

The Representatives of Women and Affirmation Action in The 2019 Legislative Election of Indonesia

Rasyidin^{1*}, Fidhia Aruni²

¹Department of Political Science, Malikussaleh University, Lhokseumawe, Aceh, Indonesia

²Department of Public Administration, College of National Administration Science, Lhokseumawe, Aceh, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This study aims to deeply see the representation of women in politics in the 2019 general election in Indonesia because women's participation in politics was still very limited. Based on this phenomenon, the Indonesian government has made Affirmative Action as a foundation for women in politics. The results showed that Affirmative Action could not yet be realized and the involvement of women in representative institutions at least 30% have not been fulfilled under affirmative action. From all the political contestants, only the Partai Nasional Demokrat has fulfilled the quota. The findings of this study indicated that patriarchal culture was still an obstacle to women's representation in Indonesian Representative institutions in addition to the Shari'a and other cultures.

Keywords: women's representation, affirmative action, and representative institutions.

*Corresponding Author:

E-mail: rasyidin@unimal.ac.id (Rasyidin)

Department of Political Science, Malikussaleh University, Lhokseumawe, Aceh, Indonesia

1. INTRODUCTION

In various countries in the world, women are still second class citizens in many ways, especially in the political field. The equality program for men and women in politics has become a hot conversation in the context of the Republic of Indonesia or international perspectives. For this reason, at the international levels, the United Nations (UN) has initiated to eliminate gender discrimination, such as the Convention of Elimination Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In this connection, Indonesia has also regulated it in the laws of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 1984.

A country that adheres to a democratic political system certainly involves the community significantly in various political activities both in conventional political participation and non-conventional participation. Indonesia is a country that adheres to a democratic political system and applies an instrument that can turn Indonesia into a state that

provides opportunities for women to participate in politics and public policy significantly.

Affirmative action is an instrument given by Indonesia to women so that their involvement can meet at least 30 percent both in political activities and public policies. The affirmative action contains in the General Election Law, the Law of the Government of Aceh, and other laws. Although there is already a basis for increasing the number of women in politics, it has not shown a significant increase in the general elections of 2009, 2014, and even in the 2019 general elections.

Affirmative Action has not been able to meet the quota set by the Government because women face various obstacles, both culturally and structurally. Those are the problem faced by Indonesian women while participating in politics and public policies. Also, their internal weaknesses are very determined. It is the

historical data found through preliminary observations at the general elections in Indonesia in 2019. The representation of

women in politics in legislative elections is as in the following tables

TABLE I
The Amount of House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019 Legislative Elections

No	Political Parties	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Remarks
1	PDI P	128	102	79.68	26	20.32	
2	Golkar	85	69	81.17	16	18.83	
3	Gerindra	78	64	82.05	14	17.95	
4	Nasdem	59	40	67.79	19	32.21	Fulfilled the Quota
5	PKB	58	48	82.75	10	17.25	
6	Demokrat	54	46	85.18	8	14.82	
7	PKS	50	44	88.00	6	12.00	
8	PAN	44	39	88.63	5	11.37	
9	PPP	19	14	73.68	5	26.32	
Total		575	466	81.05	109	18.95	

Source: General Elections Commission of Indonesia

TABLE II
Comparisons of Women in Parliament of Indonesia in 2019

No	Parliament	Total	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage
1	DPR-RI	575	466	81.05	109	18.95
2	DPD – RI	136	103	75.74	33	24.26
3	MPR – RI	711	569	80.03	142	19.97

Source : Analysis Results of Various sources

2. METHODS

In obtaining accurate data, this study used qualitative methods by conducting observations and interviews with established informants as well as data sourced from documentation relating to the research conducted. Sugiono (2012: 9) also proposed qualitative research as a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism used to examine the condition of natural objects, where the researcher is an instrument, data collection techniques with triangulation, data analysis

is inductive or qualitative, and the results of his research more emphasis on meaning than generalization.

3. THEORITICAL REVIEW

The theories are useful for predicting, analyzing, and interpreting every phenomenon. In this regard, this study uses several theories to support this study.

3.1. Representative Institutions

Representation is a concept that can speak or be able to compete for arguments

or contest faithfully both on behalf of individuals and groups.

In a democratic government system, representative institutions are the most crucial elements in addition to other elements such as the electoral system, equality before the law, freedom of expression, freedom of association, and so on. Every democratic system is an understanding in which citizens must be involved in certain matters such as in the field of political decision-making both directly and through their elected representatives in the representative institutions that we are familiar with legislative institutions. In essence, representatives of legislative bodies require the presence of women to create political balance in the democratisation parliament.

General Election is a form of democratic incarnation in a state that uses it as a political system. The etymological meaning of democracy comes from two Greek words, *demos*, and *Kratos*. *Demos* means people, while *Kratos* or *Cratein* is government. It means that democracy is people's government, or what we know better as the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The Indonesian encyclopedia states that democracy is a form or mechanism of a country's government system to realize the sovereignty of the people (citizen power) that is run by the government of that country. Ancient Greek philosophers had long conceived the primary concept of democracy. One of them is Aristoteles (384-322) BC, who believes that democracy is the supremacy of a broad community, including poor people. The main characteristic of classical democracy involves three fundamental values, consisting of freedom, justice, and

independence (Aim Abdulkarim, 2004: 131).

Freedom means that every citizen has the right in politics to give an opinion freely and not be bound by anyone except things that contradict the applicable law. In addition to justice as a very crucial thing in carrying out political activities, discrimination against both men and women should not exist because freedom is the right to express aspirations free from any influence to realize democracy significantly and maximally.

3.2. *General Election*

General Election is a characteristic and identity of a country that adheres to the political system of democracy. Therefore, the election intends to elect a leader in a certain period and carried out planned and deliberately. This election will be significantly successful if it is carried out responsibly and effectively with indicators able to meet the desires or interests of the community or citizens as a whole. Democratic elections have no difference between citizens. Credible General Election is carried out with full accountability, transparency, democratic, and fair (without discrimination) in all fields to produce qualified leaders.

General Election aims to convert the number of votes into leaders or seats in the parliaments or legislative bodies. In political science, the electoral system functions as a collection of methods or ways by which citizens choose their representatives. For the election of members of the representative bodies, the electoral system transfers the number of votes into the number of seats. Election of governors and regents, who are the sole representation in the electoral system, based on the number of votes obtained determines who wins and who loses. By

seeing this, the electoral system in a democracy is necessary.

3.3. *Political System*

As a system, politics can function as a supra system, which is the primary system that contains various sub-systems. In this case, politics as a system that consists of government sub-systems, political representation and public participation, parties and elections, and so on. On the other hand, politics is a sub-system of a superior system, namely the state system. In this position, together with the economic sub-system, law sub-system, social sub-system, and so on, the political sub-system forms a state system. In other words, in a state system, the entire sub-system cannot be separated, instead of giving mutual influence to other sub-systems. Likewise, there are interactions with the environment influenced by the environment itself in the political system. It is the consequence of an open system. The term 'political system' is often used to replace the word 'state' by scholars who use a behavioral approach.

3.4. *Affirmative Action*

According to Soetjipto, it is different from the quota because this policy is not just setting a certain percentage where the affirmative action has three objectives, namely (1) giving positive impacts to an institution so that it is more capable of understanding and eliminating various forms of racism and sexism in the workplace (2) preventing the occurrence of gender and racial bias on all occasions, and (3) creating a more temporary but consistent nature. The emphasis in this research related to affirmative action is equality in opportunity and the results achieved.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women's political participation in a country that adheres to a democratic political system such as the Republic of Indonesia is necessary because there is no democracy when political discrimination against women still occurs in a country. The United Nations has issued regulations concerning the prohibition of discrimination against women in various fields in the public sector, such as the Convention of Elimination Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The Republic of Indonesia had ratified the CEDAW in 1984. With the existence of international legality, this country has also made various policies relating to the involvement of women in all fields.

The affirmative action policy is a program created by the government of the Republic of Indonesia after the reform. Election law, political party law, and so on are a form of affirmation program for women, wherein this law women are required to be involved in public and political policies of at least 30% of the total number of seats. If they do not reach or fulfill the quota, then these political parties fail to register themselves as contestants in general elections (Elections) or Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) throughout the Republic of Indonesia.

The research data obtained shows that the cultural barriers of patriarchy in Indonesian society still affect the political participation of women in this country. This culture has a very significant influence on the politics of women in this country, and even patriarchal culture is supported by theological effects adopted by the general public in Indonesia.

A significant combination of patriarchal and theological culture can cause new symptoms or phenomena

among women in Indonesia, where women do not like women politicians. The researcher conducted a Focal Group Discussion (FGD) with women activists in Aceh Province and obtained the data related to the research. It has indeed become a reality in the elections and legislative elections in Indonesia in 2019 although the percentage of the number of women involved in the legislation in 2014 has increased (the legislative members of the 2014 election results reached 17.78 percent and the 19.97 percent in 2019, or increased by about 2'19 percent).

Based on research data obtained at the 2019 general election in Indonesia, the number of women's participation in the Indonesian legislature has not shown a significant figure based on the quota set in the affirmative action itself. Related to the participation of women in political parties participating in legislative elections, only one political party can fulfill the affirmation quota, namely *Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem)* of 32.21 percent while other political parties have not been able to meet the affirmative action quota stipulated by the law.

This phenomenon becomes a crucial issue in the political context of the Republic of Indonesia, especially in increasing women's political participation. Women's political participation in the form of conventional and non-conventional political participation has existed because affirmative action has been born from the Indonesian political environment.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the above study, the affirmative action for women has not been significant in Indonesia either in Legislative elections or General elections in 2019, such as:

1. Political parties have not been very seriously in providing education about politics where the political parties basically role and function as a means of political education, especially for women.
2. The patriarchal culture in Indonesian society is still so profusely implemented that women's participation in politics has not been able to show an increase in affirmative action quotas and has not yet run optimally.
3. The implementation or application of religious sharia is still very dominant, and it also becomes the constraint in increasing the number of women's involvement in politics because politics is not the domain of women.
4. The dominance of political parties in determining legislative members still runs in a discriminatory manner to women.

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