

The Involvement of Women's Instant Politics in the Legislative Candidates From 2019-2024 Base on Gender Justice in Jambi City

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<p>Article History: Received July 29th 2023</p> <p>Revised September 26th 2023</p> <p>Accepted September 29th 2023</p>	<p>ABSTRACT</p> <p>In the 2019 legislative elections, the issue of women's representation in politics, as much as 30%, is interesting to study. Law No.7 of 2017 in article 245 states that the list of prospective candidates contains at least 30% women. The problem now is the lack of women's interest in politics and the lack of female cadres. Political parties need to find an instant way to make women more than only commodities to fulfill the party's qualification requirements. This study aims to explore the dynamics of women's involvement in legislative nominations in Jambi City and the government's participation in maximizing women's involvement. This research was conducted in Jambi City using a case study approach. The selection of the data was from political party officials and at the same time, they became the research informants. In addition, the General Election Commission (KPU) of the City of Jambi was a supplementary informant. Data collection was done through brainstorming and interviews. This research uses the theory of liberal feminism and the theory of gender politics. Furthermore, this research will find a model of gender equality in politics based on gender justice in terms of representation in the political world by showing partiality to be on the agenda and the issues of women.</p> <p>Keywords: <i>women, gender, political, legislative, feminism</i></p> <p>ABSTRAK</p> <p>Pada Pemilu legislatif 2019, isu keterwakilan perempuan dalam politik sebanyak 30% menarik untuk dikaji. UU No.7 Tahun 2017 pada pasal 245 menyebutkan daftar bakal calon memuat paling sedikit 30% perempuan. Persoalannya sekarang adalah minimnya minat perempuan di bidang politik dan minimnya kader perempuan. Partai politik perlu mencari cara instan untuk menjadikan perempuan lebih dari sekedar komoditas untuk memenuhi persyaratan kualifikasi partai. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali dinamika keterlibatan perempuan dalam pencalonan legislatif di Kota Jambi dan partisipasi pemerintah dalam memaksimalkan keterlibatan perempuan. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Kota Jambi dengan menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus. Pemilihan data dilakukan dari pengurus partai politik sekaligus menjadi informan penelitian. Selain itu, Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Kota Jambi menjadi informan tambahan. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui brainstorming dan wawancara. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori feminisme liberal dan teori politik gender. Selanjutnya, penelitian ini akan menemukan model kesetaraan gender dalam politik yang berbasis keadilan gender dalam hal keterwakilan di dunia politik dengan menunjukkan keberpihakan pada agenda dan isu perempuan.</p> <p>Kata Kunci: <i>perempuan; gender; politik; legislatif; feminisme</i></p>
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INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in parliament has always been a low number, although the number of women makes up almost half of the population in Indonesia. In Jambi City, with a population of 611,353 people (BPS Provinsi Jambi, 2020), the

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results of the 2009-2014 legislative election for the democratic party concerning their women's representation in the Jambi City parliament amounted to 5 people out of 44 seats. This number increased in the legislative election from 2014 to 2019 to 8 people out of 45 seats (Wsn, Wisman, 2014). Likewise, the female representation in the legislative election period for 2019-2024 is still at 8 out of 45 seats, which is only 18% of the existing quota. In the history of Indonesia, it has implemented policies with affirmations along two lines. First, the management of political parties through Act No. 31 of 2002 was strengthened by Law No.2 / 2008. Second, the list of legislative candidates (DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/city DPRD) through Law No.12 / 2003 was then strengthened by Law NO.10 / 2008. There is a minimum quota that political parties must be made up of at least 30 percent female administrators. There should also be women's political parties in the list of candidates.

In the latest regulation of Law No.7 of 2017, article 173 paragraph 2 letter e explains that political parties can become participants in the election after fulfilling the inclusion of at least 30 percent women's representation in the management of the central political parties. Another article states (article 245) that the list of prospective candidates is made up of at least 30 percent women. This is reinforced in article 256 paragraph 2, which mentions that in the list of candidates, for every 3 candidates, there should be 1 female candidate. The enactment of Law No.7 of 2017 on the registration of legislative candidates in 2018 makes it difficult for political parties in the city of Jambi to find female figures to fulfill the registration requirements. When the registration of legislative candidates was opened by the Jambi City Election Commission on July 4 2018, it took until the fifth day for political parties to register. The reason for the absence of a registering party earlier was because none of them had fulfilled the 30% requirement of women's representation (Yanti & Mh, 2015). Difficulties related to finding female legislative candidates are due to the high political costs. The involvement of women in the election of the parliamentary candidates, it turns out, is only limited to fulfilling the requirements.

The problem now is that there is still a lack of interest from women in entering the political arena and so there is a lack of female cadres in political parties. Political parties try to find an instant way of making women's only commodities in order to fulfill the party qualification requirements. The government's low role also influences this imbalance while trying to maximize women's involvement.

This study is critical because there are instant female legislative candidates who take part in the 2019 parliamentary elections. If elected, it is risky as to whether or not they will be able to carry out the people's mandate properly. For this reason, it is important that the women's legislative candidates fulfill the requirements while having an appropriate capacity, capability and figure of character. Woman should not only be commodities as a complement to satisfy the party's qualification requirements of having a quota that is 30% women.

In this study, this method used was an analysis knife; the research objectives were achieved with valid results. The theory of Liberal Feminism involves the following: (1) the aim is social transformation through changes in laws so then women can change their nature and achieve equality with men. (2) The doctrine of John Locke (human right to live, to freedom, and to seek happiness). This flow assumes that differences in their rationality cause the root of inequality between men and women. Women's rationality is seen of as weaker than that of men, so women are subordinated and oppressed in various aspects of life. This is due to the differences in

access and the opportunities provided to women and men in education, decision-making processes and so on. The liberal feminist movement wants to liberate women from oppressive gender roles, namely roles that are used as reasons or justifications to give women a lower place or to not provide a place for women at all in academics, forums, markets and more (Tong, 2010).

The political world is still dominated by men, especially at the level of essential positions in government. There is gender mainstreaming in every social institution, including politics. The government made a regulation regarding that there be a quota of at least 30% representation women involved in the management of political parties (political parties), but the Panja members of the political party bills decided not to include the formula. According to Saparinah Sadli (2010: p.112), the fear or doubt of male parliamentarians regarding the idea of increasing women's representation shows in three ways: 1) They underestimate the abilities and potential of women in politics. 2) They do not understand that women have different experiences that are needed and useful within the democratic process, 3) They are afraid of being rivaled by women if the number of women in political parties or political institutions is up to 30% or even over (Sadli, 2010).

According to Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000, gender is a concept that refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and academics, forums, markets and more (Tong, 2010) women that occur as a result of society. These roles can change according to the socio-cultural conditions of the community. Based on the 1999 GBHN, the direction of the national development policy is to realize women's empowerment, gender equality, and justice in all aspects of development. Gender equality in question is the similarity of conditions between men and women in obtaining opportunities and their rights as human beings. This will allow them to be able to play a role and participate in political, economic, socio-cultural, defense and security activities. There will be similarities in terms of enjoying the results of development. Gender justice is a process with the end goal of being fair to both men and women (Inpres, 2000).

Gender and politics can be interpreted as the participation of women in the political sphere as a whole, starting from the degree of representation to the roles that are at the political level. Based on the gender perspective, differences in the roles between men and women are rooted in gender ideology. Saptiani (1991) explains that gender ideology is all of the rules and stereotypes that govern the relationship between the men and women through the formation of masculine and feminine identities. It believed that biologically, men and women are different so their roles must also be changed accordingly. The ideology of gender causes there to be a sorting of jobs (Saptiani, 1991).

Therefore, increasing the role of women in gender-oriented development as an integral part of national development has an essential meaning in the effort to realize a harmonious alignment between men and women so then gender equality and justice can be achieved in various activities, especially in politics.

The process examined in this study is, first, how the selection and screening process of legislative candidates (political candidates) is done by the political parties (Golkar, Gerindra, Hanura, Demokrat, PPP, PKS, and PAN). This includes their selection by the Jambi City Election Commission. The second, is to identify the causes of the low interest of women in the political parties. The third is to know the party policies on the provision of a 30% quota of women's representation when nominating candidates.

METHODS

This research is divided into several stages. The first stage is pre-research. In this stage, the researchers conducted their initial research by carrying out secondary data collection and preliminary observations regarding women's instant political involvement in the legislative nomination period 2019-2024 in Jambi City. In the second stage, the research will carry out a more in-depth analysis of the legal basis, political policies, and the selection process for women legislators working towards the 30% quota provision. In the third stage, brainstorming will be done by inviting female candidates, the Chairman of Jambi City Election Commission, female leaders, women who are members of Jambi City DPRD, journalists, political activists, and women's associations in Jambi City to contribute. The fourth stage is identifying the dynamic concepts of women's involvement in legislative nominations and the role of political parties in the selection process.

To strengthen the research data, we also seek to identify the role of the government in maximizing women's involvement in politics. All of the data will be processed and identified. In the next stage, the drawing of the findings will conclude and provide recommendations. In drawing this conclusion, the author gives a general statement that answers the research questions that are useful for decision makers. For the stakeholders to benefit from the results of this study, recommendations will be given both academically and practically.

This research was conducted in Jambi City by involving several stakeholders who could provide the data related to the research problems. This research is an exploratory qualitative study. This study was conducted to better understand the specific symptoms and problems (Soehartono, 2008) through a case study approach. Case studies try to get involved and seek to report the complexity of the examined social activities to represent the meaning of individual social actors in those settings.

The case study assumes that 'social reality' is created through social interaction in a particular context and history. It needs to identify and explain this before analyzing and theorizing. This assumes that things may not be as they appear and the deep right of inquiry involves more coverage, namely that understanding 'cases' is more important than generalizations extrapolated to the population at large (Somekh, 2005).

In this study, the researchers will use interview techniques, observations and brainstorming activities in order to gather more data as needed in this study. There were 15 informants involved in this study. The informants were determined based on the following criteria. First, Jambi City Election Commission is a regulator and a key actor involved in implementing the party qualification policy with a 30% quota of women's representation in the registration of legislative candidates. Second, political parties as organizations screen parliamentary candidates. Third, there are the women's organizations that speak out in the defense of women's rights. Fourth, there are the members of the Jambi City parliament who seek women out specifically for them to provide information regarding the importance of the role of women in parliament. Fifth, there are the female legislative candidates involved in the instant political phenomena in the 2019-2024 congressional nomination in Jambi City. Sixth, are the academics and universities that have a role in this research

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The process of the screening of the legislative candidates by the political parties

The process of screening the female congressional candidates is conducted by the political parties and carried out following the party's mechanisms and policies. According to the party administrators and women legislative candidates, several indicators are taken into consideration in the process of selecting qualified female candidates, namely their organizational experience or how large the supporting mass base is, their education level, social background, active participation in political parties and any related achievements that tie into popularity, capability and acceptability. This means that a candidate must have the ability, widespread among the community, to be accepted by the community. They should be chosen according to the procedure, not just their origin. This is as stated by the Head of the Women's Community Empowerment and Protection of Children of Jambi City, Irawati Sukandar:

"Women have potential in the area where they live. They are active in society but when dealing with the broader community, it is still very awkward. When observed, women need to improve their abilities and learn how to lead. They can always make active efforts in their community activities. "

This is where the importance of the female candidates is highlighted in relation to improving their abilities and playing an active role in the community. This is so then they are not awkward when they go down into the electoral district. Women also have to master various insights, so they can be more sensitive and answer the problems that occur in society. When going down into the electoral district, female candidates need to have an emotional approach to discussions and they will often need to attend various community activities in order to absorb the voters' aspirations and to increase the level of voter trust in the female candidates. Being actively involved in the community is expected to be able to win the sympathy of female voters and even those of men. This is more effectively implemented by networking at the grassroots level.

For the selection process and screening of the female candidates, it is carried out in several ways, namely in either an open or closed manner. The recruitment of female candidates in a transparent manner means that all citizens who are qualified and interested, without exception, have the same opportunity to join political parties and to become legislative candidates. Closed recruitment only provides opportunities to certain people, such as the closest person to the ruler or party administrator and individuals who have similarities to those within the region, ethnicities and religions.

The process of recruiting female legislative candidates was conveyed by the Chairperson of the Prisma Foundation (an organization that defends women's rights) Endang Kuswardani. They seemed to always accentuate old players and those who were just like them or only people close to the ruler or party administrators. Ending Kuswardani said that:

"Some political parties still use dynastic politics. For example, all family members are nominated. To be able to enter politics, there are processes and systems from the party that must be passed. Especially when political parties cannot regenerate, the political machinery does not move on. It is neither instant or original."

Besides that, there is the factor of the unpreparedness of women when entering politics. According to Jambi City legislator, Roro Nully Kurniasih Kawuri from the Democrat party:

"Political parties and women's organizations need a better rate of participation to increase women's interest in politics. This will be a problem. For this reason, more socialization is needed, especially when it comes to the guidance given to women in order for them to compete."

The failure of regeneration in political parties is considered to be one of the causes of political parties attracting legislative candidates which they draw in carelessly. The phenomenon of the revocation of parliamentary candidates from other places is one of the party's failures, especially in terms of its internal cadre. This is one of the reasons why the 30 percent women's representation in parliament has still not been achieved. Even if the candidates' quota of 30% will be fulfilled as a qualification requirement for the party, women candidates who are not ready will undoubtedly experience many obstacles when they have to compete with other legislative candidates where both women and men are fighting for votes. Even though they will be elected, the people's representatives who sit in parliament will be less qualified in their fields. The community is also represented by people who are proficient and sensitive to the social issues that develop in the area. It takes seriousness from the political parties to undertake the proper care so then the 30% affirmative action for the women's representation in parliament can be fulfilled.

The politics of instances should not occur if the party's political machinery is running and has undergone regeneration. The Chairman of DPD PKS, Jambi City, Heru Kustanto conveyed the following:

"PKS has promoted recruitment, fostering, and empowerment in relation to women's roles. Maximizing women's roles and activating the judiciary and executive is important. PKS has no difficulty establishing female candidates because they already have cadres."

The cause of the low interest of women in relation to becoming involved in political parties

The little interest and participation of women in politics is influenced by various factors such as the low level of knowledge of women about politics and the low interest of women choosing other women, plus cultural and infrastructure factors. Women who sit on the board seats are still minimal in number, in terms of those who have strategic positions within the party. It is these women who can relax in their parliamentary seats and it is they who are expected to be able to fight for policies that favor a better quality of life for women, children, and their families. The Chairman of DPC Hanura Jambi City, Sertiansyah Buyung, said that the political party officials often have difficulties recruiting qualified female legislative candidates following the criteria desired by the party itself.

"Political parties have difficulty finding potential female candidates to meet the 30% quota. Finally, there are political parties that take shortcuts by nominating the closest people to them or party managers. With the current conditions, it is more difficult to do the screening required. The image of women that is needed puts them out a lot of money."

One of the difficulties faced by the party is fulfilling the 30% representation requirement for women in relation to nominating legislators. This is because of women's reluctance to enter politics. Women think that being involved in politics costs a lot. Jambi City's legislative candidate from the Hanura Party, Nana, said that:

"We are not short of women who are interested in entering politics following the desired quality standards of the party. But women entering the political realm find it costly and there are political transactions that can tarnish the process."

Several factors cause there to be a low interest among women when it comes to entering politics. First, money in politics is one of the challenges when it comes to increasing women's representation in parliament. Women who do not have enough money to enter politics tend to find that this discourages them. Second, there are the factors due to the patriarchal and customary culture. The perception that is often held is that the political area is for men. Women feel that it is inappropriate for them to become a member of parliament. Third, there are the procedural factors such as the injustice nominations, electoral systems, and political campaigns.

Where the selection process in political parties is carried out by a small group of almost always male officials or party leaders with an awareness of gender equality and justice that is still low, women do not get much support from the political parties themselves. Thus, men dominate the leadership structure. Another factor that is also an influence is the inability of women to represent the needs of female constituents in their respective constituencies. Many factors cause women voters to become pragmatic.

Even though it is difficult, women still have to be confident in order to be able to go into parliament. The women must stick to the three indicators as they advance through the legislature, namely gender equality, sustainable development, and being free from corruption. To encourage women's interest in politics to fulfill the 30% quota in parliament, political parties should provide political incentives to the candidates who are considered qualified. The party creates an affirmation policy related to two things, namely the economy in the form of financial and political assistance, where women are given numbers that are likely to be electable in the electoral district of the party.

All parties are expected to be able to improve and strengthen the practice of women's political representation, namely by increasing the quantity and quality which must run parallel. They strive for women to occupy strategic positions in the party, such as the position of Chairman and Secretary because these positions play a role in deciding many things about party policy.

Efforts need to be made to increase women's understanding and awareness of politics through education and training in order to, in turn, increase their self-confidence regarding their ability to compete against men for parliamentary seats. Women must also be given a sense of security related to the fact that the political area does not only belong to men but is open to anyone, including women. It also needs to be socialized that politics is not an area full of conflict and fearful intrigue.

It takes the role of the media to build the public opinion regarding the importance of women's representation in parliament. The more often the media publishes news on the role of women in the political world, the more it is expected to foster a positive image of politics for women and to increase the awareness of the need for women in parliament to fight for women's rights.

It is necessary to increase the role of networks between mass organizations, non-governmental organizations, and political parties in order to fight for women's representation. There are real needs that have not been sufficiently fulfilled in the affirmation of women at the legislative election nomination stage. Political parties are

still poor cadres, making it challenging to organize women in terms of both quantity and quality. This is a strategic space filled with the solidarity of women activists and women in community organizations. There are female resources of good quality, and there is periodic support to include agenda needs in community organizations. However, these have not been optimally supplied to political parties. For this reason, it is necessary to advocate for political party leaders that seek to make an effort to create awareness about the importance of accommodating women in parliament, primarily to fulfill the 30% women's representation in parliament.

Party policy on the provisions of a 30% quota for women's representation when nominating candidates

From the results of the above research, it has been described that the women's movement through liberal feminism in the city of Jambi has been implemented well. The availability of a quota for women also applies in legislative election contestations. This is an implementation of Law No.12 of 2003 article 65 paragraph I, namely that each political party participating in the election can submit parliamentary candidates for each electoral district so long as there is a women's representation level of at least 30 percent. Of the 16 political parties included in the permanent list of candidates in Jambi City, namely: PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Garuda, Berkarya, PKS, Perindo, PPP, PSI, PAN, Hanura, Demokrat, PBB, and PKPI, all have met the 30 percent quota for female candidates.

Table 1. List Of Election Candidates 2019-2024 Jambi City

No.	Political Party Name	Man	Women	Total
1	PKB	25	16	41
2	Gerindra	27	19	46
3	PDIP	29	15	44
4	Golkar	28	16	44
5	Nasdem	29	16	45
6	Garuda	15	10	25
7	Berkarya	28	17	45
8	PKS	29	16	45
9	Perindo	27	17	44
10	PPP	28	17	45
11	PSI	7	3	10
12	PAN	29	16	45
13	Hanura	23	17	40
14	Demokrat	28	17	45
15	PBB	28	15	43
16	PKPI	13	8	21
15	PBB	28	15	43
	TOTAL	393	235	628

Source: Data processed from Jambi City Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU Kota Jambi, 2019)

From the table of the list of permanent legislative candidates in the 2019 Election in Jambi City above, it can be seen that of the total number of candidates, as many as 628 people, include women candidates totaling 235 people (37%). All political parties that have implemented Law No.7 of 2017 in Article 245 state that the list of candidates should contain at least 30 percent in terms of its representation of women (Sahrial, 2019).

Table 2. The Number of Parliamentarians in Jambi City

Period	Quota mount	Man	Women	% Women
2009-2014	44	39	5	11%
2014-2019	45	37	8	18%
2019-2024	45	37	8	18%
2019-2024	45	37	8	18%

Source: Data processed from Jambi KPU

The graphic above illustrates the results of the legislative elections in Jambi City in 2019. Out of the 37% of women competing for seats in parliament, there were only 8 people or 18% of the quota voted for out of the 45 seats. The amount of women's representation to the Jambi City parliament is still the same as in the previous period (DPRD Kota Jambi, 2019)

The absence of an increase in the number of women in the parliament is due to the constraints of the women legislative candidates when it comes to running in elections. For example, there is still a strongly patriarchal culture that often discriminates against women. There is the assumption that women's education and women's political abilities makes them lower than men. The low awareness of women voters means that they are less likely to elect women legislative candidates. There is still a lack of knowledge among women of the importance of women's representation in parliament in the fight for women's rights.

The presence of a 30% representation of women in parliament must be an essential concern. It is necessary to consider making rules. The party not only prepares the women's image as per the party qualification requirement but it also seeks there to be a 30% women's electability in parliament.

The importance of women's representation in parliament gives women the authority to make policies that contribute significantly to the achievement of women's rights. The male members of the party do not fully represent the interests of women because of their different experiences and benefit.

In the 2019 election, there was implemented an open proportional system. This is a system that emphasizes the success of whoever gets the most votes. This is where not only competing parties but also the candidates themselves compete. Finally, women struggle individually not only to defeat men but also other women.

A legislative candidates from the Hanura Party, Nana, said that in the open proportional system, the burden of women when obtaining votes is getting heavier. If the election participants think pragmatically, then they will use money politics.

"When socializing with the community, there are residents who openly say, 'how dare you pay?' Here there are those who dare to spend so much."

This open proportional system adversely affects the electoral process in Indonesia. This needs to be evaluated. First, this system facilitates massive money politics. Second, this system makes politicians opportunistic. An open proportional system should not be used again in the upcoming elections. Closed equivalent systems need to be considered and potentially applied in the Indonesian elections.

The lack of quantitative representation on women in parliament should be taken seriously because this will have an impact on the legislation products that are produced, especially those related to the problems experienced by women and their best solutions.

CONCLUSION

The struggle for women's affirmative action in parliament is still ongoing because up until now, the percentage of women's representation is still below 30%. For the legislative election results in Jambi City in the period 2019-2024, the legislature of elected women only reached 18%. Many essential things must be put into place by the political parties so then the 30% quota of women's representation in parliament is sufficient. First, the process of screening the female legislative candidates by the political parties should be done from the beginning through the recruitment of cadres and by including women into the ranks as party managers. Political parties no longer have difficulty finding female legislative candidates as a qualification requirement for political parties participating in the election. For the process of recruiting female candidates, it should be done openly for all Indonesian citizens to see who are qualified and interested. This is related to the organization's experience or how big the supporting mass base is, including their education level, social background, active participation in political parties and achievements related to popularity, capability and acceptability. When later there are elected female candidates, the community will be represented by people who are proficient and sensitive to the social issues that develop in the field. Seriousness from political parties is needed to accurately recruit cadre female candidates so then the 30% affirmative action for women's representation in parliament is carried out.

Second, in order to foster the interest of women involved in politics, an effort needs to be made increase women's understanding and awareness in order to increase women's confidence in their ability to compete with men for parliamentary seats. It also needs to be socialized that politics is not an area full of conflict and fearful intrigue. It takes the role of the media to build the public opinion regarding the importance of women's representation in parliament in order to allow them to fight for women's rights. It is necessary to increase the role of networks between mass organizations, non-governmental organizations, and political parties to fight for women's representation. Moreover, political parties are still poorly regenerating, making it challenging to organize women in terms of both quantity and quality.

Third, there is the party policy focused towards the 30% quota provision for women's representation among the nominating candidates. Although all parties have met the 30% quota requirement to generate a positive image of women during the period of the 2019-2024 legislative nomination, from the results of the general election, the female electability rate is still low at 18%. In the 2019 election, implementing an open proportional system is a system that will emphasize the most votes as being important. This is where not only competing parties but also

competing candidates exist. Finally, women struggle individually not only to defeat men but also to defeat other women. So far, 30% of the women's quota in parliament has never experienced achievement. However, the lack of representation of women in parliament needs to be increased by strengthening and increasing the quota limits in order to increase the likelihood of the electability of women. It is necessary to consider the existence of a 30% quota regulation in relation to women's electability in parliament. The representation of women in parliament is significant. It gives authority to women when making policies that contribute to the achievement of women's rights, especially gender equality.

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