

# Democracy and Struggle for Women Representation in Parliament

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**Abstract.** Liberal democracy which is practiced variously in many states in the world is an exclusively democracy. The practice, predominantly male, works in accordance with male ideology and makes women as category be marginalized, alienated, and excluded. Therefore for many centuries women had struggled to get their political rights little by little which were enjoyed by male people. Women conditions of being poor, oppressed, and ignored can be resolved if only they are included in decision making process. Many efforts have been made by women activists to get their suffrage, but their endeavours are not enough. Democracy becomes meaningless if women, a half of its populations, are not included, advantaged, and benefitted from the democracy (pseudo-democracy). Long women struggle to be included in decision making process is aimed that democracy has meaning and benefit to all citizens (truly democracy).

**Keywords:** democracy, women's struggle, women representation.

## 1 Introduction

The concept of political representation is strongly connected with political participation one. Women political participation has long history of struggle which involves many women movements around the world. The theme of political participation is examined, theoretically and practically, in the study of politics because the concept of political participation is one of criteria of big theories in politics, namely: democracy.

Original ideas of democracy was direct popular control over the government. This idea emerged for the first time in ancient Athena and easily to be practiced. With only a few men, an assembly –a deliberative body of government- could be formed. This kind of government was a form of exclusively democracy where only free men and original inhabitants of Athena had the right to do so. Women, slaves, and foreigners could not have rights and consequently they were not part of the democracy [1]. Up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, liberal democracy was compatible with aristocratic government. Qualification based on income or wealthy determined citizenship and women everywhere were judged unworthy to have right to be citizen [1].

Citizenship criteria which consist of rights and obligatory is embedded to men only, father, husband, guard. So, the democracy is considered as exclusively democracy that is a democracy which allows only certain groups in the society to enjoy the privilege of power and involved in decision making process, and other groups to be excluded.

Critique to democracy, as social movements usually stand for, is around the theme of peace, civilian rights, anti-racist, gender, environment, etc. But, the fundamental problems in

exercising democracy is related to the problems of who are involved in, who are not; who are the member and who are not; who gets benefit from democracy and who are not [2].

This paper will discuss two important problems in democracy and women. First, when liberal democracy is regarded as political practice that bring freedom, women in this situation should struggle to gain their political rights. Women struggle in all over the world has been done for two centuries with various political dynamic at domestic and international level. Second, this paper tries to elaborate that liberal democracy is not enough to bring wealthy, prosperity, and equality rights to women (democracy deficit).

## **2 Methodology**

This research is a qualitative analysis which explored literature sources such as books, journals, reports, and seminar results. The main concept of the research is democracy, and this research examine women movement in various areas of the world which have differences in their history and background. The analysis from various areas is connected with the main concept, that is democracy.

## **3 Result and Discussion**

### **3.1 Exclusive and Inclusive Democracy**

Normatively, the quality of decision in democracy is depended on the involvement of people affected by the decision. Are they involved in decision making process or can they have power to influence decision making? Demand for involvement in decision making process emerged from the 'exclusivity' in decision making process. This demand causes social movements from marginalized groups to be included in politics, especially demand for voting right. But, voting is only a minimum condition of political equality [3]. According to Iris Marion Young, the ideal democracy normatively includes all the groups to involve in debates and argues in decision making process. Political decisions can be easily accepted through openly public discussion. Unfortunately, reality in democracy often violates the norms. In reality, there exist exclusion forms where individuals and groups are intended to be excluded from debates and discussion in political decision making process [3].

Demand for equality in politics emerged from marginalized groups, which can be based on religion, ethnic or race, and on sexual base. If minority groups of religion, ethnic, race are not represented in political process, it can be not met minimum requirements of quantity to be represented. But, how about sexes? Number of women are as many as those of men, but this category of women has limited involvement in politics. We must consider that political history is history made by men-his-story-,and this become dominant culture in most societies. Practice of democracy up to 20<sup>th</sup> century was practice of democracy which was controlled by elite of men (exclusive democracy).

This political exclusivity which has been practiced for many centuries has been challenged to be more open and forced to be inclusive. Inclusive is a concept with moral norms, where individual is treated equal as they are to be obeyed to the law. Inclusion is also related to political equality which allow the expression of want, opinion, and relevant perspectives with issues to be sought for solution. If democracy is regarded as an ideal norm,

democracy means equality in politics where all are included in decision making process in the context of equality.

Early history of women involvement in politics is often connected with biological concept which differentiate women from men. This biological concept causes working division between men and women. Women control domestic work and men manage public affairs and this division is deeply rooted in every societies. Competency of women is only connected to domestic works, like household works, give birth, suckling, and bear the children. Meanwhile, men are regarded to have competency to do hunting, trading, war, and manage social affairs as well as decision making. Based on this division, women traditionally were not included in social and state affairs. With this traditional role, women and children are part of population who are most vulnerable in the societies, because they are dependent on men as male breadwinners. This division of labour is regarded as something normal, natural, and inevitable, as stated by Pierre Bourdieu:

*The biological differences between the sexes, i.e. between the male and female bodies, and in particular, the anatomical difference between the sex organs, can thus appear as natural justification of the socially constructed difference between the genders, and in particular of the social division of labour [4].*

Anthropologists understand the variation of role division, but in many cultures the value of patriarch is dominant in the societies [5]. In this position, women and children are in the vulnerable position among the population in their daily life, because of their dependency on male breadwinners. The dependency and lack of access to resources make women and children as number-two citizens. They are not allow to have properties, educational access, healthy, or other social existences, including in politics.

According to Jenni Chapman, development of capitalist system also contribute to the exclusion of women in politics. This system have raised new elites in social, economic and politics as well. Political system began to be more open, by peaceful or coercive means, to accomodates the new elites. Competition between incumbent elites with their competitor use protection mechanism to control acces to political power. Mechanism such as different educational system, informal patronage network, professional groups or exclusive bussines and developed new political institutions [5].

Women exclusion from decision making process in turn have effect on a lot of number policies which the interest and need of women are ignored. Policies such as war, territory expansion, increasing of military budget have direct or indirect negative impact on women. Even in peace nuance, policies like industrialization, capitalization and globalization which are projects adapted by developing states for their development have disadvantage effect on women. Number of women in Third World countries entering workplaces increase from 55% to 68% in the period of 1950 to 2000 [6]. Women workforces are usually in the sectors of garment, semiconductor production, sport utilities and toys. These process of production need carefully attention, persistent and patient in doing the work and they need women worker. But, unfortunately, for these women talent, they get underpaid salary compare to those of men.

Impact of industrialization, capitalization and globalization in the 19th century is the increasing of conciousness of women regarding their condition as number two citizen. The emergence of ideas and movements seeing equality between men and women in various areas, including women involvement in decision making process as political inclusion existed from this conciousness. Idea and reason on women inclusion and other marginalized groups is stated by Iris Marion Young :

*“... a democratic decision is normatively legitimate only if all those affected by it are included in the process of discussion and decision making. This simple formulation*

*opens many questions about the way in which they are affected by decisions in any trivial way ought to be party to them. To limit this question somewhat, we can say that "affected" here means at least that decisions and policies significantly condition a person's option for action".[3].*

Related to the question of what is the necessity of represented women in decision making process, Nur Iman Subono state that there are two dimensions which can answer the question. First, it was connected with performance and style of women political role. Refer to comparative studies, although unsystematically, there are a lot of evidence which show that women have different style in politics (a more compassionate, caring and collaborated) from men's style. Second, connected with priority of policy choosed when they are elected as member parliament. So many evidence, based on studies of comparative gender relation and policies in Western democratic states show a different perspective (eventhough not too extreme) between men and women in choosing priority of policies [7].

## **3.2 Struggle for Suffrage**

### **3.2.1 Pre World War II**

For centuries, politics has been conducted in the term of men preferences. As a solid structure, male-politics is difficult to reform. If women compete with men to have access in politics, they will do in situation where the system need is compatible for men to compete between themselves. So, if women success entering to the system, they have to work hard to change values and relations in social, economic and political system [5].

In European countries, demand on economic rights, especially for married women, was one of first wave feminist struggle in order to get right to have properties and money on her own. The Industrial Revolution, more or less, have influenced this development with the emergence of women middle class. In England, women organizations allied with radical political parties, made possible legal reform such as *The Married Women's Property Act* (1882), which recognize married women rights on properties and spending their own money. Even earlier in 1864, Norway had adapted law which equalize of right between men and women and gave women the freedom to enter business world. Otherwise in France and Spain had reinforced legislation which discriminated women. Napoleonic Code in France and Civil Code in Spain reduced women's autonomy on their properties and was administered by their husband.

In England, aristocrat women, Marry Wollstonecraft wrote a book *Vindication of the Right of Women* (1792). In her book, Wollstonecraft stated the main argumentation that women must be given equal rights as men has, because they are both human being. Women must get education as man does, because all human have the right to have equal opportunity to develop their capacity of reason and moral so they are become a full human. Her idea of the necessity of education for daughters had been written in other book, *Thoughts on The Education of Daughters* (1787) [8].

Wollstonecraft ideas on women rights is regarded as early classical feminist thought or first wave feminism. Women movements had emerged mainly in developed countries. In USA, women movement began in 1840 to demand abolition of slavery. Pioneer of women movement such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, well known as one of liberal feminist, was one of founders of the National Women's Suffrage Association which established in 1890. In England, proposal demanding women voting right, *Second Reform Act*, was proposed by John Stuart Mill (1867) but rejected by Lower House of Representative [9]. The main focus of the first wave feminist demand was women's economic, education and political rights. On

demanding educational rights for women, Mary Wollstonecraft in her book stresses that women must be autonomous decision makers and the way to be autonomous must be got through education... : *“The society must give education to women as to men, because both have the rights to have equal opportunity to develop their capacity on moral and reason, in order to be a full human [10]*

In England, the struggle for women voting right increased in 1866 when Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garret succeeded in gathering 1499 women signatures which was given to John Stuart Mill in order to give to parliament. But, parliament rejected the petition. Between 1866 and 1911 many of bills had been submitted but all of them were rejected by parliament. This situation made women frustrated so that an activist, Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of Women’s Social and Political Union/WSPU, and her daughters did a militant campaign in order the issues to be recognized by broader communities. Pankhurst and her daughters tied themselves at ladder of Downing Street, reject to pay tax and stop eating. Even Emily Davison did self-suicide by throwing herself to horse ridden by the King at the horse race in 1913 [8].

The struggle to involve in decision making in England had its big moment when house of common passed *Representation of the People Act* in March 1918 which guarantee women over 30 to have voting right in the election. According to Wendy Stokes, this 1918 Act could be passed in parliament because of the pressure from labour unions to labour party which dominated parliament [2].

In the United States, movement to support women participation had been existed in 1647 when Margareth Brent of Maryland demanded the right to vote, but she failed. A century later after the declaration of independence, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams-one of USA founding fathers and president, to ask him to Remember the Ladies. Other women activist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton spoke in front of the congress to speech her arguments on natural rights related to capacity of women in 1876. In her speech, *The Solitude of Self*, she stated that as human being women have individual capacity which led her to determine her own fate, as citizens women have to have equal rights like other citizens in accordance with state constitution. Women also have capacity to have the same rights and obligations as men have as equality factor in civilization, namely personal happiness and improvement. And last, women as mothers, wives, and sisters have certain tasks and exercises. For that, women should vote for supporting policies which protect women and her family. They felt sorrow for husband who spent his salary for drink rather than to buy household necessities. Husband who committed domestic violence when they were drunk. Legislators, mostly male people, would be difficult to understand this condition. So, female workers should vote for protecting them from sexual harassment, healthy problem, and moral violation [11].

With its long struggle, women right to vote in America was recognized in 15 states in 1918. Meanwhile, collaboration of conservatives, catholic people, capitalists, and producers of hard drink established an anti-suffragettes movements, namely National Association opposed to Women Suffrage. In 1919, based on the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment of American constitution, women right to vote had been broadened to national level and it was ratified in 1920 [2].

Influenced by their colleagues in England and America, women in New Zealand established an organization of Temperance Union, a branch of similar organization in the United States, namely Women’s Christian Temperance Union. In the early stage, debates on women right to vote in New Zealand’s parliament had been done by male politicians who were influenced by women activists, which stated with initial issues on humanity and ethnic Maori’s right to vote. The issues had been discussed many times from 1874 to 1893. In 1892, *Temperance Union* succeeded in its petition with 19,700 signatures. Although it was challenged by conservatives and producers of hard drink, petition on women right to vote,

including the right to be a candidate, and the right of ethnic Maori to vote passed in parliament [2]. New Zealand became the first state in the world which recognized women right to vote in politics legally.

Up to the end of World War II, many European countries passed the bill of women right to vote, both conditionally and unconditionally. They were Finland (1906), Norway (1912), Denmark, Iceland (1915), Soviet Union, the Netherland (1917), Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, Germany, Hungary, Ireland (1918), Luxembourg (1919), Turkey (1930), Portugal (1934), France, Bulgaria (1944), Croatia, Slovenia (1945), Belgium, Italy, Romania, and Yugoslavia (1946) (Women's Suffrage).

Non-European states which succeeded in giving women right to vote conditionally and unconditionally as well as limited were: New Zealand (1893), Australia (1909), the United States of America, Canada (1918, Quebec in 1940), Ecuador (1929), South Africa/white (1930), Chilli, Ceylon (1931), Brazil, Maldives, Thailand, Uruguay (1932), Myanmar (1935), the Philippines (1937), Bolivia (1938), El Salvador (1939), Panama (1941), Dominican Republic (1942), Jamaica (1944), Indonesia, Japan, Guyana, Togo, Senegal (1945). (Women Suffrage)

### 3.2.2 Post-World War II

Post-World War II international political situation was characterized by the emergences of new states in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. There was a big optimism to end poverty, injustice, and gap between its populations, including to improve women life as a part of development program. These new states saw that democracy as a way to improve community problems and facilitate them to be freedom of want and fear. Development and growth had been chosen as policy to overcome problems of unemployment, education, housing, healthy, social security, including lower level of women education and inequalities of women in many areas [12].

In the early stage of women movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it brought the idea that all women were same, sisterhood is global, and it less concerned on problems of different social classes, race, or historical background. When third world women emerged to fight for their rights, there was a consciousness of western and non-western women. Third world women's demand was generally similar to that of western women, namely women right to vote and it was a characteristic of first wave feminism [9]. Although there were similar goals but there were different situational backgrounds between third world and western world. Struggle of third world women to actively participate in politics was not only faced male politics problems, but also interwoven problems of nationalism, racial discrimination, religion, and cultures. As written by Louise Edwards and Mina Roces on History of Women Right to Vote in Asia, that women in Asia countries struggled for their rights as those in England and America, but in Asia women faced different situation

*For the suffrage activists in Asia....the pressing questions included the following: "which government do we lobby for suffrage?", "what should the relationship between nationalist and feminist struggle?", "what are the borders of our nation and who are the national women we represent?". These questions were crucial in the formation of the non-western suffrage struggle [13]*

Struggle for independence and effort to control over boundaries and national assets are main focuses both for men and women in almost all of Asia countries after World War II. In early years after the war they did not ask women rights in politics because the government focused on overcoming poverty, social chaos, and military unrest. The governments of new states wanted to make a political stability first so that they tried to mobilize support for their revolutionary movement. During the endeavour to build new emerging states, women were

mobilized to make actions to gain their national goals. To gain this goals, all of national elements must be united. According to Shirin Rai, the biggest obstacles for women movements in third world countries in post-colonial era were the problem of unity, which is the effort to gain national unity and to fight against imperialism need self-discipline and sacrifice. And nationalism movements never talked about specific interest, but interest of all member of the nation, as stated by Hellie-Lucas and quoted by Shirin M.Rai :

*This is a real harm which comes with liberation struggles. People mobilize against such a strong, powerful and destructive enemy that there is no room for practice action in mobilizing women at the same time. Bit worse, liberation struggles erase from our mind the very idea of doing so, which is seen as anti- revolutionary and anti-nationalist.* [6]

In China, European colonialism was limited to main harbour cities, so the experience of western domination in China was not as strong as states like Indonesia, Vietnam, and India. Women movements in China post 1949 revolution, in Louis Edwards' opinion, was mainly influenced by domination of Confucians patriarchal cultures and building national identity, as well as the emergence of political tension due to internal political conflict [13]. A little difference between women movements in China and in United States and Europe is that alcoholic drink and violence to women are not main issues, because alcoholic drink was less famous than opium. Opium consumption was not causes of domestic violence. Women in China preferred issues of women sub-ordination in their household, prostitution, women trafficking, and problem of concubines [13].

With different background tradition, women movements in India had started a long time before India independence. Universal voting right for adult had been applied since its independence in 1947. For women in India, the voting right had been struggled since 1915 when India was still under British colonialism and faced British paternalistic colonialism, caste system, class, and sharp different religion. Women leader in India, Sorojini Naidu, had struggled for Indian women rights in politics and demanded for women voting right. In her speech in Indian National Congress in 1918, Naidu spoke about equality for women and necessity for women to have voting right. And, in front of Special Congress in Bombay and Moslem League, Naidu demanded again for women right to vote:

*We ask for franchise, we ask for the vote, not that we might interfere with you on your official functions, your civic duties, your public place and power, but rather than we might lay the foundation of national character in the soul of children that we hold upon our laps and instil them with ideas of nationality. We want the franchise for them that we might glorify the dirt, the degradation of civic life, that we might be able by our own implacable ideas of moral purity to cleanse our public life* [8].

Different from that of Asia where women movements were related to nationalism, in Africa, struggle of women had faced strong patriarchal culture and racial issues. During its struggle for independence, women movements in Africa also tried to fight against colonial governments as intelligent, espionage, or acting as prostitute with enemy's military officers as their customers, so that they could steal military gun. In guerrilla war, women acted as passive-wing whose duty was to bring meals and ransom for military in the forest, to wash their clothes, and to send messages. Ironically, however, after independence women could not have many roles because their family, father and husband, prohibited them.

In South Africa, women struggle faced strong racial issues post World War II. Number of women in South Africa exceed those of men, but they were treated like minority group. For men, women were *the other* who had potency to make instability and destroy social order. After all, the 'Other' has historically been seen as powerful, subversive, potentially unstable,

needing to be policed (even if this meant torture, detentions, and murder) not only 'for their own good', but also for the 'greater good' of society [14].

Women movements in Latin America moved in accordance with the transition process toward democracy in the region. Repressive military regime in the region had made some movements of human rights along with the sorrow feeling of the economic and social condition which decrease at the time. According to Georgina Waylen, there are three types of women movements in Latin America in the era of post-World War II when transition toward democracy occurred. First, movement to struggle for human rights, as it was in Argentina. After 1976 military coup de' e tat, military regime in Argentina was suspected to build almost 300 secret concentration camps in the state. Around 30,000 people died at the camps because they were suspected to be disagree with the government. They were militants of labour union, students, intellectuals, pregnant women, even infants. A year later in 1977, women involved in political affairs for the first time when they gathered at Plaza del Mayo in Argentina to demand for the fate of their missing sons and daughters. Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo made an action of walking every Tuesday, walking around the plaza and bring posters of their missing sons. In the beginning there were only 14 mothers, then they were followed by more and more mothers to join them. Military regime responded this situation with arresting the 14 pioneer mothers and then they were disappeared. But, fortunately, the campaign still went on [15].

Second type of women movement in Latin America was women involvement in struggling for daily life and wealthy issues. This movement base was urban people, urban community-based, where they involved in politics of daily life to help their poor neighbour to get a better services. Like in Chilli and Peru, the women speak aloud about consumption and how to increase wages and social services. In Brazil women tried to struggle for living cost and daily working. And the third type of women movement in Latin America was movements which was highly influenced by feminist thought orientation. They formed women organization as a strategy to insist on gender-based demands. In Argentina, Chilli, and Brazil, feminist groups which mainly women from middle class and professionals made campaign around gender equality and women sub-ordination issues. Many of them were activist of left wing politics [15].

In post-World War II emerged new states with Islamic cultures such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Malaysia, and states in Arab peninsula. Women in the states could not be active in public life, because patriarchal norms became obstacles to do so. According to Amal Sabbagh, the combination of patriarchal norms, religious conservative interpretation, and cultural stereotype was the strongest psychological obstacle for women to participate in public life. In Hisham Sharabi opinion on neo-patriarchies, in Arabic states the patriarchal practices have been re-emerged and maintained as new form of practice along with modernization era at the region [16].

In pre-revolutionary Iran, Reza Khan wanted ambitiously to modernize his country like Turkey as its role model. Unfortunately the modernization did not allow opposition group and other forces, including women movement, to develop. This policy handed down to his son, Shah Reza, where the later thought that modernization was similar to westernization in which women were not necessarily to wear veiling (hejab). Women were permitted to enter school like men did, and many of them became teachers even in higher education. This policy was applied to weaken religious scholar (mullah) power who acted as the sole interpreter of Islamic law for daily life [17].

Iranian feminist leader in the era of post-world war II was Fatemeh Sayyah who became the first women professor at University of Tehran. Fatemeh Sayyah and Safiyyeh Firuz



established Hezb-e Zanan-e Iran (the Women's Party of Iran). This party insisted on the importance of women right to vote. Besides this party, in the decades of 1940s existed many women organizations. Struggle for women right to vote had been done various discussion in parliament in 1950s, but this struggle was failed because religious scholars, ulama/mullah, rejected it. According to religious scholar: .....that existing law protected women and that any deviation from them would "create political disorder, cause religious decline and social crisis" [17]. Khomeini's doctrine in post- revolutionary Iran stated that holy task of women is their performing duty as mother, as quoted from Haleh Afshar writing, the Islamic government of Iran supported propaganda and policy concerning this issue [18].

*Women, whatever qualifications they may have or however learned they may be, must remain the pivotal core of the family and play their parts as exemplary housewives..... As the Imam (Khomeini) has repeatedly said good men are raised in the laps of good women. If we follow this example then we'd find our true station in life and recognise that motherhood is sacred and holy duty of women.*

Meanwhile in the world, 15 years after World War II finished the struggle of women in politics had been considered to enter a new phase which was well known as second wave feminism. From that decade, many women has been elected as Member of Parliament, both at lower house and upper house. When many states guarantee women right to vote, it cannot be said that women enjoy their full emancipation right to be actively included in public sphere. Women conscious about this issue encouraged the emergence of second wave feminism [9]. Betty Freidan writing, *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1973, discuss something that she called *the problem with no name*. According to Freidan, there are many frustrated women and unhappy with their condition in the cage of their role as housewives. In the perspective of second wave feminism, the problem of women has not been solved even though women have enjoyed their political and law rights. Purposes of second wave feminism is not limited to merely emancipation and participation of women, but women's liberation. To achieve this goal, women demand for radically or even revolutionary social change [9].

History of women political participation got its different nuance when World Conference of the United States International Women's Year was conducted in Mexico in 1975. A year later, the United Nations declared United Nations Decade for Women 1976-1985. And three years later in 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*. This convention stressed on the importance of equality between men and women in public sphere. This is a culmination point of activist women who work under UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), a body created by the UN in 1946 to make policy recommendation related to improvement status of women. In two years after the convention adopted by the UN, 64 states had ratified the convention and in the eve of world conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen in 1980 20 states had ratified the convention [19].

Al though the success of long struggle of women for centuries has not come to the final point, but their achievement can be concluded here. Up to September 2019 there are 57 women preside over one of the house of the 192 parliament, 78 of which are bicameral. Women occupy 20.6% out of the total number of 277 posts of presiding officers of parliament or the House. The posts are comprised as follows, 266 parliamentary chambers with one presiding officer each, three chambers with two presiding officer each (San Marino's single chamber, the US Senate and the Liberian Senate), two chambers with three presiding officer each (Bosnia-Herzegovina's lower and upper chambers) (IPU, <http://archive.ipu.org/english/home.htm>)

### **3.3 Democracy and Women Struggle**

Democracy as far as now is considered as an instrument how to fairly manage political system, which appreciate all differences and interests. Liberal democracy which first developed in Europe and United States spreads all over the world because it is regarded as the best system for developing freedom of thought, but this democracy ends in voting mechanism as a symbol of equality among citizens. The procedure which highly regards voting as final solution in turn will produce policies that are imbalance and injustice for whom are not included in decision making process. It is because decision makers elected by voting do not fully understand the problem faced by their constituents.

Debates over “what it makes different if decision makers predominantly men” occurred in almost all of the states. If there are more women in decision making body, will they struggle for women interest, or will they have impact on women. This question becomes the basis of debates about the problem of descriptive and substantive representation.

As mentioned above, there is opinion which states that number of women in parliament are not necessary to be many because number are unimportant. The important thing is women who can speak on behalf of and act for women. This argument creates two big problems in women political representation, namely: first, whoever can claim that they act for other as long as there is similarity in ideas, the matter of ideas. Second, if so, in decision making process there will be the exclusion for marginalized groups, groups based on gender, race, and ethnic. More groups are excluded or not included in the system, the more deficient or weaken democracy to be.

Deficient democracy condition makes women aware and sorrow in all over the world. In 1995, activist women and representatives of states conducted women conference in Beijing resulting the Beijing Platform for Action 1995. The demand of the conference was equality for women in the decision making process. This demand is not because of democratic problem or justice, but it will be the condition necessity to make women interests considered. If women must be presence in decision making process, it will describe the real composition of society. And this condition is necessary to show the real democracy [20].

Many assumption that support ideas that political system make different perspective for men and women has been found. But, it is necessary to show the real issues which are discussed as concrete proofs. Scandinavian states, well known as welfare state, act to change continuously to abolish boundaries that differentiate sphere of ‘personal’, ‘private’ and ‘public’. The states interfere through policies that end in equality for all gender categories. This kind of states are example of non-male-dominated politics. This states mirrors composition of minimum social categories, which is based on gender. This is a form of practice of gender-justice democracy.

## **4 Conclusion**

Centuries after the industrial revolution when states move toward liberal democracy, there is a big ironic idea which states that women are not ready to enter political life, that they are incapable, and they have no required capacity. These ideas is in the room of phallocratic discourse, a room which is full of categories that are emerged from basic ideas of men concerning women. In the room of ideas, women who enter political life will be regarded as aliens, abnormal, and differs. Politics and its activity is built on the basis of men superiority,

superiority of one sex (male) over the other sex (female). Result of this is power or domination one category of sex over the other (*phallocratic*).

When the political system give proportional room for women to speak, discuss, do lobby, and debate, it will move to justice representation. With a wider room for women and many women Member of Parliament discuss and argue about ideas, there will be persons who, in political representation words, are called critical mass. If the state waits for the emergence of critical women and then they are persuaded to enter decision making bodies, women will get disadvantage and their struggle will be longer. It is happened because first, it is not easy to find the right momentum to reform political system. Second, if women are always regarded as not ready to enter politics, the male-dominated political structure will be more and more 'stronger'. Consequently, it will be more resistant to new elites from different categories. This condition, if happened, will make democracy be more deficit, and struggle of women for centuries win only a little gain.

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