

# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Background**

As a democratic country, one of the ways for Indonesian people to determine their representative in managing the government is conducting general elections. By means that, this election will be one of the main tools for the people to choose their representative in the government. In advance, these representatives will be nominated in their origin political parties to go forward as candidates in the general election that managed by General Election Commission and those who are elected in the general election will become the legislature who will accommodate people's aspirations in the national level.

Moreover, in the case of Indonesian general elections, there are several elections level namely: the president and vice president election, legislative elections (PILEG) or the people's representative council (DPR), the regional people's representative council (DPRD), the regional representative council (DPD), and the regional head election (PILKADA). This general election statement was first stated in the 1945 Constitution article 22E in paragraphs 1 and 2. The first paragraph states that the election must be carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly. Meanwhile, the second paragraph explains that general elections are held to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly, the president and vice-president, and members of the Regional People's Representative Council.

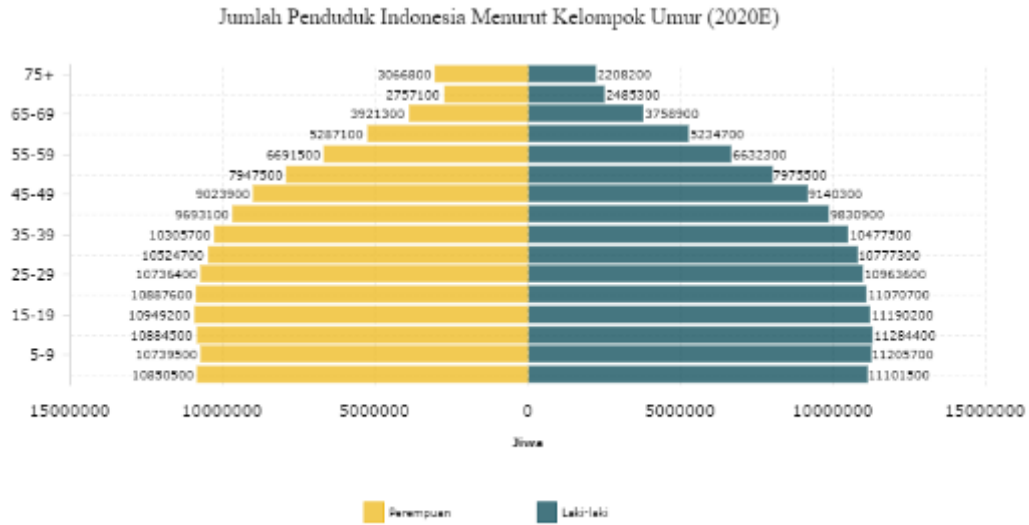
In the history of Indonesian election, the first general election was held in 1955. However, this election was only focused to vote the House of Representatives, the Provincial Regional House of Representatives, and the Regency/City Regional House of Representatives. Hence, during the New Order era, the people were not involved in the Presidential election until 1999. With that, for the first time in Indonesian history, on July 5, 2004, there was a direct election of the head of state (President) which involved the people participation directly. In this election, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla were chosen by the people to become the president and the vice president of Indonesia. However, one of the most interesting issues in this election was also exposed Megawati Soekarno Putri as a presidential candidate that competed Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Consequently, this phenomenon has changed the perspective of Indonesian women that previously was uncommon in the political participation. Since then, many Indonesian women encourages themselves to take a part of Indonesian politics.

Furthermore, some other laws that mention women's participation, such as the 2002 Law number 31 Concerning Political Parties article 7 paragraph E which states about citizen participation in political parties based on the principle of gender equality democracy. Then, the 2003 Law Number 12 About Elections article 1 paragraph A relating to Law 2002 number 31 Concerning Political Parties as the legal basis of political parties who want to run for election participants. Also, the 2008 Law No. 2 on Renewed Political Parties and the assertion of women's participation in political parties must be 30%, mentioned in article 2 paragraph 2.

And most recently, in 2008 Law number 10 concerning the election of the People's Representative Council and the Regional People's Representative Assembly includes a 30% reaffirmation of women's participation in central political party management. Based on the four laws, it is clear that women's involvement in the management of political parties to participate in the nomination of House of Representatives members is mandatory.

As a woman who was imaged to be in the kitchen, currently, this portrait is no longer valid, especially in the Republic of Indonesia. The recognition of women is presently equal to men (gender equality). Indonesia is a country with almost the same level of life of women as men, based on the inter-census population survey the high number of female presentations is 134.27 million people approaching the presentation of men which is 135.34 million people. This fact does not rule out the possibility that many women who take part in work to fulfil their daily needs are helping their families. The following table in next page is the result of a survey from 2019.

Figure 1.1 Indonesia Population based on Age



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 2019

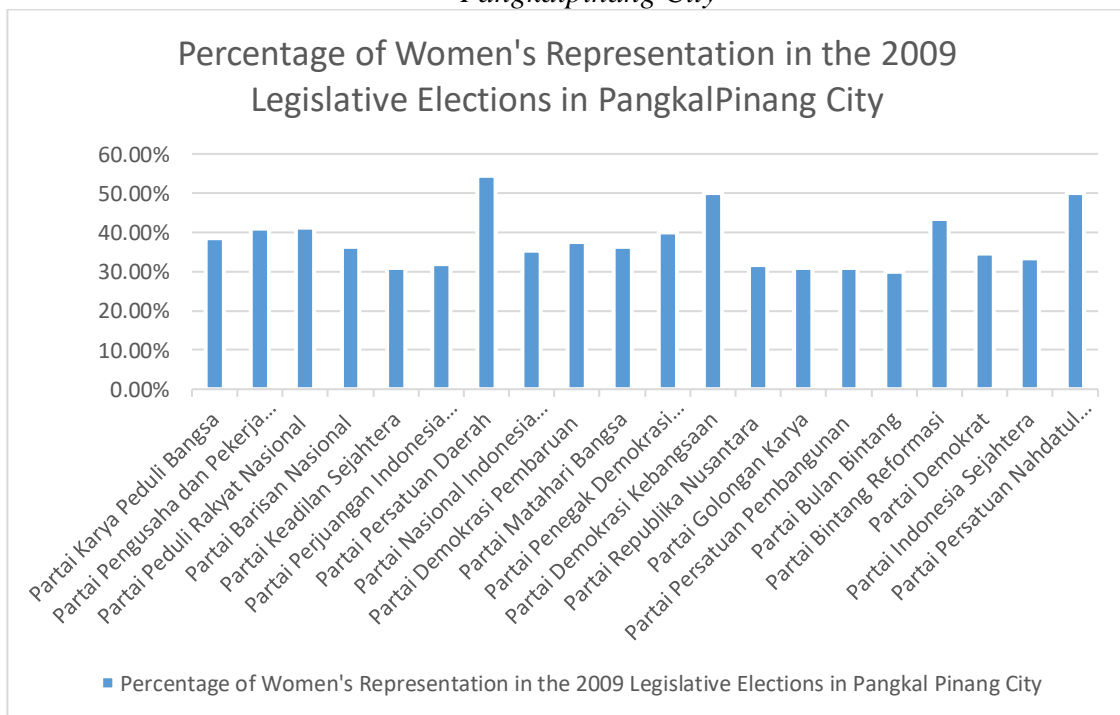
Likewise, the election of legislative members must now involve women in a political party. In this study, it focuses on how the fulfilment of women’s representation during the general elections of the City-level Regional Representative Council (DPRD of Pangkalpinang City) in Pangkalpinang City in from the 2019 concurrent elections 2019.

As in 2009, many parties ran for the legislative elections. Based on data from the 2009 legislative elections of 44 nominating parties, only 20 parties passed the 30% verification of women’s representation. These parties are Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa, Partai Pengusaha dan Pekerja Indonesia, Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional, Partai Barisan Nasional, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Partai Perjuangan Indonesia Baru, Partai Persatuan Daerah, Partai Persatuan Indonesia Marhaenisme, Partai Demokrasi Pembaruan, Partai Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan, Partai Republika

Nusantara, Partai Golongan Karya, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Partai Bulan Bintang, Partai Bintang Reformasi, Partai Demokrat, Partai Indonesia Sejahtera, and Partai Persatuan Nahdatul Umat Indonesia.

From this party, Partai Persatuan Daerah is the party that has the highest percentage in women's representation of 54.5% with six women out of 11 permanent candidates. At the same time, the Partai Bulan Bintang occupies the lowest position with 30% (minimum requirement) of 9 women out of 30 permanent candidates. Chart Below is a percentage chart of the representation of women from 20 political parties whose female representation is above 30%.

*Figure 1.2 Women's Representation in 2009 Legislative Election at Pangkalpinang City*

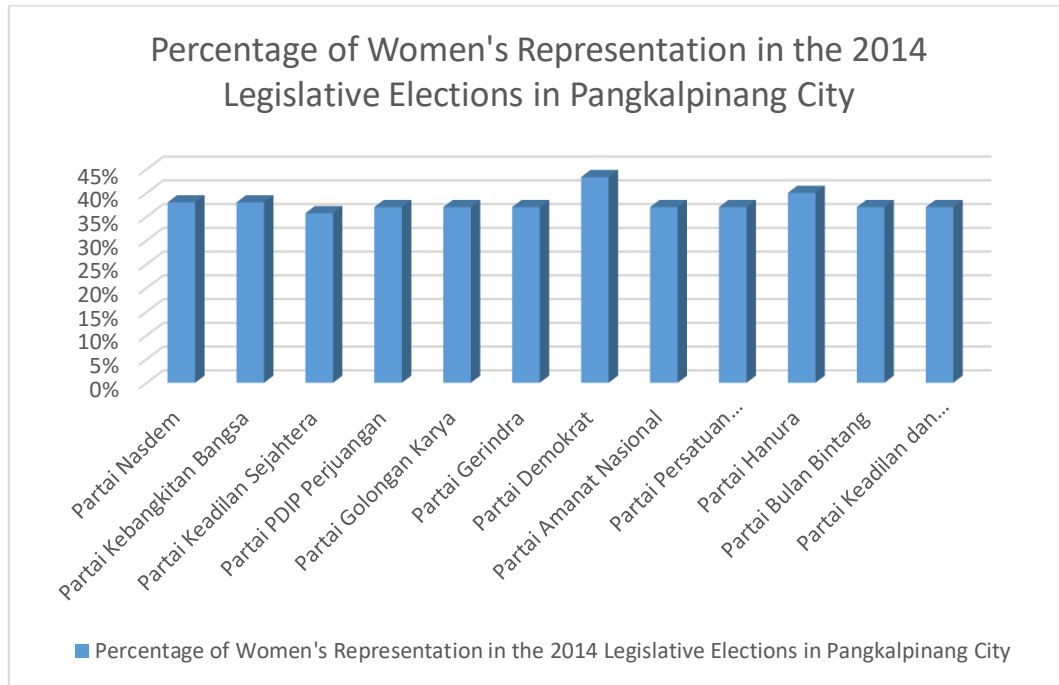


*Source: KPU Pangkalpinang*

Based on the results of the 2009 election, there were 25 members elected as members of the Regional Representative Council of the city of Pangkalpinang. Twenty-four men from several political parties namely one from the Hanura Party, one from the Bulan Bintang party, two from the Gerindra party, two from the PKS party, two from the PAN party, four from the Golkar party, four from the P3 party, four from the PDI Perjuangan party and four from Democratic party. At the same time, only one woman was elected from the Bulan Bintang party and came from Electoral District 4.

Then in 2014, as many as 12 political parties passed the verification of data related to representation in the party above 30%. The Democratic Party holds the highest percentage in women's representation this time at 43.33%, with 13 women out of 30 permanent candidates. Therefore, ten other political parties are already above the percentage of 35.71% except for the Prosperous Justice Party, which is the lowest in the representation of women. Even so, in 2014, the average party that passed the verification was above 30%, yet it could be said to be quite far from the minimum percentage specified. The following is a graph of the percentage of women representation in the 2014 legislative elections in the city of Pangkalpinang.

*Figure 1.3 Women's Representation in 2014 Legislative Election at Pangkalpinang City*



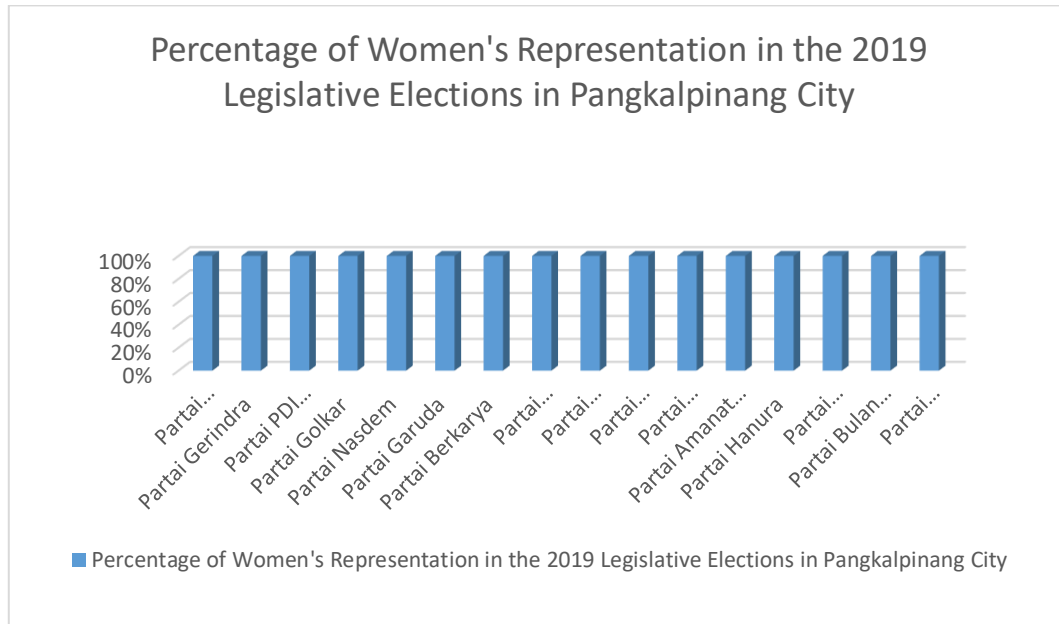
*Source: KPU Pangkalpinang*

Based on the results of the 2014 election, 30 people were elected to the Pangkalpinang Regional Representative Council with 28 men. These elected people were from: one from PKS party, one from PKB party, one from Bulan Bintang party, one from Golkar party, two from Nasdem party, three from Democratic party, three from Gerindra party, three from Hanura party, three from PAN party, four from PDI party Struggle, four from party P3. However, different from 5 years ago, in the 2009 legislative elections, only one woman was elected as a member of the Regional House of Representatives in Pangkalpinang. In 2014, there were two women elected, one from the Golkar party from Electoral District 3 and 1 from the Gerindra from Electoral Party 4.

Based on data held by the Pangkalpinang City Election Commission, the list of permanent candidates for the Regional Representative Council in the 2019 legislative elections showed 20 parties qualified for the fulfilment of the percentage of women. The highest participation of women comes from the Partai Solidaritas Indonesia, which is three women with a percentage of 43% of the total number of candidates in the permanent candidate list of 7 people. In the second position is the Partai PDI Perjuangan, which is 12 women with a percentage of 40% of the total number of candidates in the permanent candidate list of 30 people. Then, two political parties are in the third position, namely Partai Bulan Bintang with 11 women out of 29 candidates in the permanent candidate list and the percentage of women is 38%. Hence Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia with six women out of 16 in the permanent candidate list with the percentage of women is 38%. Furthermore, ten parties have a rate of women 37% with 11 women from 30 candidates in the permanent candidate list, namely Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Partai Gerindra, Partai Golongan Karya, Partai Nasdem, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Partai Persatuan Indonesia, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Partai Amanat Nasional, Partai Hanura and Partai Demokrat.

*Figure 1.4 Women's Representation in 2014 Legislative Election at Pangkalpinang City*





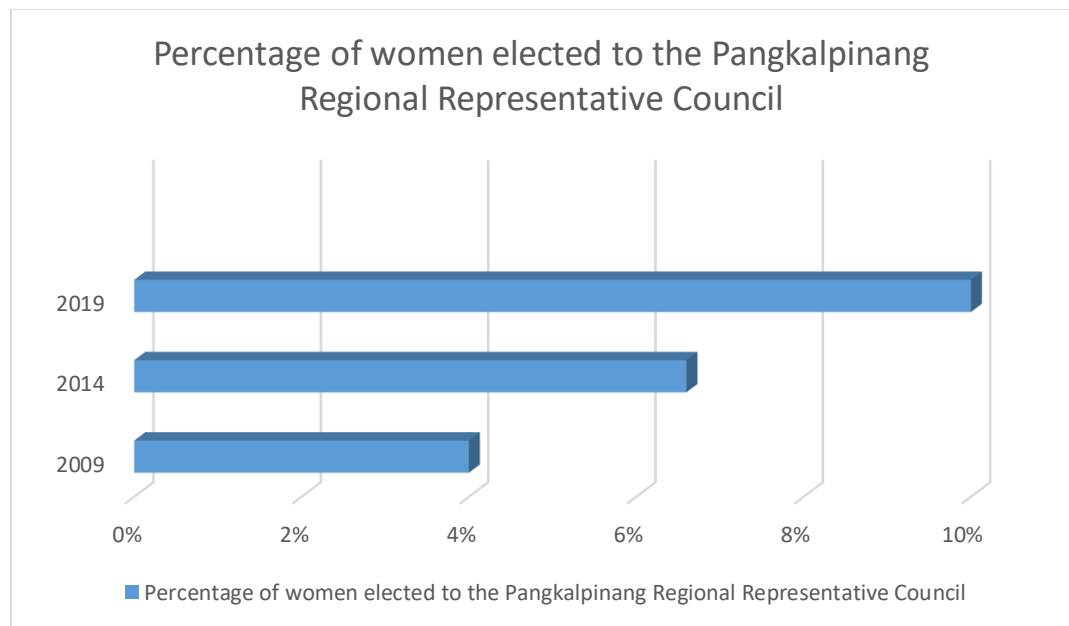
*Source: KPU Pangkalpinang*

Then, the most recent was a simultaneous general election held on April 17, 2019. Resulting in 30 people elected as members of the Regional Representative Council of the city of Pangkalpinang, there are 27 men elected. These 27 men are divided into: one from the PKB party, two from the PAN party, three from the Nasdem Party, three from the PDIP party three from the Gerindra party, four from the P3 party, four from the Golkar party, four from the Democratic party. At the same time, the other three people are women from three political parties namely, one from the Gerindra party from Electoral District 4, 1 from the Nasdem party from Electoral District 1, and 1 from the PDI-P party from Electoral District 1.

From 2009, 2014 to 2019, the women representation did not achieve 30% as ideal. In 2009, only one woman or 4% was selected; however, it supposed to be eight people to meet 30%. In the following year 2014, only two people or 7% from nine

people were chosen. Until 2019, there were only three women or 10% who succeeded in sitting on the Regional Representative Council; it supposed to be nine so that the ideal percentage was 30%.

*Figure 1.5 Women Elected Pangkalpinang Regional Representative Council*



*Source: KPU Pangkalpinang*

In this research, Pangkalpinang is a targeted place to research women's representation because according to the policy of women's representation in the Regional Representative Council is 30%. However, in reality, after the election of candidates, especially women, it does not reach 30%.

## **1.2. Research Question**

The problem formulation of this study is:

1. How is the fulfilment of women's representation during the general elections of the city-level Regional Representative Council (DPRD of Pangkalpinang City) in Pangkalpinang City at the simultaneous General Elections in 2019?
2. What were factors influence the success of the election of women legislators in the 2019 legislative elections?

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

Based on the problem questions, the purpose of this study is:

1. To know how the fulfillment of women's representation during the general elections of the city-level Regional Representative Council in Pangkalpinang City at the simultaneous General Elections in 2019 is.
2. To know what the factors are influence the success of elected women legislative candidates.

### **1.4. Research Benefits**

In this research, the authors make two categories of benefits from this research directly and indirectly, namely as follows:

#### **1.4.1. Theoretical Benefits**

The author hopes that the results of this research will be useful to add insight to the author in terms of fulfilling the quota of women's participation in the nomination of legislative members and become the basis of knowledge for forums related to this theory.

The author also hopes that the results of this research can broaden the horizons of candidates who will become legislative members in order to find out the methods or tips of female elected members of the House of Representatives.

#### **1.4.2. Practical Benefits**

The author hopes this research in the future can be one of the references for other writers. Also, the authors hope that this research can broaden the perspective of the community, especially those living in the city of Pangkalpinang to gain a better understanding about the fulfilment of women's participation quotas in the realm of legislative institutions. Hence, this research aims to help people who have the desire to participate directly in congressional member nominations, especially for women. In the end, the author also hopes that this research will be useful for women legislative candidates, especially from the experience of elected women legislator to encourage other women to participate in politics.

#### **1.5. Previous Research**

Previous research is research that has been done by authors who already have results on material and themes related to their particular topics. In the following, the authors attach some previous research related to the discussion or text in this research as a reference and a second data source.

- a. According to (Nimrah dan Sakaria, Kunci, & Budaya Patriarki, 2015) with title "Perempuan Dan Budaya Praktiki Politik - Studi Kasus Kegagalan

Caleg Perempuan Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014”. Based on the results of this research stated that the participation of women in the political world, especially the nomination of legislative members is quite a lot, it’s just that patriarchal culture is one of the severe obstacles faced by women who dare to go down into politics. Because patriarchal culture itself distinguishes gender equality between men and women, creating definite limits that make women considered only worthy of being in the kitchen rather than playing a role in politics. At the same time, patriarchy culture itself has become a culture that has long been held for the men position, which is preferred in many fields.

- b. According to (Rahman, Harsono, & Dewi, 2017) entitled “Pengalaman Partai Politik Pada Pemilu Legislatif Tahun 2014 Dalam Pemenuhan Kuota Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Kabupaten Ponorogo”. Based on the results of research that made the Golkar, PAN and Gerindra political parties as their case studies resulted that the three parties had fulfilled the requirements to require 30% for women’s representation in the 2014 legislative election. Indeed, problems were arising. There were legislative candidates elected but previously refusing to be nominated. Then, it was considered lack of the maximum women’s empowerment program causing women to think that politics is scary. Besides, the obstacle encountered in the effort to fulfill the 30% quota for women’s representation in the three political parties is the lack of human resources who want to participate in the political world, so

that political parties impose their efforts to nominate female cadres as candidates to fulfill the requirements. Resulting in the cadres did not fight maximally for the election of members of the legislature. Also, financial problems become another obstacle for nominated cadres so that they only become the spearhead to fulfill the administrative requirements of 30%.

- c. According to (Yulyana, 2017) entitled “Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Proses Legislasi DPRD Kabupaten Karawang Periode 2009-2014”. Based on this journal, it can be concluded that the fulfilment of the quota for women’s representation in the Karawang regency in the 2009-2014 legislative elections is still lacking, of which 50 members were elected, only six women were selected with a percentage of 12% while 44 men with a percentage of 88%. In fulfilling the 30% quota, 15 women were chosen not only in achieving quotas for women’s representation but in the process of implementing Law No. 10/2008 concerning the recruitment of women and the natural desires of women who do want to participate. One resource person stated that she had no willingness to join and only fulfilled the 30% quota administrative requirements for women. What is important is how the effects that will result from women’s participation in producing policies must be based on women’s needs, not just through administration.
- d. According to (Artina, 2016) entitled “Keterwakilan Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilu Legislatif Provinsi Riau Periode 2014-2019”. An increase in the participation of women in the 2014-2019 legislative elections in Riau

Province, has made the Affirmative Action policy to produce a good impression. With that, it can be accepted by women who initially nominate themselves as parliamentary candidates in the 2009-2014 legislative elections. It affected the participation that increased from ten people into 18 people in the 2014-2019 period. This phenomenon makes the writer hope to prioritize quality over quantity if the quantity itself is followed by class to complement each other. Finally, women can play an active role in proposing policies or regulations relating to women and can carry out their duties and authority to the full.

- e. According to (Kania, 2016) entitled “Hak Asasi Perempuan dalam Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia”. Based on this Journal, it can be concluded that from 1998 to 2008 the Indonesian government issued many laws or regulations which gradually eradicated discrimination against women. For instance, the issuance of regulations on the protection of women’s human rights, justice for gender equality between men and women are matters. Through several laws issued by the government for the protection of women, this indicates that women lately can get the right to independence on their own feet. These lists below are several laws and regulations that contain the content of women’s rights protection:

Law Number 39 the Year 1999 concerning Human Rights, Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Law Number 12 the Year 2006 concerning Citizenship, Law Number 21 the Year 2007

concerning Eradication of Trafficking in Persons, and Political Laws (Law No. 2 of 2008 and Law No. 42 of 2008). Then Presidential Instruction Number 9 The year 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) and Presidential Decree No. 181 years 1998 concerning the Formation of the National Commission on Violence against Women or *Komnas Perempuan*, amended by Perpres Number 65 of 2005.

- f. According to (Adeni & Harahap, 2017) entitled “Komunikasi Politik Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Arena Politik.” Based on this journal, the author believes that women’s participation in politics is still lacking. Politic and women’s communication should encourage women to politicize well and be able to increase the percentage of women’s involvement to eradicate the issue of gender discrimination naturally.
- g. According to (Tengah, 2016) entitled “Perempuan Dan Politik Di Aceh: Studi Keterwakilan Perempuan Pasca Pemilihan Umum 2014.” In the 2014-2019 legislative elections became one of the new hopes in the realm of politics in Aceh. Because 12 women who succeeded in breaking through the political wall in Aceh are known to be difficult because they prioritize men, making the community hope that there will be people who will defend women’s rights. In other words, these 12 women hold sharp spears to change the mindset that women only take care of internal problems (domestic matters) rather than participating in politics.



- h. According to (Wahyudi, 2018) entitled “Peran Politik Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Gender.” Based on the results of this journal states that there are three challenges along with capital that must be prepared by candidates for women legislative members, namely political capital, economic capital and social capital. Therefore, political capital is related to knowledge of the ways and procedures of politics. It is directly related to social capital where there must be a high social life that will communicate with others to be known to economic capital, that is capital prepared to promote themselves as candidates who will participate in the world politically. On the other hand, some obstacles exist by women, namely ideological and psychologically related to the perspective where gender equality will be at stake until the lack of confidence that appears to be the main obstacle. But since the issuance of Law No. 8/2012 and PKPU No. 7/2013, it has succeeded in forcing political parties to fulfil the 30 per cent quota for women’s representation.
- i. According to (Rodiyah, 2016) entitled “Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah.” Based on this journal, the author quotes Mutthalib and Khan (1982) about women’s participation in political parties by 30% is small. The reality in Indonesia shows that size with a normative quota of 30 per cent (the fact is even lower at 16 per cent), apparently has not fully had a positive impact on the creation of policies in favour of women. Another thing is that political parties must be severe in

empowering women about political insights to create excellent human resources to participate as members of the regional legislative assembly to be elected.

- j. According to (Pandiangan, 2017) entitled “Perempuan Politisi Minangkabau Dalam Dunia Politik: Studi Tentang Alasan Perempuan Memaknai Politik.” Based on the results of this research, the author states that women must be involved in politics. Also, with the development of times, many women have more knowledge about politics that will compete with men who are considered influential in politics. The existence of matrilineal culture (the descendants outlined by the mother’s descendants) (Koentjaraningrat, 2007) of the position of women and men is very influential in Minangkabau culture. The status of women who are considered to have a higher value in the environment and relationships overcomes the position of men. The author also emphasizes that Matrilineal culture is not an obstacle for women who want to participate in politics but rather is a motivator for women to be interested in going directly into politics. Matrilineal culture also gives more points to prospective women legislative members because of the position of women who are close to adat stakeholders.

Based on several previous research above, the author concludes that there is still a lack of women’s participation related to fulfilling the 30% quota in political parties that are feasible and correct. Political parties only make women’s

participation as the fulfilment of administrative requirements, not to seriously engage directly voluntarily to become candidates for legislative members.

## **1.6. Theoretical Framework**

### **1.6.1. Women Representation**

#### a. The Concept of Gender

Gender is a concept that always tries to discuss the social problems of men and women equally. So far, it seems like defending women and always fighting for women's rights, because, in terms of quantity and quality, women are still lagging and experiencing various obstacles to gender equality and justice. With that, the concept of gender is a trait attached to men and women because it is constructed socially and culturally (Marhaeni, 2011: 1-3).

In most cultures, gender differences explain the existence of troubled relationships and the dominance of men over women. M. Joan Scott defines gender as: *"constitutive elements of social relations based on differences held by women and men, and a major way to explain power relations. Gender differences have played an important and fundamental role in shaping structural inequalities in human history. Injustice is what then produces differences in self-identification, human understanding, social status, and power relations"*. (Sastriyani; 2009: 104).

Gender is also understood as a cultural concept of men and women roles in a certain period that is constructed. Therefore, gender, as a concept that refers to the responsibilities of men and women roles can be changed by social and cultural conditions. Gender has an understanding of gender differences between men and women who are not at the biological level and God's nature but the socio-cultural level. Gender is a perspective that distinguishes between men and women through social and cultural processes that are constructed by humans (Muawanah; 2009: 7-8).

Meanwhile, Dian Rakyat (2005: 3) states that gender refers to the roles and behaviours that are formed by the community. These behaviours are embedded through the process of socialization and several demands relating to the sexes of men and women. Like race, ethnicity, and class, gender is a social category that largely determines one's life opportunity, which shapes one's participation in society and the economy.

#### b. Women and Politics

During this time, women are constructed socially and politically to have specific labels with a tendency to only be in the private realm that is not related to the political world. Barriers to women to enter politics are twice as significant as men. Therefore, women are required to have the same quality and standards as men. In a condition that is still being

hegemony by patriarchal ideology, it undoubtedly will be difficult for women to achieve these standards (Sastriyani; 2009: 171). Gender inequality or gender injustice is a form of the difference between women and men in all fields that are based on social construction. The patriarchal culture system of the Indonesian people is the basis for the creation of gender injustice, especially in the political field.

Furthermore, patriarchy is the concept that men hold power over all crucial roles in society, in government, the military, education, industry, business, health care, advertising, religion, and so forth. In addition to the patriarchal hegemony law over gender balance, it is also caused by the prevailing capitalist system, namely whoever has massive capital wins. This results in men who are symbolized stronger than women will have a more significant role and function (Handayani, et al; 2008: 11).

Generally speaking, the patriarchal culture, which is very dominant in Southeast Asia, severely limits the opportunities for women, in general, to enter politics, or furthermore hold the reins of national political leadership. Based on patriarchal culture, the dominance of men is legitimized in various fields of life, including politics. Consequently, women are only justified or accepted their role in the public or political sphere just to fill the void caused by the death or imprisonment of a male family member (Marhaeni; 2011: 18)

Syafi'i Maarif (2003: 56) states that the patriarchal tradition in general, the political world is categorized as a male world and therefore, the world of women out of the world. It is men who determine and decide on various policies and laws, including those concerning women's rights and interests. As a result, many policies and laws that do not support women's interests.

The rise of Asian women politicians on political power shows that the path is not easy. A series of bloody tragedies started the rise of female politicians, such as Cory Aquino in the Philippines, Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Megawati in Indonesia, Gloria Arroyo-Macapal in the Philippines or Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Sri Lanka. Megawati, for example, in order to achieve the highest political position in the party must swallow a bitter pill due to the bloody tragedy of July 27, 1996 (Mulia, et al; 2005: 19).

Some primordial obstacles still hamper women in doing business in politics. Among other things, sexual problems. Male politicians hardly find any significant obstacles related to their physical appearance, while women are more judged to be related to their appearance, for example, about hair models, ear studs, how to walk, and how to dress. After that only their way of thinking (Mulia, et al; 2005: 14).

c. Women's Representation Policy in General Elections

Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 instructs the Governor, *Camat*, Mayor, Regent, and *Kelurahan* to conduct PUG in the development process from the planning, implementation, and monitoring. The opportunity in the 2004 election was the emergence of affirmative action on the formulation of gender-responsive policies known as the quota system specifically to increase the representation of women in decision-making institutions. With the emergence of a balanced number of men and women in decision making, it is hoped that policies can give birth to justice for women and men (Muawanah; 2009: 46).

Law Number 10 the Year 2008 concerning General Elections for Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, the Regional Representative Council and the Regional People's Representative Council, is a substitute for Law Number 12 of 2003. The previous Law Number 12 of 2003 has also been amended as amended lastly by Law Number 10 of 2006 concerning the establishment of Government Regulations in lieu of, Law Number 1 of 2006 concerning the second amendment to Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD into Law Number 12 of 2003 is not in accordance with the demands of development, and the dynamics of a democratic society, then it was replaced by Law Number 10 of 2008. In this case, the system of women's representation was also part of Law Number 10 of 2008. The political representation system women

are associated with Affirmative Actions, as a solution to the pursuit of underdevelopment of men.

Therefore, Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning elections became the legal basis for the 2009 elections. Article 53 of Law Number 10 the Year 2008 again contains a quota of 30% of female candidates, coupled with article 55 paragraph 2 which lists the zipper system or in each of the three prospective candidates there is at least one woman, and article 214 regarding the determination of elected candidates who are still based on the acquisition of 30% BPP (number of voter divider) and or return to the serial number (Marhaeni; 2011: 26).

As for the 2014 elections, Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning Elections has been enacted. This policy requires political parties to nominate at least 30% of women of the total candidates at the central, provincial, and district/city levels. In general, affirmative policies have been further refined. We can see this in Law Number 22 the Year 2007 concerning the Implementation of Elections which is now Law Number 15 the Year 2011 concerning the Implementation of Elections, Law Number 2 the Year 2008 concerning Political Parties and Law Number 10 the Year 2008 updated to Law Number 8 the Year 2012 concerning the DPR Elections, DPD, and DPRD.



In article 6 paragraph (5) of Law Number 22 the Year 2007 and Law Number 15 the Year 2011 Regarding Election Organizer, it is stated that:

*“Komposisi keanggotaan KPU, KPU Provinsi, dan KPU Kabupaten/Kota memperhatikan keterwakilan perempuan sekurang-kurangnya 30% (tiga puluh perseratus).”*

The affirmative policy is also carried out at the level of management of political parties, which in article 20 of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties states that:

*“Kepengurusan partai politik tingkat provinsi dan kabupaten/kota sebagaimana dimaksud dalam pasal 19 ayat (2) dan ayat (3) disusun dengan memperhatikan keterwakilan perempuan paling rendah 30% (tiga puluh persen) yang diatur dalam AD dan ART Partai Politik masing-masing.”*

Regarding the system of women’s representation and regulation which is more important in the context of affirmative action so that women can increasingly take part in the legislative body is a provision regarding candidates for at least 30% female representation. Article 53 to article 58 of Law Number 10 the Year 2008 concerning the General Elections of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD states that:

*“Daftar bakal calon sebagaimana pada pasal 52 memuat paling sedikit 30% (tiga puluh perseratus) keterwakilan perempuan.”*

Article 55 paragraph (2) is explicitly determined that:

*“Di dalam daftar bakal calon sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1), setiap 3 (Tiga) orang bakal calon terdapat sekurang-kurangnya 1 (satu) orang perempuan bakal calon.”*

Then Law Number 8 of 2012 replaces Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning provision 30 % female representation. Article 8 paragraph 2e, Article 55, Article 56 paragraph 2 and Article 215B. Article 55 of Law Number 8 the Year 2012 concerning General Elections of Members of DPR, DPD, and DPRD states that:

*“The list of nominees as referred to in article 53 contains at least 30% (thirty per cent) women’s representation.”*

While Article 215B of Law No.8 Year 2012. Stating:

*“Dalam hal terdapat dua calon atau lebih yang memenuhi ketentuan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf a dengan perolehan suara yang sama, penentuan calon terpilih ditentukan berdasarkan persebaran perolehan suara calon pada daerah pemilihan dengan mempertimbangkan keterwakilan perempuan”*

Strictly speaking, the KPU also regulates the representation of women, namely KPU Regulation No. 7 of 2013 Article 11 concerning the Procedures for Nominating DPRD Members states:

*“Daftar bakal calon sebagaimana dimaksud dalam pasal 53 memuat paling sedikit 30% (tiga puluh persen) keterwakilan perempuan”*

In this case, every political party participating in the election must fulfil the requirements of 30% female candidates in each constituency (electoral district). Thus, the affirmative action of women's representation in the list of prospective candidates is carried out not only for the DPR but also applies to the Provincial representatives and Regency/City representative. Quotas are needed for balance to occur and to reach critical mass (strategic numbers). The representation that is considered significant is if women's participation reaches a percentage of 30% (Soetjipto; 2005: 40).

Ani Soetjipto, in her book “Politics of Hope for the Post-Reform Indonesian Women's Political Journey” explained the goal of affirmative policy for women with a quota mechanism is to increase the number of female representatives. Representing the identity or marginalized groups and those who are excluded, is expected that the principle of representation will work optimally to change the policy agenda and shift the policy priorities that have left these groups excluded. Affirmative policy for women is based on an understanding of gender perspective politics which is interpreted not only as a battle of ideas (politics of ideas), but also a presence that gives meaning

(politics of presence). Affirmative policy in Indonesia has only reached the level of encouraging an increase in the number of women and just any woman, not yet in the effort of how the existence of women is meant to be able to create a transformative political process such as the ideals of the affirmative struggle in Indonesia (2011: 56-57).

d. Factors of Women's Representation

In the book Astrid Anugrah, SH (2009: 28) explains that Law No.39 of 1999, in its explanation, article 46, regarding women's representation means that "women's representation is the giving of equal opportunity and position for women to carry out their roles in the field of executive, judicial, legislative, party, and general elections leading to justice and gender equality."

Meanwhile, Ani Widayani Soetjipto (2005: 28) states that women as a political category basically can participate in an indirect form, namely as representatives of women's groups who can represent the interests of their groups. Women's representation in this sense is to voice women's interests. At this point, what many people ignore, even including women themselves, is that women themselves better voice women's interests because they genuinely understand the needs of women. Women's representation is a political issue that still needs attention to be fought by women. Women observers are very confident and optimistic that by involving women in the policy decision-making

process, it will significantly affect political justice itself because women are more sensitive to the interests of families, children and women (Irwan; 2009: 59).

Ani Widya Soetjipto (2005: 23) said that besides the low representation of women in political life in terms of quantity, there is another picture that completes it, namely the quality problem. Their participation in politics so far, if indeed it exists, only seems to play a secondary role. They are only seen as sweeteners or cheerleaders, and this reflects their lack of knowledge in the political field.

Ann Philips, in *The Politics of Presence* (1998) states that politics for women is not only interpreted as a battle of ideas and ideas but must also be interpreted in a meaningful presence. When politics is also interpreted as the presence of political actors, the concept of representativeness becomes vital to be discussed. The principle of representativeness does not only mean static as representing certain groups and interests, but the idea of representativeness in it concerns issues of responsiveness and accountability (Soetjipto; 2011: 71).

#### e. Why Women Should Participate in Politics

##### 1. The Concept of Political Participation

The general definition of political participation is the activity of a person or group of people to participate actively in political life, among others by choosing the head of the state and, directly or

indirectly, influencing government policy (public policy). These activities include actions such as voting in elections, attending general meetings, contacting or lobbying with government officials or members of parliament, becoming party members or one of the social movements with direct action, and so on. This is as what was stated by Hebert McClosky, Samuel P Huntington, and Joan M. Nelson (in Miriam Budiardjo; 2008: 367), as follows: According to Hebert McClosky (in Miriam Budiardjo; 2008: 367) argues that: Political participation is the voluntary activities of the citizens through which they take part in the ruling voter process, and directly or indirectly, in the process of forming general policies.

While Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson (Miriam Budiardjo; 2008: 368) stated that: Political participation is the activity of citizens acting as individuals, intended to influence government decision making. Participation can be individual or collective organized or spontaneous, steady or sporadic, peaceful or with legal or illegal violence, effective or ineffective. Various literature on women and politics show that various reasons prevent women from participating in political life, such as economic factors, party systems, myths related to socio-cultural issues, stereotypes and gender segregation in the field of work. In addition to the allocation of roles in the political and private sectors, the double burden that must be borne by women who have

families, also contributes to hampering women's participation in political life. Another reason that is no less important is the lack of assets they have to participate in political life and decision making because most women have little education or even no education at all (Marhaeni; 2011: 30).

## 2. Women's Political Participation

Conditions in the field of "female" citizen participation in politics are still low or weak. Although explicitly articles 27 and 28 of the 1945 Constitution have regulated the status, rights, and obligations of citizens before the government law. Quantitatively, very few women are actively involved in politics. On the other hand, women's participation is weak because even though women have managed to maintain their position in the political arena, they are less visible to have a supporting network to block them. Therefore, they are often more of a gender balance than real political power so that the increase in women's human resources in all fields of life, especially the political sphere is something that is not negotiable (Maarif; 2003: 55).

In the process of democratization, the issue of greater women's political participation, representation and accountability matters is an absolute prerequisite for the realization of more meaningful democracy in Indonesia. The demand for fairer participation and representation of

women is not only a demand for democratization but also a precondition for creating a more transparent and accountable government. Although currently political rights for women have been widely recognized, the existence of political rights does not guarantee a democratic government/political system where the principles of participation, representation and accountability are given real meaning. This matter means, the image of women in it, and the various policies that emerge that have gender sensitivity, do not necessarily be realized even though women's political rights have been recognized. Women as citizens should be able to participate independently in this democratic process (Soetjipto; 2005: 24-27).

According to research, women's political participation in developing countries tends to be lower than that of men. This matter appeared is because women are more involved in domestic affairs than political issues. In contrast, the socialization of women politically tends to lead women to obtain a special status without their efforts. Women's participation in the political world and closely related to businesses have their access to power. Therefore, only by having excellent access, women can achieve positions in politics and government (Muawanah; 2009: 157).



### **1.6.2. General Election**

Many experts who explain the definition of the election, among others, stated by Ramlan Surbakti (1992: 181) Election is defined as a mechanism for selecting and delegating or handing over sovereignty to people or parties that are trusted. Still, the author sets out the notion of elections as stated in Law Number 8 in 2012 article 1 paragraph (1) referred to as General Election (Election) is a means of exercising people's sovereignty in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

General elections in Indonesia were first held on September 29, 1955, to elect constituent members. Whereas in 2004 was the first election involving the people to vote directly. There are three types of general elections in Indonesia, namely the General Election of President and Vice President, General Election of Legislative Institutions (Elections to elect members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) and Elections District head.

Legislative elections are a means of implementing people's sovereignty to elect representatives of the people who can represent their aspirations, whose procedures for implementation are regulated in

a statutory regulation in force. In a representative democracy, the people hold full sovereignty, but the application is carried out by their representatives through the legislative or parliamentary institutions.

### **1.6.3. Political Parties**

#### a. Definition of Political Parties

In general, it can be said that a political party is an organized group whose members have the same orientation, values, and ideals. The purpose of this group is to gain political power and seize political position by constitutional means to carry out its program (Budiardjo, M; 2008: 404).

Meanwhile, according to Carl J. Friedrich in Miriam Budiardjo (2008: 404) said as follows: *“Political parties are a group of people who are stably organized to maintain the government for their party leaders. And based on this management, it aims to give idiotic and material benefits to members of his party.”*

Whereas Sigmund Neumann in Miriam Budiardjo (2008: 404) stated: *“Political parties are organizations and political activists who try to control the power of government and seize popular support through competition with a group or other groups who have different views.”*

Political parties are political forces (power organizations) whose function is to defend and fight for the values and interests of the people,

especially their members and sympathizers, through influence or power over state authority, especially the government. Universally and democratically, their primary role is to hold state power, if they succeed in winning a majority in the election. Another function is to prepare cadres of leaders, political education for the people, a means of political participation and political communication and many others. Political parties play an essential role to change gender relations towards equality and justice in society. Existing recruitment patterns must be based on gender sensitivity and awareness (Soetjipto; 2005: 29-32).

Firmanzah (2011: 67) defines political parties as public organizations that aim to bring their leaders to power and enable their supporters (politicians) to benefit from this support. Political parties are also defined as organizations that seek to form public opinion. As a typical organization, political parties are seen as a form of organization that is different from other organizations. The meaning of political parties as political institutions and pillars of democracy is reduced only like corporate companies that pursue economic incentives to the maximum extent, obtained through political positions contested through the arena of elections and elections. The current chairperson of a political party acts more like a CEO who pursues short-term goals (elections). In achieving these political objectives, the tiered political process and institutionalization no longer apply, replaced by the role of

the survey institute. This meaning is far from understanding party organizations formed with a shared vision and ideology, and the idea that parties are institutions that carry out essential functions such as regeneration, recruitment, political education or aggregation of interests. Women cadres of political parties are always known as loyal cadres, hard workers, and strong vote-getters to work to gain votes for their respective political parties. Still, they are always excluded and at least taken into account their aspirational interests. The mechanism of instant recruitment with nuances of nepotism, nutrition, and the popularity of the survey version also occurs in some women who can cut the path without following the process and suddenly emerge as a legislative candidate or regional election candidate (Soetjipto; 2011: 4-6).

a. The Role of Political Parties in Affirmative Action

Political parties are a vehicle for creating gender equality and justice in various aspects of social and national life. Political parties have also been given confidence in affirmative action, which is the strengthening of women's political empowerment by getting a representation of 30%. The emergence of affirmative action is an opportunity for women to be able to participate in politics. As a forum for participation in politics, political parties are the right place, because, within political parties, women receive civic education and political

ethics. Besides, political parties are a forum for women to get political culture, a means of political participation, communication, and preparing a cadre of national leaders. The number of political parties that have emerged in the reform era is an excellent opportunity for women to participate in this sector. As the participation of women in political parties is needed to improve the quality of our democracy, even to increase public confidence in political outcomes (Sastriyani; 2009: 174-176).

Women and politics are a series of words that are often used as slogans by political parties before the election. The motto is intended as a campaign for women to be interested in donating their votes to political parties. Nevertheless, this seems to be merely a slogan, because when the election ends, political parties forget their promises. As quoted in Mulia and Anik Farida's book (2005: 17), there are various reasons put forward by political party leaders regarding the decline in women's representation in the DPR, namely:

- 1) Political parties have difficulty in recruiting female legislative members. The problem confronts not only the quantity but also the quality of the candidate.
- 2) Political parties admit that it is difficult to get women involved in political discourse, let alone get them involved in practical politics.

Ayu Putu Nantri, 2004 (in Sastriyani, 2009: 204) states that political parties have the opportunity to determine the participation and representation of women. There are four factors in the existence of a significant political party in determining the level of representation of women in parliament, as follows:

- a) Political organizational structure
- b) Institutional framework,
- c) Party ideology (progressive ideology)
- d) Political party activists, women.

The idea of a quota for women that has been offered to political parties is to create a fairer representation. However, empirically speaking, it is still a very long struggle until now. It seems that there is no political will and political action from politicians and party leaders who are mostly men to change this situation. (Soetjipto, 2005: 20).

## **1.7. Conceptual Definition**

### **1.7.1. Women Representation**

Gender is a term that separates men and women. Basically, because of many theories and concepts about gender cause differences in the rights and obligations between men and women. It is also possible that men who are always considered as the main in all fields cause the role of women to be very restricted, especially in the political sphere. However, now there is a policy that

women are not only in the kitchen but can also take a role to participate directly in politics. The main factor that supports the representation of women in the political world is to appreciate the voices of women or maintain or fight for the needs of women with direct women's participation. With a valid policy namely, the law can strengthen the position of women who want to participate in politics.

### **1.7.2. General Elections**

A general election is an event that is held to elect high-ranking officials to take care of the interests of the state and the people. For instance, the Legislative Election, which aims to elect representatives of the people, is to connect and voice out their aspirations by using their authority.

### **1.7.3. Political Parties**

Political parties are a forum for people who want to be the people's representatives to fight in general elections. A political party is also a legal group or association. Through this political party, one can bring someone to realize their desire to become a representative of the people in high institutions.

## **1.8. Operational definition**

Operational definition is the limitation of research so that the writer can determine the variables related to the research and be more specific.

1. Women's representation in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang.

- a. Representation of women legislative candidates in the election.
  - b. The election of women legislative candidates in the election.
2. Factors affecting the representation of women. Supporting factors:
- a. Political party support
  - b. Self-Motivation
3. Obstacle factor:
- a. Economic constraints
  - b. Social constraints
  - c. Psychological and ideological constraints

## **1.9. Research Methods**

The research method is a way to find the results of the subject matter tested.

### **1.9.1. Type of Research**

This study used descriptive qualitative method. According to Mukhtar (2013: 28), Qualitative descriptive method is a method that explains all the symptoms or conditions that occur in the field when the research is conducted. The explanation uses sentences that explain the real event or the reality of the case.

### **1.9.2. Unit of Analysis**

In this study, the unit of analysis obtained information came from individuals or institutions from elected women candidates and political



parties that protect elected candidates in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang.

### **1.9.3. Data collection techniques**

#### **a. Interview**

In this research, author used a direct interview method in the form of questions and answers between researchers and the interviewees. These Interviews were conducted with the elected legislative candidates and the party that participates in the 2019 legislative elections in the City of Pangkalpinang.

Also, Interviews will be conducted with women candidates elected in the 2019 General Elections, namely:

1. Endang Kristiani (Electoral District 1, PDIP Party)
2. Meitarini, S.E (Electoral District 2, Nasdem Party)
3. Djubaidah (Electoral District 4, Gerindra Party)

And interviews will also be conducted with 3 political parties from which the elected candidates come, namely:

1. PDIP Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)
2. Nasdem Party ( Partai Nasional Demokrat)
3. Gerindra Party (Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya)

#### **b. Documentation**

The documentation in this research is in the form of collecting existing data archives as a basis to compare results from the previous year.

The collected data for documentation is about:

1. Data on the representation of women in nominations in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang
2. Data on the acquisition of women's seats in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang

*Table 1.1 Data Collection Techniques*

<b>No</b>	<b>Data Requirement</b>	<b>Data collection technique</b>	<b>Source</b>
1.	Data on the representation of women in nominations in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang	Documentation	Data on Permanent Candidates (DCT) for women in the City Council of Pangkalpinang in 2019 (Hard file from the Pangkalpinang City Election Commission)
2.	Data on the acquisition of women's seats in the 2019 elections in the City of Pangkalpinang	Documentation	Data on candidates for Pangkalpinang City Regional Representative Council in 2019 (Hard File from the Pangkalpinang City Election Commission)
3.	Data on supporting factors for women's representation	Interview	Women elected candidates <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Endang Kristiani (Dapil 1, Partai PDIP)</li> <li>2. Meitarini, S.E (Dapil 2, Partai Nasdem)</li> <li>3. Djubaidah (Dapil 4, Partai Gerindra)</li> </ol>
4.	Data on supporting and inhibiting factors for women's representation	Interview	Party administrators who get seats

#### **1.9.4. Data Analysis Techniques**

Data analysis techniques that will be used in this study are to use:

##### **1. Qualitative Analysis**

Moleong (2007: 3) argues that qualitative analysis is research steps that produce descriptive data in the form of written or oral observation from people and its behavior.

##### **2. Descriptive Analysis**

This analysis aims to describe or provide an overview of the data so that the data presented becomes easy to understand and informative for people who read it.

The analytical model used in this research is a descriptive qualitative analysis method. The data obtained from the General Election Commission of the city of Pangkalpinang. Additionally, the steps are taken in analyzing qualitative descriptive data are:

- a. Collecting data and information needed about the percentage of women representation in the 2019 elections and through interviews and direct observation in the field with selected women candidates.
- b. Identifying the supporting factors that exist as well as in-depth analyzing with several approaches such as talking directly to the guest speaker (elected candidates and their parties).

- c. Making questions draft about the representation of women for parties whose female candidates get seats and elected candidates.