

REPRESENTATIVES OF WOMEN 2019 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN CENTRAL JAVA INDONESIA

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***Abstract**---This research began with an effort to identify the representation of women summarized in an election and realization law that is in the Central Java Provincial Parliament. As for the fact that what has been regulated in the electoral legislation from 2003 to 2017, has not been realized from the desired expectations of 30% representation of women in parliament. The issue of gender equality in Indonesia is currently an endless issue and is still being fought for at the legislative and executive levels. Increasing the representation of women in state institutions must be accompanied by an understanding of gender equality especially in policy making institutions. The results of the study that the representation of women in the General Election of members of the Central Java DPRD in 2019 did not reflect gender equality and justice, in fact there were many women who participated in politics, but there were so many obstacles and challenges faced, one of which was patriarchal culture. The low representation of women legislative members is due to the patriarchal culture that still thickens in society. This is what makes women's opportunities limited to become a member of the legislature. Women deserve to do domestic work).*

***Key words:** Regional-Representative-Legislative Elections*

Introduction

Elections are recognized globally as an arena for forming representative democracy and holding periodic government changes. According to the theory of democracy (Hans Kelsen) Democracy means that the "will" stated in the state legal order is identical to the will of the subjects of the country's legal order, 6 times in the New Order era (1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997) and 5 times in the reformation era (in 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019). (Heriyani Agustina, 2009) General elections give birth to people's representatives in parliament. Some of them are from women with the following percentages:

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Table 1.

Number of Electoral Districts Submitted, Number of Candidates and Percentage of Women's Representation

| Political Parties Order No. | Political Party | Total | Total Candidate | | Total | Representative |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | | Male | Female | | |
| 1. | PKB | 13 | 68 | 52 | 120 | 43,3% |
| 2. | Gerindra | 13 | 76 | 44 | 120 | 36,7% |
| 3. | PDIPerjuangan | 13 | 79 | 41 | 120 | 34,2% |
| 4. | Golkar | 13 | 75 | 45 | 120 | 37,5% |
| 5. | Nasdem | 13 | 74 | 46 | 120 | 38,3% |
| 6. | Garuda | 10 | 9 | 10 | 19 | 52,6% |
| 7. | Berkarya | 13 | 38 | 6 | 64 | 40,6% |
| 8. | PKS | 13 | 64 | 46 | 110 | 41,8% |
| 9. | Perindo | 13 | 42 | 24 | 66 | 36,4% |
| 10. | PPP | 13 | 71 | 45 | 116 | 38,8% |
| 11. | PSI | 8 | 13 | 11 | 24 | 45,8% |
| 12. | PAN | 13 | 67 | 53 | 120 | 44,2% |
| 13. | Hanura | 10 | 21 | 15 | 36 | 41,7% |
| 14. | Demokrat | 13 | 72 | 48 | 120 | 40% |
| 19. | PBB | 13 | 22 | 24 | 46 | 52,2% |
| 20. | PKP Indonesia | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 100% |
| Total | | | 791 | 531 | 1.322 | 40,2% |

Source: Central Java Election Commission, 2019

The General Election Commission recorded the number of female candidates in the 2019 Election reached 3,194 or had fulfilled the 30% quota of female candidates as stipulated in the Election Law. That number increased by almost 50% from the 2014 election of 2,467 people. Strengthening policies related to the placement of female legislative candidates at the top of the list and the addition of female legislative candidates to the list of candidates in all electoral districts. Not only that, there needs to be strict sanctions on political parties if they do not meet the conditions for placing female candidates as much as the quota that has been set. This becomes important because the Law on Political Parties and elections is one of the parameters in seeing the country's response to gender equality. In 2014-2019 the number of women who became members of the DPR (People's Representative Council) dropped to 97 people or 17.32 percent of the total members of the Republic of Indonesia DPR which amounted to 560 people. According to Susan Blackburn, feminist and political analysis from Monash University Australia says the actual history of women and politics in Indonesia is always colored by surprises. Because since post-independence Indonesian women have reached far more advanced political levels compared to other countries. Since 1945 women's right to vote has been recognized, women's position in politics has been fluctuating until the last moment

leading up to the 2004 elections. According to Blackburn, the change in women's status is due to the democratic process in Indonesia not through gradual methods but through leaps. Every leap of "democracy" results in different political visions of the country, even sometimes it is very dramatic to look at women's issues. Therefore, before the political system is strengthened by constitutions and legal rules that favor women, it is certain that there is never a sustainable development of women's destiny. So finally we together ask, Who is represented in the meaning of "democracy"? Women? Men? Or all without regard to differences in multiculturalism? For women, the concept of democracy can be a desirable thing but at the same time it can become a nightmare. There are at least two women's issues in politics, the first is the problem of women's representation being very low in the public sphere and the second is the absence of a party platform that concretely defends women's interests. That is why the 30% quota for women in parliament in the 2009 elections must be consistently met in the context of affirmative action, unlike the events in the 2004 election where a 30% quota could not be achieved, the reason being that there was no commitment from political parties to become election participants (whether Islamic political parties, nationalists) fulfill the quota. Only a few political parties can carry out the mandate of Law No. 12 of 2003 in article 65. The article is not explicit, because it is not imperative and does not provide a basis for the KPU to impose sanctions if political parties do not obey it. The article also does not explicitly regulate whether the desired 30% representation lies at the level of nomination or at the level of vote acquisition.

At this point women are only used as a tool by political parties for reasons of world reform. They are merely used as political tools and eventually become inferior and silenced majority. Women are forced by society to accept them as carriers of new things in the political stages, but the lack of experience and knowledge and difficult access to the political arena make them only become extras.

The regulation on the 30% quota for women's representation that aims to increase the number of women sitting in regional representative institutions has been regulated in several laws related to elections, even when compared to some previous elections, laws and regulations governing this are contained more in the 2014 election and more detailed. Nonetheless, the number of women who eventually became Members of the Indonesian Parliament in the 2014-2019 period actually declined from 101 people or 17.86% to only 79 people or 14% of the total 560 elected members. This needs to be scrutinized critically because the results obtained are inversely proportional to the level of candidacy for female candidates that have increased in this 2014 election.

In the 2019 elections, the affirmative policy of nominating women as legislators for the fourth time will be implemented. The affirmative policy journey has gone through a number of regulatory changes that marked the development of women's political representation. It starts from the historic rule, namely Article 65 of Law No. 12 of 2003 which first regulates the political parties participating in the election to pay attention to women's representation of at least 30 percent in the nomination of legislative members. The rules change in line with changes to the electoral laws in 2008 and 2012 that govern more detailed affirmative policies. In addition to the nomination of at least 30 percent, it also regulates the placement of women on the list of candidates, namely every three names containing at least one woman. The regulation does not change in Law Number 7 of 2017 as a formal law for the 2019 Election (see article 245 and article 246 paragraph 2).

Methodology

This study took place in Central Java Province with sample locations was in Surakarta City, Tegal City, Kebumen Regency in 2019. The consideration made in selecting Central Java is that it is one of the strategic Provinces in the territory of Indonesia. Its resources are dominated by natural resources. The population of this Regency in Central Java Province is heterogeneous with the majority of Javanese people causing patriarchal culture is still dominant and assumes women are not fit to be leaders.

Sources of data in this study are based on primary and secondary data. Primary data obtained through interviews with respondents. Secondary data, namely data obtained from library research in the form of legal materials.

While the data analysis uses qualitative analysis method carried out through the stages are: In accordance with the method used, then in this study the analysis will be conducted with qualitative analysis method. In this case the analysis will be carried out sequentially between the methods of domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, and compounding analysis.

Discussion

The debate after the stipulation of a 30% quota of women's political representation in the legislature rolled heated up, and full of opposition by political parties. Most political parties think that a 30% quota for women is unnecessary; because one day there will be debate after the 30% quota determination of women's political representation in the legislature is heating up, and full of opposition by political parties. Most political parties think that a 30% quota for women is not necessary, because one day it will be achieved without having to impose a quota policy. The policy of setting a 30% quota has in fact been firmly stated in Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning General Elections of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional People's Representative Council. The objection of political parties which are mostly male leaders is the reduced access due to the emergence of new competitors for men namely female candidates.

The 30% quota for women in legislative elections is an affirmative action that has long been championed by women activists. Election in 2009, this quota was still gray because it did not become a binding provision for political parties. The affirmation in the 2019 election is an effort to increase the number of women in the legislature compared to the 2009 and 2014 legislative elections.

Based on research results, the most widely used political orientation is based on evaluative orientation, especially aspects of party identification (27.5%) and evaluative opinion (25.2%). High category means that respondents as voters are truly conscious and full of confidence in making their choices based on this orientation. Specifically, the cognitive orientation consisting of aspects of political issues and policies is not the basis for voters in choosing a legislative candidate. This can be seen based on the results of research which states that in the aspect of vision and mission and work programs, the majority of respondents (54.8%) are in the low category with the number of respondents in the high category of 11.5%. Low category means that voters do not have the knowledge and trust in the policy issues and vision and mission presented by legislative candidates during the campaign period.

In the aspect of achievement and track record of candidates, the majority of respondents were in the moderate category (58.7%) with 11.5% of respondents in the high category. Medium category means that voters are still in doubt and do not understand the political policy issues, vision and mission presented by legislative candidates. Not much different from the aspects of achievement and track record of candidates, in the aspect of social image, the majority of respondents are in the moderate category (68.3%) with 10.2% of respondents in the high category. The emotional factor aspect with the majority of respondents is in the medium category (65.8%) with 14.7% of respondents in the high category. In the aspect of the emergence of new candidates; the majority of respondents were in the medium category (68.2%) with 13.5% in the high category.

Some of the factors that underlie the affection of voters to vote are social image, emotional factors, and the emergence of new candidates. In the aspect of social image, the majority of respondents were in the medium category (68.3%) with 10.2% in the high category. This means that the sociological similarity factor has very little effect on one's voting behavior. In contrast to social imagery, instinctive feelings about candidates actually underlie voters in choosing legislative candidates. This can be seen from the results of the study which showed that 14.7% of respondents were in the high category, which means it was greater than the aspect of social image. The last aspect that often causes instinctive feelings is the emergence of new candidates in the election. High curiosity about the credibility of new candidates who are relatively younger tends to attract more voters' attention. This aspect underlies the voter orientation of 13.5% of respondents in the high category. Which means it is more influential than the aspect of social image.

Evaluative orientation is orientation which is characterized by decisions and opinions about political objects which typically involve a combination of standard values and criteria with information and feelings. Based on Nursal opinion factors that can be categorized into evaluative orientation are identification of the party, the influence of religious leaders, and evaluative opinions about politics and the political system in Indonesia.

The history of democracy in Indonesia states that there was a New Order era marked by the existence of 3 major parties in power at that time. This then influenced the vote acquisition which tended to be still high towards the three parties, namely PDI, Golkar and PKB. This statement is supported by the results of the study which showed that 27.5% of respondents were in the high category. That means, the aspect of party identification is the orientation that most underlies people's choices. The next aspect which is the most orientation is based on evaluative opinion. The results showed that 25.2% of respondents were in the high category. This means that there are still many voters with positive evaluative opinions on politics and the holding of elections in Indonesia.

The traditional government system that still applies in several regions in Central Java is one aspect that still underpins the political orientation of the community. The system of government is a type of paternalistic government. Paternalism is a type of fatherly leadership where leaders who are able to teach, nurture, and set good examples of the community will be more respected by their opinions.

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legislative candidate. This can be seen based on the results of research which states that in the aspect of vision and mission and work programs, the majority of respondents (54.8%) are in the low category with the number of respondents in the high category of 11.5%. Low category means that voters do not have the knowledge and trust in the policy issues and vision and mission presented by legislative candidates during the campaign period. In the aspect of achievement and track record of candidates, the majority of respondents were in the moderate category (58.7%) with 11.5% of respondents in the high category. The medium category means that voters are still in doubt and do not understand the political policy issues, vision and mission presented by legislative candidates.

In the affirmative policy of parties participating in the elections are required to carry at least 30 percent of women on the list of candidates they propose to participate in legislative elections. The policy was reinforced by the zipper system rule that there was one woman among three candidates. With this system, it has been ascertained that there are at least one female candidate ranked in the top three. The placement of serial numbers actually influences the level of electability of women who are progressing as candidates, as in this 2019 election.

One factor that increases the chances of candidates being elected is the placement of serial numbers in the candidate list. From election to election has shown that the candidate number 1 dominates the election of parliamentary seats. The dominance of male candidates nominated in number 1 affects the high percentage of male candidates being elected. On the contrary, only a small proportion of female candidates were placed in their party number 1.

The Fixed Candidate List data processed by the Association for Election and Democracy (Perludem, 2019) shows that there is an imbalance in the number of male and female candidates in ranking number 1. The number of male candidates in sequence number 1 is 1,021 and the majority successfully elected, namely as many as 312 people (30.5%). While the female candidates placed in sequence number 1 are only 235 people, and of that number only 63 people were successfully elected (27 people).

Women candidates elected in the 2019 elections of each party are generally in the order of number 1. The distribution of candidates based on the relatively evenly ranked sequence is found in Nasdem. Apart from being numbered 1, candidates are numbered 3,5, and 6 are also selected. All selected female candidates from Nasdem are newcomers. This shows the competition of fellow candidates in Nasdem, officials and new, the top and bottom order numbers, men and women are relatively tight.

The results of the 2019 elections showed that the affirmation policy played a role in increasing women's political representation in the legislature. But on the other hand, it is also in a dilemma situation. First, the number of women elected is still far from 30 percent. Apart from the percentage still far from 30 percent, the distribution of women's electability is uneven. The representation of women who sit in the DPR, for example, does not come from all provinces. In data processing of Puskapol UI there are still 20 electoral districts that do not have women candidates elected. Second, the affirmation policy is still understood to be limited to administrative requirements, not yet embedded in internal mechanisms in the party and parliament. To further increase the representation of women in legislative institutions, the affirmation policy in the internal party must indeed be supported by party leaders. So far, it seems that the understanding of party elites towards affirmation policies is still weak. Not yet reached the substance of why the policy needs to be taken seriously and involving all groups of people.

Implication

Based on the description above, we can conclude that the representation of women in the General Election of Central Java DPRD members in 2014-2019 has not reflected gender equality and justice, in fact there have been many women participating in politics, but there are so many obstacles and challenges faced, one of them is patriarchal culture. The low representation of women legislative members is due to the patriarchal culture that still thickens in our society. The patriarchal social structure and system has placed women in a position that is not equal to men, and thinks the political stage is the world of men. This is what makes women's opportunities limited to become a member of the legislature. On the other hand, ignorance, lack of empathy, and lack of state attention to women's issues and to the well-being of people who are gender-oriented. The number of female members in policy making and formal / public laws of the Indonesian state is very minimal to be able to influence the system. Issues such as these that then make people perceive that women do not deserve to be on a hard political stage. Women deserve to do domestic work. The government is expected to make new regulations / policies that can support or strengthen the existence of 30% representation of women. Whereas women who enter politics must prepare themselves to be able to compete with men, for that women must be active in the management of political parties, and equip themselves to fulfill their capacity, education, competence and qualifications as political citizens but must remain in the corridor as a woman.

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