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The Paradoxical Impact of Globalisation on Women's Political Representation: A Review of Situations In Southeast Asia

ABSTRACT

The representation of women in a political system is a good test of its claims to democracy. Although there are some progress, the level of women political representation in Southeast Asian countries is still low. Women activists propose the adoption of gender quotas as a fast track to address this issue, but the implementation find many obstacles. This article base of my research which want to examine the impact of globalisation for women's political representation in Southeast Asian countries. The discussion begin with the overview of women's political representation issue and some theoretical frameworks for adressing that issue. It identified that globalisation has positive and negative impacts on women's representation. On the one hand, it encourages the emergence of a global gender equality regime which influences pattern of women's political representation among Southeast Asian countries. Yet, on the otherhand, it promotes neo-liberalism ideology which is "inherently oppose to pol,icy interventionism"and it also promotes liberal democratic practices, which oppose affirmative policy for women, included gender quota in parliament. We concludes that the paradoxical impact of globalisation causes progress for increasing women's representation in Southeast Asian countries move slowly. The efforts for increasing women's representation in some Southeast Asian countries have not been supported by governments' "intervention" policies such as gender quota and social welfare policies. Southeast Asian countries are also trapped in a liberal democracy practice which promotes 'one person one vote' (equality of opportunity). Thus, the opposition to affirmative action (equality of result) is so high. Although some Southeast Asian countries have women quota articles, the implementation has been undermined so far.

INTRODUCTION

Although women have gained formal political rights in nearly all of Southeast Asian countries, in most cases this has not led to significant levels of women's representation. In early 2015, women's representations in national parliaments are 38.5 per cent in Timor Leste, 24.3 per cent in Vietnam, 25 per cent in Laos, 25.3 per cent in Singapore, 27.3 per cent in Philippines; 20.3 per cent in Cambodia, 17,3 per cent in Indonesia, 6,1 per cent in Thailand, 10.4 per cent in Malaysia and 5,6 per cent in Myanmar. Moreover, the exercise of women's political rights is constrained in many places by the lack of democratic institutions or processes such as in Brunei. (Women in National Parliament, 2015). In many cases, women's representation remains below 30 percent (except in Timor Leste), the level deemed as the 'critical mass' necessary to ensure real representation. While there is some progress such as in Timor Leste, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam and Indonesia, if we compare with other region, women's representation in Southeast Asian Countries is generally still far below African, Latin American or Nordic countries. How does the progress of women representation in Southeast Asian countries ? Does globalisation has a specific impact on

women's representation? This article want to examine the impact of globalisation for women's political representation in Southeast Asian countries.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

What is globalisation? The international system is currently experiencing a period of change, labeled by some as globalisation.Globalisation is a process that encompasses the causes, course andconsequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities (Greider, 1997). In its broadest sense, globalization refers to the economic, social, cultural, and political processes of integration that result from the expansion of transnational economic production, migration, communications, and technologies (Philosopy, 2014).

Transborder interchange can involve people, ideas, information, fashions, and tastes. Cross-national communication occurs through travel and tourism, telecommunications, and the internet. There are at least two aspects of globalisation: economic and socialcultural.Globalisation can be seen as an economic process as in the diffusion of neo-liberal values and market principles (Greider,1997).Globalisation can also be seen as a socio-cultural process which increases social and cultural interrelation. Many forms of transnational interchange include both economic and socio-cultural dimensions. Economic aspects of globalisation can bring new opportunities and resources to women. But equally important, globalisation promotes the diffusion of ideas and norms as well (Gray, Kittilson, & Sandholtz, 2006)

According English School and New Institutionalism in International Relations theories, the growing political interconnectedness can be seen as facilitator for the spread of policies because it increases the opportunities of policy diffusion. In the era of globalisation, state interests are becoming significantly shaped by global norms and institutions, which influence actors at the national level. Through their participation in international organisation, states are assumed to be socialised in norms that prescribe a certain form of appropriate behaviour (Finnemore, 1h993). They become embedded in a regime of global norms that shapes their domestic conduct thus limiting their sovereignty (Checkel, 1999; Florini, 1996). Those norms are embodied in treaties, declarations and recommendations of international organisations (True and Mintrom, 2003). Hence, global non-state actors operate on a global scale as agents capable of having influence on states. The linkage of the national and international makes it impossible for governments to act on their own and governments have less possibilities to influence and control information within their own borders. Domestic policy making hence takes place in a world system as well as in national political systems (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). Thereby, international norms and networks are expected to matter and influence policy-making.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research focus on norm. Since focussing on norm, so the most appropriate methodology is constructivist.. Consructivist is one of International Relations paradigm which focus on ideas and norm. According Constructivist, ideas and norms is very powerfull to shape the state behavior. Globalisation promote norms about gender equality around the world. Global women's networks,

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together with multilateral and bilateral development organizations, have been instrumental in shaping these global norms on gender equality by engaging in a learning process – framing issues, influencing negotiations by the information they provide and monitoring progress.This research needs dataon ideas, norms, institutions who promote gender equality norma, the dataonstate policyas well as dataon womenrepresentation insoutheastasian countries parliaments. It consist of primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected by interview some schollars, some political party leaders, some women who stand for election and some official from women empowerment ministry. The secondary data was collected from Government Documents, Official Statistics, Journals, Review Articles, and Reference Books. We got these data from Research Institutions, Universities Libraries, and The World Wide Web. Major sources of women in political representation are www.ipu.org; www.unwomen.org; www.idea.int. In analyzing this data we identifies a strong relationship between globalisation, gender equality normspromotion, government policy and women representation in Southeast Asian parliament.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

This research found that globalisation has paradoxical impact on women's representation in Southeast Asian countries. At one side it has positif impact by encouraging the emergence of Global Gender Equality Regimes which introduce Women's Quota in Parliament, Gender Mainstreaming, Gender Budgeting,and Integrating Gender into Development Policy. At the other side, it has negative impactby encouraging theneoliberal economic policy which suggests that govern-

ments to cut social welfare expenditure, and politicallyglobalisation tends to encouragethe use of individuals as a political unit thatforce womento use her individualstrength when she fightinthe politicalarenaandinhibitthe recognition ofwomenasacollectivegroup.

THE POSITIVE IMPACT OFGLOBALISATION: THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBAL GENDER EQUALITY REGIME

Gender equality has become a central subject to international norm and part of the requirements for legitimate statehood. The 1990s have particularly witnessed the advent of a wide range of international resolutions, declarations and treaties that incorporate norms regulating state behavior with respect to women's rights issues, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (ICCPR) and Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security.

Kardam (2005), speaks in this context about the existence of a *global gender equality regime*, namely a series of policies, norms, laws and mechanisms to ensure gender equality and women's rights on a global scale.International regime can be a powerful tool for promoting gender equality everywhere in the world. A regime is composed of sets of principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors expectations are converging (Diehl, 2000: 25).

The basic principles that underpin the gender equality regime are the prohibition of all forms of discrimination against women, and the active promotion of equality between genders towards an explicit recognition of unequal power relations

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between women and men. Someinternational lawsbecomes global norms on gender equality, starting with the 1975 World Plan of Action, the 1999 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and the Beijing Plus Five Final Outcome Document. Since norm have regulative effect, so global norms on gender equality influence state and non state behavior, through domestic law.

The relationship between global norm, included international law, and domestic law are often explained by two approaches "dualism" and "monism." Under the monist approach, international and domestic laws are viewed as one single entity. States which practices pure monism treat international law as part of domestic law. As such, treaties concluded in accordance with the constitution and has entered into force for the state may directly become part of domestic law without needing further legislation.

Under the dualist approach, international and domestic laws are viewed as two separate entities. International law cannot be directly applied in the domestic system without being translated into national law. The "Dualist" approach to international law requires that the country pass domestic legislation implementing international treaty obligations in order for those treaty obligations to have legal force. As a general rule, most common law based countries – those countries based on the English legal system – use a dualist approach. Most civil law countries – those based on the legal systems of the European continent – use a monist-based approach to international law. Hence, most states adopt variations of the dualist and monist approach.

CEDAW is a landmark international agree-

ment that affirms principles of fundamental human rights and equality for women around the world. In 2014, 187 out of 194 have ratified or acceded to CEDAW. Seven countries that have not acceded to the Convention are United States, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and two small Pacific island nations (Palau, and Tonga). By the year 2014, all ten ASEAN countries and Timor Leste have acceded to CEDAW.Cambodia, Lao, Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines in Southeastern Asia ratified CEDAW in 1980, just after its 1979 UN adoption. Thailand acceded to CEDAW in 1985. Singapore and Malaysia did not ratify CEDAW until 1995 and Myanmar (called Burma by many) in 1997. Timor - Leste acceded to the Convention just after it achieved independence in 2003 and Brunei ratified only in 2006.

All ten ASEAN countries have also endorsed the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA). Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security finds unequivocal acceptance in the region. Further, all these countries have endorsed the Millennium Declaration, the Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Principles of the New Aid Modalities, which it addressed strategically and to their full potential, hold out a fresh promise for greater progress on gender equality and women's empowerment.

ASEAN consensus around, commitment to and ownership over all these major international agreements has made gender equality, women's empowerment, gender mainstreaming a legitimate part of the ASEAN development vocabulary and a non-negotiable part of the ASEAN development agenda. Several Southeast Asian governments have issued policy directives at the highest levels to ensure that gender equality perspectives are

mainstreamed into national economic and social planning. A range of sectoral policies, plans, legislation and programmes have also been introduced in the region.

The ratification of conventions means a formal commitment to apply the provisions and an indication of willingness to accept a measure of international supervision. The Committee on CEDAW monitors reports from states, and a set of UN agencies such as UNDAW, UNIFEM and CSW [these 3 bodies have now been reformed to form the UN Women] that oversee the implementation of the global gender equity norms. States are then responsible for taking all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in public and private life, and for taking all appropriate measures including legislation, to nullify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women(Kardam, 2000)

Two articles of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) deal with women's participation in political and public life. Article 7 commits States parties to ensure equality between women and men in political and public life, including the right to vote, to be eligible for election, to participate in formulating government policy, to hold public office and to perform public functions.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women provided additional guidance in the implementation of the Convention in 1997 in its General Recommendation 23, which highlighted the application of the Convention to all levels of government and to the activities of a range of organizations concerned with public and political life, including public boards, local councils,

and the activities of political parties, trade unions and professional associations. General Recommendation 23 also stated that: "It is the Government's fundamental responsibility to encourage these initiatives to lead and guide public opinion and change attitudes that discriminate against women or discourage women's involvement in political and publiclife (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw)

In its Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, the Security Council called on Member States to increase the representation of women in all institutions and mechanisms dealing with the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, including as special representatives and envoys of the Secretary-General and within the field operations as military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel.

In 2000, 189 UN member states adopted the Millennium Declaration, which distils the key goals and targets agreed at the International conferences and world summits during the 1990s. Drawing on the Declaration, the UN system drew up eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to provide a set of benchmarks to measure progress towards the eradication of global poverty. MDG 3, to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, includes one target on education and additional indicators on women's employment and political representation. In 2005,The World Summit Outcome reaffirmed the commitments to increase representation of women in government decision-making bodies, including opportunities to participate fully in the political process.[1]

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TABLE 1: THE INCREMENTAL TRACK MODEL AND THE FAST TRACK MODEL (DAHLERUP AND FREIDENVALL, 2005: 29)

	The incremental track	**The fast track model**
Diagnosis	Women lack resources	Discrimination and mechanisms of exclusion
Goal	More women in politics	Gender balanced elected bodies
Strategy	Capacity building activities	Active measures, such as gender quota
View on historical development	Gender equality will be reached in due time	Gender equality will not be reached by itself

THE INCREASING OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT DECISION-MAKING BODIES

In 2014 globally, women make up 21,4 per cent of parliamentarians, still far from the 30 per cent that was envisaged in the Beijing Platform for Action as required to achieve a 'critical mass' of women's representation. In the two decades between 1975 and 1995, women's representation rose by less than one per cent, and between 1995-2010 women's representation rose by seven percent (Women in National Parliament, 2011). Given the slow speed at which the number of women political representation is growing, different policy measures are being introduced to reach gender balance in political institutions, that is women empowerment model and quotas model.

These models (tracks) namely, the incremental track (women empowerment model) and the fast track (quotas model), become a strategy to overcome problems of women's political under representation, The two tracks are based on different problem identifications with regard to the diagnosis of women's under-representation, different goals in terms of women's political representation, and as a consequence, different political strategies for change. The two models are also based on different perceptions of historical development. They can also be seen as two different types of

equality policy, where one promotes formal equality based on the principle of gender equality as equal opportunity and the other promotes substantive equality based on the principle of gender equality as equality of results, as shown in the 1.

Evidence has shown that the fast tract (quota model) has better effect than the incremental tract (women's empowermrent model) on adressing women under-representation in politics. The adoption and implentation of fast tract (quota model) in some Southeast Asian countries such as Timor Leste, Philippines and Indonesia have positif impact on adressing women under representation in politics.

QUOTA IMPLEMENTATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

'Quota' for women is a form of affirmative action to help them overcome the obstacles that prevent them from entering politics in the same way as their male colleagues. The funciont of quota system is for ensuring that women are represented in parliament. The core idea behind quota systems is to recruit women into political positions and to ensure that women constitute at least a "critical minority" of 30 or 40 percent.

The dataset used here includes 103 countries between 1970 and 2006, which contains 22 countries with legal gender quotas, 47 countries with

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voluntary party quotas and 43 countries without any type of gender quotas. Most developed countries introduced gender quotas in the 1980s, while most developing countries adopted gender quotas in the 1990s. There are three kind of quotas, namely reserved seat quota, constitutional or legislative quota, political party quota.(Chen, 2010)

First, *quotas through* 'reserved seats for women'. 'Reserved seats'are national policies that set aside a certain number of seats in parliament for women. Such seats may be distributed in a number of different ways, although they are most often allocated by designating certain districts as 'women's districts' for the period of one election cycle, or by granting political parties the right to appoint a certain number of women in accordance with the percentage of votes the party received in the most recent elections. Certain seats are set aside, as in Uganda and Rwanda for instance, where certain regional seats are reserved for women. In the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, one parliamentary seat from each of the 39 districts is reserved for women (13 percent).

Second, quotas through constitution or national legislation. Countries where quotas for women have been written into the constitution or introduced through national legislation such as Constitution, Electoral Law or Political Party Law. Examples: Argentina and Indonesia. Third, *Quotas through Political Parties: The Nordic Case.* No constitutional clause or law demands a high representation of women in Scandinavia. For the most part, the increase can be attributed to sustained pressure on the part of women's groups within parties as well as the women's movement in general. Women mobilized and organized pressure to ensure that political parties increased their number of women

candidates, that is to say, women candidates with a fair chance of winning. This pressure was applied to all political parties in Scandinavia. Some parties responded by applying a quota system (Dahlerup, 1998)

Quota is a kind of affirmative action. According to Newmann (2006) affirmative action is "... any race- or sex-conscious employment practices devised with the intention of redressing past racial or gender imbalances and injustices" (Newman, 1995). The underlying assumption here is that societal injustice can only be corrected by societal compensation. These definitions capture the most common concepts of affirmative action (Cahn, 1995). They share important attributes, namely: (1) society has committed discrimination in the past against a particular group of population; (2) government has adopted an objective of eradicating discrimination; and (3) society needs to take appropriate steps to end discriminatory practices and correct the imbalances that resulted from past discrimination (Millar, 2003). It is clear that we need to acknowledge that gender discrimination already happened.

The positive impact of globalization specifically the spread of gender equality norm and the increasing of women representation in government decision-making bodies coud be seen in the ilustration of Philippine and Singapore below.

1) PHILIPPINE

Philippine, shows a significant progress on gender equality. After the 2013 elections, women got 27,3 percent in national parliament, and 22 percent in Barangay official (village level). This 22 percent female barangay officials consist of 14 female Barangay Captains and 159 female Barangay Councilors (Valente & Moreno, 2014). These achievements are caused by some variables.

TABLE 2QUOTA IMPLEMENTATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

State	% Women in Parliament	Election Year	Policy
Timor Leste	38,5	2012	Legislated Candidate Quotas
Philippines	27,3	2013	Voluntary Political Party Quotas
Singapore	25,3	2011	No Quota
Lao	25,0	2013	Reserved seats (indirect)
Vietnam	24,3	2013	Reserved seats (indirect)
Cambodia	20,3	2013	No Quota
Indonesia	17,3	2014	Legislated Candidate Quotas
Malaysia	10,4	2013	No Quota
Thailand	6,1	2014	No Quota
Myanmar	5,4	2010	No Quota

Firstly, compared with other Southeast Asian Countries, Philippine has a stronger, active and dynamic women's movement. Concepcion Felix de Calderon formed the Asociacion Feminista Filipina in June 1905. This movement fight for voting right. Women's right to vote was granted in 1937.The Philippines is a main player in the international women's arena and this is anchored on a very vibrant local women's movement.In 1984, GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action), a national alliance of women's organisations, was born amidst the people's unrest during the final years of the Marcos dictatorship. GABRIELA led thousands of women against the Marcos dictatorship. It led women in asserting women's rights as human rights and in the fight against prostitution, mail-order brides, sex trafficking/sex tourism and violence against women. GABRIELA actively campaigned against the presence of US military bases in the country and in the ouster of former Presidents Ferdinand Marcos and Joseph Estrada. (Libres, 2015)

Secondly, these women's movement could put gender equality and other related women issuesat the forefront of national discourse and precludes further downslide of women status in the modern Philippine society. During Liza's term as Secretary General, GABRIELA launched several successful campaigns to raise public awareness on women's issues. Among them were: the Purple Rose Campaign in support of the global campaign to expose and fight sex trafficking of Filipino women and children; and the campaign against the exploitation of women workers particularly those hired in department stores through contractualisation. There was also the campaign for justice for rape victims by powerful government officials such as former Congressman Romeo Jalosjos and former Calauag Mayor Antonio Sanchez, who, if not for GABRIELA's campaign, would have escaped conviction and imprisonment. GABRIELA at that

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time also ran a strong campaign against the U.S. military bases, anti-terrorism bill, national ID system, charter change and imperialist globalisation. (Libres, 2015)

Thirdly, Philippines has a well-developed legal framework for gender equality. The Philippines is known for its very liberal and progressive Constitution that was formulated during the euphoria of People Power Revolution in 1986. Gender equality is a key element of this Charter and as enshrined in Article II Section 14 of the 1987 Constitution, "the State recognizes the role of women in nation-building and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men." Considering the unequal gender relations in the country, the Constitution further provided for women representation (as one of the 9 marginalized sectors) in the legislature through the party-list system (which should cover 20% of the lower house). Finally, Article 13 Section 14 specifically mentioned that the "State shall protect working women by providing safe and healthful working conditions, taking into account their maternal functions, and such facilities and opportunities that will enhance their welfare and enable them to realize their full potential in the service of the nation" (Hega, 2003)

Fourthly, Philippine not only has a strong role of women in civil society but also using this the women's movement as a 'political capital".Two women who now occupy Cabinet positions in the government held consecutively the presidency of the Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODENGO) – the biggest NGO network in the country. Another woman Cabinet member was the former Secretary General of the peace advocates network.

2) **SINGAPORE**

Nowadays, even without gender quotas, women's representation in Singapore improved phenomenally, from five percent in 1988 to a high of 22 percent after the 2011 general election. From no woman stood in the 1980 election, to 32 women candidates contested the 2011 elections. Currently, the Parliament has 20 elected women MPs, 23 percent of the total legislators – the highest in the country's electoral history (Tan, 2013). This spectacular progress could be explained as follow.

Globalisation, especially the internet usage has provided the means for the development of an alternative political discourse, challenging to both the authoritarian state and the patriarchal society. Attempts by the Singaporean government to regulate its use, especially in political contexts, are canvassed. Despite some regulation imposed by government and self-censorship by users, the internet has played an increasingly prominent role in recent political activity in the island state. Electronic communication has enabled women in Singapore to forge links with women's groups internationally, as well as to disseminate information among themselves virtually instantaneously and mobilize support quickly around specific issues, making the internet a powerful political tool (George and Martinez, 2004). The internet shows strong potential for contributing to the democratization of Singaporean politics and to raising the profile of issues of gender relations and gender equity. (Doran, 2014)

Since achieving independence from British colonial rule in 1965, Singapore's political scene has been dominated by one political party, the People's Action Party (PAP). At the begining, the

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PAP's early exclusion of women from elections, avoidance of gender quota indicate that it was not a women friendly Party. Eventhough changes in mass attitudes towards women politicians could also have encouraged parties to nominate women in elections. In 2002, the World Values Survey conducted in Singapore showed that about 50 percent of respondents agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that "Men make better political leaders than women do" (World Values Survey, 2005). After a decade, one might expect the social prejudice toward women politicians to have changed. Positive media exposure and performance of women Member Parliaments (MPs) on the ground could have contributed to the electability of women.

As a dominan party, the change of PAP perspective and treatment toward women candidate has significant effect toward women's electability in parliament. PAP leaders became a gatekeeper for MPs candidacy. Faced with a younger and more educated electorate, the PAP was eager to revamp its image and appeal to a wider range of voters. The PAP then announced it will "gradually" increase the percentage of women MPs to 30 percent (Koh,2009).

Eventhough, the most significant variable contribute to the increasing of women in Singaporean parliament is the change of Singaporean electoral system. Electoral systems have a strong, systematic effect on the legislative representation of ethnic minorities (especially for Malay in Singapore) and women.

In 1988 Singapore adopt an ethnic quotas. It turned more than 90 percent of the single seats into multimember constituencies. Essentially, the multimember constituencies / Group Representa-

tive Constituency (GRC) behave like a closed— list PR system where the party determines the whole slate of candidates who will be voted in en— bloc through simple plurality in each constituency. Each party contesting in a GRC has to field four to six members with at least one Indian or Malay. Three - fifths of all GRCs have to have at least a Malay candidate in each GRC, while the rest could have other minorities. Eventually, the GRC scheme allowed the parties to position women candidates to balance the multi— member ticket. As the district magnitude of the GRCs grew over time (from groups of three in 1988 to groups of four to six by 1997), more seats were available for minority and women candidates. (Tan, 2013)

We can conclude that globalisation give more opportunity for women to publish gender gap issues, change party's (PAP) perspective and treatment toward women candidacy in parliament. Beside these, the change of electoral system in Singapore into GRC give a better opportunity for women to be elected as member of parliament, and increase Singaporean women in parliament from less than 5 % into 25,3 % in 2011.

1. THE NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Globalisation hassome negative impacts on women's political representation. Economically, globalisation promote neo liberalism which propose gender blind economic rationalist (ecorats) and "inherently opposed to policy interventionism" aimed at achieving many of the goals essential to a social development that supports gender equity and human rights. Politically, globalisation also promotes liberal democratic practices that support equal opportunity values which oppose affirmative policy for women. These conclictual values can be

explained as follows.

The following sections will explain the conflictual mindset of Femocrat and Ecorat. During this time, Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) become the ideal type of countries which responsive towards women's claims, given them a voice and adopted a range of policies that increased women's options(Borchorst, Scandinavian Gender Equality: Competing Discource and Paradoxes, 2008). These countries have been labelled as woman-friendly or state feminism. The concept was launched by the Norwegian political scientist, Helga Hernes in 1987. State feminism is often associated with the feminization of the political elite through the integration of women into the political parties. (Borchorst & Siim, 2008).

State feminism needs many feminist bureaucrats (femocrat) who guide/intervene bureaucracy for producing women friendly policy. There are a possibility to influence the agenda and to further feminist goals through public policies from inside the state apparatus. Unfortunately, the Southeast Asian political contexs is not condusive as in Scandinavian countries, especially after globalisation. The globalisation promote neo-liberalism which "inherently opposed to policy interventionism" aimed at achieving many of the goals essential to a social development that supports gender equity and human rights.

To increase women's representation, women's activist campaign 'women vote for women'. This slogan base on assumption that female representative will produce policies which will change women condition. Since more than 50 percent constituents are women, women hope this slogan will effective. It assumes that 'women candidates/

parliament member representing women'. Women have specific interest that will be save under female candidate. According to the definition of Wängnerud, women's interests have to contain three elements: 1) the recognition of women as a social category; 2) the recognition of a power unbalance between men and women; 3) the wish to implement a policy that increases the autonomy of female citizens (Celis, 2005).

The slogan'women vote for women' adopt from European, especially Scandinavian countries that the increase of female representative will be followed by policies which advantage female constituents such as the increase of social welfare expenditure, child care, women's job opportunities, gender equality policy, the decrease of corruption, and so on. This 'state feminism' have been supported by state intervention (bureaucracy policies) for achieving a social development that supports gender equity and human rights. Without state feminism policy, women constituent think that they got nothing for voting female candidate. Constituent need some incentive (social welfare policy) for voting female candidates. The link of Female Candidates-State/Bureaucracy Policy-Constituents can be illustrated in this figure.
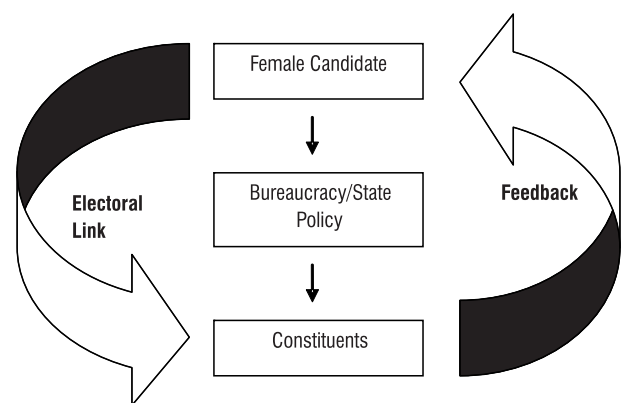

FIG. 1: FEMALE CANDIDATES-STATE/BUREAUCRACY POLICY-CONSTITUENTS LINK(MILLAR, 2003)

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Unfortunedly, in Southeast Asian countries this dream doesn't come true. In most of Southeast Asian countries constituent will find difficulties to relate between female representative and state policies. Most of constituents think that there are no specific advantage to vote for women.

It is true that since 1990's the United Nation has called all countries to adopt gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting (gender-responsive budgeting policy), but it found many difficulties at the level of implementation since the compliance rate among national government agencies is very low. According to Millar, the causes of the low compliance are the following: (1) the policy ambiguity (the focus is not so clear); (2) the absence of sanctions; and (3) the minimal involvement of civil society in the budgeting process(Millar, 2003).

Budgeting has been traditionally government's domain and civil society has minimal involvement in budgeting process. Therefore, civil society's organizations have an important role to play as "watchdogs" for monitoring against policy and implementation. Civil society groups can participate by collaborating with government with respect to program priorities and monitoring. More proactively, civil society groups can hold government to its promises and commitments by making sure that the government budget contains programs that address the needs of the people.

It's very difficult to build a state feminism in Southeast Asia. Unless in socialist countries, most of Southeast Asia state policies are directed by neo-liberal considerations. Neo-liberal economic policy base on 'economic rationalism' (ecorats) belief of that public intervention in markets is counterproductive and leads to economic

inefficiencies(Sawer, 1996). Currently, the increasingly unfavourable environment provided by gender blind economic rationalism is not compatible with the promotion for increasing women's representation.

The feminist notion about 'state feminism' was shaped by the social liberalism of the 1980s with its idea of the state as a vehicle for social justice(Sawer, Reclaiming Social Liberalism: The Women's Movement and the State, 1993). By the 1980s, and after the monetary crisis, social liberal traditions were being challenged by the increased policy of economic rationalists (ecorats). It was paradoxical that as mechanisms for gender audit within government were being developed or strengthened, government policy making was increasingly coming under the sway of economic views hostile to public provision and based on androcentric paradigms of human behaviour (economically rational man). For the 'ecorats', the welfare state is basically the problem while the solution is through a greater reliance on market forces.

The relationship between the trend of increasing ecorat policy and the decreasing of the number of women representation in parliament coud be seen in the ilustration of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos below.

1) **CAMBODIA**

In Cambodia, gender quotas do not exist and in 2012 the percentage of women in Parliament stood at 20 percent, increasing from 16 percent in 2008, but decreasing from 21 percent in 2011.8 Despite assertions from government officials, including Deputy Prime Minister Ms. Men Sam An, that "the Royal Government of Cambodia has been taking steps to increase to the maximum proportion of women's participation in all levels of

national institutions,"9there remains a big gap between policy and practice.

In Cambodia, there is overwhelming support for gender quotas from local NGOs who see the implementation of such quotas as a vital mechanism to redress gender discrimination in politics. However, there is less support from political parties. FUNCINPEC are the only party who say they are implementing a 30 percent quota on their candidate lists prior to the July 2013 National Assembly Elections, however, there is no written policy on this. The other main parties, CPP, CNRP and LfDP maintain that they support women in politics, but see gender quotas as just one way of increasing women's representation. In addition, there are concerns that gender quotas are un-Constitutional, as they have been interpreted as discriminating against men.

Nevertheless, the current economic and development policy in Cambodia is not improving women's rights. Cambodia is becoming increasingly open to foreign capital and dependent on the rules of international trade agreements and has insufficient capital reserves to lessen the impact of trade liberalisation on society. This is effectively pushing poor Cambodian women further into poverty. Women farmers are especially vulnerable to loss of land and hardship as they face gender discrimination. They own smaller farms and they more often need to rely on hiring male labourers. They also must contend with a double load of agricultural work and domestic housework and childcare. Women feel the effects of privatisation policies more harshly. The burden of a loss of social services falls upon women, the traditional caretakers and healers of the family. It is women who are left to look after sick children and rela-

tives and find food for the family(Change, 2009)

Economic liberalisation means that local agricultural producers face competition from a massive flow of imports. At the same time, higher production costs requiring the increased use of credit leads to a cycle of debt and landlessness. Trade liberalisation-inspired growth also results in environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources, as land and natural resources become privatised. It also results in further entrenching the separation of men and women's work, with women receiving fewer opportunities in new technology, education and training and commercial business opportunities.

2) VIETMAN

Vietnam is a post-colonial, socialist country which claims a long history of promoting women's equality vis-à-vis men. In Vietnam, the formal equality of women and men in society is widely regarded as one of the legacies of the socialist revolution. Women's liberation become the symbolic form of Vietnam nation.

Since the initiation of economic reform 'Doi Moi' in 1987, there have been growing signs that the position of women is declining, particularly in rural, secluded and remote areas. In recent years, during which a differentiation between the poor and the rich has been accentuated, women are gradually withdrawing from the activities of society and state management. At the same time, Confucian views of gender inequality are returning. (Tran Thi Que 1995) One aspect reinforcing Confucian ideology of male and female roles is that women control the domestic sphere while men predominate in the public sphere.From this perspective, the pervasiveness of Confucian traditions at the

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household level may explain structural gender inequality. In Vietnam, gender analysis has also been reconfigured as a critique of Confucian ideology. Such a gender analysis is a way of nationalizing what may be otherwise seen as an exogenous construct from western development literature

One of the consequences of Doi Moi policies was to shift reproductive and productive tasks to the household (Tran and Le 1997). As state services have declined, households have had to pay increasing costs of medical care and educational expenditures. Furthermore, the reduction in stateprovided crèches has meant that households (particularly in urban areas) are responsible for care of children and the elderly.

The promulgation of the Land Use Act in the early 1990's significantly changed the relationship between the household and land. Landholders were given five rights to their assigned land (i.e., the right to transfer, exchange, lease, inherit, and use the land as collateral). As the husband is usually the head of household, men generally sign the registry as the head of household, thus making it difficult for women to apply for loans from banks using the land as collateral (McDonald 1995; Lofman 1998; Mondesire 1996)

Since the early days of economic reform, studies argue that relations between men and women within households and in society are increasingly unequal both empirically and symbolically (Beresford 1994). the effects of the transitional economy as women tend to be employed in the "informal sector" while men tend to be employed in the "formal" or wage-earning sector (McDonald 1994, 1996;Esser 1996; World Bank 1998).

Following Doi Moi, quotas for women's representation were no longer mandated and consequently, the percentage of women representatives in the National Assembly decreased from 32 percent in 1975 to 10 percent in 1997.

The fact of women's labor at home has both discouraged some women from seeking leadership positions, which they feared would affect their ability to provide effective carework at home

3) LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (LAO PDR)

At 25 percent, Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) has one of the highest proportions of women in national parliaments in "socialist" ideologically similar neighbor Vietnam (24.3%) and Cambodia (20,3%). Lao has unicameral National Assembly (132 seats; members elected by popular vote from a list of candidates selected by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party to serve five-year terms). The last elections held on 30 April 2011 (next to be held in 2016). In 2011 election, Lao People's Revolutionary Party got 128 seats, and independents got 4 seats.

In fact, the powerful role of president of the National Assembly is held by a woman. Yet figures for women in sub-national and local government tell a different story. Of the 143 district governors, only 10, or just under 8 percent, are women. Of the 8,608 village chiefs throughout the country, 228, a mere 2.64 percent, are women.

The Lao-Tai, who comprises over 60 percent of the population, mainly practice matrilineal inheritance where land (homestead land and/or rice fields) is inherited by daughters from their parents. Among the Chine Tibet and Mon Khmer groups, who comprise 3 and 21 percent of the populationrespectively, land and other assets are

mostly transferred to the sons.

The Lao Women Union (LWU) promotes and monitors the implementation of women development programs in compliance with the Party's and Government's policies, the Constitution, and laws related to ensuring equal rights between women and men. The organization endeavours to put gender issues on the agenda of every government sector development plan, and as such enables women to participate in policy and decision-making.

The Lao Women Union (LWU) has since 1997 been playing a prominent role in advocating for gender equality and women's empowerment through the Gender Resource Information and Development Centre (GRID), through creating gender awareness, and providing gender analysis for Government officials at all levels to facilitate gender mainstreaming. As a technical body, GRID has trained a pool of gender trainers and researchers at the central and provincial levels. It has also developed training materials, conducted research and gender analysis on various topics, which it disseminates widely, including through its five libraries/resource centers, at the Central Library of Laos and National University of Laos. GRID seeks to build the gender capacity of Government staff from various ministries to enable them to mainstream gender in planning and programming.

Given the slow speed of the growing of number of women in politics, women everywhere are calling for more efficient methods to increase their representation. Quotas present one such mechanism. Because of its relative efficiency, the hope for dramatic increase in women's representation by using this system is strong, but at the same time quotas raise serious strong resistance(Dahlerup,

1998). Globalisation promotes liberal democratic practices that support equal opportunity values which oppose affirmative policy for women. Arguments against the introduction of quotas are:

- Quotas are against the principle of equal opportunity for all, since women are given preference.
- Quotas are undemocratic, because voters should be able to decide who is elected.
- Quotas imply that politicians are elected because of their gender, not because of their qualifications and that morequalified candidates are pushed aside.
- Many women do not want to get elected just because they are women.
- Introducing quotas creates significant conflicts within the party organization.

The core idea behind quota systems is to recruit women into political positions. Quotas for women entail that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body, whether it is a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee, or a government. The quota system places the burden of recruitment not on the individual woman, but on those who control the recruitment process(Dahlerup, 1998).

In general, quotas for women represent a shift concept of equality from "equality of opportunity" to "equality of result". The classic liberal notion of equality was a notion of "equal opportunity" so removing the formal barriers, for examples giving women voting rights and right for stand in election could be considered sufficient. The rest was up to the individual women. Currently, women ask for "equality of result" because the real equal opportunity does not exist just because formal barriers are removed.

Since the mid-1990s United Nation also call all

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of the government in the world to adopt "gender-balanced decision-making". It suggest that gender equality cannot be achieved without the inclusion of women as policy-makers, so women's representation must be enhance. The most effective strategy to achieve it is to adopt women's quota. Currently, more than 100 countries adopt women's quota and some of them implement successfully. Rwanda get 63,8 % women's representative; Sweden got 45; Cuba got 48,9 %; South Africa got 42,3 %, Finlandia got 42,5%; Argentina got 36,6%; Netherlands got 38,7 %; Costa Rica got 38,6% and Spain got 36,%.

However, for the past 20 years, progress towards the adoption of quota system for increasing women's representation in politics in Southeast Asia has been slow, except in Timor Leste and Philippine. This slow progress of the increasing of women representation in politic could be seen in the ilustration of Indonesia below.

1) INDONESIA

Since 2003 Indonesia adopted women's quota in parliamentary candidacy.

Article 65 of the election law: "Each participating political party may nominate candidates for the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD, for each electoral district, giving consideration to representation of women of at least 30%."[2] During 2001-2003, several women's organizations called for the introduction of a quota system for the elections in 2004 (a minimum quota of 20-30 percent). This culminated in the passage of legislation in February 2003 requiring political parties to consider selecting 30% women candidates in each electoral district.

In 2008, the new Election Law stressed again the important of women's quota. The candidacy list proposed by political parties minimally accommodate 30% women's candidate.[3] There are at least one women's candidate in every three candidate (semi zipper system) in the candidacy list proposed by political parties.[4] It is also supported by the new Political Party Law which stated that the new political parties must accommodate 30% women's representative. There are at kept 30 % women's representation in political parties central board.[5]

Unfortunately, at the last December 2008 the Indonesian Constitution Court decided that all of Indonesian member of parliament candidate elected by the highest vote. It's mean that the more liberal democracy practices in Indonesia. Women had to ready for free fight competition, without affirmative action.

What is Indonesians' public opinion about that decision ? Most of Indonesian elite, included some non-activists women, support that decision. Apparently, most Indonesian elite think that women quota or affirmative action for women is like a priority and it be in opposition to "equal opportunity" principles, so it is 'undemocratic' practice. It also reveals that the oppositions to the Indonesian women's quota are very high, the implementation of Indonesian women's quota is very problematic. It is clear that many politicians have a poor understanding of the importance of the representation of women and the importance of affirmative action.

According to Newman, affirmative action is "... any race- or sex-conscious employment practices devised with the intention of redressing past racial or gender imbalances and injustices " (Newman, 1995) (Cahn, 1995). The underlying assumption here is that societal injustice can only be corrected

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by societal compensation. These definitions capture the most common concepts of affirmative action. They share important attributes, namely: (1) society has committed discrimination in the past against a particular group of population; (2) government has adopted an objective of eradicating discrimination; and (3) society needs to take appropriate steps to end discriminatory practices and correct the imbalances that resulted from past discrimination (Millar, 2003). It is clear that we need to acknowledge that gender discrimination already happened. Unlucky, most of Southeast Asian society, included politician, have no gender counciousness and think that there are no gender problems.

However, women got 18 percent House of Representative seats in 2009 Indonesian election. The table below illustrates that the highest contributor come from Democrat Party (24%), the president's party. As Democrat is a new party, women get more access. The president's popularity is very significant so the president's party (Democrat) got a big number of seats. On reverse side, women who ride other political parties, face more difficulties.

Most of elected candidates are popular public figures, such as actress, politician daughter or official's wife. This competition spends much money, so most of elected candidate are wealthiest women. By the highest vote system (majoritarian), most of women's activist candidates fail. They don't have enough money and popularity. Nevertheless the 2009 Indonesian election result revealed the tough struggle of women. Though the quota system is not compulsory but it inspiring women to fight in politics.

TABLE 3: WOMEN IN 2009-2014 INDONESIAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE

	Parties	Party seats	Women's seats
1	Demokrat	150	36 (24%)
2	PKB	27	6 (22%)
3	PDIP	95	19 (20%)
4	Hanura	18	3 (16,6%)
5	Golkar	107	16 (16%)
6	Gerindra	26	4 (15,3%)
7	PAN	43	6 (13,9%)
8	PPP	37	5 (13,5%)
9	PKS	57	3 (5,2%)

CONCLUSIONS

Globalisation has paradoxical impact on women's representation in Southeast Asian countries. At one side it has positif impact by encouraging the emergence of Global Gender Equality Regimes which introduce Women's Quota in Parliament, Gender Mainstreaming, Gender Budgeting,and Integrating Gender into Development Policy. At the other side, it has negative impact also. Economically, globalisation always directed by neo-liberal economic policy which suggests that governments to cut social welfare expenditure such as birth control and child care expenxes. This causes population and unemployment explotion which "forces" women to do more for domestic work. It makes difficult for women to have "state feminism or women friendly policy" which gives more attention to social welfare, child care, women's job opportunities and gender equality policy. Politically, globalisation tends to practice liberal democracy with the notions of "one person one vote" and "equal opportunity" principles which oppose women's notion of "affirmative action" and "equal result". Liberal democracy

notions assume all persons (men and women) have equal power and they can compete fairly. Eventually, although men and women have equal opportunity, they never receive equal results. Women always get less.

The paradoxical impact of globalisation on women's political participation in Southeast Asian countries can be illustrated in the figure below:
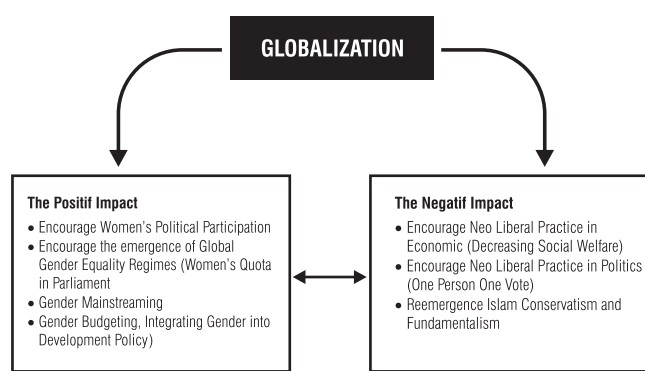

FIG. 2.THE PARADOXICAL IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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