

Influence of Women Political Participation in Parliament Correlates to Gender Issues in Indonesia

La influencia de la participación política de las mujeres en el parlamento se correlaciona con cuestiones de género en Indonesia

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Resumen: Este documento discutió la influencia de la participación política de género en el parlamento en la defensa de las cuestiones de género. La cantidad de representación de mujeres en el parlamento aumentaba según la impugnación electoral. En tanto, el concepto de representación de la mujer adoptando de Anne Philips mencionó que la presencia de representación política se produjo debido a un desequilibrio entre las clases sociales hombres y mujeres. Recientemente, hay evidencia de que las mujeres tienen un papel en público. Así, la política interpretada como una presencia de pensamiento podría ser una base de liberación política para las mujeres en el parlamento por parte de las mujeres activistas para asumir un papel en el legislativo. Este artículo analiza en profundidad la influencia de las mujeres que abogan por cuestiones de

Abstract: This paper discussed the influence of gender political participation in parliament in advocating gender issues. The quantity of women representation in parliament was increasing according to election contestation. Meanwhile, the concept of representation of women by adopting from Anne Philips mentioned that the presence of political representation occurred due to an imbalance between social classes men and women. Recently, there is evidence that women have a role in public. Thus, politics which interpreted as a presence of thinking could be a basis of political liberation for women in parliament by women activists to take a role in legislative. This paper deeply analyzes the influence of women advocating for gender issues. The research method used in this research was a qualitative approach to understanding the phenomena in the background of specific contextual. The result

género. El método de investigación utilizado en esta investigación fue un enfoque cualitativo para comprender los fenómenos en el contexto de contextos específicos. El resultado reveló que las mujeres tienen una influencia en todas las formas de políticas que se correlacionan con los problemas de las mujeres a través del movimiento de promoción en el nivel de toma de decisiones. En la condición de las mujeres, los roles podrían afectar significativamente las cuestiones de género en Indonesia.

Palabras clave: Política, participación y género .

revealed that women have an influence on all policies form which correlates to women's issues through the promotion movement in the level of decision making. In the condition of women, roles could affect significantly on gender issues in Indonesia.

Keywords: Politics, Participation, and Gender

1. BACKGROUND

Fulfillment registration of political quotas for women in parliament in 2014 General Elections (GE) exceeded the 40 percent minimum quota of 30 percent quota standard (affirmative action). Commission of General Election (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU) Special Region of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, DIY) set to 580 List of Permanent Legislative Candidates (Daftar Caleg Tetap, DCT). From 580 DCT, there were 234 female candidates and 346 male candidates registered. This amount is fulfilled the quota, due to it exceeds the quota set by the Law of GE, Number 8 of 2012 Article 55, that the list of candidates referred to Article 53, that contain at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation (Data of DIY KPU 2014). From the total quota registered as a candidate for the legislative, only 10.9 percent of them have been elected to the parliament seats, which is only six people. Two newcomers and four of them are incumbent (IndraKertati, 2014).

In 2019, women legislative candidates in parliament have increased 27 women from the previous elections, 261 women candidates (Data of KPU DIY 2014). This means the appreciation of women in the public sector, especially in political has increasingly given some space. The question that arises is whether the number of women candidates who participated in the political sector will be the same by more women who are elected to sit in parliament? Or, women-only used as a complement to the administration of a political party in order to fulfill the administrative requirements.

In the context of political participation, women continue to strive so that they can demand justice, particularly the opportunity to work and contribute, which is manifested in the form of their representation in Parliament. The women's representation in the political frequently marginalized. Philips in his work "The Politics of Presence" stated that political representation is present due to the imbalance in social class, between men and women that rise to a new political movement. So politics is defined as "presence" that the presence of such thinking is the forerunner of the political birth of liberation for women conducted by a group of women activists who care about the fate of women to occupy legislative seats (Krook, Mona Lena. 2009).

A quota of 30% women's representation in parliament is very important for women to voice their aspirations. This is reinforced by Judith Squires, there are three reasons why the quota for women in parliament remains important. First, the quota will create their women agency (one of the examples is the parliamentary caucus) which can be an extension of the voice and struggle of women in gender-sensitive regulations in the arena of policymakers. The more the number of its members will be a stronger struggle to do. Second, women's quota would ensure fair gender policy to ensure that the principles of gender mainstreaming is integrated into every stage of policymaking. Third, women's quota can be targeted at the increase in the quantity of the number of women in decision-making institutions, briefly as temporary special

measures (affirmative action) (Krook, Mona Lena. 2009). From the reasons above, it raises great hope to women who had been sitting in parliament as a form of representation of women in general..

2. THE PRESENCE OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

The representation of women in the House of Regional Representative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD) DIY in 2014 only 17.35%. This means that this figure does not represent the laws that are affirmative action policies of 30%. This can be seen from the following table (Anis Izdiha. 2017):

Table. 1. Representation of the GE of DPRD DIY in 2014

Institute	Representation of the GE of DPRD DIY in 2014		
	Woman	Male	% Women
Provincial Parliament (DPRD Provinsi)	6	39	10.91%
City Council (DPRD Kota)	10	30	25.00%
Sleman Parliament (DPRD Sleman)	13	37	26%
Bantul parliament (DPRD Bantul)	3	43	6,67%
Gunung Kidul Parliament (DPRD Gunung Kidul)	7	38	15.55%
Kulon Progo Parliament (DPRD Kulon Progo)	7	33	17.5%
Total Amount	46	219	17.35%

From the data above, it gives us an idea that the representation of women has not materialized to 30% in the 2014 GE, instead it decreasing in some areas. The representation of women in the GE period in 2014 was only 17.35%. Another issue that emerged in the 2014 GE was the enactment of new election law, which is constitution Number 8 of 2012 in which the legislative candidates from both political parties have the same opportunity to be elected directly by the people.

The success of female legislators in designing programs or policies in the region to have a gender perspective that will be used as an answer to this problem. The findings obtained are female legislators still relatively limited in using the right of initiative to draw up the draft of regional regulation, and not responsive in view of the needs of society. In the budgeting, the function was seen not materialized gender-responsive budgets are really on target. There is no regional regulation that made to

overcome the problems of women, only some women's issues into the editorial local regulations. In preparation for local regulations with gender-responsive, women as a member of the house of representatives should have more roles as a people's representative and politics.

There are several alternative explanations of how public policy is formulated in some of the literature on public policy formulation. This due to the core activities of policy formulation is considered various alternatives relating to policy issues, the alternative explanation itself is the use of models of decision-making among the rational model of the comprehensive, incremental model, and a model of the system (Solahudin Kusuma Negara, 2010).

The fourth aspect of the results (*Outcomes*) explains the results of the past performance of women legislators. The quality of public policy also determines the proper implementation target. The process of public policy formulation is said to be quality if it really formulated dynamic, democratic and involving the various stakeholders and that has a direct impact on the policy. As stated previously that the involvement of actors in the policy formulation process is not free of value and interest.

James Anderson (Solahudin Kusumanegara 2010) classifies the values into five groups, there are political values, organizational values, personal values, policies values, and ideology values. If a policy issued only gave an advantage to one value, then the policy's benefit will certainly far from the expectations, moreover the policy will not solve the problems of society. Decisions and policies issued by the Parliament just more concerned in terms of political groups/parties, the cases that dealt with and receive mediation and mentoring are only related to the party members. The fifth is the beneficial aspects and sixth is the impact. Appropriate beneficial aspects describe the use of a regional regulation or authorized program.

While aspects of the impact on the performance of legislators show women on overcoming the impact of any regional regulation and program implementation, both in positive and negative impacts. Evidence on the field shows the lack of accountability for implementing the functions of Parliament and the lack of understanding of the content of local laws that have been made, makes the Parliament are just waiting for reports that have come out to check the process of implementation of the local regulation. While, not all of the complaints that had been submitted by the community used as a reference for policy-making and handling of cases, especially the problems of women.

Interests of the people should be the reference when discussing the various draft of local regulations. A regulation is beneficial when it can solve the problems of people who received the direct impact of regulations issued. Formulation process that does not involve elements of society and the regulations made, solely used as competitions to create new regional regulations, and does not make the problems change. The great attention to the problems of women displaced by the ambition of

the party. Besides, the less cooperation between the legislative and executive make a *miss communication* on what the rules of the ideal should be.

Thus for any impact of regulation or program that issued will not be addressed seriously. Obstacles in the performance of women legislators can be seen from the internal and external constraints. Internal constraints faced by women are still used as a complement to the requirements of the constitution so that managed to sit in the seat of parliament is a woman who is not capable of knowledge and experience.

The insights to the problems of women are still undervalued, so in giving opinions on women's issues are not responsive. Another thing is the lack of willingness to carry the ideas and cooperation with other female legislators because of their visions and missions that are not in line. While the external constraints faced by, among others, is a fundamental burden faced by women today that structural pressures that are so convoluted, making the performance as the voice of the people in this area is limited (Rosawati. 2014).

The involvement of women in politics is considered important due to its connection with its influence on policy and decision-making. There is some argument about the importance of women involvement in politics, such as:

Table 2. Arguments about the importance of women involvement in politics (Module of Institute for Participation and Community Service (LKPPM). 2018)

No.	Argument	Information
1	Justice and Equality	Men and women have the equal opportunity to be involved in politics, both in influence, determine and make decisions also policies in a democratic system. There is no discrimination between men and women in which both have the same position, role, and opportunities to actualize themselves in the political world
2	Women's interest	Women have different interests with men
3	Emancipation Change	Dismantle the patriarchy system in society and the state
4	Women make a difference	Women are not only present in a democracy. Women are expected to bring a different style and gives a value in the political sector.
5	Women became a role model	Women become inspiration and encouragement for other women.

2.1. Influence of Political Representation of Women Against Gender Issues

The assumption that often awakened in the community is the presence of women in parliament as a representation in all policies, it will be more responsive to gender issues. This indicates that the expectation of the public that there needs to be a representation of women in public. However, the fact is, there are very few of the women elected as representatives in parliament advocating deeply related to gender issues. According to research conducted by Kirkpatrick 1974, Carroll, 1979, Mezey 1978 and 1979 Valance shows that there are few women when they want to occupy political office intends to represent their interests. Women candidates more likely to raise the general issue, due they worry that if they raise specific issues about women, they will be seen by their constituents as having a narrow mindset, even though the must represent all society (Kirkpatrick, Jane. 1974).

According to Hannah Pitkin (1967), the limits of political representation are to represent the activities that make the perspective and opinion of citizens are 'present' in the process of public policymaking. Political representation could occur, if political actors are speaking, advocating, signaling and acting on behalf of the others. In addition, Suzanne Dovi (2016) divides the political representation into four components: 1. Some parties are represented as members of Parliament, the grassroots organizations, or even countries and others. 2. Some parties are represented as constituents, clients, and others. 3. Something that is represented as opinions, perspectives, interests and others, 4. Setting, where such activity occurs in the context of the representation of politics.

The presence of women in parliament gives an impact or influence on the policy which is pro gender issues. This can be seen from the involvement of women in various aspects of parliament. There is some agenda/influence brought by women that can be seen from:

1. Lead and promote the efforts against gender-based violence
2. Promote and ensure the issues related to the elderly, childcare, pensions, laws/regulations to strengthen the electoral gender equality and women's access to parliament in the legislative process.
3. Most women feel that they are responsible for representing the accountability of women as general.
4. Some of them emphasized the importance of advocating the wider community's name.
5. Promoting what is referred to as "women's agenda" into the political discussions.

In addition, women make policies tend to differ with the policies issued by men in general.

Tabel 3. (Module of Institute for Participation and Community Service (LKPPM). 2018).

Women Policy region	Men Policy region
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Women's issues	Foreign issues
Gender equity and prosperity	Economic issues and trade
Social and communities	Education
Family matters	Equity and constitutional
Education	Social and communities
Health services	Infrastructure and development
Foreign issues	Public administration

According to Lovenduski and Karam, the strategy of those rules are consists of three parts, there are, learn the rules, use the rule, and then change the rules. What is meant by the rules here? It refers to two main factors, namely, (a) the customs, conventions, informal practices and specific regulations governing the legislative function; and (b) the process of law-making, the division of labor in the assemblies, structural hierarchy, rituals and discipline, traditions and customs norms that includes internal functions and its relationship with other parts of government and the state.

This strategy is based on the conviction of the need for change as a necessity, therefore, it is necessary to support the women's election of MPs to ensure these changes. There are at least four types of changes by Joni Lovenduski and Azza Karam (1998/2002):(a) Institutional / procedural; (b) Representation; (c) The effect on the output; and (d) discourse (Karam, Azza, et al. 2002).

Table 4. Four areas of change that give impact on political participation women in parliament

Institutional / Procedural	Make parliament more friendly to women, through actions or steps that promote greater gender sensitivity.
Representations	Ensure their sustainability and an increase in the number as well as women's access to the legislative processes.
Impact / Influence on output	"Feminization" of legislation to ensure their concerns and interests of women into it.
Discourse	Changing the parliamentary language, so that the female perspective becomes a natural thing and at the same time encouraging public perceptions and attitudes towards women members of parliament in particular, and women in general.

From the table above, it explains that there are four indicators that have an impact on women's political participation, *first*, on the aspects of institutional or

procedural changes based on all the activities through the promotion and the presence of institutional changes to be more friendly towards women. These changes would not only be culturally sensitive in terms of gender but also accompanied by institutional changes that procedurally designed to connecting women members in parliament. These changes would not only emphasize on women, but also to men as an effort to support those changes.

The second change is the changing of the representation involving action or special measures to ensure sustainability and increasing the number and the access of women into decision-making in the legislative process. It is characterized by full encouragement to the women legislative candidates who want to fight into the parliament and to promote their capacity and full access to the concept of gender equality and equity marked by the emergence of electoral laws and campaigns. Furthermore, the systematic efforts in placing women in strategic positions in parliament, either as chairman or member. From these changes, it certainly involves political parties as a forum for the aspirations of legislative members to be more strategic, moreover, it is not only quantitatively characterized by women in parliament but also substantively based on quality.

The third change is the impact or effect on output. This output creates alignments towards women's "feminization" by parliament, which is characterized by the presence of policy or regulation in accordance with the aspirations and interests of women. It is characterized by how far the legislation would advocating women's agenda or even the presence of gender-sensitive legislation. The fourth change is the stage where the presence of alteration of the discourse.

The discourse changes consist of both internal and external in parliament. This change includes the changes inside and outside parliament. In this fourth approach, it is used to change the political paradigm of the position of women in the parliament and outside parliament, both formal and non-formal as something normal and acceptable as men in politics. Through the access and parliaments larger facilities to encourage the mass media and the public, in general, to be more sensitive to gender issues.

Conclusion

Based on the proposed method and the results of the testing of the conclusions is the presence of women in parliament to give effect to advocacy, especially in terms of gender issues. The influence of women's participation in parliament is an amendment to the alignments of women both in terms of policy and discourse which has confined the women who tend to be discriminatory. The changes issued by women in parliament can be seen from the four points namely in terms of procedural, representation, impact and change the language and discourse of women's perspective. Of course, this is cool for women in terms of increased capacity and advocacy on women's issues which tend to be discriminatory.

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