



WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION (STUDY ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN LEGISLATIVE MEMBERS IN THE DPRD OF EAST NUSA TENGGARA PROVINCE INDONESIA FOR THE 2019-2024 PERIOD)

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ABSTRACT

The political representation of women sticks out in the domination and hegemony of patriarchal culture in various dimensions of life, especially in the political space. There is a kind of socio-political obstacle that forces



women to double their capital and power, which must be spent more heavily and complicated than men when they enter politics. This study wants to see how far the role of women legislators in the NTT Provincial DPRD for the 2019-2024 period is in carrying Political parties and are under the interests of the categorization of women members of the legislature. The strategy for dividing positions for women is also quite diverse. Women have political hopes that are placed on increasing access to power and opening up political opportunities to occupy strategic positions such as important positions or involvement in the decision-making process in political parties. The hope for increasing access is related to increasing the capacity of individual women and youth in political parties. Increasing women's access to strategic positions in political parties. This political hope emphasizes the importance of women and youth having economic, social, and political capacities. Economic capacity relates to financial resources, social capacity refers to social relations and networks, and political capacity relates to political knowledge and skills.

KEYWORDS

Political Representation of Women, Gender, Legislature, Political Parties, Power.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The domination of patriarchal culture in people's lives in NTT is almost visible in every aspect of people's lives. Men have the power to determine what women should do. Men appear as the people who know best whether a decision is good or not. While women only listen and follow directions from men. In this dimension, of course, mainstreaming gender in social life will be difficult to frame, the existence of women will always be seen as an object of patriarchal culture.

In gender relations between men and women, women are always placed in the domestic area (kitchen and child care), this is a stigma for most of the socio-political life of the people in NTT. This of course makes it difficult for women to build and develop their capacity. The implication is that most women do not want to be included in the legislative candidate market in NTT. So what happens is that the existence of female legislative candidates is only to fulfill the quota of representation in political parties, namely 30% of the Final Candidate List. However, there are NTT women who have qualified skills so that they can qualify to become members of the NTT DPRD, although in limited numbers. In the 2019 legislative election, it was



recorded that of the 65 seats up for grabs, only 12 seats were won by female legislators, and the remaining 53 seats were occupied by male legislators. The composition of legislative members in the NTT Provincial DPRD for the 2019-2024 period is still dominated by male DPRD members with a percentage of 93% male legislators and 7% female legislators. The composition is considered to be still lame where the target for representation of women legislators in DPRD ideally reaches 30%. This explains that the influence of patriarchal culture is still quite strong in influencing people's political preferences during the election of members of the NTT provincial legislature. Even though the composition of the NTT DPRD members is like this, the performance produced by the NTT provincial DPRD so far has been the performance of an institution in which 7% of women legislators also contribute.

Discourses related to women's political representation emerged amid the domination and hegemony of patriarchal culture in various dimensions of life, especially in the political space. Women in patriarchal culture are generally constructed socially and politically to assume roles, carry character and behave in the private (domestic) sphere. Levels vary from extreme. exclusion to more moderate and more fluid fusing. Nevertheless, everything is still inhibiting and does not accustom women to being able to take part in the public sphere. There is a kind of socio-political obstacle that forces women to double their capital and power, which must be spent more heavily and complicated than men when they enter politics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Audra Jovani in her dissertation research entitled "Substantive Representation of Women Members of DPRD East Nusa Tenggara Province 2014-2019 Period (Case Study of the Birth of Gender Responsive Regional Regulations in 2016)". The results of this study are the success of six women members of the NTT Provincial DPRD as a result of the 2014 elections in encouraging. the birth of gender-responsive local regulations (perda) which is an important phenomenon for women's political representation in areas where there is a strong patriarchal culture. So with the substantive representation analysis tool from Hanna Pitkin, and social capital from Robert Putnam, this study takes the case of six women in carrying out representative activities, starting from pre-election, becoming candidates, then being elected, to being involved in drafting three gender-responsive local regulations in 2016 This study uses the theory of substantive representation "acting for" from Hanna Pitkin and social capital theory from Robert Putnam. The method used in this research is qualitative with an in-depth interview technique of six women members of the NTT



Provincial DPRD for the 2014-2019 period.

The findings of this study show that patriarchal culture - in the form of background and support from men (husbands, fathers) who are community leaders, traditional leaders, politicians, and regional heads contributed to the candidacy of the party and the election of the six women. The social capital of female candidates in the form of kinship with male elites, in the case of NTT, resulted in the highest election of women in the NTT DPRD (up 100 percent compared to the 2009 election). Meanwhile, the profession, track record, and network experience of six female members who have had an affinity with women's issues before they were elected, contributed to two things: a solid gender perspective, and activities representing women's interests in drafting gender-responsive regional regulations (Perda on Maternal and Child Health, Regional Regulations on the Environment, and Regional Regulations on Indonesian Migrant Workers). Theoretical implications of Hanna Pitkin's theory of "acting for" substantive representation can be carried out by these six women with a gender perspective that they have gained from network experience and track records. Meanwhile, Robert Putnam's theory of social capital shows that the entry process and success of these six women in political contestation are influenced by patriarchal culture through the names of men (husbands, fathers) who have influence in society and their communications which are daily politics.

Liberal Feminism

Feminism is a women's movement that demands emancipation or equal rights and justice with men. Feminism is not like any other view or understanding. Feminism does not originate from a theory or concept based on a single theoretical formula. That is why, there is no specific understanding of the abstraction of the application of feminism to all women at all times. The definition of feminism can change due to the understanding or views of feminists which are based on historical and cultural realities, as well as the level of awareness of perceptions and behavior. Even among women of very similar types, there are differences of opinion and debate about feminist thinking, partly based on patriarchal (cultural roots) reasons and male domination and up to the final resolution of women's struggles for non-exploitation of the environment, class freedom, race, and gender. Liberal Feminism is a view to place women who have full and individual freedom.

Liberal Feminism has never questioned patriarchal ideology and has never explained the roots of women's oppression. Liberal Feminism only says that the source of women's problems so far is because of the women themselves



and the solution that must be done is to provide women with education and also income.

J.S Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill joined Wollstonecraft in stressing the importance of rationality for women. J S Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill further emphasized that the equality of women and men is realized, it is not enough to be given the same education but also to be allowed to play a role in the economy and guaranteed civil rights which include the right to organize, freedom to express opinions, the right to vote and private property and other civil rights. Another contribution to their thinking is that they both emphasize the importance of Education, Partnership, and Equality. Mill put more emphasis on education and rights, while Taylor put more emphasis on partnerships. Mill further also questioned the superiority of men, according to him that men are not intellectually superior to women. Mill's thought is also interesting that the virtues attached to women are often detrimental to women because women cannot be themselves because they will become the people society wants them to be.

METHODS

In this study, a qualitative approach will be used to the existence of women legislators in the Province of NTT by combining two methods of data collection, namely in-depth interviews, and FGDs. Data collection begins with clustering the winning parties or those that have representation in the legislature, namely: Adoe Yuliana Elisabeth S.Sos representing the PDIP party, Maria Nuban Saku representing PERINDO, Kristien Samiyati, SP. Representing the NASDEM party, Rambu Konda Agung Praing, S. Farm. representing PAN, Yeni Veronika, SH. From the PAN Party, Angel Mercy Piung, SH represented the PKB party, Anna Waha Kolin, SH represented the PKB, Ir. Emelia Julia Nomlene representing PDIP, Dr.Inche D.P. Sayuna, SH., M. Hum., MKn. representing the GOLKAR party, Reni Marlina Un, SE., MM representing the Democraticonas party Salean, SH, M.Si representing Golkar, Yohanis Halut representing Gerindra, Hugo Rehi Kalembu representing the Golkar party.

RESULTS

This research was conducted in the province of NTT, especially Kupang City which is the capital of East Nusa Tenggara Province. Socio-culturally, East Nusa Tenggara Province is an area inhabited by people from various ethnic, religious, and racial backgrounds. However, this area is still quite strong with its cultural norms and traditions. One of the cultural characteristics that is still strong in this area is patriarchal culture.

For people in remote areas, patriarchal cultural practices are still very strong



where women's position is still under the domination of men. Even though some areas, such as Belu and Bajawa, adhere to matrilineal, in general, the role of men is still more dominant than that of women, especially in matters of public affairs. Meanwhile, in urban areas with a high level of pluralism and exposure to external culture, patriarchal cultural practices are still felt where men tend to dominate various affairs, be it in social institutions, government bureaucracy, churches, as well as communities and contexts. other social. The influence of patriarchal culture left a deep mark even in the cultural complexity of a society with a high level of critical awareness. This research was conducted in the socio-cultural context of a society that is very thick with patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture is interpreted as the main variable in determining women's political representation in the NTT Provincial DPRD. However, the election of women as members of the legislature in the NTT Provincial DPRD is an indication that patriarchal culture does not always close to women's access to world politics, at least at the nomination and election stages. Regulatory support can also be a factor that supports women's political representation quantitatively. But the question is, can the presence of women legislators in the NTT Provincial DPRD contribute to the existence of women in NTT?

DISCUSSION

The informants in this study were 12 female legislators in the NTT Provincial DPRD, plus 4 male legislators who were representatives of each commission so the total number of informants was 16. The intake of informants in this study did not consider party or electoral district representatives but instead considered women's representation in the DPRD. Because of that, all women legislators became informants. Meanwhile, several male legislators who were used as informants were selected based on the consideration of the representation of commission members as part of the legislative work unit.

If sorted based on supporting political parties, most of the informants come from the PDIP and PAN parties, as can be seen in the following diagram.

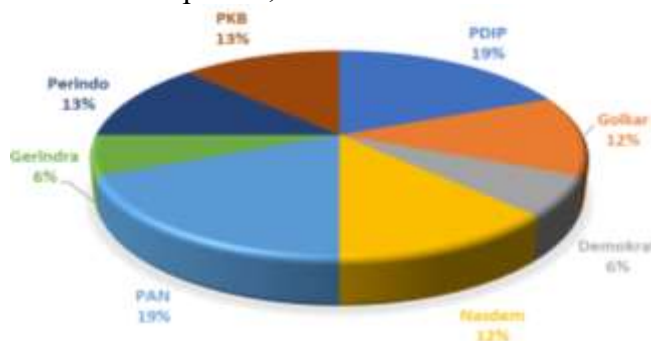


Figure 5.1 Characteristics of respondents based on the bearer party
The highest number of female legislators came from the PAN party, namely 3 people. This means that the National Mandate Party (PAN) is a party that has potential female cadres in the electoral constellation in NTT. Meanwhile, when collected by electoral area, the largest number of informants came from electoral district 3 which included East Sumba, Central Sumba, West Sumba, and Southwest Sumba Regencies as shown in the following diagram.



Figure 5.2 Characteristics of Respondents by electoral area

Based on the educational background, most of the informants had a bachelor's and master's education background, some even had a doctoral education background. This shows that the composition of the NTT DPRD, especially from the aspect of women's provincial representation, has been very representative from the aspect of education in supporting the actualization of becoming members of the legislature. An interesting fact related to women's political representation in NTT is that its socio-cultural sphere is still thick with patriarchal cultural practices. The political representation of women in the NTT DPRD has a long historical background. Before the presence of Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizers which stipulates that the composition of election organizers pays attention to women's representation of at least 30%, not a single female representative in the NTT DPRD. However, at the moment of the 2009 legislative elections, after the implementation of the Election Organizing Law, 4 NTT women were elected as members of the NTT DPRD, namely: 1] Angela Mercy Piwung from the PKPB party and electoral district 6; 2] Trisna Lilyani Dano from the PDS party and electoral district 7; 3] Emelia Julia Nomleni from the PDIP party and electoral district 3; 4] Rambu Asana Marisi from the Democratic party and electoral area 4. Continuing into the 2014 legislative elections, women's representation in the NTT DPRD increased to 5 people, namely: 1] Aleta Kornelia Baun from



the PKB party and electoral district 8; 2] Angela Mercy Piwung from the Hanura party and electoral district 5; 3] Yeni Veronika from the PAN party and electoral area 4; 4] Kristien Samiyati Pati from the NASDEM party and electoral district 3; and 5] Rev. Adriana R Kahi Awa Kossi from the Golkar party and electoral district 3. Out of the five existing figures, only one person is an old member, namely Angela Mercy Piwung, while the other four are newcomers.

The number of female legislators in the NTT DPRD has increased dramatically in the 2019-2024 NTT legislative elections, namely 12 people. This shows the increasing level of public (voter) trust and confidence in the performance of women legislators. The level of public trust and confidence in women legislators is evidenced by the regulatory outputs produced at the initiative of women legislators such as the Regional Regulation on Maternal and Child Health, the Regional Regulation on the Environment, the Regional Regulation on Indonesian Migrant Workers, the Regional Regulation on Gender Mainstreaming, and the Regional Regulation on Child Protection coupled with the Foster Father Program.

Factors Supporting Women

Some of the factors that encourage women to enter politics include the existence of policies that require political parties to include women in the world of national politics, especially through legislative elections. The last example is of course Law No. 5 of 2012 concerning the Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, where Article 55 stipulates a minimum quota of 30% women for political parties. This is what then encourages more and more women to take part in the 5 yearly Democratic party. Other supporting factors are political party support, cadre motivation, family factors, track record, a large mass base, and a multi-party system.

Factors Inhibiting Women

Inhibiting factors that affect women's elections include incumbents running for re-election and money politics. The lack of representation of women in decision-making institutions in Indonesia becomes a problem when the transition to democracy demands women's equality and justice. The condition of the nation's socio-culture which is thick with patriarchal culture is one of the inhibiting factors for the actualization of women as policymakers for this nation's development. Patriarchal culture illustrates the high dominance of men who do not give women the opportunity. This culture considers women weak and positions women more as housewives. Under these conditions, women's financial capabilities are also limited. This is what happened in NTT. Women play a role in the daily domestic (household) area, while men are entrusted with a role in the public area



dealing with political, social, economic affairs and so on. Women are considered to have no ability or violate social norms and will if they behave in a way that deviates from the norm by entering the political sphere. This is what causes women not to have the courage to enter politics. men dominate political parties and the electoral system is less effective. Ideally, political parties are an important access for women to enter politics to become people's representatives, but political parties themselves hinder women's access, especially when recruiting candidates. The procedure for nominating candidates is determined by the political party elites, plus the management structure of political parties is dominated by male elites. Even if women are active in political parties, they tend not to be placed in strategic positions as policymakers. The role of political parties is indispensable in increasing representation. Just like what was said by Mrs. Emilia Nomleni as Chair of the NTT DPRD:

"Being a leader is not distinguished between women and men, being a leader is a human right. It is true that in this era the leadership of a woman is still very limited because there are several things that become obstacles that limit the space for women to become leaders. but basically, every individual, both women, have the same rights. However, sometimes women are not able to manage their existing capabilities because they do not get the same education and opportunities as men."

Representation of Women Legislators in Politics

Democracy secures equality with equal access and full participation for both men and women, based on the principle of equality in all public areas, especially in decision-making positions. The Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) recommend that all governments around the world grant quotas as a special temporary measure to increase the number of women in appointive positions (based on election results) at the national government level.

The gender gap in public and political life is a global challenge that continues to be faced by the world community. Even though there have been various international conventions, agreements, and commitments, the average number of women in parliament in the world is only 18.4 percent. 1 in 190 women becomes president or prime minister. The presence of women as part of cabinets in this world or mayors, the number does not reach 7 and 8 percent. Indonesia is committed nationally and internationally. The 1945 Constitution guarantees equality between men and women, and gender priority has been adopted as a policy to integrate a gender perspective into policy, planning, and budgeting.



The Existence of NTT Women Legislative Members

Gender equality is one of our human rights. The right to live in an honorable way, free from fear and free to make life choices is not only for men, women also have the same rights in essence. Women also have the same rights in essence. However, until recently, women were often considered weak and only a complementary figure. The figure of a woman who achieves and can balance between family and career to 28 is very rare to find. Women are often afraid to have a career because of the demands of their role as housewives.

The definition of gender according to (Helen Tierney (ed), is a cultural concept that seeks to make distinctions in terms of roles, behavior, mentality, and emotional characteristics between men and women that develop in society, Women's Studies Encyclopedia, Vol 1, New York: Green Wood Press, p.153). Referring to the opinion of Mansour Faqih, gender is a trait inherent in men and women that is socially and culturally constructed. For example that women are gentle, beautiful, emotional, and so on. While men are considered strong, rational, manly, and mighty, and are not allowed to cry. Traits and properties themselves are traits that can be exchanged. These changes in characteristics and characteristics occur from time to time, and from place to place, and these changes can occur from class to class in different societies.

All things that can be exchanged between the characteristics of women and men can change both time and class (Mansour Faqih, Gender Analysis and Social Transformation (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007). Still, in the same book, Mansour Faqih, reveals that the history of gender differences has occurred through a very long process. Gender differences are formed by much that is socialized, taught, which is then strengthened by constructing it both socially and culturally. Through this long process it is ultimately believed to be something natural for both men and women, this is then reflected as something that is considered natural to become a standard gender identity.

The Strength of Patriarchal Culture

Partiaki according to Englas in Budiman (1981), is a social system that places men as the main power holders and dominates in the role of political leadership, moral authority, social rights and property control. In the family domain, a figure called father have authority over women, children and property. Some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, which means that property and titles are passed on to male offspring. Implicitly this system institutionalizes government and male privileges and places women under



men man. Walby describes how patriarchy changes and experiences its evolution and migration, from the home (private) to the outdoors (public). Gradually, however, women gained greater access to the public sphere; notably, their employment opportunities have increased, but the capitalist system continues to make them profitable cash cows – in the concept of cheap labor and never shattered the glass ceiling. Thus, women (no longer for still) are exploited by their ancestors – individuals (ie fathers or husbands) but are exploited by people collectively in the public space (in their profession and work). Walby also shows that in contemporary society various groups of women can be exploited by various combinations of gender-blind public policies and the home interests of wealthy families (for example, the most desperate in Indonesia is the transfer of Indonesian TKW women to wealthy families in Saudi Arabia via state policies that do not protect migrant workers). (Walby, 1990)

The patriarchal social system makes men have special rights over women. Their domination does not only cover the private sphere but also the wider public sphere such as participation in politics, education, society, economics, law, and others. Within the private realm and patriarchal culture are the roots of the emergence of various violence directed by men against women. Based on the "Privileges" that men have, they also feel they have the right to exploit women's bodies. Historically patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, religious, and economic organizations of various cultures. Even when this is implicitly enshrined in constitutions and laws, much of contemporary society is, in practice, partial.

The Role of Women Members of the Legislature in carrying out their functions

First, the role of women legislators in the NTT Provincial DPRD for the 2019-2024 period. The role of women legislators in the NTT Prov DPRD has been running under statutory rules, namely Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, and is under the interests of the categorization of women members of the legislature.

Second, women have political hopes that are placed on increased access to power and more open political opportunities to occupy strategic positions such as important positions or involvement in the decision-making process in political parties. Hopes for increasing access to power relate to increasing the capacity of individual women and youth in political parties. Meanwhile, the hope for the opening of political opportunities for women and youth in political parties refers to the internal and external environment of political parties. It is assumed that these political expectations can be realized in a complementary manner to create a political ecosystem that is friendly to



women and youth within political parties.

Third, the hope of increasing women's access to strategic positions in political parties. This political hope emphasizes the importance of women and youth having economic, social, and political capacities. Economic capacity relates to financial resources, social capacity refers to social relations and networks, and political capacity relates to political knowledge and skills.

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It is also assumed that the capacity of women will increase the confidence of youth and especially women to be politically aware and have sovereignty over themselves. conveyed that this self-confidence is very important to break down the domination of seniors, political elites, and men as players and decision-makers. Youth and women must be empowered to have awareness and confidence in making decisions about themselves, their bodies, their hopes, their interests, and so on.

The findings from the field show that so far the character and idealism of women and especially youth have clashed with the pragmatic interests of political parties, in which unfortunately more women and youth are on the losing side. This was conveyed by Icschan Arman (GP Ansor NTT) in an in-depth interview.

Therefore, political parties must empower and equip them with qualified political and economic training and education. Political parties need to seriously design political and economic education programs for women and youth. These programs must be in direct contact with the issues and needs of women and youth such as political knowledge and skills, the financial base of not only women but also families and households, connectedness with civil society and community networks, rejuvenation of political parties, space for dialogue between women and youth. with men and the elderly, to the cooperation of political parties with local governments to push for development policies that support opportunities and self-development of women and youth.

This research at least captures some important things related to women and youth in political parties. Several important issues are mapped to existing conditions, barriers and challenges, and expectations and solutions to efforts to open up opportunities and increase women's and youth's access to



strategic positions in political parties. The intended strategic position is a structural position and involvement in the decision-making process. Following are some important points that can be used as conclusions and recommendations for this purpose.

To support this need, political parties need to increase the capacity of women and youth in stages so that women have the economic, social, and political capacity as the capital needed in politics. Political parties must also be able to design programs that are in direct contact with women's issues in the domestic and public space. Political parties, therefore, need to build cross-actor collaboration by involving civil society and campus networks to empower and increase the capacity of women in political parties.

CONCLUSION

First, the role of women legislators in the NTT Prov DPRD has been running under statutory rules, namely Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, and is under the interests of the categorization of women legislators. The distribution of strategic positions for women has also been quite diverse, namely Emilia Nomleni as chairman of the NTT Prov DPRD as well as Chair of the NTT PDI-P, Lili Adoe as Deputy Chair, and Member of the NTT DPRD, Ince Sayuna as secretary of the NTT Golkar Party and deputy chairman of the NTT DPRD. The PKB Party and the NTT Democrats also placed several female figures in strategic positions, such as Ann. W. Kolin (deputy chairman of the NTT PKB and member of the NTT DPRD) and Kristien S.Patty (NTT Nasdem Party and vice chairman), if you look closely at the figures above these women, these women are quite senior in existence and have the political capacity, meaning they can play their role effectively. maximum.

Second, women have political hopes that are placed on increased access to power and more open political opportunities to occupy strategic positions such as important positions or involvement in the decision-making process in political parties. Hopes for increasing access to power relate to increasing the capacity of individual women and youth in political parties. Meanwhile, the hope for the opening of political opportunities for women and youth in political parties refers to the internal and external environment of political parties. It is assumed that these political expectations can be realized in a complementary manner to create a political ecosystem that is friendly to women and youth within political parties.

Third, the hope of increasing women's access to strategic positions in political parties. This political hope emphasizes the importance of women and youth having economic, social, and political capacities. Economic capacity relates to financial resources, social capacity refers to social



relations and networks, and political capacity relates to political knowledge and skills. Women and youth need to have these three capacities as capital to increase access to strategic positions in political parties.

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