

THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN BUKITTINGGI GOVERNMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS

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Abstract

This paper aimed to discuss social representation of women in the bureaucratic system. The more modern the society is, the wider the space for women is to access various things, for instance, education, economic resources, and positions in workplace. This study focused on how women's accessibility for the positions relating to decision-making. This accessibility revealed how well women are able to play a role in constructing their social world. This study used Serge Moscovici's Social Representation theory as the analysis tool. Social Representation is a derived theory from the concept of Collective Consciousness created by Emile Durkheim. Moscovici's Social Representation Theory revealed how individual knowledge system shaped by cultural and religious structures influences in making choices and acting to confront social reality. A qualitative approach was used to determine social representation of women on the bureaucratic system. This study analyzed women's knowledge system which contested with community norms in order to maintain embeddedness to their collective. The social representation of women was the result of negotiation and contestation of knowledge system and individual consciousness with social norms.

Keywords: Social Representation of Women, Bureaucratic System, Collective Consciousness, Social Norms

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk membahas representasi sosial perempuan pada sistem birokrasi. Semakin modern masyarakat, semakin luas ruang bagi perempuan untuk mengakses berbagai hal, akses terhadap pendidikan, sumber daya ekonomi, dan posisi di ruang kerja. Studi ini berfokus pada aksesibilitas perempuan pada posisi yang berkaitan dengan pengambilan keputusan. Aksesibilitas ini akan mengungkap seberapa mampu perempuan berperan dalam membangun dunia sosialnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori Representasi Sosial, Serge Moscovici untuk alat analisis. Teori Representasi Sosial merupakan teori turunan dari konsep Kesadaran Kolektif Emile Durkheim. Teori Representasi Sosial, Moscovici mengungkap sistem pengetahuan individu dibentuk oleh struktur budaya dan agama, sehingga mempengaruhinya dalam membuat pilihan dan menghadapi realitas sosial. Pendekatan kualitatif digunakan untuk mengetahui representasi sosial perempuan pada sistem birokrasi. Studi ini menganalisis sistem pengetahuan perempuan berkontestasi dengan norma masyarakat demi menjaga keterlekatan dengan kolektifnya. Representasi sosial perempuan merupakan hasil negosiasi dan kontestasi sistem pengetahuan dan kesadaran individu (individual consciousness) dengan norma sosial.

Keyword: Representasi Sosial Perempuan, Sistem Birokrasi, Kesadaran Kolektif, Norma Sosial

Introduction

Women with all social, cultural, and political realities still become the studies that continue to be carried out in the sociological domain. This paper attempted to study this reality – the reality which is socially constructed. Women with the access they get and the social capital they have should make them able to negotiate with society. Nowadays, the studies of social representation and the existence of women on social discourse especially sociology are very dynamic with different nuances. The study focus on social inequality, about the role carried out based on the social construction of the surrounding community, and another study about the side of women agency in surviving and reconstructing social systems and structures.¹ In this paper, the researcher tried to observe the social reality faced by women in a structural-functional perspective. It is expected to reveal how women's knowledge systems work to compromise with the social structures. This paper explained the choice of women's action in the workplace based on awareness of cultural and religious values.

The more modern the society becomes, the wider the space for women is to access various things, such as education, economic resources, and title. On global discussion, women still experience gender inequality in various aspects of life, both formal and informal public spaces.² This study illustrated how women can access and present in *middle* and *upper management* positions in formal institutions, especially those related to decision making and policy making. This involvement of women will shows how strong the role of women in constructing the social world. This study examined the openness of access for

women to upgrade their social capital through education so that it enables women to have positions that are in line with men in the bureaucratic system.

Equal access and position in bureaucracy are not only related to the type of work and position, but also related to how influential women's voices are in directing the policy in a formal institution. Decision making considered are not only related to the content of the ideas and the educational background, but also related to the relationship of women's knowledge systems with men in the bureaucratic system. Values and norms (religion and ethnicity) affect their social representation in the workplace. The value and norm system of religion and culture have an influence on women's knowledge systems working in bureaucratic systems and having an impact on women's actions. Norms that have been understood as attitudes and behaviors of collective expectations are associated with the context of particular society.

Norms are essentially qualities of collectiveness in society. Norms are not deterministic towards individual behavior. In fact, individual's actions and attitude are in line with the norms applied in society although there are some individuals who show their agency by responding to the cultural constraints. Collective agreements with everything normative form traditional norms to egalitarian norms. Women and men respond to those norms in different ways. Traditional norms usually have rigid limits related to the division of roles based on gender so that there is a clear boundary between culture and identity.³

¹ Partini, Partini. 2013. Bias Gender dalam Birokrasi. Yogyakarta. Tiara Wacana

² Fauzi Ahmad Muda, "NALAR PEREMPUAN: Upaya Rekonstruksi Konstruksi Sosial Setara Gender," *EGALITA* (Vol 2, No 1; 2007), n.d., 134–57.

³ William J. Scarborough and Ray Sin, *Gendered Places: The Dimensions of Local Gender Norms across the United States, Gender and Society*, vol. 34, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243220948220>.

Based on the data of BKPSDM (*Badan Kepegawaian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia*) Bukittinggi in 2021, women's role and contribution in bureaucracy was increasing. It was proved by the rise number of women employees in the Local Government. However, this increase was more in the number of personnel, not at a certain level such as in positions related to decision-making. This study attempted to understand the causes of the large number of women who do not occupy positions related to decision and policy making in the Local Government of Bukittinggi.⁴

The concept of leadership tends to be identified with men so that men are considered better and can become leaders. In reality, it is undeniable that women also carry out leadership roles, with evidence the presence of women who have occupied managerial positions in the organization. Gender roles, according to Soedjito (1968), are usually internalized through socialization. The socialization of gender role can be through family, school, and media. These socialization actors strongly influence and determine how gender roles are formed and interpreted. Rose (1974) in "Women's Work: Women's Knowledge" also affirmed that individual knowledge and consciousness are not abstract and far from experience. Individual consciousness is not something that is formed by a particular process separate from social reality.⁵

Girard in "Gender and Public Choice in Rural India: Can Female Leaders Really Influence Local Governance?" explained that in practice the presence of women in local government is still unclear, especially in positions of policy-making. Girard in her study focused on several aspects that women face when they are in positions related to policy

making such as about women's quota in politics, gender, and public choice; women in the context of tradition as *constraint*; women in tradition expectations; and norms on gender. The role of women as part of the government structure should be understood in a broader social context. The role of women is bound to gender norm and division of labor. Women are acknowledged and recognized through the context of traditions and cultures that influence the way they behave.⁶ Discourse about women as agents of change is essential for sharing common values. The presence of women in government structures is one of factors for equal societies and it is also the basis in making policies related to women such as education, access to health systems, and providing facilities for women to be financially independent. The gender norms are a community guide which reflects on individual's roles, interests, and needs.

Despite economic and social development, women in Malaysian and Korean society are still far behind in their involvement in social, economy, and political positions. Kim's study focused on gender equality in a socio-cultural context. She emphasized the significance of proverb as a socialization agent that reflects and produces traditional norms and values that perpetuate the stereotypes of women. In Malaysian and Korean societies, proverb has an important role in upholding "gender-appropriate behavior", accepting gender-based assumptions and perspectives, and acquiring gender characteristics originated from tradition of society. Kim's study explained that the Korean and Malaysian societies are still trying to improve women's competitiveness in the workplace. In these two countries, Kim's study found that women have

⁴ BKPSDM Kota Bukittinggi, 2021

⁵ Partini, Partini. 2013. *Bias Gender dalam Birokrasi*. Yogyakarta. Tiara Wacana

⁶ Alexandra M. Girard, "Gender and Public Choice in Rural India: Can Female Leaders Really Influence Local Governance?," *Journal of Gender Studies* 24, no. 5 (2015): 528–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2013.856753>.

a low level of participation in politics. Women's participation is only 10% in Malaysia and 17% in Korea.⁷

Gender inequality in Malaysian and Korean societies related to the social and religious context was also discussed by Kim in his paper, "Female Stereotyping and Gender Socialization through Proverbs and Idioms: A Comparative Study of Malaysia and Korea". Gender inequality is caused by the religious understanding of the society in each country. Religious understanding is obtained from the understanding of society about literature. In understanding gender assumptions and perspectives, simplified forms of "folk literature" were passed down from one generation to the next. In countries where traditional values are still upheld, the people still uphold the value of a series of "wisdom", knowledge, advice, and guidance as tools to teach values and norms. Although the origin of the wisdom is still vague, wisdom is socialized in a metaphorical way.

Malaysia and Korea create norms, cultures, and wisdom for their respective societies. The values of *pantun*, proverbs, and simple proverbs (*simpulan babasa*) are internalized by Indonesian people. Korean people convey messages, emotions, values, advice, even sarcasm through proverbs. One of the findings of Kim's study in the saying has main themes related to women.⁸

Women representation in the proverb influences on social norms to control and limit the space of women so that they do not deviate from the roles that have been determined. This can be an obstacle to equality and women's rights. There are a lot of proverbs that are used in some countries in Asia. In the female-themed proverb, women are often characterized as silly, foolish, and uncivilized and they do not have the ability to

communicate and argue (in Indian proverb). Furthermore, in the Urdu proverb, women are characterized as fragile, unintelligent, talkative, troublemaker, and untrustworthy. In Pakistan, women are characterized as suspicious, weak, lacking of power, and not always energetic.

The proverbial legitimizes the stereotype of women so that it causes the perpetuation of male domination and strengthens the patriarchal social structures. Kim's study focused on how women are represented in proverbs of Korean and Malaysian societies. The correlation occurs in terms of the formation of stereotypes of women through language, culture, and gender. The fundamental ideology in Korean society is confucianism. There are three principles of confucianism that put women into female subordination, namely towards her father when she is not married, towards her husband when she is married, and towards her son when her husband died. The division of tasks is based on gender and age.⁹

In Malaysian society, customs have been shaped by Islamic beliefs since 13 centuries ago. Basically, Islamic doctrines articulate equality between women and men. The story of Adam and Eve clearly shows that women and men are in a complementary position, have the same position, and become independent of each other. Kim collected as many as 16,000 proverbs that explicitly mention women. In the proverbs, women are referred to as a woman, women, daughters, grandmother, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, flowers, and cats.

From 1600 proverbs, there are 365 of proverb that convey stereotypes of women from aspects of role, status, and character. Those proverbs describe and emphasize women's role and self-concept from the side of sexuality, marriage life, relationships, children, pregnancy, reproduction, feelings,

⁷ Keum Hyun Kim, "Gender Socializing through Proverb.Pdf," 2019.

⁸ Kim.

⁹ Kim.

and emotions. In these proverbs, the dominant thing related to the theme of women are about (1) beauty as woman's main value, (2) politeness as woman's virtue, (3) being talkative as woman's character, and (4) being proactive as woman's deficiency.

In her findings, the proverbs of Malaysia and Korea show a lot in common in terms of norms and values about gender as well as habits. Women's stereotypes of beauty, politeness, being talkative, being passive, and being weak are the dominant themes in the proverbs of Malaysian and Korean society. These proverbs represent an acceptance towards presuppositions and biases when perceiving women in society.¹⁰

Table 1.
Malaysia and Korea Proverbs
about Women

No	Malay Proverb/Idiom	Korean Proverb /Idiom
1.	<i>Like a magpie pulled by the tail</i> (description of women who talk a lot)	<i>If a woman talks a lot, soy sauce will become bitter</i> (description of women who talk a lot)
2.	<i>Perigi mencari timba/a well looking for a bucket</i> (proactive women)	<i>An educated woman will live a difficult life</i> (proactive women)
3.	<i>Kerling bagai pelita kan padam/Like a glimpse of the lights going off</i> (beauty of women)	<i>For women, their personality is secondary to beauty</i> (beauty of women)
4.	<i>Lenggang patah Sembilan</i> (woman and politeness)	<i>Hardened tofu and a hardened woman are of no use</i> (woman and politeness)

Source: Keum Hyun Kim, 2019

From Kim's study, it can be seen how to position women in a subordinate position is maintained and strengthened through proverbs. The proverbs in Malaysian and Korean society are a mechanism to articulate the image of ideal women, and to reproduce stereotypes and determined behavior. Korean

proverbs influenced by Confusionism are clearer to separate between the roles of women and men in the society. Meanwhile, in Malaysian society, the saying is not so clearly defining the differences between men and women roles. Although outsiders consider that in Malaysian society there is discrimination against women, there is no Malaysian proverb that emphasizes women in a discriminated position. It may reflect the principle in Islam that women are respected in every phase of their lives.

Women's representation in the public space especially in decision-making positions is still a discussion when talking over women's involvement in the bureaucratic system. A study conducted by Park examined on gender representation in public bureaucracy and its substantial effect on government performance in the South Korean context. Park's study also evaluated the significance of gender diversity as personnels in government institutions and their influence on the institution performance. The government continues to support an increase in the number and ratio of female employees, but this effort does not improve the social status of women. Park's research on gender representation in Korea focused more on recruitment laws and women advancement than on the effects of representation itself. According to Park, the involvement and representation of women are inseparable from several things, one of which is the influence of the media or media coverage. The value that the media construct influences women's actions and decisions in the bureaucratic system.¹¹

There is media coverage of women about performance aspects related to the influence of bureaucracy on public attention and interests. The influence of government is closely related

¹¹ Sanghee Park, "Does Gender Matter? The Effect of Gender Representation of Public Bureaucracy on Governmental Performance," 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074012439933>.

¹⁰ Kim.

to public support because public opinion is one of the main sources for gaining public support. Public bureaucracy carefully manages the process of detection, translation, and construction of public opinion. Thus, the allocation of public attention is an important part of government performance that affects women's representation on the bureaucratic system and public acceptance. There are significant differences between men and women in policy priorities. Women are more concerned about policies regarding women and they deliberately pursue an agenda on women that can make a difference in policy outcomes. Nevertheless, "women's issues" are widely considered to be underrepresented or invisible in media coverage.¹²

Gender is socially constructed and so is space. Spain used the Lefebvre perspective in her writings that space is produced by those who use it; as long as space reflects social norms, then they also regulate gender relations. Spain observed gender relations in cities related to spatial and social structures that are mutually constitutive. The cities can reflect and affirm gender relations. Spain explored how the urban structure limits women's opportunities for social activities outside the home.¹³

Pereira in "Gendered Political Contexts: The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge" explain that women's political representation affects the level of knowledge expressed by women and men. The underrepresentation experienced by women leads to gender stereotyping becoming more prominent. Gender stereotyping affects women's cognitive ability to engage in politics. Pereira in his study questioned women who tend to have low political knowledge compared to men. This is not due to their low level of education or

women do not have an interest in political issues. Unlike other studies, Pereira does not focus on women's lack of motivation, ability, and opportunity; however, on situational factors that allow women to use and demonstrate the political knowledge they already had.¹⁴

Pereira questioned how situational factors influence men and women using the political information they obtain when they are required to convey and show it. Stimulus differences by situational factors also affect the intensity of men and women in expressing and demonstrating their political knowledge. Gender stereotyping causes women to withdraw from political positions and functions.

Fitria's, "Women's Career Advancement Barriers in A Matrilineal Society: "The Case of Minangkabau", maps the pattern of career improvement of female and male employees in the West Sumatra local government. She found the higher the level of a position is, the fewer women there are in that position. At least their experience becomes one of the obstacles. This is due to the cultural value that society adheres to. There are many differences between women and men based on their occupational position. For higher leadership position, women need 11 years and 5 months while men only need 7 years and 7 months to access the same position. For administrator position, women need 10 years and 5 months while men only need 8 years and 11 months. For supervisor level, women need 3 years and 5 months when men need 2 years and 11 months.¹⁵

Different things were found by Hanani in her study that amid the growing issue of

¹⁴ Frederico Batista Pereira, "Gendered Political Contexts: The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge," *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 4 (2019): 1480–93, <https://doi.org/10.1086/704599>.

¹⁵ Fitria Fitria, "Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Publik (JIAP) Women's Career Advancement Barriers in A Matrilineal Society :," 6, no. 1 (2020): 44–51.

¹² Park.

¹³ Daphne Spain, "Linked References Are Available on JSTOR for This Article," *Academy of Management Review* 31, no. 2 (2006): 386–408.

gender equality as a global and national issue. The implementation and internalization of the value of equality are still in debate. Hanani in her study precisely observed something different about the representation of women in Dendun Village of Riau Islands which is far from the dynamics of urban discourse and also includes gender equality. She found that the representation of women in Dendun Village of Riau Islands actually reveals reality that women also have individual consciousness. They have a role in policy making positions. Individual consciousness is formed by a collective consciousness. The women also have an influence on the formation of women's personal consciousness among them in Dendun Village. The involvement of women in public leadership as the head of neighborhood becomes evidence that there is a social representation of women in Dendun Village, Riau Islands.¹⁶

This study was the result of research on employees of Local Government of Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. This study used a qualitative approach that enabled the researcher to uncover the experiences and perceptions of informants. The qualitative approach was chosen because this study analyzed the representation of women in the bureaucratic system in Bukittinggi. The primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and observations. The qualitative fieldwork method was chosen because it positioned the researcher and the research subject negotiating in conceptualizing the definition of gender according to their perspectives. The qualitative method allowed the informants to perform the different sides of their gender identity continuously and situationally. This study focused on the level of gender analytical

concepts compared to objective conditions in the field. In reality, gender is constructed discursively which has a material and practical consequence on men and women.¹⁷

In-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face. The researcher also conducted observations to see the relationships between female and male employees. Female and male employees became the informants in this study. It can be seen whether women have become equal partners with men. That balance of positions exists when women participate actively as men in the policy making processes.¹⁸ This study wanted to explain the internalisation of social values and norms based on religion and culture.

This study used Serge Moscovici's theory as an analytical tool. Moscovici was a French social psychologist who used Durkheim's concept of collective consciousness in building the theory of Social Representation. Social representation, Moscovici's work with his theory of social representation, tried to go deeper and be critical in describing what was meant and what was happening in the community knowledge system were in line with the concept of collective consciousness that Durkheim built. Serge Moscovici, in his 1961 doctoral thesis entitled "La Psychanalyse, Son Image, Son Public", referred to Emile Durkheim as one of the pioneers of the idea who stated that social representation serves to understand collective knowledge as a guide for the way society behaves (social action). "... *Shortly speaking, social representations are about processes of collective meaning-making resulting in common cognitions which*

¹⁶ Silfia Hanani, "Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Kepemimpinan Publik: Studi Kepemimpinan Ketua RT Perempuan Di Desa Dendun Kepulauan Riau," *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 7, no. 1 (2017): 79, <https://doi.org/10.15548/jk.v7i1.158>.

¹⁷ Helmi Järviluoma, Pirkko Moisala, and Anni Vilkkö, "Gender and Fieldwork," *Gender and Qualitative Methods*, 2012, 27–45, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209199.n2>.

¹⁸ Partini Partini, "Potret Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Pelayanan Publik Di Era Otonomi Daerah," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 2004.

*produce social bonds uniting societies, organizations, and groups.*¹⁹

According to Moscovici, the individuals contribute to the formation of social representations in the interaction between them and social structures. In modern society, the individuals have autonomy and assimilation of social representation and modify it in the same time. Individuals are “freed” from binding social structures such as family, social class, and religion, which previously guide the thought and behavior. There are more options regarding alternative ways of life and strategies for getting there. As stated by Moscovici, “...individuals are confronted with a great variety of specialized knowledge on the part of groups to which they belong. Each individual must make his selection at a veritable open market of representations”.²⁰

In social representation, Moscovici (1979) put individuals in a more active position to establish self-representation in the society. The theory of social representation uncovers how the dynamics of an individual's daily interactions with objects of knowledge and previous life experiences. Social representation serves to orient the individuals in the social and material context that dominate them.²¹ Social representation attaches to groups of society and objects of knowledge so that social representation is oriented collective. Social issues surpass the simple facts about various assumptions or ideas. Social representation refers to a symbolic relationship that gives the value of an imaginary transformation of a community, synthesizes the complex cultural relationship, and positions the individuals in their relationship with other individuals in the midst of existing and predetermined historical and structural contexts. Representation is not constructed independently from individual and

context. Social representation states that all representations are representations of something and someone.²²

The representation process always starts from the reproduction, not reproduce the object of knowledge. The production of this new meaning implies the existence of subjectivation born from the interaction between the subject (at all levels, including individuals, groups, institutions, or on a massive scale) and the object itself. When presenting a reality again, capturing and not letting it escape and its disarticulation is facilitated. It transforms into something different which is a new quality that distances the representation from its object. “In the representation, we have the concrete mental content of an act of thought that symbolically returns something that does not exist, that approaches something that is distant. An important feature that guarantees the representation is its ability to blend perceptions and concepts as well as the character of its image”.²³

Each social representation has its own meaning, which is given through a process of subjectivity. Social representation plays a very decisive role in the cognition and behavior of individuals in a group. Social representation can be a holistic framework for understanding individual appropriation and action in a given context. The greatest complexity of the study of social representation lies in the resistance to empirical disarticulation. This is not helped by the variety of perspectives that provide different ways to investigate the process of representation, or by the insistence of positivist views in the field of social sciences.

Social representation is formed and enabled through two continuous, dynamic, and interdependent processes, namely objectivity and restraint. Objectivity and

¹⁹ Birgitta Höijer, “Social Representations Theory,” *Nordicom Review* 32, no. 2 (2011): 3–16, <https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0109>.

²⁰ Moscovici, Serge et al. *Perspective on Minority Influence*. 2008. Cambridge University Press.

²¹ Höijer.

²² Patrick Rateau et al., “Social Representation Theory,” *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, no. July 2016 (2012): 477–97, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446249222.n50>.

²³ Rateau et al.

restraint are a process that reveals the close relationship between knowledge, in its various forms, and the social conditions in which knowledge is built. Representation has two inseparable aspects, namely the figurative aspect and the symbolic aspect.

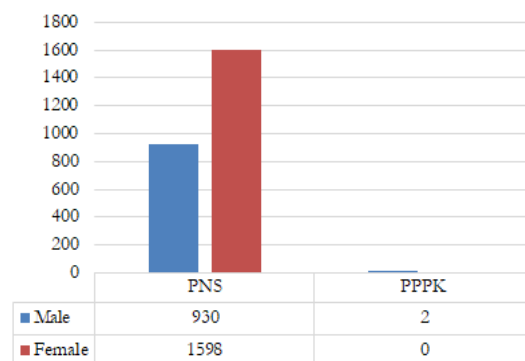
Objectivation is the layout and relative form to the object of representation by placing the individual through the characteristics that exist in society's thinking. Objectivation forms structures, gives shape, and crystallizes ideas in communication experienced by individuals. In this case, it is strongly related to the dissemination of information as a factor conditioning the urgency side of the representation. Objectivation is a process of reabsorbing excess meaning. The three stages that form the mechanism of the objectivation process are (1) selection or decontextualization (selective construction), (2) formation of figurative nuclei (schematization of arrangement), and (3) naturalization.

Result and Discussions
Women in Bureaucracy

This study revealed that in fact women have not had many opportunities to occupy positions of policy making in the formal institutions structure. Even women with certain academic qualifications are placed in positions of femininity. Structural positions often occupied by women are on low to middle structures.²⁴ Quantitatively, the number of female ASNs (Civil State Apparatus) in Bukittinggi Government is more than male ASNs. From data of BKPSDM in 2021, the number of PNS (*Civil Servant*) in Bukittinggi was 2528 with 1598 female employees and 930 male employees.²⁵ In terms of education level, there were more women with higher education level than men. However, few women

occupied echelon II and they had low chances to access echelon II. According to the informants, echelon II is a very rare position occupied by women in Local Government of Bukittinggi and the position is very political.²⁶

Diagram 1.
The Number of PPPK and PNS



Source: BKPSDM Bukittinggi, 2021

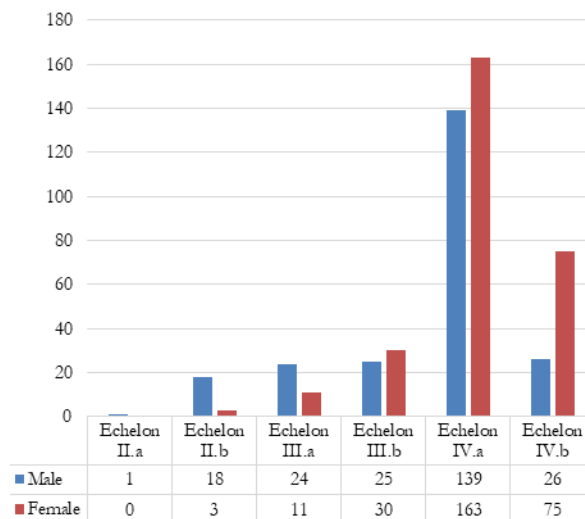
The number of ASN in Bukittinggi based on echelon: (a) Echelon IV.b, male employees were 26 people and female employees were 75 people. (b) Echelon IV.a, there were 139 male employees and 163 female employees. (c) Echelon III.b, female employees were 30 people and male employees were 25 people. (d) Echelon III.a, male employees were 24 people and female employees were 11 people. (e) Echelon II.b, there were 18 male employees and 3 female employees. (f) Echelon II.a, the employee was men.

²⁴ Partini, Partini. 2013. Bias Gender dalam Birokrasi. Yogyakarta. Tiara Wacana

²⁵ BKPSDM Kota Bukittinggi, 2021

²⁶ Wawancara, (Kepala Bidang Pengembangan Kompetensi dan Pembinaan Aparatur), 16 Juli 2021

Diagram 2.
The Number of ASN Based on Echelon



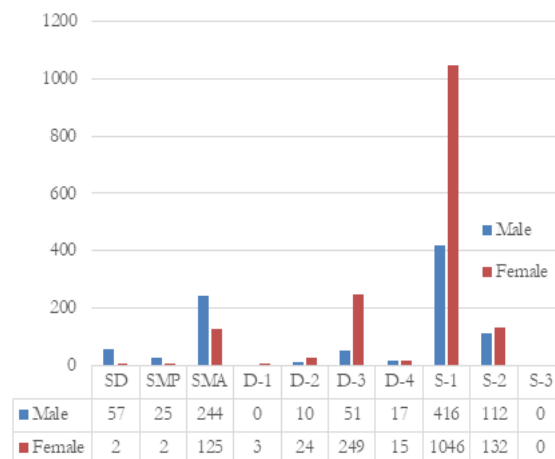
Source: BKPSDM Bukittinggi, 2021

The low involvement of women in policy-making positions can be seen from the data that the number of female employees decreases starting from echelon IIIa, IIb, and IIa. Meanwhile, when it is viewed from the number of employees based on education level at elementary, junior high, high school, and diploma level 4, the number of male employees with elementary, junior high, and high school education is more than that of female employees. Female employees with elementary education were 2 people and male employees were 57 people. For junior high school, female employees were 2 people and male employees were 25 people. For senior high school level, there were 244 male employees and 125 female employees. While at Diploma 1,2,3, S1, and S2, female employees were more than male employees. At Diploma 1, there was 1 female employee and none of male employee. At Diploma 2, there were 24 female employees and 10 male employees.

At Diploma 3, there were 249 female employees and 51 male employees. At Diploma 4, female employees were 15 people while male employees were 17 people. At S-1 (undergraduate), there were 1046 female

employees and 416 male employees. At S-2 (graduate), there were 132 female employees and 112 male employees.

Diagram 3.
The Number of ASN Based on Educational Level



Source: BKPSDM Bukittinggi, 2021

Social Representation of Women on the Bureaucracy System

Women with good education cannot immediately cross the boundaries of social values and norms that have long been inherent in society. The process of subjectivation and objectivation gives women room to negotiate with cultural and religious structures. Women have the ability to compromise with determined social value and common value. Women remain attached and formed by their cultural and religious structures. One of the informants, the Head of Women and Child Empowerment, explained:

”As a minang woman and under the teachings of Islam, women are the Madrasah for their children. So that whatever work is entrusted in the workplace must have the husband's approval. Normally I also limit my work when it has passed office hours until late at night.”

Women choose to compromise the construction of the culture and religious values of their communities. This is their effort in bridging their consciousness with the collective consciousness of the community. The informant, the Head of Competence Development and Apparatus Development Division (Kepala Bidang Pengembangan Kompetensi dan Pembinaan Aparatur), conveyed in an interview with the researcher:

“Actually there are no restrictive regulations related to the allowed positions for women. However, there are some positions that take time until night, more often interact with the opposite sex, and have high risk if woman occupies these positions.”

Table 2.
Informants

Informant	Female	Male
Echelon II.a	Head of BKPSDM	
Echelon III.a	Head of Organizational Department	Head of Division of Competence Development and Apparatus Development
Echelon III.b	Head of Women and Children Empowerment	
Echelon IV.a		Head of Subdivision of Data and Information
Echelon IV.a		Head of Data and Communication Sub-Directorate Information

Source: Results of Researcher Data Collection, June 2021

Women's efforts in adjusting actions and knowledge systems based on the collective consciousness of the society are inseparable from their desire to get recognition from the society. The example of recognition is that they are part of that society and act according

to the standards of morality that already have been built and used. Morality standards are based on customs, understanding of religious teachings, and common value.²⁷

Women adjust their social actions based on morality built in society. Morality is formed from customary values and community beliefs. Rational morality is found in women's decisions on their career. This happens when they have to adjust their decision in delaying or limiting the intensity in career to a “must” standard as a Minang and Islamic woman.²⁸

Women choose to delay their career and adjust the position in the job they are about to achieve. Referring to the concept of communication in Moscovici's theory of social representation, the delay and limitation of women in careers is the result of a process of normalization and conformity. The “attitude” of women is obtained with the process of normalization and conformity from the collective consciousness of society. The attitude is a “product” of the contestation between personal knowledge/individual consciousness and the consensus of the community. In the same time, the consensus imposes collective consciousness/collective belief on women who have a career.²⁹

Table 3.
Collective Consciousness on Moral Education

No	Principles	Elements
1 st	<i>Disciplinary</i>	<i>Legitimacy of Authority</i>
2 nd	<i>Collective</i>	<i>Selflessness</i>
3 rd	<i>Consciousness</i>	<i>Awareness of Our Social Being</i>

Source: Kenneth, 2014

²⁷ Wawancara, (Kepala BKPSDM Pemerintahan Kota Bukittinggi), 16 Juli 2021.

²⁸ Wawancara, (Kepala Bidang Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak Kota Bukittinggi), 14 Juli 2021

²⁹ Smith Kenneth. 2014. Emile Durkheim and the Collective Consciousness of Society. USA : Anthem Press

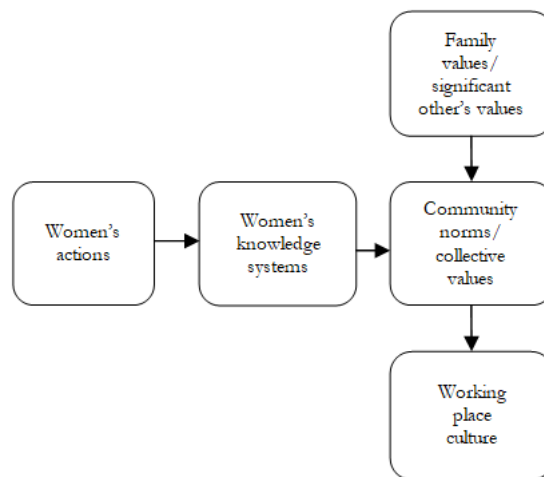
Moscovici revealed how women articulate their thoughts and consciousness through collective interaction and communication. Social representation is understood as a symbolic form that appears through interpersonal communication between women and other members of society. The social representation of women in this study is the way they think, interact, and interpret social objects with the local world. Women try to build collective and individual representation by examining the way in which social knowledge and practices develop from significant social problems in the workplace and through their social life.³⁰

Social representation refers to the cognition inherent in the collective thinking of society. Something different and deviating from traditional view would create tension in society and defy the reality of everyday life of citizens, groups, and institutions.³¹ Social representations built by women have a hand in the general view of society and are used at different levels, including large communities and small subgroups within society. Social representation is complex and holistic. Social representation can be "networks of ideas", choices towards social actions, and assessments of those social actions. Social representation is embedded in communicative practices between career women and members of society in their social life.

There are two functions of social representation seen in career with careers. First, they conventionalize the objects, people, and social realities encountered that give them a particular social identity. They as women and members of a society are formed socially through structures and traditions. Women have desires and choices in their career according to their personal awareness. Second,

women reformulate their social awareness by considering collective consciousness.

Diagram 4.
Women's Choice of Action
Working under a Bureaucracy System



Women negotiate with community demands based on culture and religious values in order to receive good acceptance from their communities and groups. They adapt their actions and choices to the collective values. They compromise with that collective value and adjust individual consciousness they have with the collective consciousness in which they belong. Women are aware that negotiations between the individual consciousness they have and the consciousness of the group and the society they belong will keep women attached to their society. Women's action and knowledge system is a result of contestation of values internalized through the family, values agreed by the community, and also culture in the workplace.

Conclusion

Women's action in the bureaucratic system is a contestation of the knowledge owned by women with internalized social values in them. The values socialized by family, close friends, significant others contested with the norms adopted by the community and

³⁰ Højjer, "Social Representations Theory."

³¹ Wawancara, (Kepala Bidang Pengembangan Kompetensi dan Pembinaan Aparatur Pemerintahan Kota Bukittinggi), 9 Juli 2021

workplace culture. The results from this study found that the norms regulate not only space but also oneself and individual identity which transcend the boundaries of space.

Women's decision to delay their career and to limit the space and working hours, at first glance it looks like a personal decision. When it is viewed from the theory of Social Representation, this is the result of negotiation and contestation between knowledge systems and individual consciousness, and collective consciousness of the community. Women remain employed, but they have to negotiate with the collective consciousness of a society based on religious and cultural norms. Women already equip themselves with various social capital such as, education, experience, and social networks. However, this does not guarantee women to have an equal role with men in the bureaucratic system. From the study that has been conducted, it seems that the bureaucratic system still tends to be masculine.

The representation of women in the bureaucratic system is still regulated by the collective knowledge. Moreover, there is an opinion that women is incompetence to occupy positions that too often interact with the opposite sex. Women should be able to have a career in bureaucracy with social capital (education) and cultural capital (networking). On the other hand, women must adapt to the social structure and collective consciousness of their society.

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