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Analisis Kepuasan Wisatawan sebagai Dasar Perbaikan Kualitas Pelayanan
Wisata Taman Nasional Bromo Tengger Semeru Jawa Timur

Menyemaikan Multikulturalisme: Peran Strategis Seni Pertunjukan Etnis
dalam Mengembangkan Masyarakat Multikultural di Jember

The Feminist Contribution to Public Policy Science

Citra Kuasa Wanita Jawa: Telaah Feminisme Kekuasaan dalam Novel
Perang Paregrek Karya Langit Kresna Hariadi

Dimensi Sakralitas dalam Kosmologi Budaya Using Banyuwangi

Persepsi Mahasiswa Akuntansi terhadap Kualitas Audit:
Studi Empiris pada Mahasiswa S-1 Akuntansi PTN dan PTS di Jember

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Pengaruh Orientasi Pasar terhadap Orientasi Pembelajaran, Budaya Organisasi,
Kepemimpinan, dan Kinerja (Survei pada Stasiun Radio FM Swasta
di Provinsi Jawa Timur)

Penerapan *Contextual Teaching And Learning* untuk Meningkatkan
Hasil Belajar Mata Kuliah Pengantar Ilmu Ekonomi

Potensi Basis Sektor/Sub-Sektor Pertanian dalam Lingkup Perekonomian Regional
Wilayah Tapal Kuda Provinsi Jawa Timur Sebelum Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah
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The Feminist Contribution to Public Policy Science

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As proposed by Simone de Beauvoir that 'Woman are made, they not born' Beauvoir means that women and men should not be judged by their sex, but as an individual, as a 'persons'. The goals of feminism is therefore the achievement of 'Personhood', gender differences are entirely artificial and can be obliterated. The journey to achieve its Personhood of Feminist movement largely contributed to the development of public policy science. The logic above prescribed to the knowledge that as a movement and a system of belief, public policy as a science will also impacted and affects the development of feminism on the context of its theoretical approach and its movement. This paper will try to drawn Feminism by taking it deep by several focuses. Those Focus consist of: the Historic Journey of Feminism, The Central Themes on Feminism, The Ideology That Contributes to Feminism, and the Impact of Feminism on Public Policy. Public Policy are influence by the Ideology that embrace by the Feminism, certain ideology will differently make way to drive the public policy. from my point of view there are logical linking between the Ideology of Feminism and the Unit analysis of public policy that have been provide by Hewlett and Ramesh (1995), the Unit analysis of public policy similarly identified the ideology on Feminism were based on the development of society it self, in the other hand the development of Public policy theory were increasingly developed by the contribution of interdisciplinary science.

Keywords: feminism, public policy, patriarchy, gender, ideology.

1. Introduction

Feminism refers to a collective term for systems of belief and theories that pay special attention to women's rights and women's position in culture and society. The term tends to be used for the women's rights movement, which began in the late 18th century and continues to campaign for complete political, social, and economic equality between women and men. This article deals specifically with the development of the ideas behind that movement and their influence and the impact of Feminism on the Public Policy context (whether as a process or policy content).

Feminism is defined in part by contests generated over its meaning. Understood broadly, it is a concern with the social role of women in relation to men in societies past and present, animated by a conviction that women suffer and have suffered injustices because of their sex.

Feminists are united by the idea that women's position in society is unequal to that of men, and that society is structured in such a way as to benefit men to the political, social, and economic detriment of women. However, feminists have used different theories to explain these inequalities and have advocated different ways of redressing inequalities, and there are marked geographic and historical variations in the nature of feminism.

Historically, feminist thought and activity can be divided into two waves. The first wave, which began in about 1800 and lasted until the 1930s, was largely concerned with gaining equal rights between women and men. The second wave, which began in the late 1960s, has continued to fight for equality but has also developed a range of theories and approaches that stress the difference between women and men and that draw attention to the specific needs of women.

On this paper I will try to draw a Feminism by taking it deep by several focus, those Focus are consist of; the Historic Journey of Feminism, The Central Themes on Feminism, The Ideology That Contributes to Feminism, and the Impact of Feminism on Public Policy.

2. Analysis

2.1 The Historic Journey of Feminism

2.1.1 The First Wave

Even though the word *feminism* was not used until the end of the 19th century, recognizably feminist thought began to emerge in the late 18th century. The earliest form of feminism was concerned with equal rights for women and men: this meant equal standing as citizens in public life and, to some extent, equal legal status within the home, during the Enlightenment, there are antecedents, Medieval and Renaissance writers took up the theme of women's social identity and defended expansion of female political power and influence, for example, Christine de Pisan's *Book of the City of Ladies* (3 405)

In England, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). In this work she demanded equality and better education for women and made the first sustained critique of the social system that relegated women to an inferior position.

Equal-rights feminism was given theoretical justification by philosopher John Stuart Mill, who wrote *The Subjection of Women* (1869), which was partly influenced by his wife, Harriet Taylor. Thus by the early 19th century, a small group of middle-class women in Britain began to call for better education, improved legal rights (especially within marriage), employment opportunities, and the right to vote.

The campaign for equal rights for women became focused on winning the right to vote by 1850s and up, this movement also known as woman suffrage. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton led the campaign for women's suffrage in the United States. Suffrage movements also appeared in New Zealand, the Soviet Union, Germany, Poland, Austria, and Sweden. The increasingly of woman suffrage as a results of women's movement were expressed through representations of women in literature and other art forms and social rules for women's behavior by the end of the 19th century,

Feminists began to turn their attention from questions of equality between women and men to issues that mainly concerned women by the 1920s, for example, for improved welfare provisions for mothers and children .These issues would become stronger in the second wave of feminism.

2.1.2 The second wave

The civil rights movement and antiwar protests that emerged in the 1960s in North America and from social protest movements in Europe and Australasia are pulling the trigger of second wave of feminism. The women's liberation movement, which started in the United States, combined liberal, rights-based concerns for equality between women and men with demands for a woman's right to determine her own identity and sexuality.

Us feminist and political activist, sometimes seen as the 'mother' of woman's liberation, Betty friedan's *The Feminine mystique*' (1963) is often credited with having stimulated the emergence of second wave feminism. In 1966 Betty help to found the National Organization of Women, and became its first president.

The second-wave feminism it mainly attention are the notion that the personal is political—that is, individual women do not suffer oppression in isolation but as the result of wider social and

political systems. Second-wave feminism also emphasized the physical and psychological differences between women and men. This ideology was greatly influenced by the writings of French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir and American feminist Kate Millett, who drew attention to ways in which women were oppressed by the very structure of Western society. In *The Second Sex* (1949) de Beauvoir argued that Western culture regarded men as normal and women as an aberration ("the Other"), and she called for the recognition of the special nature of women. Kate Millett, in *Sexual Politics* (1970), drew attention to the pervasiveness of patriarchy and to the ways in which it was reenforced through the family and culture.

The Second waves of feminism were represented in the seven demands of the women's movement, established between 1970 and 1978. These were equal pay; equal education and equal opportunities in work; financial and legal independence; free 24-hour day care for children; free contraception and abortion on demand; a woman's right to define her own sexuality and an end to discrimination against lesbians and freedom from violence and sexual coercion.

3.2.3 Feminism These Days

The rapid development of feminism brings the 1980s and 1990s have sometimes been described as a period of Post-Feminism, suggesting either that feminist goals have been achieved or the mission of feminism are accomplished the critical edge. The woman movement has certainly changed, but far from weakening it has continued to expand and broaden.

In recent years, feminist thinking has had to react against the concept of post-feminism, which argues that women have achieved full equality and that there is no need for further activism. It has also had to tackle the phenomenon of backlash, as identified by feminists such as American writer Susan Faludi. This backlash is seen as an attempt by men (and women) in American and British political life and other arenas to reverse the achievements of feminism, for example, by launching renewed moral crusades against abortion and the single-parent family.

The constrain factors is that feminism has often been criticized as Eurocentric—focused on European and North American culture—by black women and by women in the developing world. For example, Indian critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has accused Anglo-American feminist theorists of making women of the developing world "the Other" by imposing Western perspectives on them. However, women from non-Western cultures have taken up feminist ideas and accommodated them to their own situations. For example, some black feminists have developed a perspective which takes account of the fact that they are doubly marginalized, by race and by sex.

By contrast, some Asian, Caribbean, and African American feminists have developed politics which draw on their ethnic origins as a source of strength. Feminism in Latin America has looked at oppression across gender, class, and racial lines, although it has recently begun to focus more closely on women's issues. In Islamic countries a secular, liberal feminism has developed that seeks to eliminate discrimination against women and to outlaw practices such as polygyny (multiple wives), purdah (seclusion in the home).

2.2 The Central Themes on Feminism

The characteristic feature of feminism it highlight and examines gender divisions within society and assumed those are political rather than natural, feminist have questioned how such divisions originated and have sustained, with no regrets they challenged the conventional term of what is 'Political. In particular stress that private life, personal, family, and sexual

conduct, is highly political and is therefore an appropriate subject for political analysis. Thus it brings the main themes on Feminist Ideology which briefly described follow.

2.2.1 The Public/Private Divide

Politics has usually been comprehend as an activity that take places within a 'Public Sphere' which include government, institutions, political parties, pressure groups, while Family life and personal relationship have normally described as a member of 'Private sphere' and therefore they are acclaimed to be non-political.

Feminist are taking the stand point insist that politics ia an activity within social groups and is not merely restricted to the affairs of government or other public bodies. According to millett (1970,p,23) politics exist wherever social conflict is found, for example, defined politics as power structured relationship, arrangements whereby one group or person is controlled one another.

Feminist argue that sexual inequality has been preserved cause of the sexual division of labor that runs through society has been thought of 'natural rather than political, Feminist therefore required to break down the divide between "Public man' and 'Private woman', those are bases by the sexual inequality dichotomize the Public sphere are for men and private sphere for woman, for example male dominations on the public sphere of politics, work, arts, and literature, while woman are in the labyrinth private sphere of domestic works in mothering and centering upon the family.

2.2.2 Patriarchy

Feminist use the concept of 'patriarchy' to display the power relationship between men and women, which some feminist employ the concept of 'patriarchy' on the limited and specific sense to describe the structure of the family and the dominance of the father, this also relates the to concept of 'male supremacy' or male dominance to present gender relations in society at large. A patriarchy is therefore an hierarchic society, characterized by booth sexual and generational oppression.

Most feminist beliefs that man are dominating woman in all societies, but the form of patriarchy will appear on the another shape or in word, the form and the degree of oppression has varied in variety shapes in different cultures and at different times.

In order to challenge and eventually abolish patriarchy, feminist have to understand how the institution of patriarchy originated and maintained in conditioning human behavior. Are human beings born with a fix and unchangeable character, or they moulded and shaped by the social experience? If the feminist seek to liberate women from patriarchy they must be able to distinguish between the biological and unchangeable element in human nature.

2.2.3 Sex and Gender

Another central theme on Feminism are described the physical difference between man and woman, just how profound these natural differences are is an issue of crucial important for feminist, who seek to enhance the role of woman and build a non sexist society.

In order to to examine this issues, feminist have usually distinguished between sex and gender. 'Sex" refer to biological factors that separate 'men' from 'woman', and therefore unalterable. Gender, on the other hand, is a cultural term and refers to the different roles that society ascribes to men and women, and therefore distinguished between 'masculine' and 'feminine' stereotypes, for example the link between childbearing and rearing is cultural rather than

biological; woman are expected to stay at home bring up their children and look after the house because of the structure tradition of the family, while men have been more encouraged to undertake physical and outdoor work as a result of domestic responsibilities.

As proposed by Simone de Beauvoir that 'Woman are made, they not born' Beauvoir means that women and men should not be judged by their sex, but as an individual, as a 'persons'. The goals of feminism is therefore the achievement of 'Personhood', gender differences are entirely artificial and can be obliterated.

2.2.4 Equality and difference

The term of equality on the feminist movement bring the feminist into various positions. Traditionally, woman demanded equality with men, even to the extent that feminism is often characterized as a movement for the sexual equality. The various standpoint are on the term of equality itself, the main question are on what term that women are wish to be equal with men, thus what the implications of it? The various mainstream, cultural and social inequality on the 'genre' of feminist contribute to the attitude on the concept of Equality.

Liberal Feminist argue that woman should enjoy legal and political equality with men, they should possess equal rights, enabling to compete on equal terms with men regardless of sex, while the Socialist feminist argue that equal right maybe meaningless unless woman also enjoy social equality, which may require the abolition of both sexual class oppression.

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The lessons are that the equality of women aren't achieve by modeling what have been achieve by men, the approach of replicate men characteristic on the equal term can be called as possession of 'man centric'. For many feminist 'liberation' means the desire to developed and achieved fulfillment as a woman, In other words to be 'woman identified'.

2.3 The Ideology That Contributes to Feminism

Feminism is always takes part in social and political life, Sex and gender are relates to the structure of the societies, this are means that Feminism are attached to the ideology on it society, feminism is a cross-cutting Ideology, encompassing three major traditions of Liberal, socialist and Radical.

The Ideology that contributes to the feminism also has it challenged by other Ideology that resist to it, for example the right wing political perspectives such as Conservatives believed that women are born to be housewife's and mothers, and rebellion against this fate is both pointless and wrong, besides the Conservative, the National socialism that introduced by the Nazi and the Cultural and religions beliefs are also resistance to the applied of feminism that acclaimed to be western centric.

Despite the resistance above, The feminism have strong tradition on the three major perspective; liberal, Socialist and Radical, on this paper will try to examine the theory above which have been considerably contributed to the development of feminism.

2.3.1 Liberal Feminism

The philosophical basis of liberal feminism lies in the principle of Individualism, the belief that the human individual is all important and therefore that all individuals are equal moral worth, Individual are entitled to equal treatment, regardless of their sex, race, colour, creed or religion.

Liberal express this belief in the demand for equal rights, the equal access to participate to public or political life, any form of discrimination to women should be forbidden.

What have been described earlier in the first wave of feminism are similar to the aspiration of Liberal feminism, The first major feminist text *Wollstonecraft's Vindication on the rights of women* (1792), argued that woman should be entitled to the same rights and privileges as men. She acclaimed that the 'distinction' of sex would become unimportant in political and social life if woman gained access to education.

The second waves of feminism are also taking the standpoint on Liberal feminism with its major spokesman Betty Freidan, freidan's works of *The Feminine Mystique* (1960) are refer to the cultural myth that women seek security and fulfillment in domestic life and 'feminine' behavior, the Myth serves to constrain women to entering employment, politics and public life and in general.

Some works that have been described above brought various contribution on liberal feminist, Wollstonecraft works took it attention on the education should be opened to woman as well. John Stuart Mill works are contributed on the equal citizenship and political rights. The works of Betty Freidan are seems to aimed the standpoint of women's political rights by breaking down the remaining legal and social pressures that restrict woman from pursuing careers and being politically active.

Finally the demands of equal right, which lies at the core of liberal feminism has attracted those women whose education and social background equip them to take the advantage of wider educational and career opportunities, for example many of theorist feminist in the nineteenth-century are highly educated. The demand of equal right assumes that all woman all have the same opportunities to take advantage of better educational and economic opportunities for example, but in the reality women judged not only by their talents and ability, but by social and economic factors.

If the equal purposed of feminism is determined by the equal rights and equal opportunities for woman thus the Liberal feminist are ignored the form of social disadvantages such as race, social class. This also means that Liberal Feminism are reflect the 'white -middle class woman in modern societies, but fail to approach the problems of working class women, black women and women in underdeveloped world.

2.3.2 Socialist feminism

Socialist feminism is only become prominent in the second half of the twentieth century. In contrast to their liberal counterpart, socialist feminist do not believe that woman simply political or legal disadvantages that can be remedied by equal legal rights or the achievement of equal opportunities, further socialist feminist argue that relationship between the sexes is rooted in the social and economic structure itself.

The central theme of socialist feminism is that patriarchy can only be understood by the social and economic factors. The classic statement of this argument was developed by Friedrich Engels' *The origins of the family, private property and the state* (1884), Engels proposed that the women position in society had fundamentally changed by the development of capitalism and the institution of private property, Capitalism, however being based upon the ownership of private property by men, had overthrown 'Mother rights'. Like many Socialist feminist Engels believe that female oppression operated through the Institution of the family.

Some feminist argue that it is unwaged nature of domestic work that account for its low social status and leaves woman financially dependent upon their husband, however most socialist feminist argue that the emancipation requires that woman be afforded a broader ranged of social and economic opportunities rather than merely being paid for fulfilling their traditional social roles as housewives or sex object.

Although socialist feminist agree that 'woman question' cannot be separated from social and economic life, they are profoundly divided about the nature of the link. Gender divisions clearly cut across class cleavages, creating tension within socialist feminist analysis about the relative importance of gender and social class. Women are oppressed not only by men, but the institution of private property, by capitalism. It also suggest the women emancipation will be a by-product in social revolution in which capitalism is overthrown and replaced by socialism, women seeking liberation should therefore recognize that the 'class war' is more important than the idea of 'sex war', hence feminist should devoted their energies to the labor movement rather than support a separate an divisive women's movement.

Moreover the development of the Socialist feminist meet the the momentum on the emerged inertia of orthodox Marxist which also results of the disappointing progress that feminism made in socialist state society, for example, Allexandra Kollontai is a women commissar for social affairs in Lenin Government are well known for its idea to abolish the conventional system of family and its replacement by system of open sexuality. Her radical ideas were increasingly marginalized after the rise of Stalin.

UK feminist Julliet Mitchell are subscribed to the modern Marxism in on her work of *Women estate (1971)*, Mitchell accepts the interplay of economic, social, political and cultural forces in society. Rather than orthodox Marxist, Mitchell refuses to analyze the position of women in simple economic terms and has increasingly given attention to the cultural and ideological roots of patriarchy.

On her work Mitchell briefly described that women should fulfill four social functions : (1) They are members of the workforce and are active in production,(2) they are bear children and thus reproduce the human species,(3) they are responsible for socializing children, and (4) they are sex object. Liberation requires that woman achieve emancipation in each of these areas, and not merely that the capitalist class system be replaced by Socialism.

2.3.3 Radical Feminism

During the 1960s and the 1970s feminist movement sought to uncover the influence of patriarchy not only in politics, public life and economy, but in all aspect of social, personal and sexual existence, this trend wa evident in the pioneering work of Simone de Beauvoir (*The Second sex*, 1949) and was developed by early radical feminist such as Eva Figes (*Patriarchal attitude*, 1970) and Germaine Greer (*The Female Eunuch*, 1970).

However it was the work of activist such as the US writer Kate Millet and the Canadian author Shulamith Firestone that radical feminist developed a systematic theory of sexual oppression that clearly stood apart from established liberal and socialist tradition. In *Sexual Politics*(1970) Millet described patriarchy as a social constant running through all political, social and economic structures and found in every historical and contemporary society.

Millet proposed that patriarchy should be challenged through a process of 'Consciousness raising'; an idea that influenced by the black power movement in 1960-1970s. Women liberation thus required a revolutionary change ; the institution of the family would have to be destroyed, and the psychological and sexual oppression of women that operates at all levels of society would have to be overthrown.

Meanwhile Firestone's work of *The Dialectic of Sex* (1972) emphasis that the sexual difference are originate from the form of biologically, it means that the basic fact that women bears babies has led to 'natural division of labor', Firestone used the category of sex as Marx identified Social class in her analysis to attempt an explanation of social and historical

process in terms of sexual divisions, Infact women can only achieve emancipation if they transcend their biological nature and escape from the 'Curse of eve', Firestone believed that modern technology opened up the prospect of sexual equality by relieving women from the burden of pregnancy and childbirth, the technology has brings the various methods to substitute or to constrains the burden to woman by contraception, abortion, artificial reproduction and the transfer of child rearing responsibilities to social institutions are the answer.

The Central feature of radical feminism is the belief that sexual oppression is the most fundamental feature of society and that other forms of social injustices- class oppression, racial hatred and so on are merely secondary, however sexual equality and harmony is simply impossible because all relation between men and women must involve oppression , only women who keep celibate or choose lesbianism can regard themselves as woman who capable of finally escaping from the male oppression, as Ti-Grace Atkinson put it, 'Feminism is the theory, Lesbianism is the practice'.

2.4 The Impact of Feminism (Theory and Movement) on Public Policy

As a movement Feminism seems to take rapid development since it born in the late of eighteen-century, this means that the movement of feminism is always followed by the theory which represents their academic tradition. The academic tradition of feminism is practically providing the historical idea of feminism according to each of its era.

The rapid development of the society also brings the attention of feminist theory which they able to adapt and sustain the feminist movement and theory stays on ground attached to the time. The prompt response of feminism to countering the rapid change of various social issues that relates to woman are emerged the question on how's they put the central themes of Feminism are always attached to social problems that need to be solved by Public Policy. Those question light the question of what impact that have made by the Feminism to Public Policy.

By examining what I have described on the journey and ideology of feminism we can prescribed that there are some impact that reflect the feminism and it approach to Public Policy, those are depicted in table 1 bellow.

Table Feminism and its approach to Public Policy

The Ideology on Feminism	The works of Feminism Advocator	Main Issues on Feminism	Unit Analysis	The Approach to Public Policy
Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mary Wollstonecraft - <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i> (1792) • John Stuart Mill, who - <i>The Subjection of Women</i> (1869) • Betty Friedan's <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> (1963) 	Equal rights to politics and Education	Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Choice • Economic Welfare
Socialist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friedrich Engels <i>The origins of the family, private property and the state</i> (1884), • Juliet Mitchell <i>Women estate</i> (1971) 	Woman are Oppressed Not only by Men but also by the Institution of private property/ capitalism	Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marxism Pluralism/ corporatism
Radical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simone de Beauvoir (<i>The Second sex</i>, 1949) • Eva Figes (<i>Patriarchal attitude</i>, 1970) • Germaine Greer (<i>The Female Eunuch</i>, 1970) • Kate Millet <i>Sexual Politics</i> (1970) • Firestone's work of <i>The Dialectic of sex</i> (1972) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexual oppression are the most fundamental feature on society • The institution of the family have to be destroyed • Thus the Psychological & Sexual oppression that operates in all levels of society should be overthrown 	Institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neo Institutionalism • Statism

Source: Constructed from many sources including Hewlett and Ramesh (1995), Heywood (1998)

The table shows us that the feminism are make the standpoint on of its main issues, those issues accordingly to its era, which on those era there are certain focus of feminism that to be brought in Public domain.

The other standpoint also emerge when the Public Policy are influence by the Ideology that embrace by the Feminism, certain ideology will differently make way to drive the public policy, from my point of view there are logical linking between the Ideology of Feminism and the Unit analysis of public policy that have been provide by Hewlett and Ramesh (1995), the Unit analysis of public policy similarly identified the ideology on Feminism were based on the development of society it self, in the other hand the development of Public policy theory were increasingly developed by the contribution of interdisciplinary science.

3. Conclusion

The significant things that come to light are that the public policies are aware on what have been contributed by the feminism movement to enlighten the academic draft and theories on feminism, by referring to the movement of feminist, the Public policies main task are driven by the Ideology that embrace by the feminist, for example, the role of Public policy to maintain the 'Gender sensitive policy' in Indonesia are barely differ by the role of Public policy in US, the ideology behind the feminist are highly contribute to the Gender Sensitive policy.

Despite of its degree of dependent to Ideology, the main task of Public policy are must broaden view of the woman liberation or at least Sensitive Gender Policy.

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