

Balinese Diaspora Meets Non-Balinese Hindus in East Kalimantan:

Bali-Centric, Quasi Exclusiveness, and Salad Bowl

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Abstract

A considerable number of Balinese Hindus migrated to East Kalimantan for various reasons, such as official assignments, joining transmigration programs, and advancing job and economic opportunities, resulting in the later establishment of the so-called Balinese diaspora. This diaspora maintains its identities and practices, *adat* traditions and religious activities like in Bali, and attempts to replicate Balinese symbols and practices when connecting with other Hindu communities with different cultures and traditions. This article sheds light on the phenomenon of Bali-centric and quasi exclusiveness when the Balinese diaspora meets and interacts with non-Balinese Hindus residing across East Kalimantan, like Javanese Hindus, Dayak Paser Hindus, and Buginese Hindus. This article argues that Bali-centric and Balinization would alienate and socially exclude non-Balinese Hindus from a mainstream Hindu development. To cope with the grief of losing Hindu ‘friends’ from another culture and/or tradition, a mindset shift is required. Furthermore, with the relocation of the Indonesian capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, the influx of various ethnic and religious groups, including Hindu communities, would be unavoidable. This work proposes to employ a “Salad Bowl” concept to build Hindu communities in a multicultural state with its new capital city named *Nusantara*.

Keywords: Balinese diaspora, Bali-centric, Quasi exclusiveness, East Kalimantan

Introduction

East Kalimantan province with total area of 127,347 km² is rich with natural resources, from fertile land for agriculture, forests, timber, gold, coal, LNG, to a large sea area for fishery. This has attracted many companies and business people. Transmigrants, migrant workers, and job seekers follow. Recently, East Kalimantan's population reached 3,7 million.

The East Kalimantan population is composed of various ethnic and religious groups. They come from other areas across the Indonesian archipelago, and nowadays almost all ethnic and religious groups in Indonesia can be found in East Kalimantan. This diverse ethnic composition has gradually transformed East Kalimantan into a multi ethnic and multi religious province.

Hindu people can also be found in this province. Although its proportion is 0,96% of the total population, its number counted 36,333 people, originating mostly from Bali, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan itself. The largest proportion is however from Bali, creating the so-called Balinese diaspora.

The Balinese diaspora in East Kalimantan replicated its Balinese identities, *adat* traditions, and religious practices. Balinese symbols, rituals, prayer dress code, and celebrations are included. Thus, this is not

only a physical migration, but also a cultural migration (Siburian 20.). It is true that the Balinese Hindus are scattered around the district and municipalities in East Kalimantan, but the diaspora regularly gather in a Hindu temple (*Pura*) for community and religious activities to practise as they had done in Bali. Nevertheless, pockets of Hindu communities are found in Balinese transmigration areas, such as in Teluk Dalam and Separi. They also replicate Balinese culture and tradition.

In East Kalimantan, Balinese diaspora meet non-Balinese Hindus, both native Hindus of Kalimantan or Hindu migrants from other islands. The interactions between Balinese diaspora and non-Balinese Hindus are rather awkward. In 1990s, many Javanese Hindus come to Hindu temple of Samarinda by using *blangkon*, shirt, and trouser for praying. When *Pura* was reconstructed magnificently and a new white dress code was “imported” from Bali, one no longer sees Javanese Hindus praying in such a temple, unless they follow new (*i.e.* Balinese) rules. Similar things are being experienced by Buginese Hindus of Tolatang. Many of them used to interact with the diaspora. Recently, they stay at a distance. Finally, native Hindus in Paser district also feel that they differ, and

therefore, they exclude themselves from mainstream Hindu development.

Why does this happen? How could this phenomenon be explained? What are the stumbling blocks faced by non-Balinese Hindus when they meet and interact with Balinese diaspora? To answer these questions, this article examines Bali-centric and social exclusion phenomena, and offer a mindset shift in Hindu community relations and interactions.

Hindu Population in East Kalimantan

East Kalimantan is widely known as the location of the first Hindu kingdom in Indonesia. The kingdom was established in the fourth century and continued to exist until the sixteenth century. It was called (Hindu) Kutai Martadipura Kingdom, situated in Muara Kaman, district of Kutai Kartanegara. As a Hindu kingdom, its people by all means adhered to the Hindu faith. In the sixteenth century, the kingdom was defeated and its last king was killed in a war with (Islamic) Kutai Kartanegara. The conquerors later named their new kingdom as Kutai Kartanegara ing Martadipura. Since then, Hinduism in East Kalimantan faded away for centuries, together with its adherents.

Collective memory regarding Hindu's golden era in East Kalimantan began to revive six centuries later after the arrivals of

Hindu communities in three waves from Bali and Java. The first wave began in 1960s based on professional assignments by the government, such as Indonesian armed forces and police force personnel (TNI/Polri) as well as medical doctors. They brought their families, interacted with each other, and established a small community. In this small wave of Hindu migration, they live scattered across East Kalimantan based on places of assignments. The second wave occurred under New Order regime's transmigration programs. Hindu communities from Java and Bali were sent to designated areas across East Kalimantan, such as in Samarinda, Kutai Kartanegara, East Kutai, Berau, and so on. Hindu communities from Java established Javanese Hindu traditions; while those of from Bali established Hindu Bali communities. The third wave was the coming of Hindu communities from across the Indonesian archipelago under the banner of self-transmigration programs, business related migration, job-seekers, job-contract migration, and so on.

Recently, the East Kalimantan Hindu Authority (Pembimas Hindu Kaltim) found native Hindus residing in a remote area in Paser district, about 300 kilometers away from Muara Kaman or 250 kilometers away from Samarinda. The Hindu authority also realized that there are other small Buginese

Hindu communities in downtown Samarinda, residing around Segiri market. Last but not least, informants from Toraja and Laham informed the authors that there is a Toraja Barat/Mamasa Hindu community in Samarinda city and Dayak Kaharingan Hindus in Mahulu district respectively.

Data from Pembimas Hindu Kaltim show that total Hindu adherents in East Kalimantan are 36,333 persons, or about 0,96% of the total population of East Kalimantan (3,7 million), distributed across districts/municipalities as elaborated in the table below.

Table 1. Hindu Population in East Kalimantan

No.	District/Municipality	Population		Religious Instructors/Counselors	
		F	%	Civil Servants	Non-Civil Servants
1.	Balikpapan	5510	15.17	0	3
2.	Berau	688	1.89	1	3
3.	Bontang	1258	3.46	1	5
4.	Kutai Barat	600	1.65	1	2
5.	Kutai Kartanegara	11078	30.49	1	9
6.	Kutai Timur	10854	29.87	1	5
7.	Mahakam Ulu	117	0.32	0	0
8.	Paser	1561	4.30	0	7
9.	Penajam Paser Utara	123	0.34	0	0
10.	Samarinda	4544	12.51	0	11
Total		36333	100.00	5	45

Source: Pembimas Hindu Kaltim 2022.

From this table, the biggest Hindu populations resides in Kutai Kertanegara (30,49%) and in Kutai Timur districts (29,87%). Balikpapan and Samarinda municipalities ranked third (15,17%) and fourth (12,51%) respectively. Kutai

Kartanegara and Kutai Timur are known as pockets of Hindu transmigrants (mostly Balinese), while those of in Samarinda and Balikpapan are mostly Hindu migrants, predominantly Balinese.

Balinese Diaspora in East Kalimantan

Based on religion, total population of Bali province are 3,8 million (bigger than that of East Kalimantan). It is predominantly Hindu since its Hindus proportion reached 83% of the total population.

Total percentages of other religions are 13,37% for Islam, 1,66% Catholicism, and less than 1% for respective Protestantism and Buddhism.

Table 2. Bali Population based on Religion

Municipality	Islam	Catholicism	Protestantism	Hindu	Buddhism	Kong Hu Chu	Others*	Total
Jembrana	69 608	2 890	1 865	186 319	756	2	198	261 638
Tabanan	26 070	2 691	1 195	389 125	1 533	14	285	420 913
Badung	96 166	18 396	10 234	414 863	2 475	32	1 166	543 332
Gianyar	18 834	1 692	667	447 225	799	28	532	469 777
Klungkung	7 794	372	138	161 589	430	0	220	170 543
Bangli	2 185	197	56	212 325	113	1	476	215 353
Karangasem	16 221	398	197	379 113	334	1	223	396 487
Buleleng	57 467	3 132	916	557 532	3 127	97	1 854	624 125
Denpasar	225 899	34 686	16 129	499 192	11 589	252	842	788 589
Total (f)	520 244	64 454	31 397	3 247 283	21 156	427	5796	3 890 757
Total (%)	13.37	1.66	0.81	83.46	0.54	0.01	0.15	100,00

Note: *Other religions, missed, not stated

Source: BPS Statistik Provinsi Bali 2010

Not all members of Balinese ethnic group adhere to Hindu religion. Many of them are devoted to Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and even Kong Hu Chu (Confucianism). In this work, Balinese diaspora refers to Hindu Balinese residing in East Kalimantan.

According to Pembimas Hindu Kaltim, the total Hindu community members in East Kalimantan are 36,333 people. Although

data on their ethnic origins is not available, it is predicted that 90 to 95 per cent of them are Balinese.

Bali migrants in East Kalimantan not only bring themselves and families, but also their religion, culture, and tradition. They build communities much like in Bali. This does not only occur in villages, particularly in the transmigration areas, but also in district capitals and other municipalities.

Table 3. Hindu Temple (*Pura*) and Religious Leaders (*Pandita/Pinandita*)

No.	District/Municipality	Pura	Pandita	Pinandita
1.	Balikpapan	2	2	5
2.	Berau	2	0	2
3.	Bontang	2	0	7
4.	Kutai Barat	1	0	1
5.	Kutai Kartanegara	13	0	20
6.	Kutai Timur	17	1	19
7.	Mahakam Ulu	0	0	0
8.	Paser	1	0	2
9.	Penajam Paser Utara	0	0	0
10.	Samarinda	5	0	7
	Total	43	3	63

Source: Pembimas Hindu Kaltim 2022

Non-Balinese Hindu Communities

a. *Kutai Hindus*

Hinduism in East Kalimantan had been practiced for more than a thousand years. The golden era was however under the third king of Hindu Kutai Martadipura named Mulawarman in the fourth century.

In another part of East Kalimantan, there existed another Hindu Kutai Kingdom, named Kutai Kartanegara. This can be traced from the downfall of Singasari Kingdom in Malang, whose royal descendants, led by Raden Kusuma, were hunted by Raden Wijaya's army (of Majapahit). Raden Kusuma later arrived in Kutai Lama and established and governed Kutai Kertanegara kingdom in the fourteenth century (1300-1325). Under the

sixth king of Kutai Kartanegara, Aji Mahkota (1545-1610), this Hindu kingdom turned to Islam, beginning from its king, minister, royal family, royal army, noblemen, and then the people (Noor 2016).

Kutai Martadipura kingdom, under its twenty-first king, named Dharma Setia Warman, was later defeated by the Kutai Kartanegara kingdom in a war. The two kingdoms were then incorporated into one kingdom named Kutai Kartanegara in Martadipura, better known as Sultanate of Kutai Kartanegara.

In the site of the Kutai Martadipura ancient kingdom, seven stone inscriptions called *yupas*. were found Six *yupas* had been relocated to the National Museum in

Jakarta, and one *yupa* can still be found in Muara Kaman, the former Hindu kingdom site. The one left is called Batu Lesung, and it had not been inscribed (*i.e.* it remained blank). According to informants, some efforts had been carried out to relocate it to Jakarta, but some magical and natural phenomenon occurred in the planned day of its relocation to Jakarta (the stone could not be moved, flood, thunderbolt, *etc*). The main author had twice visited this *yupa* complex. In the first trip with four people, one got into a trance beside this sacred stone. In the second trip with family members from Bali, the author's teenage niece was also entranced beside this *yupa*.

According to AA Raka, Head of East Kalimantan Office for Guidance of Hindu Community (Bimas Hindu), a Kutai chief asked to build a worship place for maintaining harmony and the "security" of the surrounding areas. It had been realized by building a *Padmasamna*, and when Hindu communities carried out ceremonies, some local people in the surroundings asked the edible offerings as blessings from those in "sacred" power. Currently, this site becomes a cultural heritage (*cagar budaya*) managed by the district government of Kutai Kartanegara.

Although Hinduism has existed for twelve centuries in East Kalimantan, there are no physical legacies of the ancient Hindu

kingdom of Kutai Martadipura, except for the *yupas*. There are no signs of kingdom building, and there no longer native Hindu communities in the surroundings of this cultural heritage site. In the interview with the first batch of Hindu migrants in Samarinda (a police pensioner), he maintained that there are no longer native Hindu communities there (Interview in 2000s). The tracing carried out by Bimas Hindu of East Kalimantan also found nothing; no one native Hindu left in the area (Interview with AA Raka, January 2022).

b. Native Hindu: Dayak Pasir Hindu

The only native Hindus found in East Kalimantan are communities in Tanjung Pinang village and Rantau Atas village, Muara Saman sub-district, Pasir District. The total Hindu population in these villages is 174 and 46 people respectively. These villages are situated in Paser District, about 300 km away from ancient Hindu Kutai kingdom. These people have a simple place of worship, built with wood as a place for a sacred stone. They decline to be called Dayak Kaharingan (Dayak Hindus in Central Kalimantan), but preferred to be called Dayak Paser. This Hindu community has its own culture and tradition.

c. Javanese Hindu

Javanese Hindus are Hindu communities whose place of origins are Java. They are related to the Hindu Kingdom in East Java.

Informants said that they are from Blitar and Kediri, East Java.

Javanese Hindus practice their Hindu tradition and religious activities. They do not practice many religious rituals, and do not use many offerings (*banten/sesajen*) in their religious activities. Their dress code is Javanese dress code, wearing a *blangkon*, shirt, and trouser for Javanese male.

d. Buginese Hindus: Tolotang Communities

Another Hindu group residing in East Kalimantan is called Tolotang. This Hindu community originates from Sulawesi with Bugis ethnic group. It is used to be *aliran kepercayaan* (indigenous beliefs), but as Indonesian only recognized five religions, they claimed to be Hindu. These Hindu migrants live around Segiri market in the downtown of Samarinda. Their total number are unknown, but in their place of origin (Sulawesi), their population amounted to 50,000 people.

e. Dayak Kaharingan Hindus

Central Kalimantan is home for Dayak Kaharingan Hindus who. by 2007 reached a population of 223,349. They have their own indigenous beliefs, but they claimed to be Hindus. In East Kalimantan, they live close to East Kalimantan-Central Kalimantan border, such as Long Bagun and Laham. In Laham, their total is 51 persons.

f. Toraja Hindus: Hindu Alukta/Aluk Todolo

This Hindu group comes from the Toraja and Mamasa ethnic groups, originating in west part of Toraja district (South Sulawesi province) and Mamasa district (West Sulawesi province) respectively. Similar to Tolotang, this community used to adhere indigenous beliefs, but later claimed to be Hindu. Their population in Samarinda is unknown, but in Mamasa they are around 10,000 people. Our informant said that they have community organization (*paguyuban*) in Samarinda called Kondosapata.

Bali-Centric and Balinization

When individuals migrate to another place and then establish an ethnic diaspora, they do not only bring their bodies, families, and belongings, but also bring their cultures (Siburian 2020). This is a common phenomenon and has occurred throughout the world. In certain countries, however, this could create problems in the form of rejection from the recipient countries, particularly when immigrant's tradition does not fit with common values enacted by the recipient country's citizens, such as child arranged marriage, honor killings, domestic violence, etc. (Dijkstra and Geuijen 2011).

The Balinese diaspora in East Kalimantan also bring Balinese religious practices, cultures, and traditions to East Kalimantan,

such as *Tri Hita Karana*, *Adat Rule* (*Awig-awig*), etc. This is not a problem as Balinese values brought to East Kalimantan fits with common values. However, when non-Balinese Hindu meet and would like to become part of (Hindu) Balinese diaspora, the problem arises as they have different culture, tradition, etc.

Balinese diaspora will certainly establish Bali-like religious rites, cultural activities, and traditions. This is understandable as these are their cultures and traditions. As physically observed, all temples of Balinese diaspora are the same as those of in Bali; so are religious rites, cultural activities, and community traditions. As Balinese Hindu is a mainstream Hindu in Indonesia, they practice mainstream Hinduism in East Kalimantan. When they meet at different temples and religious rites of non-Balinese Hindus, they think in their minds to make them like in Bali. This Bali-centric approach in developing Hinduism is observed across the archipelago.

There is another phenomenon observed on Balinese diaspora issues, namely Balinization. Balinization is actually the next step of Bali-centric. While Bali-centric is a mindset owned by most Balinese diaspora, Balinization is the implementation of Bali-centric thought and practices. Balinization is observed from the replication of all Balinese identities,

symbols, religious rites, and cultural tradition in outer islands, including in East Kalimantan. Temples built by Balinese diaspora, for instance, are the same in style with those of in Bali. Religious rites and *banten/sesajen* (ritual offerings), cultural traditions and practices, as well as *adat* community organizations are also not different.

Javanese Hindus use the same Holy Book of Veda, but they construct a simpler temple complex, religious rites, and ritual offerings. When Balinese diaspora joins non-Balinese Hindus' temples and religious rites, most Balinese diaspora will certainly introduce or impose Balinese temple style, rites, and offerings. This Balinization occurs elsewhere outside Bali, including in East Kalimantan.

Quasi

Exclusiveness

In the discourse of interaction between cultures, there is the term "social exclusion". Social exclusion occurs when the community is exclusive or implements exclusiveness in their relations with other communities. One can differentiate two types of exclusion: pure exclusion (exclusiveness) and quasi exclusion (quasi exclusiveness).

In East Kalimantan, the authors have observed the Tolotang community, residing around the Segiri market in the city of

Samarinda. This Hindu community has Buginese ethnic background, who are mostly petty traders. They used to pray in in the Samarinda temple, but they ceased attending. This is related to the physical design of this Hindu Temple of Samarinda, reconstructed magnificently in Balinese style. In addition, a Bali dress code (white hat, shirt, and Balinese *sarong*) has been imposed for praying. Balinese diaspora is definitely friendly and welcomes all Hindu friends from other ethnic background. Thus, in their view, it is not exclusive. The problem is that it is the other communities view the Balinese diaspora as being exclusive by having created boundary lines: Balinese styled magnificent temple and a dress code. Hindu Tolotang are reluctant to enter the temple for praying. This new Bali-centric dress code applied by Balinese diaspora also hampers them from making socio-religious interaction. So, it is non-Balinese community exclude themselves

for those two reasons (magnificent temple and dress code). The authors call this phenomenon as quasi exclusiveness featuring the Balinese diaspora.

Quasi exclusiveness phenomenon is also observed in Hindu communities other than Tolotang community. Similar thing occurs in Dayak Paser Hindus, Toraja/Mamasa Hindus, and Dayak Kaharingan Hindus in East Kalimantan.

Melting Pot or Salad Bowl?

On 18 January 2022, Indonesian parliament passed law on the establishment of Indonesian capital city (ICC/IKN) in East Kalimantan. ICC covers the area of 250,000 hectares, situated in two districts/regencies (Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara). Presently, total populations of Hindus in the ICC areas are very small, namely 113 peoples, as seen in the table below.

Table 4. Total population of Hindu communities in sub-districts of ICC areas

No	Distircts	Sub-Districts in ICC/IKN	Hindu adherents
1	Kutai Kertanegara	Loa Kulu	21
		Muara Jawa	24
		Loa Janan	25
		Samboja	25
2	Penajam Paser Utara	Sepaku	18
Total			113

Source: DKP3A Kaltim. Agregat Data Kependudukan. Smt I 2021

In the heart of ICC, only a few Hindus are currently residing in Ring 1 of the new capital city area. Table 5 shows total

population of religious adherents, where Hindu community members numbered only 18 people.

Table 5. Total population of Hindu communities in villages of ICC's Ring 1

No	Villages	Islam	Protestantism	Catholicism	Hindu	Buddhism	Kong Hu Chu	Others	Total
1	Sepaku	1.899	12	8	0	0	0	0	1.919
2	Pemaluan	1.664	14	26	0	3	0	0	1.707
3	Maridan	2.89	929	272	0	0	0	0	4.091
4	Mentawir	685	2	0	0	0	0	0	687
5	Tengin Baru	3.958	41	10	0	1	0	0	4.010
6	Bukit Raya	2.879	17	10	0	0	0	0	2.906
7	Suka Raja	3.887	55	5	4	0	0	0	3.951
8	Bumi Harapan	2.084	39	19	0	0	0	0	2.142
9	Argo Mulyo	3.219	26	1	0	0	0	0	3.246
10	Semai Dua	3.249	12	9	9	3	0	0	3.282
11	Suko Mulyo	1.979	72	14	2	1	0	0	2.068
12	Wono Sari	1.227	26	7	0	0	0	0	1.260
13	Karang Jinawi	1.061	4	0	0	0	0	0	1.065
14	Binuang	1.968	76	49	0	0	0	0	2.093
15	Telemow	1.811	1.376	543	3	0	0	0	3.733
Total		34.460	2.701	973	18	8	0	0	38.160

Source: DKP3A Kaltim. Agregat Data Kependudukan. Smt I 2021

In short, total population of Hindu communities in the ICC areas is very small. However, the newly established ICC is a magnet for ethnic and religious groups across Indonesia to come. In the future, the influx of people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, including Hindu, are unstoppable. Thus, Hindu communities

from across the archipelago will also migrate to this new capital city.

As aforementioned, Bali-centric and Balinization will alienate and socially exclude non-Balinese Hindus. With many more non-Balinese Hindu expected to come to East Kalimantan, particularly to the new capital city, many more Hindu community

members will be alienated and socially excluded. The worst thing that could happen is that they will leave Hinduism as their religion and return to their indigenous beliefs (*aliran kepercayaan*). This is the case as during the New Order era, they were forced to adhere one of the five official religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism), and must be stated in their IDs, but with recent political reform they can adhere and state in their IDs the sixth official religion (Confucianism), and even indigenous beliefs (*aliran kepercayaan*).

Bali-centric and Balinization are responsible for future exodus of Hindu adherents to indigenous beliefs as already occurred in many Toraja/Mamasa Hindus (Lokadata 2018). Bali-centric and Balinization are implemented due to the adherence of the melting pot mindset in building the community. In this mindset, all Hindu communities with different ethnic background are directed to be one, single community, “blended” to become uniform. The weakness of this mindset is that the community groups feels of having no autonomy and freedom for their cultural expression. Worst, they perceive that they are subdued and culturally colonized. This is the case since they have different ideology, culture, and tradition, and they are so concerned with the preservation of their

culture and tradition. To avoid this, it is imperative to consider a mindset change, from a Melting Pot to a Salad Bowl. In the Salad Bowl mindset, all community groups are respected. They are placed and united in a “bowl”, but they still have their own identities and cultural autonomies. Unity in diversity is more imperative than uniformity with disgruntled followers.

Conclusion

Hindu Balinese who migrated to East Kalimantan, not only bring themselves, families, and belongings but also bring their culture and tradition. When this diaspora meets non-Balinese Hindus, there is a gap between them, creating a boundary line of social exclusion. When the diaspora incorporate them to be blended in the Balinese system, they are alienated as they have different culture and tradition. Some of them keep their distance as the Balinese diaspora and its cultural practices are regarded as being exclusive, even though Balinese diaspora members are friendly and welcome all of them as brothers or friends. This quasi exclusiveness is highly connected to Bali-centric and Balinization in the development of mainstream Hinduism.

Bali-centric and Balinization are a result of the adherence of melting pot mindset in the development of Hindu communities. They

attempt to blend all indigenous beliefs in a single pot, creating uniformity and ignoring cultural diversity. The danger of this is that they become alienated and dissatisfied, that could later stimulate its adherents to convert to other religions or revert to indigenous beliefs. To prevent this from happening, a shift is needed, from a melting pot to a salad bowl mindset. In the salad bowl concept, the diverse groupings interact with each other while still maintaining their identities and enjoying their own cultural tradition.

The establishment of a new capital city in East Kalimantan is an auspicious momentum to apply a salad bowl mindset in building Hindu communities, since such a mindset will go hand in hand with the plan of the Indonesian government to build a modern multicultural capital.

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BALINESE WOMEN AS GENERAL ELECTION ORGANIZERS

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ABSTRACT

The Balinese women live in strongly patrilineal society and have a lot of burdens. Culturally, they are still marginalized, causing them not to be free from being involved in the world of politics. This current study is intended to explore the extent to which the Balinese women are involved in the world of politics as the general election organizers in the provincial and regency/city levels in Bali. The study, in which the qualitative method is used, has a cultural paradigm. The result of the study shows that from 2013 to 2018 32% of those involved in the General Election Commission both in the provincial level and regency/city level were women. However, before and after that period the affirmation never exceeded 30%. The women involved in the Election Supervisory Agency never exceeded 30% either. However, in the provincial level the number of the women involved reached 30% during the period of 2008-2017. As well, in the regency/city level it never reached 30% during the period of 2018-2023. The affirmation spirit was inconsistent or not so well implemented both in the General Election Commission and Election Supervisory Agency. There are four reasons leading to the Balinese women's low participation in the world of politics as the general election organizers. They are: a) the implementation of the affirmation-related regulatory spirit in the General Election Commission is not the same as that in the political parties; b) the patrilineal culture is still strong enough; c) the selection team is not perfectly familiar with the gender perspective and does not well comprehend the essence of affirmation; d) there is a requirement of having been involved as the general election organizers in the lower level; e) the involvement as the general election organizers in each level is limited to two terms of office. Although the Balinese women's participation in the general election commission is still low, it can be stated that their performance and capability are the same as the performance and capability of men in the

election-related jobs. The involvement of the Balinese women as the general election commissioners shows equality, justness and prestige for them.

Keywords: *Balinese Women, General Election*

INTRODUCTION

Before democracy was created, the political system adopted was the one elevating a group of people. As an illustration, in the theocratic system God's delegates/clergies were elevated and in the aristocratic system a particular class of people were elevated. In the democratic system, everybody is equal as democracy means "equality". In the democratic system, every citizen, regardless of his/her background, has the same voice. The essence of the democratic system is "from, by and for the people". Apart from that, both male and female citizens have the same voice and opportunity.

General election is a tool used to filter and determine the leaders of a state based on the democratic system it adopts. As far as the political science is concerned, general election can be stated as a political activity. In this case, general election is an institution as well as a political practice allowing the representative government to be established. Therefore, general election is a highly vital element as it is the parameter that can be used to measure whether a state is democratic or not.

Whether a state is democratic or not can also be viewed from how general election is carried out and the fact that democracy refers to the government established by the people [1].

General election is an institution made up of the General Election Commission, the Election Supervisory Agency and the Election Organizer Ethics Council. The General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Agency constitute a functional unit that is supposed to conduct general election through which the members of the People's Representative Council, the Regional Representative Council and the Regional People's Representative Assembly, President and Vice President, Governor, Regent, and Mayor are directly elected by the people [2]. In the Act No. 7 of 2017, it is stated that the institution conducting general election is national, permanent and independent in nature. It is responsible for conducting general election and is structured from the provincial level to the village level.

However, the fact shows that, as a tool used to achieve power in Indonesia, there is no equality. The female citizens are

discriminated, although their representatives are clearly regulated in the act of general election before and after it was revised. The fact shows that after the Act No. 7 of 2017 was issued, the number of the women involved in the General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Agency never exceeded 30%. In fact, the presence of women as the general election organizers has two interests. First, the women's political interest in the public space referred to as the general election organizers. Second, the interest in maintaining the women's representation starting from when they are nominated to when they are elected as the legislative members through the general election that is nationally, permanently and independently carried out [3]. Political participation means participating in or playing a role in the state's political activity [4], meaning that although nothing formally hampers women as the general election organizers, women in every part of Indonesia, including Bali Province, still get hampered from getting involved as the general election organizers when general election is conducted.

Many studies show that there are many factors hampering the Balinese women's representation and participation in the political world. According to Nakatani [5], The culture and tradition of the Balinese

society cause the Balinese women to have domestic, public, religious and traditional burdens. Although Bali has developed, the women's life cannot be separated from the patrilineal culture. The Balinese women still have more burdens than the Balinese men do in daily life. Although the Balinese women are culturally marginalized, they are capable of being involved in the public sphere and so far many keep struggling for justice and equality[6]

Many studies exploring the activities done by the Balinese women, including what they do in the political field, have been conducted. Some have investigated their representation in the political parties and legislative bodies and those who have been elected as the local leaders. However, none has investigated the Balinese women's representation in the General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Agency. Therefore, this current study entitled "the Balinese Women as the General Election Organizers" is intended to give a novelty and contribute to the knowledge of the Balinese women. It is also intended to identify what the Balinese women involved as the general election organizers do. Having a cultural paradigm, the qualitative method is used in the study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As the study investigating the Balinese women involved as the general election organizers, it refers to several studies. One of the studies was conducted by Novita *et al* [7] entitled “the Existence of Female Commissioners in the Attempt to Create Gender Equality in the Provincial and Regency/City General Election Commission in West Sumatra”. She found that the number of the female commissioners was very limited; it did not exceed 30%. The women are still discriminated and do not feel that there is gender equality in the General Election Commission. She also identified that there were four things and challenges hampering the female commissioners. They are; (a) some did not perfectly comprehend the role they played when general election was conducted; (b) some had double roles which, however, did not hamper them from being present and playing a role in the general election-related activities; (c) the others did not have adequate expertise in what they were supposed to do, although they were quickly adapted to the activities they were supposed to do; (d) when they were qualified, had capability, and understood what they were supposed to do as the female commissioners, they did not have the opportunity for the second term of office, as based on the prevailing

regulation, they only had one opportunity in the same level and, if they intended to be involved as the female commissioners in the higher level, the opportunity was not as open as that in the lower level.

The study conducted by Daryono *et al* [8] entitled “the Gender Conflict and the Women’s Participation in the Election Supervisory Agency” shows that Indonesia has designed general election in such a way that it can increase the women’s participation, by, for example, 30% of those involved in the Election Supervisory Agency should be female. Indonesia is one of the countries with the women’s lowest political participation. The gender conflict, motivation and patrilineal system hamper the women’s participation. Many people still do not trust the women who are involved in the Election Supervisory Agency. They are not sure that the jobs the women should do are safe enough and free from intimidation.

The study also shows that the failure of making 30% of the general election commissioners women, as stated in the regulation regulating the women’s representation, can mean not making use of the great opportunity to conduct fair and free general election and to develop welfare, democratic and inclusive society. The factors causing women to change the job types they do and to be involved in the

Election Supervisory Agency are as follows: a) the individual characteristic; b) the society's social and cultural environment; c) the state's regulation and institution.

Many studies have also been conducted to investigate what the Balinese women do in different fields, including in the political field. Many have also explored the number of the Balinese women elected in every general election. One of those recently conducted is the one conducted by Amanda Gelgel and Dwita Apriani [9] entitled "the Low Electability of the Balinese Women in the General Election Carried out in 2019 in Bali". The study shows that the low electability of the Balinese women in the general election conducted in 2019 seriously resulted from the supply and demand of the political parties, and the access to and the support given by the political parties. The study also shows that from the supply side, the women nominated to struggle in Bali for the general election conducted in 2019 were hampered by: 1) the limited finance; 2) the inadequate political experience; 3) the limited social network; 4) the limited space and time; and 5) the low political motivation in politics. The demand side has something to do with how the political parties select the women nominated as the legislative members. In this case, the political parties treat them

differently. The access side has something to do with the access given to both men and women nominated as the legislative members to the nominating parties [9]

The study mentioned above is one of the studies conducted to investigate the Balinese women involved in the political field. However, none has explored how the Balinese women involved as the general election commissioners in the political field are. The study entitled "the Balinese Women as the General Election Commissioners" applies the Theory of Postmodern Feminist and the Theory of Communicative Act.

The Postfeminist Theory is one of the feminist theories that is concerned with the awareness of injustice, oppression and exploitation centered on women. Different systems of ideas as to human life and experience from the women's prospective are generalized using this theory. Helene Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva, as the feminism thinkers, are similarly aware that women are not justly treated. They develop their intellectual ideas based on what is proposed by Simone de Beauvoir, an existentialist philosopher, Jacques Derrida, a deconstructionist, and Jacques Lacan, a psychoanalyst.

Based on the postfeminist or the postmodern feminist, women are regarded as "the other". Women are made to be

alienated by how they exist and their way of thinking instead of by the feeling of being depressed or inferior. The language they speak does not allow them to be open, pluralist, diversified, and different. Postfeminist analyzes the alienation problem sexually, psychologically, and literarily based on language as a system [10]. The relation of what is proposed in this theory to the current study is that the position of and the role played by the Balinese women are not equal, causing them to feel as the other among men. The consequence is that their existence in their environment needs to determine their behavior and the way they speak and think, and causes them not to be open to transmit their ideas. It is this that causes women to feel inferior in the men's environment. Therefore, it is one of the theories relevantly used in the current study.

DISCUSSION

A. Provincial and Regency/City General Election Commission

In Bali Province

The General Election Act issued in 2003 regulating how the members of the Central and Regency/City General Election Commission are recruited contains what is meant by the affirmation that the women's representation should be at least 30%. The Act was then renewed and then the Act No. 7 was issued in 2017, in which it is clearly mentioned that the women's representation should be at least 30%. The number of the general election commissioners listed in the Bali Province General Election Commission and Regency/City General Election Commission in Bali is shown in the following table.

Table 1. The Number of the General Election Commissioners in Bali Province and in the Regencies/City in Bali

No		2003-2008		2008-2013		2013-2018		2018-2023	
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1	Bali Province	2	3	2	3	3	2	1	4
2	Denpasar	0	5	2	3	1	4	2	3
3	Badung	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
4	Tabanan	1	4	1	4	2	3	2	3
5	Gianyar	0	5	0	5	2	3	1	4
6	Klungkung	0	5	1	4	3	2	1	4
7	Karangasem	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3

8	Buleleng	1	4	1	4	1	4	0	5
9	Jembrana	1	4	1	4	0	5	1	4
10	Bangli	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
Total		9	41	12	38	16	34	12	38
Percentage (%)		18%		24%		32%		24%	

Source: Bali Province General Election Commission

Table 1 above shows that, among the four terms of office as the general election commissioners, the only period of 2013-2018 shows that the women's representation reached 32%. It also shows that in the provincial level and Klungkung Regency 3 out of five general election commissioners were women. Apart from that it also shows that during the period before and after that the women's representation never reached 30%. During the period of 2003-2008 the women's representation was 18%, during the period of 2008-2013, it reached 24% and during the period of 2018-2023 it reached 24%. The 32% of women's representation in one period could not be maintained; in other words, it went down, showing that the affirmation mentioned in the General Election Act has not been well implemented from the beginning.

The recruitment system applied by the selection team of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia is that the number of the nominated commissioners in the provincial and regency/city levels should be two

multiplied by 5. Although the final decision is made by the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, the selection team has such a strategic position that it may determine the preparedness of the female candidates. The fact, however, shows that the members of the selection team are often not well familiar with the gender perspective and what is meant by affirmation. The consequence is that the candidates passing the selection total 10, meaning that the maximal percentage, instead of the minimal percentage, is made to be 30% or even less. Furthermore, when the final decision is made by the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, the affirmation spirit is not taken into consideration anymore. Instead, what is taken into consideration is the interest of each commissioner in the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. As a result, the number of the nominated women is not in accordance with the affirmation spirit.

Although the number of the Balinese women involved as the general

election commissioners is limited, they are capable of doing their jobs. The members of the Regional General Election Commission are divided into divisions. One is appointed head of the Regional General Election Commission and the others are in charge of the organizational division, human resources development division, law and supervisory division, planning division, the technique and way of carrying out general election division, socialization division, the educational levels of the voters and institutional interrelation division, finance division, logistic division, public and planning division.

In the initial periods of the women's representation in the Regional General Election Commission in the province and regency/city levels, all the female commissioners were not equipped with adequate capabilities, political education and the general election-related knowledge as the main capitals for playing roles as the general election commissioners. However, nothing hampered them when performing what they were supposed to do. They adapted to their jobs quickly and learned while doing their jobs, as stated by Luh Putu Sri Widyastini, a member of the Bali Province General Election Commission for the period of 2018-2023 when interviewed as follows:

“Ketika pertama kali saya menjadi komisioner KPUD Kabupaten Buleleng pada pada periode Tahun 2008-2013, saya tidak memahami tentang pemilihan. Modal saya adalah pernah bekerja sebagai sekretaris di sebuah perusahaan properti. Saya terbiasa bekerja dengan cepat dengan disiplin waktu sesuai target perusahaan. Ketika saya di KPUD, saya harus bekerja secara kolektif kolegial dengan 4 komisioner lainnya yang semuanya laki-laki. Kami juga harus bekerja bersama para ASN yang menjadi staf sekretariat KPUD. Jadi saya harus mempelajari dahulu untuk menyesuaikan diri dengan budaya dan ritme kerja yang baru. Saya memilih divisi logistik, tiada kesulitan bagi saya untuk melaksanakan tugas-tugas yang menyangkut masyarakat pemilih, partai politik maupun para birokrat. Bahkan karena keberanian saya, saya diberi tugas mewilayahi kecamatan yang memiliki desa-desa yang rawan konflik pada setiap perhelatan pemilu. Karena pada prinsipnya bagi saya, kita menghadapi masyarakat kita harus bisa berkomunikasi dengan baik. Bahkan ketika kiriman surat suara yg cacat dari pusat tiba, meskipun membuat heboh, saya berani menolak tegas, meskipun dibawakan sekoper uang dari pihak percetakan”.

The free translation is as follows:

When the first time I became a member of the Regional General Election Commission of Buleleng Regency for the period of 2008-2013, I did not understand anything related to general election. Working as the secretary of a property company was my capital, when I was accustomed to doing what I was supposed to do quickly and on time as targeted by the company. When I was at the Regional General Election Commission, four male commissioners and I should work collectively and collegially. We also worked with the government civil servants, the staff members of the Regional General Election Commission. So, I should learn to adapt to the culture and rhythm of the new employment. I chose the logistic division. I found no difficulties when doing the things related to the voters, political parties and bureaucrats. Even, as I was brave enough, I was supposed to supervise the district with the villages where conflicts easily take place every time a general election is carried out. My principle is that I have to be able to communicate with society well. At that time some ballot papers sent by the center were damaged. I was brave enough not to accept them although I was given a suitcase of money by the press and this led to a commotion”.

This fact shows that the Balinese women are capable of learning quickly and adapting themselves to the political field-related jobs. As well, those who have adapted themselves to their jobs are capable of maintaining high integrity. Many studies show the women’s involvement in the political, economic and social life and that this benefits society. The adequate number of women employed at a decision making company will cause the way of thinking when solving problems in which peace and anti-violence are top priorities.

So far it has been true that the affirmation spirit is more attached to the political institution such as the legislative institution. The Act No. 7 of 2017 requires that 30% of the legislative members sent by the political parties participating in a general election should be women. If there is a political party that cannot fulfill such a requirement, a sanction shall be imposed upon it. Such a norm is also applied when recruiting the members of the General Election Commission. Unfortunately, such a requirement is not applied by the general election commission when recruiting its nominated members (Ramadhanil *et al*, 2019). Although the current situation shows that the Balinese women’s representation does not reach 30%, they do not only show administrative and

formalistic representation but also show their substantive existence. Attempts are continuously made to the quality and quantity of the female commissioners to show justice and gender equality in the membership of the Regional General Election Commission. The general election-related knowledge should be improved as an alternative to solving the substantive women’s representation in the general election commission.

B. The Election Supervisory Agency in the Provincial and Regency/City Levels

The new order is over, and after the reformation era started the demand for independently conducted general election is getting stronger without being shadowed by the authorities. As a result, an independent general election commission was established through the Act No. 12 of 2003. The nomenclature of the *Pengawasan Pelaksanaan Pemilu (Panwaslak)*, the Election Supervisory Committee established in the New Order era, was then changed into *Panitia*

Pengawas Pemilu. The Act is used as the basis for making basic changes related to the election supervisory agency. It is stated in the Act that an ad-hoc (temporary) agency that is not dependent on the structure of the General Election Commission is established.

Then the Act No. 22 of 2007 was issued to strengthen the election supervisory agency. A permanent agency is established in the central level referred to as *Badan Pengawas Pemilu* (the Election Supervisory Agency). Then the Constitutional Court proposed to review what the Act No. 22 of 2007 contains as to the General Election Supervisory Agency; as a result, the Election Supervisory Committee in the regency/city level is permanently changed into the Election Supervisory Agency in the regency/city level through the Act No. 7 of 2017. However, the composition of the Election Supervisory Committee or the Election Supervisory Agency both in the provincial level and regency/city level is as follows.

Table 2. The Members of the Election Supervisory Committee/the Election Supervisory Agency in the Provincial Level in Bali Province

No.		2003-2008		2008-2009		2009-2011		2012-2013		2013-2018		2018-2023	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1	Bali Province	-	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	4
	Percentage	0%		30%		30%		30%		30%		20%	

Source: The Election Supervisory Agency of Bali Province

Table 2 shows that when the Election Supervisory Agency of Bali Province was established, it had three members. However, in the following four periods, one of the three commissioners was female, meaning that the quota of 30% was fulfilled based on the affirmation spirit stated in the Act regulating general elections. As well, when the ad-hoc Election Supervisory Committee in the provincial level and regency/city level was changed into a permanent one, only one of the five commissioners was female, meaning that the women's representation was 20%. If analyzed further, not more than one woman was accommodated. As the

members of the General Election Supervisory Committee totaled 3, the women's representation was 30%. When the General Election Supervisory Committee was changed into the General Election Supervisory Agency whose members totaled five, only one woman was accommodated as well, causing the women's representation to be 20%. It can be stated, therefore, that the affirmation spirit that the women's representation was 30% was not seriously applied. Table 3 below shows the total number of the members of the Election Supervisory Committee/ Election Supervisory Agency in the Regency/City Level in Bali Province.

Table 3. The Members of the Election Supervisory Committee/Election Supervisory Agency in the Regency/City Level in Bali

No.	Regency	2003-2008		2008-		2009-2011		2012-2013	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1	Denpasar	1	2	-	3	-	3	1	2
2	Badung	-	3	-	3	-	3	1	2
3	Tabanan	-	3	1	2	1	2	1	2
4	Gianyar	-	3	-	5	-	-	-	3
5	Klungkung	-	3	-	3	-	3	1	2
6	Karangasem	-	3	-	3	1	2	1	2
7	Buleleng	-	5	-	5	-	3	1	2
8	Jembrana	1	4	-	3	-	3	-	3
9	Bangli	1	2	-	3	-	3	-	3
TOTAL		3	2	1	3	2	2	6	2
Percentage (%)		10%		3%		8%		22%	

Source: The Election Supervisory Agency of Bali Province

Table 3. The Members of the Election Supervisory Committee/the Election Supervisory Agency in Regency/City Level in Bali Province

No.	Regency	2013-2014		2016-2017		2017-2018		2018-2023	
		F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1	Denpasar	1	2	-	3	-	3	1	4
2	Badung	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3
3	Tabanan	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	3
4	Gianyar	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
5	Klungkung	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
6	Karangasem	-	3	-	3	-	3	1	4
7	Buleleng	1	2	1	2	-	3	1	4
8	Jembrana	-	3	-	3	1	2	1	2
9	Bangli	1	2	-	3	-	3	-	3
TOTAL		5	2	3	2	3	2	6	2
Percentage (%)		19%		11%		11%		18%	

Source: The Election Supervisory Agency of Bali Province

From when the Election Supervisory Committee in the regency/city level was established to when it is changed into the Election Supervisory Agency, the women's representation has never reached 30%, it has ranged from 3% to 22%. Although in the provincial level it has reached 30%, if analyzed further, it can be concluded that there has not been any serious commitment to implementing the affirmation of 30% as stated in the general election Act.

The Balinese women's low representation in the election supervisory agency results from their low participation in the nomination and selection of the election commission membership and the

strong patrilineal culture in which it is believed that the political field is not theirs. This supports the result of the study entitled "*Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (Perludem)*" in which it is stated that the patrilineal culture is responsible for the women's low participation as the general election commissioners. Many women are not allowed to work as the general election organizers by their family members (husband, child, and parent), as, according to them, working as the general election organizers means having to work full time [11].

Although the Bali women's representation has not fulfilled the quota of the affirmation spirit, the performance and

capabilities of the Balinese women involved in the election supervisory agency is as good as the performance and capabilities of the Balinese men, as stated by Ms. Ketut Arini when interviewed as follows:

“Ketika saya melihat berita di surat kabar bahwa peminat yang melamar di Panwaslu Kabupaten Buleleng minim sekali, maka saya penasaran dan ingin melamar, padahal saya tidak paham dengan pemilu. Satu setengah jam sebelum penutupan pendaftaran, saya memutuskan untuk mendaftar. Saya didukung penuh suami saya. Ketika saya diwawancarai Pak Nur Hidayat Sardini komisioner Bawaslu pusat saat itu, tentang pengalaman dalam pemilu, dengan jujur saya menjawab, saya pernah ikut melayani konsumsi para KPPS ketika pemilu Tahun 2009. Saya ingat sekali, ketika saya ditertawai tim seleksi. Namun saya berjanji akan belajar kalau saya diterima. Ketika ditanya, tentang gaji Panwaslu yang belum jelas berapa besarnya, saya tidak peduli, dan tetap ngotot ingin diterima. Mungkin melihat semangat saya, akhirnya saya diterima dan saya harus meninggalkan pekerjaan saya

sebagai wakil direktur keuangan di sebuah rumah sakit swasta. Saya digodog selama dua minggu secara intensif bersama para peserta lainnya di Surabaya. Sejak itu, barulah saya mulai paham apa itu pemilu. Sejak itu saya terus belajar dan belajar. Bahkan selama bertugas di Buleleng saya bisa menyelesaikan persoalan yang tidak bisa diselesaikan rekan komisioner laki-laki. Kini saya bisa menjadi ketua Bawaslu tingkat Provinsi Bali, karena saya berpengalaman di Kabupaten Buleleng beberapa periode. Saya selalu tertawa mengingat masa awal saya diterima. Karena itulah saya tak pernah berhenti untuk belajar dan bekerja keras membagi waktu saya, seefisien mungkin sebagai perempuan Bali yang penuh dengan tugas-tugas perempuan dan sebagai penyelenggara pemilu.”

The free translation is as follows:

When I read the news on the local newspaper I was surprised that those who had applied for being employed by the Election Supervisory Committee were very limited; therefore, I decided to apply for it, although I did not understand what general election was. I applied for it thirty minutes before the opportunity was closed. My

husband fully supported me. When I was interviewed by Mr. Nur Hidayat Sardini, an election commissioner sent by the Center at that time whether I was experienced enough in the general election, I honestly answered that in general election conducted in 2009 I was responsible for serving the members of KPPS (a group of people responsible for conducting general election). I still remember perfectly when I was interviewed. However, I promised that I would learn if I was accepted. When I was asked how much a member of the election commission was paid, I did not care and still hoped that I would be accepted. It was possible that I was assessed to be encouraged enough to be accepted. Finally, I was accepted and decided to resign from being employed as vice director at a private hospital. Then my friends and I were sent to Surabaya where we were intensively trained. Since then, I started understanding what general election was and kept learning. Even when I was employed in Buleleng, I could solve the problems that could not be solved by the male commissioners. Now I am capable of supervising the Election Supervisory Agency of Bali Province as I was experienced enough in Buleleng Regency several periods of time. I always laughed when I knew that I was accepted. Therefore, I never cease learning and always work efficiently. I cannot remember the first time

I was accepted. Therefore, I never cease learning and always work efficiently both as housewives with our daily activities and as members of the election commission.

What is stated by Ms. Ketut Ariani shows that although the Balinese women do not have any knowledge of the election-related things, they turn out to be able to learn while working. Although they live in strongly patrilineal society and have more burdens than men, they turn out to be able to spend their time wisely; they are not only able to do household chores but also public work. Ms. Ketut Ariani proves that although in the beginning they did not understand the election-related things, she has finally been able to work as one of the election organizers. This is strengthened by the fact that now she is appointed head of the Bali General Elections Supervisory Agency. The success achieved by women in general in becoming the election organizers certainly requires that they should work full time; in other words, they should be prepared whenever they are needed. The support given by their husbands and families is also needed in order to be successful; otherwise, it will be difficult for them to perform their election-related jobs.

Although the prevailing regulation does not hamper women from working as the election organizers, the fact shows that the number of people working in the

political sector is still limited. Apart from the things mentioned above, there are still many policies, state's laws and program that still reflect the manifestation of the gender injustice. Therefore, it can be concluded that the manifestation of the gender injustice has been deeply rooted in everybody, every family and nation, as stated by Fakhri (Daryono *et al*, 2020) that the manifestation of the gender injustice is global.

C. The Women's Challenges as the General Election Organizers

1. Regulation

The regulations regulating the recruitment of the members of the general election organizers in Bali have been one of the reasons why the women's representation has not reached 30%. What is meant is that the regulations have not been fully implemented to accommodate the affirmation spirit. The following table shows the development of the regulations referred to in the recruitment of women as the general election organizers.

Table 4. The Regulations Regulating the Affirmation Spirit of the General Election Organizers

The Act	The Affirmation Terms in the Composition of the General Election Organizers
The Act No. 3 of 1999	Not regulated
The Act No. 3 of 2003	Not regulated
The Act No. 22 of 2007	- Pay attention to 30% of the women's representation in the Central General Election Commission, the Provincial General Election Commission, the Regency/City General Election, <i>PPK</i> ;
The Act No. 15 of 2011	- Pay attention to 30% of the Women's Representation in the Central General Elections Commission and the General Elections Commission in the Provincial Level and Regency/City Level, <i>PPK</i> (the District General Election Committee) - Pay attention to 30% of the Women's Representation in the Central General Election Agency and Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency, the General Election Supervisory Committee

The Act No. 7 of 2017	- Pay attention to 30% of the Women's Representation in the Central, Provincial, Regency/City General Elections Commission, <i>PPK</i> (the District General Election Committee), <i>PPS</i> (the General Election Committee), and <i>KPPS</i> (A Group of People Responsible for Conducting General Election)
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Source: The General Election Act

The affirmation spirit which was issued after the reformation era is applied to the recruitment of the candidates of the legislative members; however, it is not applied to the recruitment of the candidates of the members of the general election commission. The affirmation spirit of the candidates of the legislative members started when the direct general election was conducted in 2004. Similarly, the affirmation spirit is also applied to the general election organizers. Table 4 above shows that the Act No. 22 of 2007 requires that 30% of the women's representation should also be shown in the recruitment of the members of the General Election Commission and the members of the General Election Supervisory Agency. Just "pay attention to 30% of the women's representation". The expression 'pay attention to' not followed by the sanction shows that there is no serious commitment to accommodating the affirmation spirit.

Actually, the same regulation is also applicable to the recruitment of the legislative and general election commission members in which 30% of the women's

representation is also emphasized. Further, in the Act No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Election, it is stated that the General Election Commission shall not accept the registration of the legislative candidates if the women's representation is less than 30% in any voting area. In other words, if the women's representation in one political party is less than 30%, it shall be excluded from the general election conducted in that area. Such a regulation regulating the affirmation spirit of the General Election Commission has inspired all the political parties to send female candidates to be registered in the General Election Commission. However, the affirmation policy prevailing in the political parties is not applied to the recruitment of the members of the General Election Commission and the General Election Supervisory Agency both in the central and regional levels.

2. The Women's Low Participation

The patrilineal culture is responsible for the Balinese women's low participation in the general election commission. Those

who have been successful in becoming the general election commissioners are fully supported by their families; however, many others are not supported by their families. Those who wish to propose for becoming the general election commissioners should ask for permission from their husbands and families. The reason is that they should work full time and that it will be difficult for them to divide their time as they also need time for their families.

Since 2004 many Balinese women have been recruited to be the candidates of the legislative members by the political parties. Their failure to become the legislative members does not allow them to become the general election commissioners. The reason is that they should be independent when they become the general election commissioners. Apart from that, they used to be members of any political party. As well, the Balinese women whose husbands have become the members of the legislative members are not accepted to be the general election commissioners. The requirements which need to be fulfilled to become the general election in the lower levels such as in *KPPS*, the General Election Supervisors, *PPK* cause only a few women to be qualified enough to apply. In addition, everybody only has the right to become the general commissioners for two terms of office in

every level, meaning that the women who have already had the knowledge of the general election-related things are not allowed to propose for another term of office. Apart from that, the recruitment process for being accepted in the higher level is much more difficult than that in the lower level.

The selection team members who do not well understand the essence of the affirmation spirit is also responsible for the women's low participation, as stated by Luh Putu Sri Widyastini, the member of the General Election Commission of Bali Province for the period of 2018-2013, when selected in the Buleleng regency level, as follows.

“Ketika saya melamar sebagai komisioner KPU Kabupaten Buleleng pertama kali Tahun 2013, saya masih berstatus punya suami. Seiring waktu karena pengangkatn rahim disebabkan adanya kista, saya tidak akan mempunyai anak. Maka sebagai perempuan Bali, saya akan mempunyai status yang sulit di rumah suami. Berdasarkan kesepakatan, saya bercerai dengan suami dengan baik-baik dan saya kembali ke rumah asal saya. Ketika masa jabatan saya berakhir dan saya melamar Kembali ke KPU Kabupaten Buleleng untuk kedua

kalinya, saat wawancara, status janda saya dipertanyakan oleh tim seleksi. Tim seleksi menganggap status saya akan mencemari Lembaga, padahal selama ini, setelah saya menjadi janda, saya selalu menjaga nama baik lembaga dan menjaga integritas saya. Dengan usaha yang sangat keras saya berargumentasi, bahwa dalam UU penyelenggara pemilu, tidak ada larangan seorang janda untuk menjadi Komisioner KPU. Hampir saja saya tidak lolos karena status janda. Dan seiring waktu, saya merasakan ketidaknyamanan terhadap prasangka-prasangka akan status saya. Untuk lebih aman, akhirnya saya memutuskan menikah lagi, kini saya berhasil menjadi komisioner KPU tingkat provinsi Bali. Saya hanya punya kesempatan sekali lagi di tingkat provinsi nanti, itupun bila lulus. Sedangkan ke tingkat lebih tinggi yaitu ke KPU RI, saya telah mencoba tahun ini, namun saya gagal, karena kesempatannya begitu kecil.”

The free translation is as follows:

When I proposed for becoming a general election commissioner in Buleleng Regency for the first time in 2013, I was

married, meaning that I had a husband. However, due to the cyst my uterus was removed, meaning that it would be impossible for me to give birth to babies. As a Balinese woman, I found it difficult to live together with my husband at his house. Then, my husband and I agreed to get divorced and, as a result, I returned to my house. When my first term of office came to an end, I proposed for being employed at the General Election Commission for the second term of office. However, when I was interviewed, the selection team asked why I was divorced. The team was afraid that my status of becoming a widow would degrade the institution. In fact, since I was a widow, I had done my best to maintain the institution's reputation and my integrity. I strongly argued that, based on the General Election Act, everybody, including widows, is allowed to become the General Election Commissioners. My status of becoming a widow almost caused me not to be accepted as the general election commissioner. To make myself safe and comfortable, I decided to get married again. Now I am a general election commissioner in the Bali Province level. I only have one more opportunity to be a general election commissioner in the Bali Province level if I pass the selection test. In fact, I have applied for being a general election commissioner under the General

Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia but I have failed. It is too difficult to be accepted as a central general election commissioner.

What is stated by Sri Widyastini shows that the selection team does not have any gender perspective and does not understand that the affirmation spirit requires that the quota for women is 30%. Fortunately, Ms. Sri Widyastini understands perfectly the General Election Act and was able to argue strongly. It is these matters that frequently cause the potential Balinese women not to be registered as the general election commissioners.

D. The Meaning of Becoming the General Election Commissioners

1. Justice and Equality

The result of the study shows that from four periods of time, only the period of 2013-2018 achieved the quota of the affirmation spirit, namely 32% for the Balinese women in the General Election Commission in the provincial, regency/city levels. The period of 2003-2008 shows 18%, the period of 2008-2013 shows 24% and the period of 2018-2023 shows 24% as well, meaning that after achieving 32%, the General Election Commission could not maintain the affirmation spirit of 30% any

longer; instead, it went down to 24%. The same thing took place in the General Election Supervisory Agency. Although in the provincial level the quota shows 30%, after being further analyzed, there was no commitment to carrying out the affirmation spirit. Finally, injustice cannot be avoided from taking place to women.

Actually, in so far as the feminist view is concerned, gender difference does not matter as long as it does not lead to injustice. The gender injustice constitutes the system and structure that cause both men and women to be the victims of the system and structure themselves. According to Mansour Fakih, the gender injustice becomes manifested with different forms such as marginalization or the process of economic poverty, subordination or unimportant things in any political decision, stereotype formation and negative labelling [12],.

Although Indonesia has ratified the global convention of anti-discrimination referred to as CEDAW (Convention Elimination of Discrimination against Women) through the Act No. 8 of 1978, and has ratified the third UN conference held in Nairobi in 1985 and the UN conference held in Beijing in 1995 producing the Platform for Action: Strategy Gender Mainstreaming, Indonesia still needs time to make the world's agreement and equal

life come true. So far, the Indonesian women's life, including the Balinese women's, is still left behind compared to men's. The gender injustice in the general election commission in Bali Province causes the political parties and voters not to be confident that the general election commissioners are fair and have gender equality.

2. Prestige

The involvement of the Balinese women as the general election organizers, if viewed from their personal life and family and community members may also mean that they attempt to improve their existence and prestige. It may also mean that they attempt to improve their economy and life learning. Their participation in the community life may also mean that they attempt to improve their equality to men in the political world.

As far as this context is concerned, being employed in the political field in general and as the general election organizers in particular means that the Balinese women are introduced to the new world in which the only men used to be involved. The jargons that politics is dirty as it is full of intrigues and that politics belongs to men imply that if women take part in the political world, they require masculine strength. Therefore, if women can match men their ability to participate in

the political field will show high prestige, as reflected by what was stated by Ms. Luh Lesia Gandi, a general commissioner in Badung Regency for two terms of office, namely from 2013 to 2018 and from 2018 to 2023, when interviewed as follows:

“Saya diizinkan melamar ke KPU sehubungan dengan letak kantor yang dekat rumah. Dimana sebelumnya, tempat kerja saya lumayan jauh dengan transport sepeda motor. Sejak saya menjadi komisioner KPU Badung, saya merasa lebih dihargai oleh keluarga. Keluarga mendukung penuh pekerjaan saya. Meskipun saya tidak bisa lagi secara penuh melakukan kewajiban sebagai krame istri di banjar, saya tidak bisa lagi melakukan pekerjaan domestik seperti dulu lagi, namun saya tidak lagi dipermasalahkan oleh keluarga. Bahkan keluarga membantu dalam membuat banten, dan mengasuh anak. Tentu saya juga harus tau diri, karena itu sebagian pendapatan saya, saya harus sisihkan kepada para anggota keluarga yang membantu, seperti ipar-ipar.”

The free translation is as follows:

I was allowed to propose for being employed at the General Election

Commission as its office is close to the house where I live. The office I used to work before is too far to go by motorcycle. Therefore, when I was employed at the General Election Commission I felt that I was appreciated by my family. My family fully supported my being employed at the General Elections Commission, although my time for performing my obligations as a member of the *banjar* (the traditional smallest neighborhood under a traditional village in Bali) became limited and I could not perform the household chores as I used to. However, my family did not mind at all. My family helped me offer offerings and take care of my children. Such good treatments caused me not to mind giving some of my income to my sister-in-law and the other family members who had helped me.

What was stated by Ms. Nesia shows that becoming a general election commissioner is an honor to her. As a Balinese woman she felt that she was appreciated and was not underestimated any longer. However, before being employed as the general elections commissioners, the Balinese women should first negotiate with the structure closely close to their daily activities. They should obtain permission that they will get involved in the political field. They are faced with the social structure connected to their life. According

to Giddens (1984), in [13], social structure refers to a set of regulations and resources organized as the property in the social system. It can be a norm that can be used as the standard of properness in the social system.

CLOSING

The Balinese women have been involved in the General Election Commission since the direct general election was carried out in Indonesia, namely when the reformation era started for which the Act No. 12 of 2003 was issued. The Balinese women's representation in the general election commission reached 30% in the period of 2013 – 2018. However, before and after that period the women's representation was less than 30%. In the provincial level, the women's representation in the General Election Supervisory Agency/General Election Supervisory Committee once reached 30%; however, in the regency/city level it was always less than 30%. It can be concluded, therefore, that the affirmation spirit in the two general election institutions has been inconsistent or it has not been well implemented.

The Balinese women's representation in the general election commission results from: a) the fact that the application of the regulation regulating the affirmation spirit in the general election

commission is not the same as that of the regulation regulating the affirmation spirit in the political parties; b) the strong patrilineal culture; c) the fact that the selection team does not have the gender perspective and does not well understand the essence of affirmation spirit; d) the fact that the candidates were once employed at the general election commission in the lower level; e) the limited terms of office each is allowed to be involved in the general election commission for two terms of office in each level. Although the number of the Balinese women involved in the General Election Commission is still low, they can show that their performance in and capability of doing the general election-related things are the same the men's. Being able to become the general election commissioner means being able to show equality, justice and prestige for the Balinese women.

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Women's Opportunities In the Era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0

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Abstract

There are opportunities and challenges in the Revolution of Industry 4.0 that will fundamentally change the way one lives, works, and socializes with one another. Its scope, complexity, and transformation were never known what it would be like. Industrial Revolution 4.0 has increased the ease and speed at which women access information, but its presence has also raised skepticism about its existence as both a domestic worker (arranging a home, raising and parenting), acting as a transition worker (working in a family business) and as a worker outside the household as a career woman.

The purpose of writing, criticizing opportunities that are promising and need to be utilized and empowered for women in the era of industrial revolution 4.0. The method used to achieve the goal is to review the relevant writing both in the book, Google Scholar, Sciece Direct, Direct Open Access Journal (Doaj). The writing approach uses a qualitative approach in this regard to religion and culture. Religion and culture cannot be separated from human life in its various dimensions. The theory used to discuss problems is reception theory to give responses or meanings and interpret, women's opportunities through the internet of things (IoT), by reviewing relevant writing.

The results of the discussion of women's opportunities in the Era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 by utilizing digital and technology, for the *science, technology, engineering, and mathematics* (STEM) industry are very promising. Digital systems have changed human work faster and more efficiently. Women in the industrial era 4.0 have a golden opportunity because physical strength no longer means, the most important thing in this era is confidence, connection, collaboration, and communication by broadening horizons, filling themselves with learning both through formal and non-formal education.

Women need to improve digital fluency because in the meantime men still excel at this. From an early age women should start to be introduced to the field of information technology

(IT) because until now the public still considers the field of IT and computers are still attached to men.

Women can work or study from home because of the facilities of virtual spaces in the home, offices and public spaces. In addition, this era of domestic affairs has a lot of convenience, and many, also devices facilitate the business of washing, cooking, and cleaning the house, the business of shopping for household needs is done *online*. Similarly, transportation with *online* applications facilitates women's mobility to seize opportunities in this era. Women's barriers to education, literacy, language, time, financial, social and cultural norms need to be minimized by expanding mastery of information and communication technology.

Keywords: *opportunity, women, era of industrial revolution 4.0*

Introduction

Women's opportunities in the social field continue to develop, both in thought and civilization over time, and from time to time. Women's lives today are in the maelstrom of the 4th wave industrial revolution marked by increased connectivity, interaction and boundaries between humans, machines and other resources. Such integration is moderated by information and communication technology. The industrial revolution.4.0 for women provides opportunities to accelerate the mastery of technology as the key to determining competitiveness to increase confidence, discipline and responsibility both to the family, citizens, and social.

Supporting the acceleration of technological mastery will support the development of systems in the era of

industrial revolution.4.0, namely *the internet of things (iot), human-machine, interface, robotic and sensor technology and 3 D technology*. The previous era of the use of machinery and technological means but in the industrial revolution 4.0 women have a very strategic fighting power in the world, both as domestic workers (arranging the house, raising and parenting), as transitional workers (working in the field of family business) and as workers outside the household or women's careers.

The industrial revolution towards development towards the digital economy and technology, making the *science, technology, engineering, and mathematics* (STEM) industries have promising prospects. Indirectly digital systems have changed human work to be faster and efficient. The Industrial Revolution 4.0 is an era colored by artificial intelligence,

theeraofsuper computers, genetic engineering, innovation, and rapid change that impacts women, the economy, industry, government, and politics. This symptom is characterized by the number of sources of information through social media, such as *Youtube*, *Instagram*, and so on.

The presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 should be utilized and managed well by women because it has promising prospects for the position of women as part of world civilization. Based on this description, this paper wants to study and criticize and take advantage of opportunities to continuously pursue women's excellence in the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Analysis of the problems of how women in the digital age and how to take advantage of opportunities to continuously pursue excellence in this digital era.

The method used to achieve the goal is to review the relevant writing both in the book, *Google Scholar*, *Scinece Direct*, *Direct Open Access Journal (Doaj)*. This writing approach uses a qualitative approach in this regard to religion and culture. Religion and culture cannot be separated from human life in its various dimensions. According to Imam Suprayoga and Tabroni (2001:43) mentions three dimensions of the indissibility of religion and culture with human life. *First*, religious dialects with design and technology bring

the axiological blame that must be answered by religion such as euthanasia, cloning, grafting human organs with animal organs, and sperm banks. *Second*, religious and cultural dialects with social change give birth to polemics about gender, and the problems they cause such as inheritance, leadership in the family, women's leadership, the tendency of single life and single *parenthood*. *Three* other contemporary problems such as the relationship of the state with religion, religious pluralism, conflict between religions, syncretism, interfaith meetings, attitudes towards other religions, association between adherents of different religions.

Being associated with religious and cultural approaches and social change gave birth to women's opportunities in the industrial revolution 4.0. to take opportunities that are very broad and wide and have prospects and promises for the position of women as part of world civilization.

The theory used in this paper is that reception theory can be interpreted as acceptance, welcome, response, reaction and attitude of the reader towards a literary work. It means how the literary work read is given a reaction or response (Junus, 1985). But in the development of reception theory is also used to examine various problems of social and cultural life of the community.

Reception Theory is interpreted as processing and giving meaning to the work so that there is a response from the reader (Ratna, 2010). So the reception theory in the writing used is to discuss the opportunities of women in the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 taken from books, *Google Scholar, Science Direct, Direct Open Access Journal (DOAJ)* with the author's personal internet technology because it is not possible to take data directly to women in pandemic or covid-19 circumstances.

Discussion

The development of science and technology is having an impact on women that is increasingly complex. The era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 which is characterized by the rapid development of technology is an opportunity for women to achieve it but not only stop at the internet, the open access to communication to others, there are many opportunities that can be obtained. The opportunity to collaborate more easily and thoroughly becomes one of the opportunities that are increasing rapidly thanks to this development. such as, how companies, celebrities, practitioners can collaborate with each other in delivering *value* according to their respective goals by reaching customers becomes easier.

Hindu teachings in *Shivatattwa* mention that the concept of *Ardhanareswari* is a symbol of God in manifestation as *purusa* (male) and

pradana (female). The position and role of *purusa* is symbolized by Lord Shiva who plays a masculine function, while *pradana* is symbolized by Dewi Uma who plays feminine function. The both gods and goddesses cooperate or unite meaning that if there is no Goddess Uma then the function or power of Lord Shiva is meaningless, and vice versa. This union or cooperation is what gives *bayu* or strength to women and men on this earth. This symbolic meaning contains the position or status of women equal or complementary to men, even having a very noble position (Arniati, 2018).

The culture of the Indonesian nation, which in general still adheres to patriarchal culture, is based on the lineage of the Father. Trying to balance the roles of women and men, without eliminating the existing culture, although not easy. Gender equality or equal rights that are often voiced by women, should not be viewed as the exact same rights and obligations (absolute) with men, because there are certain things that women also cannot do what men do, such as in Balinese Hindus, *sangkep* or meetings in Banjar, in Dadya or in Indigenous Villages, invited men and women carry out meetings from men. In addition to carrying out the duties of men from Indigenous Villages or Banjar Adat, the role of women is sometimes heavier than men, especially if it is associated with

education and the formation of children's character and morals.

In the industrial era 4.0 the roles and opportunities to actualize between men and women are equally large. It's just that today the challenges women face in changing permissive attitudes and restrictive cultural practices. Women need to be given the opportunity to pursue sustainable education to narrow the gap between women and men. The family system that is given the first opportunity - and first is usually boys, such as, let older brothers or younger brothers pursue higher education, girls enough to high school, because later will marry men outside the family (Journal of Women, 2004).

Empowerment programs for women with the presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0, trying to be managed properly, because it has promising prospects for the position of women as part of world civilization.

Women must be creative and educated so that their usefulness in various segments can be useful in real terms. In the world of education, women should have the highest educational orientation possible so that when becoming a mother, women can be the first place to expand their child's horizons, women (mothers) will continue to monitor the use of technology for their children so as not to fall into negative things. The role of a woman who becomes

a wife, an employee who is required to continue to innovate and be creative and her role as part of social society.

Women need to improve digital fluency because in the meantime men still excel at this. From an early age women should start to be introduced to the field of information technology (IT) because until now the public still considers the field of IT and computers are still attached to men.

Sektor industri that women are predicted to dominate energy in 2045 (Christina Winata, in Arniati, google, accessed July 2, 2019). That sector. Cooperation with various parties is needed to create a culture of gender equality in the technical and technological environment. Entering the era of industry 4.0 that combines digital technology with cyber technology, artificial intelligence and *the Internet of things* (IoT). Utilization of IoT and *big data*, can produce quick and precise decisions.

The industrial era 4.0 is a golden opportunity for women because physical strength in this era is no longer meaningful, the most important thing in this era is connection, collaboration, and communication, as women must be able to advance themselves by learning both through formal education and with non-formal education (Arniati, 2019).

Time and space are no longer a barrier for women meaning women can

work or learn from home with the development of virtual spaces. In this era, domestic affairs also get a lot of convenience, many devices that facilitate the business of washing, cooking, and cleaning the house. The business of shopping for household needs is done *online*. Similarly, transportation with *online* applications facilitates women's mobility to seize opportunities in this era. (Arniati, 2020).

Education still needs to be improved because there are still many women who are poorly educated, namely junior high school and below. In 2016 the Human Development Index (HDI) of men had a higher rate than the female HDI. Male HDI is 74.23 and female HDI is 67.34. This means that it is not equal, it is an obstacle for women to empower their potential.

In addition, women's barriers can be seen with the gap in access and mastery of information and communication technology with men is still quite large. Citing data from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), it shows that the percentage of female information and communication technology users is lower than men. A number of factors inhibit women in developing countries in the mastery of information and communication technology, including education, literacy, language, time, cost, social and cultural norms. Indonesian women are active

internet users, but have low digital literacy, due to lack of training, low educational background, economic and other problems.

3. Conclusion

The presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 should be utilized and managed well by women because it has promising prospects for the position of women as part of world civilization. Women must open up and be willing to continue to learn to keep up with the changing times. Women as educators of the next generation must be able to do much, in order to become a generation that is able to compete in the global era, ethical, and proud, for themselves, families, communities, nations and countries.

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