharing power) and their involvement in the decision-making process and subsequent steps.
- 6. Empowerment. The involvement of various parties cannot be separated from all the strengths and weaknesses of each party, so that through active involvement in each activity process, there is a process of mutual learning and mutual empowerment of each other.
- 7. Cooperation. It is necessary to have the cooperation of the various parties involved to share the advantages in order to reduce the various existing weaknesses, especially those related to the ability of human resources.

Angell (Ross, 1967) states that growing participation in society is influenced by many factors. Factors that influence a person's tendency to participate, namely:

- 1. Awareness/Willingness Factors Participation arising from the will of individual members of the community. This is based on an impulse that arises from one's own conscience.
- 2. Age Age factor is a factor that influences a person's attitude towards existing social activities. Those from the upper middle age group with a more stable moral attachment to societal values and norms tend to participate more than those from other age groups.
- 3. Gender The participation given by a man and woman in development is different. This is due to the existence of a social stratification system that is formed in society, which distinguishes this position and degree, will lead to differences in rights and obligations between men and women.
- 4. Education Said to be one of the absolute requirements to participate. Education is considered to be able to influence a person's attitude towards his environment, an attitude that is needed to improve the welfare of the whole community.
- 5. Work and income This cannot be separated from each other because a person's job will determine how much income he will earn. A good job and income and sufficient for daily needs can encourage a person to participate in community activities. This means that to participate in an activity, it must be supported by an economically stable atmosphere.
- 6. Length of stay, The length of time a person lives in a certain environment and his experience of interacting with that environment will affect a person's participation. The longer he stays in a certain environment, the sense of belonging to the environment tends to be more visible in his large participation in each of these environmental activities.
- 7. The existence of support from the Regional Government and the community The government as the bearer of the people's mandate to develop indeed must play a role,

especially the local government in this case the Camat, they are expected to be able to encourage the community to participate in village development, come to the community to appeal and other efforts. Support from the community, both from community leaders and citizens in general. The participation of community leaders helps in supervising and providing direction to people who do not understand village development and act as social control in the community.

8. Equipment/Facilities In carrying out the duties of the sub-district head and his apparatus, a sub-district office is needed which is a place to carry out the tasks of management, reporting, recording and various other activities.

#### Woman

In Fitria (2008: 34) the difference in the meaning of the words woman and woman in the context of everyday language is not clear. In the view of the Indonesian people, the word woman experiences semantic degradation, or peyorasi, namely a decrease in the value of the meaning of the word, where the meaning of the word now is lower than the meaning of the word before. The special understanding of women is identical to the biological gender distinction. In Nugroho (2008: 2) it is stated that: "Women are humans who have reproductive organs, such as a uterus, and a channel for giving birth, have eggs, have a vagina, and have tools for breastfeeding, all of which are permanently unchanged and have biological provisions. or often said to be nature (God's provisions)." The same thing was stated by Sulaeman and Homzah (2010) from a biological point of view, women are often identified with fragile vessels such as soft, weak and helpless. Culturally based on Nugroho, women are known to be gentle, beautiful, emotional and motherly. In an etymological review based on Sudarwati and Jupriono, the word female has a fairly high value, not below but equal, even higher than the word male.

# Gender Perspective Longwe

The theoretical framework used to analyze the data in this study is to use a onedimensional (participation) Longwe analysis approach. The Longwe analysis approach (Sara Hlupekile Longwe) or commonly referred to as the Women's Empowerment Criteria or Women's Development Criteria, is an analytical approach developed as a method of empowering women with five analytical criteria which include: welfare, access, critical awareness, participation, and control.

These five dimensions of empowerment are analytical categories that are dynamic, synergistically related to each other, mutually reinforcing and complementary, and have hierarchical relationships. Besides that, the five dimensions are also levels that move around like a spiral, the higher the level of automatic equality, the higher the level of empowerment (Handayani, 2002: 180):

- a. Welfare Dimension This dimension is the level of material welfare as measured by the fulfillment of basic needs such as food, income, housing, and health that must be enjoyed by women and men. Thus the gender gap at the welfare level is measured by the difference in the welfare level of women and men as a group, for each of their basic needs. Empowerment cannot occur by itself at this level, but must be associated with increased access to resources which is the second level dimension. This level is the zero level of women's empowerment. Whereas efforts to improve women's welfare require women's involvement in the empowerment process and at a higher level of equity.
- b. Dimensions of Access The gender gap here can be seen from the differences in access between men and women to resources. Their lower access to resources causes women's productivity to tend to be lower than men's. In addition, in many communities, women are given the responsibility to carry out almost all domestic work so that they do not have enough time to take care of themselves and improve their abilities. Women's development is not enough just on equal access because the lack of women's access is not only a gender issue but the result of gender discrimination. Therefore, the root cause of

the gap in access to resources is systemic discrimination which must be overcome through awareness.

- c. Dimensions of critical awareness The gender gap at this level is due to the assumption that women's socioeconomic position is lower than men and the traditional gender division of labor is part of the eternal order. Empowerment at this level means fostering a critical attitude and rejection of the above viewpoint: that the subordination of women is not a natural arrangement, but a discriminatory result of the prevailing social order. The belief that gender equality is part of the goal of change is at the core of gender awareness and is an ideological element in the empowerment process that forms the conceptual basis for change towards equality.
- d. Dimensions of Participation Women's active participation is defined as equal distribution of women's participation in the decision-making process, namely participation in the planning process for determining policies and administration. This aspect is very important in development projects. Here participation means involvement or active participation since in determining requirements, project formulation, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Participation can be divided into quantitative participation and qualitative participation. Gaps in women's participation are easy to identify, for example from participation in the legislative, executive, organizational, political, and mass institutions. However, participation in general can be seen from the equal participation of men and women in decision making, both at the family, community, and community levels. as well as the state. At the program level, this means that women and men are equally involved in problem identification, planning, management, implementation and evaluation monitoring. The increased participation of women is the result of empowerment as well as an important contribution to greater empowerment.
- e. Dimensions of Power/Control The gender gap at this level can be seen from the unequal power relations between men and women. This can happen at the household, community, and wider levels. Equality in power means that there is a balance of power between men and women, one does not dominate or is in a dominant position over the other. This means that women have power as well as men. -men, to change the condition of their position, future self and community. Equality in power is a prerequisite for the realization of gender equality and empowerment in a prosperous society.

# Perspectives on women's participation in political leadership

Women in the lowlands and coastal areas of Papua are first described as women, both mothers and children, working with heavier loads than men. Meanwhile, the men are depicted only watching the garden. The socio-cultural context is clear in the past, the men had to be empty-handed except for the weapon in their hand. The second picture, through traditional songs, tells how Papuan women must think well and behave sincerely so that their sons grow up in joy, where sons are a good size for Papuan women in the family. The third picture touches on power relations, where women's obedience becomes one of the song's themes apart from other themes. Women are constructed to be under the dominion of men. Women who deserve to be proud are women who are obedient and obedient. Obedience is one of the main categories of a woman's value. The fourth picture, the position and participation of women in the decision-making process is not completely deadlocked. There is also room for a voice, for example in the process of making customary decisions concerning the lives of the general public. At least this voting right is owned by women in Mosso Village, Muara Tami District on the border of Papua and PNG. When there are social problems, a special meeting forum for women is held. The results of the meeting were brought to a larger forum, a kind of general meeting attended by female and male leaders. Thus, women's voices are given a place and used as material for joint decision making for the benefit of all residents in Mosso village (Sutrisno [ed.] 2009: 307). It is at this higher forum that gender negotiations may take place. In the end, the final decision rests with the men. The fifth picture, in terms of inheritance rights, Papuan women are still second class, compared to men. Youw Warry's Code of Customary Law (KHA) in Demta Jayapura District, states that in a family if there is no son, the right of birth is given to the daughter. Women have the right to cultivate the land inherited from their parents. Women also have the right to maintain and protect customary land rights which are inherited as birthrights. In this social construction, women are indeed secondary, but it should be noted that the CRC is also showing progress. Women also have explicit rights to ulayat land. In the case of marriage, women are also protected by limiting the age of marriage. Over the age of 20 women will be better prepared to negotiate against customary rules regarding marriage and early marriage against the will of underage girls can be prevented.

Papuan women from the mountains, depicted first. In the division of sexual labor in the household, Papuan women from the mountains are described as not much different from coastal/lowland women. In the context of Papua, male energy has long been focused on issues of tribal wars. The political affairs of power at the level of honai war (war adat houses), decision-making at the level of clan pairs and higher tribal confederations, are entirely in the hands of men. Not yet in history, (tribal heads) were held by women (Widjojo 1996: 16-22). The second picture, in relation to the supernatural world, women are described as having advantages and can be dangerous to others, including men. If someone dies in a way that is considered unnatural and natural, allegations or accusations run to certain women who are considered to have "witchcraft", but they are treated well. The third picture, The woman here is described as very brave. If there is conflict in the family, women do not hesitate to leave their husbands. In the Dani people, the character of the people is egalitarian. Women in the context of husband and wife relationships have the will and strength to fight against their husbands. It can be said that women are not completely under the control of men. There is a kind of protection from the woman's family in case of violence from the husband to the wife. Women are described as having strong willed independence.

Empowerment of Papuan women started from education, where formal and informal education began when the Dutch opened school opportunities for Papuan children, including women in the 1940s in several educational centers. One of them that stood out later, Zending Schoolen, which became the Christian Education Foundation (YPK), was established in the villages in 1952. On April 2, 1962 the Evangelical Christian Church (GKI) in West Irian established the Center for Social Education (PPS) which is now the Center for Social Education. Women's Guidance and Development (P3W) in Abepura. PPS provides training to improve the skills of women in the villages. The Catholic Church also established a Learning Activity Center (SKB) in the 1970s for women aspiring village community educators. The skills taught are sewing, cooking, taking care of childbirth, and other practical skills. In addition to being informal, GKI and the Catholic Church also provide girls' dormitories to encourage women to make it easier for women to receive formal education (JPK PHPP 2010: 9). Most of the formal education that later emerged prominent Papuan women leaders.

The Women's Working Group (KKW) was established on November 10, 1983 under the leadership of the late. Johana Rumadas and friends. This institution pioneered the awareness and empowerment of women so that women are critical of their social situation. The first issue discussed was the issue of dowry and other social issues. This movement was strengthened by the emergence of Mientje Rumbiak from the Village Community Empowerment Foundation who was active in international forums, one of which was the World Women's Conference in Nairobi in 1985. Given the New Order political situation, the issues that emerged were only limited to the position of women in adat and development. The issue of violence against women and human rights violations is still taboo. It was only twelve years later, in 1997, through the Eastern Indonesia Women's Health Network (JKPIT) for the Irian Jaya region, that women's health issues were linked to issues of violence against women. Advocacy was carried out for women victims

associated with PT Freeport Indonesia, an oil palm company in Arso and logging in Merauke (JPKPHPP 2010: 9–10).

With the passage of reforms, the Papuan women's movement is also growing rapidly and has a political nuance. On January 16, 1999, the Mamta Papuan Women's Alliance (APP) was founded, which seeks to get women involved in the Papuan Indigenous People's Great Deliberation in 2000. Thanks to this effort, women have earned a place in the Presidium of the Papuan Council (PDP) which was established in 2000 under the title "Pillars of Women". "When Team 100 Papua met with President Habibie a number of Papuan women leaders were actively involved. In 2001 APP held the Papuan Women's Conference I on 23–27 July 2001 which gave birth to Solidaritas Perempuan Papua (SPP) with its first general chairman Beatrix Rubino Koibur. This organization has the ambition to become a single forum that unites Papuan women and voices the basic rights of indigenous Papuan women. Since the first congress, unfortunately, SPP has not developed significantly to this day due to weak management (JPKPHPP 2010: 10).

After the 1998 reform, new forums for women emerged. Some of them are Yahamak in Timika, Humi Inane in Wamena, Solidarity for Papuan Women Love Justice and Peace (SP2CK2) in Biak, Institute for the Study and Empowerment of Women and Children in Papua (LP3AP) in Abepura, Angganita Foundation in Abepura, Mitra Perempuan in Manokwari, The Institute for Women's Empowerment and Economics in Sorong, the Cepes Agreement in Asmat, and the Papuan Women's Voice Tabloid in Abepura. Apart from being an NGO, various forums have also emerged, for example Debora Cinta Damai in Sorong and Debra in Biak. In Arso there is an Arso Women's Communication Forum, Sarmi Women's Forum, and others (JPKPHPP, 2010: 11). This fact shows that among women there has been a kind of confidence and awareness for the institutionalization of their movement. Many of these forums and forums are quite active and make significant contributions to social movements in Papua in general.

Among Papuan women activists, for example Papuan Women's Solidarity (SPP), a popular term is Mama Papua. This term is used as a designation or nickname for Papuan women who are respected, meritorious and influential in their society. Usually she is depicted as brave and open to leading the fight against injustice, especially those experienced by Papuan women. One of the winners was Beatrix Koibur. Born in Miokbundi, a small island in Biak, in 1939, this mother was the first generation of women to enjoy the first modern education of a Dutch school in the 1940s. By 1956 he had earned a diploma in teaching the Bible (Feith 2001). The first general chairman of SPP became known as "Mama Papua" after the 1998 reform. She was active in helping women and children victims of the 1998 "Bloody Biak" tragedy. Since 1999 she has been very vocal about women's rights. In the same year, in preparation for the 1999 National Dialogue with President Habibie, she joined Team 100. According to Beatrix Koibur, women have always been active in the struggle. In the history of the Papuan resistance, women guerrillas are also active in it. In the 1980s, a number of women were actively involved in raising the flag in Jayapura and were sent to prison. After the reformation, more and more women actively spoke publicly about military repression. The title "Mama Papua" was also carried by Yosepha Alomang, a human rights and environmental leader from Timika Papua who received the Goldman Prize from the US (Giay and Kambay 2003).7 However, Mama Koibur emphasized that the activeness of women in the politics of resistance, in social activities, nor in formal political activities, the government is not at all against power structures that are already controlled by men (Feith 2001).

Since 2009 there have been efforts to encourage political dialogue between the central government and Papuan leaders in the context of a comprehensive resolution of the Papuan conflict. This effort is rapidly rolling out in Jakarta and Papua in the form of workshops, seminars, and mediation training to strengthen internal facilitator groups and garner

support for dialogue both within civil society and within the government, in Papua and in Jakarta (ICG 2010: 24–26). In early 2010 the Papua Peace Network (JDP) was formed, which was initiated by the LIPI Papua Study Team and the Papua Team under the leadership of Pastor Neles Tebay. JDP has around thirty trained facilitators and dozens of local facilitators in various regions. About ten of them are women activists. These women activists have also shown significant roles and contributions in various public consultations organized by JDP in eleven districts and cities in Papua and West Papua Provinces.

### 4. Disscussion

The political world of Papuan women, In the formal political power structure of the state, the position, role and participation of women are still far from what is expected. In the legislature, for example, there is a provision regarding a 30% allotment of seats for women. For Papua, this percentage is a far-reaching goal. Of the 56 members of the Papuan People's Representative Council (DPRP) for the 2009–2014 period, there were five women (less than 5%) and of the 55 members of the Papuan People's Representative Council (DPRP) for the 2014–2019 period, there were 7 women (less than 8%), this shows only a slight increase and did not reach the 30% target that should have been, the researcher will describe the 2009-2014 period as representative of general data.

In the DPD RI for the 2009–2014 period, there was one woman from four members representing Papua, namely Helena Murib who came from mountainous Papua. For DPD members from Papua, there may be one more woman, namely Ferdinanda Ibo Yatipai who replaced Tonny Tesar who was elected as Regent of Yapen in the 2010 Pilkada. For Papua, Helena Murib from the mountains has yet to show her contribution. As for the representatives of West Papua, there is only one, namely Sophia "Poppy" Mapiauw. Sophia is active in various activities and if maximized can contribute to the work results of DPD RI. In the DPR RI, there are two women from thirteen DPR members from Papua and West Papua, namely Agustina Basik-Basik and Irine Mandiboy. These two women were seen to be very active in attending various meetings discussing Papuan issues.

If measured from other regions, on average, the role and influence of women in the legislature may not be prominent. However, relative to the previous situation, there has been some progress. Mountain women have started to be educated and started to enter parliament. Procedurally there are no conspicuous obstacles for Papuan women to be active in formal politics. The main problem lies in the availability of qualified human resources to enter this sector. The number of votes obtained and the number of seats occupied by women have not been directly proportional to the progress in the quality of their participation.

Much better than the situation described above, the Special Autonomy Law provides a special place for women through a new innovation institution called the Papuan People's Council (MRP). MRP is a special special autonomy product. Article 1 letter (g) of the Special Autonomy Law states that the MRP is an institution for cultural representation of indigenous Papuans that has certain powers in the context of protecting the rights of indigenous Papuans based on respect for customs and culture, empowering women, and strengthening religious harmony. The MRP on paper the Special Autonomy Law is one of the pillars of the state along with the governor and the Papuan People's Representative Council (DPRP) (Raharusun and Maniagasi 2008: 29-37). Article 29 paragraph (1) of the Special Autonomy Law states that the MRP has the authority to give consideration and approval to the Raperdasus. Those who make and determine the perdasus remain the governor and the DPRP.

Its normative language, MRP, perdasus, and protection of the rights of indigenous Papuans is a system that is at the core of the Special Autonomy Law. In the context of the roots of the Papuan conflict, the MRP has the primary responsibility to prevent the marginalization of indigenous Papuans. The MRP is seen by Abner Mansai as a Papuan

special autonomy spirit. "Without the MRP, the Special Autonomy Law is something dead" (Mansai 2008: 46-47). In other words, the Special Autonomy Law loses its relevance and power without the MRP.

Why did the MRP, which was established as the official representative of indigenous Papuans within the RI state structure, take women as one of three categories? If traced from the history of the formulation of the Special Autonomy Law, it turns out that there is not much debate about the category of women in the MRP representatives. Since the previous two years, in the post-1999 period, women's political voices have strengthened significantly. The most important sign is that Papuan women activists have succeeded in including the category of women in the Papua Presidium Council (PDP) as one of its pillars. The rise of Papuan women in the political arena also seems to facilitate the process.

The existence of Otsus and MRP is an opportunity for women to be recognized in the structure of the Republic of Indonesia. Through Article 19 of Law 21/2001 on Otsus, women's representation in the MRP is given a primary place in addition to adat and religion. The article states that the MRP consists of indigenous Papuans consisting of customary representatives, religious representatives, and women's representatives, each of whom make up one third of the total MRP members. Seeing the importance of the MRP's duties as stated in articles 20 and 21 of the Special Autonomy Law, the position of women in the MRP membership becomes as important as representation, custom and religion. Women are not only seen as a representative category but also seen as one of the main issues in the lives of indigenous people in Papua.

Quotas for women based on Law no. 2/2011 opened up opportunities for women to join political parties. At first political parties chose women just to fulfill the quota by ignoring the potential of women themselves. This fact opens a wide space for existing institutions to prepare and assist women who will enter politics. So far, the form of assistance is still formalistic and has not changed the traditional mindset on women's political positions. In practice, this companion institution is limited as a tool to get recommendations for women who will enter the political field. Recommendations from institutions that are considered to have sufficient knowledge regarding which women have sufficient ability to enter the world of politics can indeed maintain the quality of women themselves, but on the other hand open manipulation for these institutions for certain women.

# 5. Kesimpulan

In accordance with the basic theoretical framework used to analyze the data in this study is to use a one-dimensional (participation) Longwe analysis approach. The Longwe analysis approach (Sara Hlupekile Longwe) or commonly referred to as the Women's Empowerment Criteria or Women's Development Criteria, is an analytical approach developed as a method of empowering women with five analytical criteria which include: welfare, access, critical awareness, participation, and control.

(a) The Welfare Dimension shows that basic needs have been met, even women in Papua have greater access to basic needs than men, (b) Access Dimensions The gender gap here shows that there are still differences in access between men and women. women to resources, causing women's productivity to tend to be lower than men's. In addition, women's organizations are only given the responsibility to carry out almost all domestic work, (c) The critical awareness dimension in Papuan culture still assumes that women's socio-economic position is lower than men and the traditional gender division of labor is part of the eternal order, (d) The dimension of Papuan women's participation has been recognized with the involvement of Papuan women in politics or organizations and can even provide input in the decision-making process, namely participation in the planning process of policy and administration determination, but still in decision making is still second to men's decisions. (e) The Power/Control dimension is still visible from the

unequal power relationship between men and women. This can happen at the household, community, and broader levels.

More focused on the dimension of participation in the post-1999 period, women's political voices did strengthen significantly. The most important sign is that Papuan women activists have succeeded in including the category of women in the Papua Presidium Council (PDP) as one of its pillars. Through Article 19 of Law 21/2001 concerning Otsus, women's representation in the MRP is given a primary place in addition to adat and religion, so the position of women in the MRP membership becomes as important as representation, adat and religion. Quotas for women based on Law no. 2/2011 opens opportunities for women to enter political parties which opens up a wide space for existing institutions to prepare and assist women who will enter politics. So far, the form of assistance is still formalistic and has not changed the traditional mindset on women's political positions. One important thing about the role of women in Papua is the difficulty of finding female figures who can be accepted across religious, customary, and social boundaries in Papua. The diversity of tribes with different traditions and customs as well as beliefs makes it difficult for Papuan women to choose women who can be used as unifying figures for their various views and interests. In addition, it is not guaranteed that women who enter politics will support their fellow female figures as a result of the differences above. If there is a woman who can represent Papuan women across the boundaries mentioned above, she has come to be an elite woman who is "busy" with national political affairs. It is ironic when education is considered as one of the important factors for increasing the role of women on the other hand when education is wide open and women have access to education, they tend to use their abilities to gain political positions (enter political parties) which have a more personal impact than for Papuan women's community

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