

Reading Women Participations on Populism Politics

Sofa Marwah Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Indonesia

Abstract

This paper aims to elaborate on women participation on politic populist development and expansion of support by the strength of women's groups as representatives of civil society. This study uses literature study methods to discover various data related to women's figures and women's group dedication in the context of civil society, sourced from journal and preliminary study results. The results of the study indicate that women participate in the practice of populism associated with men in cultivating the issues of populism and are received by the general public. Even women's contribution to society tends to be closer to welfare issues that are echoed in populist politics. When the populism politics need to expand in the context of the wider society, women are also present and have been there for a long time dedicating their lives on social welfare issues. The implication, it is necessary to see women contributions are as important as men in the practice of populist politics, not only at the level of the political elite but also in the life of the wide society. Women's groups are able to fill spaces that are not filled by the state, i.e. socio-economic spaces, wherever women are.

Keywords

Women; Politics; Populism; Civil Society

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to elaborate on the involvement of women in the contemporary political developments inherent in populism and the extension of populist support by the strength of women's groups as representations of civil society. Previous studies on populism did not relate the issue of populism with the ability of women political figures to process populist issues into a space to affirm women's position in order to

convince their constituents. Populist politics in Indonesia elaborated by some scholars, namely Mietzner (2014) which focus on Jokowi's won and a rise of populism; Hadiz (Aspinal, 2017) on the differences of Islamic populist trajectories in Indonesia and the Middle East; Djani (2017) about the political compounds of identity and populism; Hadiz (2017) on cross-regional perspectives on populism in politics, Jokowi's leadership style became one of his focus; Mietzner (2018) emphasized Jokowi's respond to the unprecedented Islamist-populist mobilization in Jakarta in late 2016. From the gap of previous research on women and

Sofa Marwah is a lecturer at Departement Political Science, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Purwokerto, Indonesia. She was graduated from Doctoral Program of Political Science, Universitas Indonesia. She is also Head of Gender, Children Research Center, and Community Service. Her research focus are politics, women, and cultural. Email: sofamarwah75@gmail.com

populist politics, Schwidder's (2017) study attempts to fill it by looking at the important role of Indonesian women as a starting point or introduction to discuss the complexity of the history of Indonesian resistance to the right populism that dominated Europe during World War II. In addition to the Schwidder study, the author has not found another study of women's participation in populist politics yet. With the rise of the practice of populism in Indonesia today, it becomes important to explore how wide the female political figures participate in contestation in it.

In relation to the prevailing political practices of populism in Indonesia today, the public will quickly recall political figures that are not "new generation" and have no ties to the past political power. We will easily refer to current political figures such as Jokowi, Tri Rismaharini, Ridwan Kamil, Khofifah, and some other successful regent or mayor. Mentioning Jokowi in the first row is not unintentional since presumably, the various circles agree that Jokowi as a populist figure is the most successful considering his political achievements that reach the top, becoming President of RI (2014-2019). Hadiz's study (2017) stated that Jokowi has appeared to promote a government

that is closer to society, social services, and poverty eradication, in the middle of the deeply rooted oligarchy power systems in Indonesia.

However, far from the frenzied political populism that many current political actors have adopted, it is possible that many people forget that women are also present in the political contestation of populism. When we call populist political figures, people will not see them as male or female. They only see them as populist figures. Perhaps they forget that women are actually present in the realm, not just coloring, but they are able to show their quality and charm as political figures that show their concern for crucial issues and problems attached to the general public, such as welfare, access to education, health facilities, etc. In other words, women's concern on social issues and welfare has shown women's position in the life-world sphere. According to Habermas (Montero, 2014), life-world is the sphere of social life which the social actions of its citizens are supported by social desires such as justice, truth, and goodness; separated from the political and economic sphere. The life-world created a public sphere, namely sphere for citizens express social desires through civil society.

In accordance with the purpose of this paper to elaborate the involvement of women in political developments inherent in populism and the extension of populist support by the strength of women's groups as representations of civil society, this paper will be divided into five parts; The first part is the background and significance of the research. The second part explores the theoretical understanding of populism and civil society, and the third part confirms the method of research through literature study; The fourth part deals with women's participation in populist politics. The fifth part expresses the expansion of populism through the power of civil society through women's groups. Finally, the end of the paper concludes a conclusion to confirm the findings in this paper.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is a critical review analysis (Sugiyono, 2012) which related to theoretical and other references; it requires an in-depth examination of the focus. In this case, the authors trace the various gait female figures that the author considered competent to be reviewed in the approach of populism politics from various sources obtained such as websites, internet data, and the results of

related previous research. The main data collected relates to the achievement and action of women political figures attached to the issue of populism and supported by other data to strengthen. The author then engages in various relevant theoretical frameworks, whether from scientific journals or books. The analysis by the authors shows the various important findings presented in this paper. The novelty of this paper focuses on the issue of populism which related to the ability of women to process populist issues into a space to affirm women's position in order to convince their supporters. Previous studies focus on populism in Indonesia not discussed it yet.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Populism in Theoretical Understanding

We can assume that populism accepts the principles of democracy and popular sovereignty (Galston, 2018). But populism can also be seen in straightforward fashion as the exercise of majoritarian power. Stavrakakis et al (2018) emphasizes that on the one hand populist politics encourages civil society to campaign for democracy with promises of returning power to the people. But on the other hand, populism can endanger democracy because of unattainable

promises, chaotic economic management, and disobedience to constitutionalism and democratic procedures. The definition of populism is often ambiguous and ambivalent, making it almost impossible to define a single definition of populism. Almost all political scientists expressed difficulty to interpret the term populism in the early literature of populism to be written. Therefore, populism according to Galston (2018) can be seen as challenge safety for the democratic system, a threat, depending on the point of view used the understanding of the term populism itself. However, Cristobal (2013) said that most the political scientist argue that populism is in fact a democratic pathology, because it wants to build a political system devoid of the rule of law.

The term populism is often exchanged between forms as ideology or movement. Hadiz (2017) states that populism is an ideology attached to the characteristics and phenomena that arise in electoral political practice. In this context, Hadiz asserts that the concept of populism is closely related to the two related terms, namely "the elites" and "the peoples" which appear continuously and become labels to see both as the social problems develop. In the Asnalidis view (2015), populism as an ideology is the

dominant view; it focuses on the antagonism between people and elites against the backdrop of popular sovereignty.

Canovan (Corduener, 2014) sees that populism grows as the answer to the failure of democracy representative. Democracy does have a limit in its implementation, but it may still be implemented through a representative institution. In this context, democracy is carried out with a representative model of representative democracy that may bring about the true voice of the people, with a model of participatory democracy. The great political scientist who wrote about representational democracy was Dahl. Dahl's works are widely reviewed by political scientists for example Hochschild (2015); Mayhew (2015); Stinebrickner (2015), etc. However, the phenomenon of populism that grew later, it became the answer to the failure of representative democracy. It means that populism in a stable democracy actually sharpens democracy itself and enables a wider democratic life than just two principles, democratic and liberal. Canovan said (Corduener, 2014) populism is sometimes in doubt because of the fear of the liberal side of populism, which can actually divert attention from the existence

of the sovereignty and authority of popular sovereignty.

On the other side, Purwo Santoso (2017) states that populism cannot rely on elites alone, because the elite have its own considerations when taking certain political actions. Of course, the intended rational choice is favorable for the political elite. In this context, the real transformation according to Purwo Santoso is based on the power of civil society. Thus, in order for democracy to flourish and gain its legitimacy before the people, the democratic process needs to be expanded in two interdependent areas, namely the reform process at the state level and the strengthening of the civil society territory.

According to Alagappa (Chan, 2016), civil society is a separate space for organizations that communicate and reflect discourse, as individuals or groups act collectively and disseminate civilian tools to influence the country and its policies. But they are not aiming at taking state power and activities that are not motivated to make a profit. In the context of populism that needs to be supported by the power of civil society, this study places the analytical framework exactly when political scientists see that women's groups are difficult to move as civil society

forces. Pateman (Thompson et al, 2018) mentions that the classical social contract theory of the 17th and 18th centuries contains the dimension of pressure (patriarchy). When the social contract approach offers new rights and freedoms for men, they are actually producing a new form of patriarchal subordination for women. An original contract is, therefore, a sexual contract that supports the rights of men over women and the political rights of men to govern women. Contracts in theory and practice, therefore, support the subordination of women to men. In contemporary contracts, individuals will place opposition to women, and all symbolize the body of women.

Because of these arguments, Pateman argues that categories in civil society practice cannot simply become universal for women. Therefore, there is a fundamental obstacle to full and equal participation for women in democratic politics. In addition, in a patriarchal welfare state, Pateman also explains that in a welfare state that tends to favor male workers and protect patriarchal rights, women are only seen as dependent, not cooperating into the welfare state as citizens. Women are seen primarily only as family members, a space that is considered separate from civil society and

the state. It should be emphasized that patriarchy is the main way of looking at the causes of male subordination to women. Some related studies for example; Makama & Allanana (2013) studied the strength of patriarchy in Nigerian traditional societies; Alwedini (2017) examines the norms of patriarchal marriage of Saudi women; Dutt (2018) studied patriarchy is a concept to explain instances of male violence to women in India, and so on.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Realizing the Presence of Women in the Populism Politics

Let us see the greatness of a woman named Rismaharini as a populist figure. Rismaharini is one of the most brilliant mayors and recognized by her achievements from various national and international events. Surabaya under Rismaharini received the best city award in the Asia Pacific in 2012. Surabaya also was awarded as the ASEAN Sustainable Cities in Environmentally Award 2012. Rismaharini further reinforced her achievement as a successful female populist figure by nominating 10 most inspiring women in 2013 by Forbes Magazine. Rismaharini also won two categories of awards in the Asia Pacific

Future-Gov Award 2013, the award of Data Center and Broadband Learning Center (BLC) Surabaya City Government. Rismaharini's achievements were increasingly recognized in the world when she was awarded the major of the month as the best mayor of February 2014 and the Socrates Award of the future city category of the European Business Assembly (EBA) in April 2014. Under the leadership of Rismaharini, Surabaya every year achieves the Adipura Cup (taken from various sources).

Some of these achievements are only a fraction of the achievements she has achieved since serving as Surabaya's first female mayor. Her existence as a "female mayor" needs to be specifically emphasized. It is emphasized that among the many appreciations given for her success as mayor, some may forget that Rismaharini is a woman. Her grandeur as mayor did not stop there. Rismaharini is also active in preventing and combating corruption among the bureaucracy. Rismaharini's dedication to eradicating corruption was awarded by Transparency International Indonesia (TII) which placed Surabaya the second in the corruption perception index in 2015. Rismaharini succeeded in leading a metropolitan city with a myriad of achievements.

Appreciation of achievement of a great woman she finally got when she got the Ideal Mother Award 2016 at the University of Cairo that is from Islamic Education Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Another female figure who may be attached to the idea of populism is Khofifah. Unlike Rismaharini who started her career as a bureaucrat, Khofifah started her career as an activist of an Islamic organization since becoming a student. Even to this day Khofifah still serves as chairman of *Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama (Muslimat NU)*. After stepping her career in politics, Khofifah became chairman of the PPP fraction of the House of Representatives in 1992-1997, chairman of the PKB faction in 2004-2006 and chairman of Commission VII DPR 2004-2006. In 1999-2001, she served as Minister of State for Women Empowerment. Khofifah became a Minister of Social Affairs in 2014. In 2018, together with her partner, Khofifah won the battle in the East Java gubernatorial election with a vote 53.55%, after losing on two previous periods.

Various national and international awards were also achieved by Khofifah. In international forums, Khofifah was once

the head of the delegation of RI in "Women 2000, Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Convention of The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women", at United Nations Headquarters, New York, 28 February 2000. Khofifah was also a member of the international forum of the Commission on the Advancement of Women, Commission on the Status of Women, at United Nations Headquarters, New York, 1-2 March 2006. In 2008 and 2013, Khofifah was awarded by the Minister of Cooperation and SMEs, for her commitment around the archipelago to invite women members of Muslimat NU to build cooperatives. The next award was obtained by Khofifah in 2011, which was chosen to be a community mobilizer by the Islamic Fair of Indonesia. Furthermore, Khofifah also received an award as an inspirational female social figure in the "Empowering Urban Society: Alleviate Social Disparity with The Social Care Youth Movement" from Airlangga University in November 2017. One of the leading medias of the United States, Bloomberg called the Minister of Social Khofifah as one influential figure in Jokowi's government. Khofifah is also referred to as a symbol of women's success in the national political scene.

Bloomberg delivered the compliment through an article entitled "World's Biggest Muslim Country Puts More Women into Senior Roles". Khofifah is said to have an important role in efforts to alleviate poverty and improve social welfare in Indonesia. Even the media also stated that Khofifah's success is an example of the success of a world's largest Muslim country in solving stereotypes of gender and religion.

Although her name has not been as famous as Rismaharini or Khofifah in buzzing populism in this country, the name of Airin Rachmi Diany who served as Mayor of Tangerang should be taken into account. Airin was awarded Kartini Indonesia by International Human Resource Development Program. She was also rewarded as a Plural Generation, Social and Humanity Activist by the National Assembly Forum; and was awarded Anubhawa Sasana Kelurahan given by the Minister of Law and Human Rights. The echoes of populism began to appear when Airin was able to get out of the political dynastic state that had led her to participate in the election of the Mayor of South Tangerang (*Pilwakot* 2015). Regarding the power of the big family political dynasty, Ratu Atut (Airin is

Ratu Atut's sister in law), can be read fully in the study of Sutisna (2017).

Together with her partner, Airin won the South Tangerang *Pilwakot* 2015 with a vote of 59.62%. The result of Laksmita (2017) study shows that although her winning cannot be separated from the support of political and economic capital, her social capital becomes the maximum strength. The social capital possessed by Airin includes 1) her existence as a figure admired by society for her intelligence and assertiveness; 2) a strong social network of involvement in several social organizations and social communities such as taklim assembly study groups, reading communities, and community reading gardens; and 3) her ideas that she constructed received a positive response from the community reflected in the slogan of South Tangerang's progress, "smart, modern and religious" and became the motto of the people of South Tangerang. In this case, there is a sense of trust given to Airin. Of course, trust is the most important element of the ranks of social capital owned by the political elite to gain support from the public.

In Purwo Santoso's analysis (2017), populism brings closer gaps between the expectations of the people in reforms that want a prosperous democracy and

political reality that is still focused on democratic institutions that are more elitist and less concerned with democracy that should also produce welfare for the small people. Such conditions are in fact consistent with the emphasis on the definition of populism, that is, as an idea that draws two great poles, people and elites (Galston, 2014). In this context, when political scientists emphasize the two opposite sides, they depict "people" and "elite" as the homogenous group. Populism understands the elite as hopelessly corrupt and the people as uniformly virtuous. Therefore, populist leaders claim that they alone represent the people and also the only legitimate force in society. In this context, Rismahrini, Khofifah, and Airin figures are political actors of women who are able to get closer between the elite and people, because they are transformed into political figures of women who know most the needs of society.

It is inevitable that at the same time, the idea of populism promoted by Rismaharini and other female political figures, actually also forms an image that is inherent in itself. During this time the figure attached to them is identical with a simple figure who doesn't like the formality, high social spirits, and so forth.

In such a context, even if the politics of populism are considered imaging practices, in the political process it is certainly "legitimate", given the political process as a form of struggle to win the heart and defend the rights of the people. On the positive side, if populism is regarded as a fresh strategy for attracting popular sympathy, at least it thins the growing opportunities for money politics to gain support.

Nevertheless, Canovan (Corduener, 2014) sees that populism is present to answer the failure of representative democracy. Citing a great political scientist Dahl that democracy has a limit in its implementation, but still has the possibility to be implemented through a participatory representation institution. But with the growing phenomenon of populism, Canovan sees it as a form of the failed democracy. The failure of representative democracy then gave birth to the emergence of populist claims echoed by political elites.

Along with the pessimistic democracy of representation and the growing populism, female political figures give the contribution. Furthermore, if more women are present in the political sphere and have the authority or are involved in the decision-making process, then political

life is likely to have a changed orientation. The possibility of excesses arising is women's politics (Lovenduski in Goddard, 2016). It means, if politics can be colored more by the contribution of women, so there is an expansion of political life that focuses on issues and problems of soft politics, social welfare, equitable access to education, labor, improved reproductive health, residential or residential feasibility, environmental protection, and so on. Although not all can be an example of such arguments, but the greatness of women in the current Cabinet RI stage can be examples, such as Siti Nurbaya (Minister of Forestry and Environment), Rini Soemarno (Minister of State-Owned Enterprises), Nila Moeloek (Minister of Health), Yohana Yembise (Minister of Women Empowerment and Child Protection), Sri Mulyani (Minister of Finance), Retno Marsudi (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Susi Pudjiastuti (Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries), and Puan Maharani (Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture).

It can be asserted that women have the flexibility to carry out their duties in political life as if they were carrying out their duties in domestic life. A mother will be responsible for taking care of the needs of family members and the conditions of

her residence. Thus, the softer political orientation is very close to the contribution and dedication of women in the household. In this context, one can understand the success of a Rismaharani, Khofifah, and Arini in carrying out their duties and responsibilities as a political figure from the point of their existence as mother figures for society, as well as when they care for their families wholeheartedly.

This paper comes to emphasize that there is a tendency of populist politics to stick with women's capacity to develop softer and closer to the welfare of citizens. In other words, women have more ability to develop a populist political scheme to gain political legitimacy, based on their closeness to the most populist issues most needed by citizens as they relate to many of the primary needs of the small people. This is due to the fact that women political figures are actually mothers for all members of society, living to serve the community and most understand the needs of the community.

Expanding the Populism Politics: The Involvement of Women in Civil Society

According to Inglehart and Norris (Djani, 2017), the driving force behind the birth of populism is the widening the

economic divided in society. In such a context, populism seems to show a belief that the government elite cannot bring prosperity to the people and the emerging political elite will be able to give new hope to the people. Based on the study of Mas'udi & Lay, Purwo Santoso (2017) emphasized the existence of populism linkage with the welfare regime in a number of areas involving many political actors. Efforts to achieve the welfare of citizens in some areas, political elites use welfare schemes as a form of their creations. That means it is necessary to push as a forward political agenda in the form of a more contextual populist scheme to examine issues of concern and the wishes of the wider community.

However, when looking at populism as an idea that draws people and elites closer (Galston, 2012), then the welfare scheme is difficult if it depends on the elite figure alone. It is as stated by Santoso (2017) that populism cannot rely on elites alone, because the elites have their own considerations when taking certain political activities. In other words, when rational choice continues to underlie the political choice of political leaders, populist politics and welfare schemes cannot be "imposed" on elite figures alone. Santoso insisted that the

important agenda to promote the real transformation is to rely on the power of civil society to strengthen the welfare that synergizes populist politics.

Since the fall of the New Order, it can be argued that a political agenda that is progeny in managing economic distribution relies on many sectors, almost neglected. In such a context, when a difficult country is expected to be present to solve socio-economic problems, the role of civil society-based groups is particularly important. In such times, when the negotiation process is overwhelming, the goals and role of civil society have become one of the main characteristics of national politics. These groups have the potential to support the redistribution of the economy in society so that the lower society can better enjoy the economic outcomes fairly and equitably. The growth of groups together has shown the important role of civil society in the stage of democratic development. Aspinall (2013) shows that after the fall of the New Order, civil society took political opportunities in the area of electoral policy-making and politics. Aspinall also shows that the Neo Tocquevillean tradition is more prominent in the political arena of Indonesia in relation to civil society.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to define civil society in Indonesia. Even in the view of Tomagola (2017), he is pessimistic with civil society in Indonesia; he mentioned that the Indonesian society we imagine is not a civil society because civil society characterizes open society not primordial and closed society. In the midst of a debate on the independence and openness of civil society in Indonesia, this paper has a point of view to try to place women's groups as representatives of civil society. In the context of populism, Tomagola (2017) states that the women's group is one of the main capitals of populism, in addition to urban workers and indigenous peoples as a representation of marginal groups. In addition to the large quantity, women's groups have been moving at various levels, from central to local levels, bringing women's issues forward in various fields. They are supported by a communication struggle and reflective discourse for the advancement of women's groups.

The efforts of women's groups to achieve progress for their group characterize the existence of welfare schemes that manifest in efforts to improve access, for example, health access. Health issues inherent in populist

resonance generally coexist with ease of access to education and other social welfare issues. In fact, we do not deny that in the development of health and education, women have a remarkable contribution. In religious social organizations, for example, there are the countless number of educational institutions from PAUD, Kindergarten, Elementary to Secondary and Higher Education levels that are born from the flexibility of women managing private educational institutions. They are great women members of Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, as well as Catholic schools run by nuns.

Through each of stewardship at the district level, Muslimat NU manages Raudlatul Athfal or kindergarten as well as early childhood education. Muslimat NU also manages orphanages handling for orphans or elder throughout Indonesia. In the field of health, Muslimat NU also manages clinics or hospitals. They also develop cooperatives under the name An-Nisa Cooperative. Similarly, it is the same with Aisyiah Muhammadiyah. Aisyiah manages Academicians of Health, Senior High School/MA/Vocational School, Junior School, Elementary School/MI, kindergarten and early childhood. Aisyiah also manages the Extraordinary Schools

and non-formal education. In the welfare section, Aisyiah also manages cooperatives and orphanages throughout Indonesia. Such dedication shows that women are capable of filling non-political and economic spaces that are not filled by the state and away from power.

We cannot deny the contribution of the Catholic foundation that manages education and hospital facilities. Kanisius, for example, is an educational institution that runs schools ranging from kindergarten to high school/vocational school. These schools are spread in the archdiocese of Semarang. Kanisius manages Kindergarten, elementary and junior high schools. In the health field, we all see contributions from Catholic hospitals such as Elisabeth, Bethesda, RKZ, Vincentius Paulo, Panti Rapih and so on. In the context of their consistency and contribution in educating the life of the nation and serving the health of the citizens, we cannot deny that women have an important contribution as men in carrying out the mandate to always be dedicated to the life of the nation and state.

Nevertheless, it is important to look at Pateman's analysis (Thompson et al, 2018: 94-95) which explains that the welfare state tends to favor male workers

and protect patriarchal rights. In line with Thompson, Semali et al (2014) emphasized that workforce-based privileges and rewards for men seem to be reinforced by patriarchal socio-cultural systems of inequality and domination. In such a context, women are seen only as dependent and do not cooperate into the welfare state as citizens. Women are seen primarily only as family members, a space that is considered separate from civil society and the state. The strength of the patriarchal law is regarded as the cause of the "difficulty" of putting women's groups into the power of civil society. Pateman further states that in the development of contemporary social contracts, such as marriage, employment, representation, and even prostitution, tend to support male freedom and subordination to women. Because of this argument, Pateman argues that categories in civil society practice cannot simply become universal for women. Thus, there is a fundamental obstacle to full and equal participation for women in democratic politics.

The next question is whether we will be as skeptical as Pateman about women as a power of civil society groups. Are women too deeply immersed in the

patriarchy-bound social contract law that is unable to echo the politics of populism?

However, the author has a fairly optimistic view and sees that the Pateman's analysis in this research is out of tune. This optimistic view is also relevant to several studies that discuss the possibility of developing women's groups becoming the strength of civil society: Chaney's research on ground theory (2016) studied the motivation of women's civil society organizations to transform into actions formed by three factors, political, socioeconomic and organizational; Sener (2014) and Doyle (2017) studied women's organizations supporting the government to achieve gender equality and democracy in Turkey; In Zimbabwe, Mudege & Kwangwari (2013) discussed women's participation in informal empowerment of women at the collective community level; and in Japan, Hasunuma (2018) studied women have strong participation in civic life, in spite of women's political participation is segregated into spaces outside of formal institutions of power.

Then the authors want to underline the reasons for the author's views above; first, a review in the upper chapter on women's action spawned the issue of relatively populism simply replying that in

patriarchal law there is still room for women to break down. The echo of populism promoted by women political figures has been sufficiently able to realize that women are present and contribute tremendously to achieve public confidence. Rismaharini, Khofifah, and Airin represent political elites who have been able to open patriarchal walls that have long made barriers in social contracts as Pateman's review. Optimism is based on the belief that there is still room for women who want to seriously want to contribute as a political figure to achieve public confidence through the path of populist politics. It is precisely when women are present in the practice of populism and are able to demonstrate their power, the welfare issues that become the main slogan of populism seem to be close to the ability of women to cultivate it. Women are familiar and close to the pattern of life that struggles to manage the welfare of their families. In other words, women are family managers who are able to manage what their family needs most and therefore always strive to provide whatever the circumstances are.

Secondly, many women groups take over the task of the state to meet the needs of society in welfare schemes when the practice of populism by the political

elite is not sufficient to fill the welfare space because it has not been fully filled by the state due to the political-economic nuance. The examples given above concerning the presence of women groups in religious and social organizations that dedicate their existence in the midst of the hollow by the state and the political elite are sufficient evidence to support the argument. Their dedication to Muslimat NU, Aisyiah, Catholic or Christian foundations, and so on with various forms of contribution, shows the fact that the dedication is pouring out when the political and state elites are absent to meet the spaces of the welfare of the people. Without the presence of these groups, which we cannot deny the dominance of women in it, clearly, the state and the political elite cannot maximally meet the needs of the public against educational institutions, hospitals, orphanages, cooperatives, and so forth.

When referring to Canovan's view (Corduener, 2014), the politics of populism arise because of the limitations of representative democracy, namely the institution of representation which is unable to present the real people's voice, so that democracy can develop the legitimacy of the people, democracy must be expanded in the process of reform at

the state level and strengthening in civil society area. The two views of political scientist Dahl on the limits and possibilities of democracy in representative democracy; and Canovan (Corduener, 2014) on populism due to the failure of representational democracy, may both complete one another, that democracy talk will not be completed in the level of availability of state institutions to present the voice of the people, but how exactly the people are involved and heard in the decision-making process. In such a context, the existence of civil society opens the opportunity for democracy which the political scientists aspire to develop more substantially. In other words, democratization is expanded in two interdependent regions, namely reform towards democracy at the state level and the development of civil society. In this, the consistency of women groups to dedicate their lives to developing educational, health, social welfare, environmental, and other facilities without relying on state support is a picture of potential civil society groups. From such spaces, real substantial democracy can be achieved.

CONCLUSION

In the process of democratization, it

cannot be denied that the rampant practice of populist politics as if it finds the right space and time. When the ruling government is unable to bring the welfare desired by its citizens, then the people tend to turn to new political figures that are expected to give new winds. Populism may indeed be present in different faces, whether as an opportunity or a threat, but the findings of this study confirm that populism is a hope for many audiences.

In fact, populism comes when old political figures do not live up to expectations. Populism is ultimately close to the enactment of contestation between the wishes of the people and the fact whether the desire is fulfilled or not. Those present to try to fulfill that desire are new political figures, both male and female. The presence of women in the area of contestation may not be recognized by many people. Therefore, an understanding of it requires special emphasis, amid patriarchal assumptions that are still the walls of their space boundaries.

Now the patriarchal assumption is no longer sufficient to understand the rapidly evolving world of politics. The presence of women political figures presented in this study, for examples Rismaharini, Khofifah and Airin cannot be denied that they have

shown the dedication of their life for the people and their nation without the barriers of patriarchy that limit them. The series of accomplishments they show has filled the hopes of the people, bringing the elite closer to the people and able to erase the patriarchal shackles within them.

In the context of women's participation in the practice of populism, it appears that women's political figures are "easier" to get the hearts of the people. This is due to issues that are often echoed in populism, closer to issues or problems that have been handled by many women, both in the domestic realm and especially in the public sphere. Education, health, social services, environmental management is the areas that many women work on. The development of women's participation in the populism is that women belong to a certain "power", a socio-religious based community that is not merely taking care of religious matters but has greatly contributed to the socio-economic spaces that cannot be filled by the state.

At the end, when patriarchy is still regarded as an obstacle for women to take part, the actual development is not always the case. Women are now able to appear as political figures coveted by audiences, may also be considered equal to men in

terms of giving their dedication and life to the welfare of the people. Even when women join a particular group or community, they can be transformed into self-reliant people who devote their role to provide services in education both formal and non-formal, health services for pregnant women and child health, social welfare through the management of orphanages and donations for the poor, protect the environment with greening and waste management, and even share skills to improve small and medium entrepreneurs.

All of these things strongly indicate that women are important to be seen equally with men in the ability to cultivate a populist issue that hits the heart of society. When populism is not enough to develop at an elite level with no strength at the lower level, women at the broader community level have also been widely present and have long dedicated their lives to serve, share and support the welfare of audiences from various fields wherever women are.

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