Participation and Representation of Women in Politics in South Tangerang City (Study at the DPRD of South Tangerang City)

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Abstract

Women’s representation in politics, especially those who sit as members of the legislature. From the last few elections, the number of women’s representation in the legislature in the city of South Tangerang is still minimal, even below the minimum threshold of 30 percent. This shows that the participation of women in the political arena in South Tangerang is still a minority. This study tries to provide an overview of the participation and representation of politics in South Tangerang City. This study used a qualitative approach by conducting direct observation through interviews and gathering information from other sources. The problems that occurred in women’s representation in the DPRD of South Tangerang City could be identified. The results showed that women’s representation from two elections in the city of South Tangerang was still below the threshold for women’s representation, namely still 14.58 in the 2009 election and 17.78% in the 2014 election, where the threshold for women’s representation set by law - the invitations are 30%. The lack of women’s participation in politics in the city of South Tangerang, especially as members of the DPRD, is due to the strong gender discrimination and patriarchal culture in Indonesia.

Keywords: Women, DPRD, Representation, Gender, Patriarchy.

A. INTRODUCTION

Activities to improve social welfare in society are the main objectives of political activities (Surbakti, 1992; Budiarjo, 2003). However, this is not created in terms of women's political rights. Increasing the number of women on the political scene is an issue that is often debated. Equality of political rights between men and women is clearly not parallel (Parawansa, 2002; Pudji, 2008). A clear example can be seen when the emergence of the first female figure led Indonesia; namely, Megawati Soekarnoputri received strong resistance from various social groups. The basis for the rejection was not Megawati herself, but it was because of Megawati’s female gender. Even today, there is still discrimination against women in the political field, as evidenced by the very minimal representation of women in the legislative body (Mukarom, 2008).
In Law no. 2 of 2011 concerning amendments to Law no. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties or Law no. 2 of 2008 on political parties mandated that the importance of women's representation in a political party and a requirement to participate in general elections for all political parties and political parties must meet these requirements. Women's representation has been discussed or implemented through the previous law on politics, but in practice, it still lacks because it is still considered less important by political parties. Through the Law on political parties, regulations regarding women's representation in political parties are tightened. Article 20 states that the representation of women in political parties' management is at least 30 percent. Meanwhile, to become a member of the legislature, Law No. 12 of 2003 has also indicated a minimum allocation of 30 percent for women to be members of the legislature.

However, although various statutory instruments have accommodated women's involvement in politics, between the political world and women are still two things that are not easy to link (Ardiansa, 2017). In the legislative body, the representation of women is minimal, not in proportion to their number. This limitation of women's participation affects, both directly and indirectly, the efforts to empower women. Law No. 12 of 2003 is indirectly a form of political accommodation for the demand for the importance of gender equality for women in the political sphere and providing space for greater public participation for women in nation-building. Women have the same rights as men to participate in various life fields (Biroli, 2008; Squires, 2007). Especially concerning politics that take care of the lives of many people, including women themselves. Sufficient representation of women in the legislative body will be urgently needed. This can be seen in the previous legislative conditions where women's representation was minimal, resulting in neglected women's interests. This 30 percent quota is expected to eliminate this and provide opportunities for women to be more involved in politics (Mukarom, 2008).

The existence of discrimination or differences in society's mindset in seeing the differences between women and men is caused by a culture created in the community that men are superior to women, and men are masculine creatures, namely harder, stronger, smarter, rational, and reliable. Women are often assumed to be feminine, namely smooth, gentle, weak, irrational, and are always used as a subordinate of men (Pokharel, 2008). It is assumed that feminine women and masculine men's attitudes are not absolute human ownership of their biological sex (Mary Anne, 1995).

The culture that develops in society is a patriarchal culture where men can determine everything in all aspects of life. This patriarchal culture is created from an ideal image that develops in society through the socialization process, such as family, friends and associations, education, institutions, culture, and religion (Nurmila, 2015). Women and men are different when viewed biologically, which is
only a gift from the lover, namely God Almighty. The differences created in society are "turmoil" that distinguishes women and men by nature, which is purely biological, and differences between women and men who are "prostituted" when viewed in social life, which is not something permanent and eternal as permanently. And the eternal biological characteristics of women and men (Sakina, 2017).

Along with the various problems experienced by women whose rights are often deprived of their rights and have not been properly placed by most societies, the level of violence experienced is still high, requiring serious political attention (Pudji, 2008). Politics is not the only solution in fighting for women's rights and the problems of women who experience physical violence in persecution and terror. But also mentally or psychologically, which requires the problem to be cured and restore a normal self-confidence as a human being. Those who experience problems will be easily helped when politics is held by individuals who have a strong political commitment to women's issues (Luhulima, 2006). It is this political issue that must be held by people who should be women themselves. However, women's affairs psychologically and culturally that are inherent or internal are better known by women themselves. Therefore, this struggle will be effective if women seize the political means available in the 30% quota if women's problems are to be minimized through political power in future political parties (Hadiyono, 2015).

South Tangerang City is an autonomous region resulting from the division of Tangerang Regency, which is located about 30 KM from Jakarta. South Tangerang City is the second-largest city in Banten province after Tangerang city. Geographically, the city of South Tangerang is located in the eastern part of Banten province at coordinates 106'38 ' - 106'47' East Longitude and 06'13'30 ' - 06'22'30' LS. The location of South Tangerang, adjacent to DKI Jakarta and West Java, makes it the link between Banten province and the two provinces. In the 2014 Election, the number of women's representation in the Tangsel City DPRD was 8 out of a total of 45 members (around 17.7%). Judging from this number, it has not fulfilled the representation of 30% women.

Based on the description above, the authors are interested in researching women's representation in politics in the city of South Tangerang, especially in membership in the DPRD of South Tangerang City. It is hoped that this research can be an added value in an insight into the importance of increasing women's participation in politics, especially in the city of South Tangerang, to voice and fight for things that have been problematic for women in South Tangerang.

**B. METHOD**

The research method used is qualitative research methods. The researcher chose a qualitative research method. The study of women's problematic representation in the
DPRD of South Tangerang City requires extracting information that is not quantitative in nature to form a comprehensive description of the data collected. According to Bogdan & Taylor, the qualitative method is a research procedure that produces data. Descriptive is written or spoken words from people or observed behavior (Sugiyono, 2011).

In theory, the data obtained in this study can be classified into two groups, namely primary data and secondary data sources. In this study, researchers’ data were primary, no longer distinguishing between primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from interviews with people directly related to this research, namely members of the DPRD Kota Tangerang Selatan. Meanwhile, secondary data sources can be obtained from written sources, written sources used in research.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

One of the political institutions used as a measure of democracy is a political party (parpol). Political parties have become political institutions that are much more dynamic than other formal institutions because they carry out various political missions (Setyodarmodjo, 2000). Political parties as an indicator of the running of the democratic machine are certainly not discriminatory in recruiting or cadre their members, especially gender. However, there are still certain parties that adopt patriarchal values so that women’s access is minimal. If left unchecked, discrimination based on patriarchal values will further reduce women's political access to political parties. As a result, women’s representation in the DPR will also decrease (Rafni, 2013). In Indonesia, women’s political participation is carried out on the principle of providing quotas. Women’s political participation in the council is given a 30 percent quota, which makes the role of parties significant. However, this quota still does not show women’s real representation considering that there are more women than men. To realize some of the achievements of women achievements in politics, the first thing women must do is take an active role in political parties. The political role shows the functions carried out by political parties, such as articulating interests, political education, political communication, political socialization, and political recruitment. Therefore the political party world is the most dynamic political institution compared to other formal institutions in which women get their rights (Rodiyah, 2016).

By paying attention to political parties’ strategic function in increasing women’s political participation, political parties must be open and provide opportunities for all parties, including women. In practice, there are still many political parties with patriarchal values who are reluctant to do so and therefore limit women’s access to participate in the public world. The condition of political parties that are still patriarchy oriented will certainly complicate women’s political access in the future. The marginalization of women in the management of political parties and their
membership in the legislature is related to the representation of women appointed by the political parties as winners in the General Election. Women’s representation is strongly influenced by constituent beliefs, especially women as voters. Voters’ trust in female candidates is also faced with policy and political issues (Suwarko, 2014).

More than the issue of participation and representation, gender responsiveness in public policy-making pays attention to the number of women and the problem of balancing the number of men and women. It is not just a quantitative approach with a 30 percent quota for women. This gender-responsive concept requires women to work hard to qualitatively fulfill the 30 percent quota (as qualified board members). Thus, political parties must have a clear platform by building a political culture conducive to women. This will make women excited to enter the world of politics through political parties. Political parties must open women’s access to politics because the only way to a parliamentary seat based on Indonesia’s prevailing political system must be taken through political parties (Windyastuti, 1996).

Moore (2001) emphasizes that women’s position and role in political structures are still lacking due to the dominance of men in political parties, including political structures that have placed women’s political activities at a shallow level. This occurs due to the constructionism of ideology and political culture that is patriarchal, masculine, and hegemonic, creating gender inferiority and passivity. The tendency of male bias causes gender interests never to be accommodated by political parties. Women’s access and opportunities are minimal to sit in political parties’ management because there is no affirmative action policy.

It appears that in the course of the national political arena, there is almost no proportional position for women who are symmetrical with men. Politics and even culturally exploit women more than they become a place for empowerment. This condition is not in line with the theory of the local government council from Karnig (1979), which states that the size of the council based on representation and participation has not been answered in women’s representation with a 30 percent quota mechanism even though the number of female voters in Indonesia reaches more than 30 percent. This phenomenon means that the representation of women as a whole has not materialized. The mismatch between the number of interests and the number of representation resulted in reduced public trust and confidence in women as members of the legislature (DPR or DPRD).

The fundamental problem in this discussion is whether women’s representation automatically creates changes in public policy that can answer women’s problems? Even though women have been provided with a representation quota of 30 percent, it has not been followed by cultural changes, paradigm changes, and the domination of patriarchal culture in such a way that it is not easy to change the view that politics is a public area that can be entered by women. The number of women in politics is
less than the potential to compete with men who have been socially (considered) more advanced than women. This reality will form a small council size (Karnig, 1979).

The phenomenon of the quality of women in DPRD needs to be questioned because electing them to become DPRD members begins with their involvement in a political party. The dynamics of political parties are very fluctuating and full of gambling. In contrast, outside the political parties, there are many qualified and well-established women in strategic positions in various fields. Being a political party administrator or a member of the council is not attractive to women, especially if it is only used to fulfill quotas and not consider quality, ability, and insight. Apart from that, there is public pessimism and cynicism regarding the life and role of political parties.

So far, the recruitment of political party cadres has not had a good and sustainable pattern. This results in limited female cadres with sufficient quality to support the party’s ability to win elections. The existence of women used by political parties tends only to gain votes. The recruitment of women for parties is not seen and is a measure of quality but is more based on their figure and popularity.

Law Number 10/2008 concerning General Elections for Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council (legislative elections) and Law Number 2/2008 on Political Parties have mandated political parties to fulfill the 30% quota for women in politics, especially in people's representative institutions. In the 2009 elections, these efforts were strengthened by other regulations, namely elaborating the quota system and the zipper system, which significantly influenced the election results by increasing the number of women DPRD members. This was also felt in the DPRD of South Tangerang City. From the research results, the quota system for the list of candidates was 30% women, and the zipper system impacted the increasing number of DPRD members from among women.

### Table 1 Comparison of the number of female members in DPRD Tangsel City in 2009 and 2014

| Number of Female Members in 2009 | Total Number of Members in 2009 | Percentage | Number of Female Members in 2014 | Total Number of Members in 2014 | Percentage |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| 7                               | 48                              | 14,58%     | 8                               | 45                              | 17,78%     |

Researcher Processed Data

In this study, it appears that women have not filled 30% of their representation as expected with the electoral system. Several factors cause the 30% representation of women in the DPRD of South Tangerang City is not fulfilled, such as the still-strong male candidate and the male figure as the right figure for the leader. There are at
least two main factors; there are main factors that are related, namely, firstly the influence of the still strong gender roles and division between men and women which limit or hinder women's roles in the field of leadership and policy or decision making and secondly the constraints on women's access to power that is spread across various socio-political institutions, such as elections and parties (Afrida, 2013).

Based on this research, it was found that several problems occurred in women legislators DPRD in the city of South Tangerang, namely the imbalance of the number of DPRD members between women and men who sat so that women's representation was deemed not to reach the desired quota.

Physical problems are also still an obstacle, the researcher's findings on women members of the DPRD. Physical is very influential because women cannot or are as strong as men. At some point, he has to finish his job until he is immersed in and various other things. This problem or problem apparently does not apply to women members of the DPRD Kota Tangerang Selatan. From the research results, it turns out that this assumption or opinion did not occur in the politics of the DPRD of South Tangerang City. Harmonization between male and female DPRD members occurs and complement each other for their work. There is no difference in performance between women and men, and women's characteristics are more detailed and thorough in assisting male DPRD members in the policy-making process.

The woman who sits as a South Tangerang City DPRD is a mother to children and a wife to her husband in a household. In the process, at least there must be a conflict between being a member of the DPRD and being a wife or mother in the family. The research results are that the condition or division of the mother's role in the household/wife and as a member of the DPRD must be done in a balanced manner. Must be able to focus and divide the time between these two important things. Priority distribution is also needed. Although it is said that it is not always easy to live, there are obstacles. But if you do a balanced distribution of roles and time, it does not become a significant obstacle.

The representation of women in parliament is the result of the previous election system. With the application of the quota system and a zipper system, it is hoped that later women who will sit in parliament can reach 30% or more. From the research results, it turns out that members of the DPRD of South Tangerang City said that the 30% figure was still lacking. In the articulation of women's interests, this figure is still considered insufficient. DPRD members want this figure to be increased to 40%. This means that DPRD members hope that the legislative candidates who will later sit in parliament reach 30% or more in the list of candidates in the quota system.

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Hadiyono (2015) concluded that: Quotas for women are a certain number or percentage of members or bodies, whether it is a list of candidates or legislative candidates (DPRD), a committee, or a government, the goal is to ensure that women have at least one minority critical which consists of 30 or 40 percent and this quota is applied as a temporary measure, meaning that it is applied until the barrier to women's entry into politics can be removed. With this, the women DPRD members hope that with an increase to 30% or more so that there is a gender balance or gender balance in the parliament later, there is a guarantee that this will facilitate the articulation of women's interests.

Several factors influence women's representation in politics and the DPRD of South Tangerang City. Many women want to participate in politics but find it difficult to find competent women due to a lack of political education or just wanting to join in the culture to the public's perception of political women, that women are more worthy of being at home and men are more worthy of being in that position. First, the influence of the still strong traditional gender roles and division between men and women and limiting or hindering women's roles. The representation and role of women have indeed increased. However, it is still lacking, and special tips are needed to increase women's representation in their particular political field in parliament. From the research, there are several tips expressed by members of the DPRD of South Tangerang City. However, it is still lacking; the DPRD members themselves and activities only exist before the general election, which must continuously be carried out.

D. CONCLUSION

The participation and representation of women in politics in the city of South Tangerang, especially in the membership of the DPRD, is still meager. The 30 percent minimum quota required by law is still not fulfilled. This is generally due to gender discrimination and issues of the patriarchal culture inherent in Indonesia. The slogan of women being better at home to take care of the household is still deeply entrenched, preventing them from being more involved and involved in politics in South Tangerang.

Of the two elections held in South Tangerang, the number of women's representation is still very small and is below the minimum 30 percent quota required by law. In the 2009 Election, the number of female DPRD members was only 7 out of 48 members (14.58%), while in the 2014 election, the number of female DPRD members increased by 1 person to 8 from 45 members (17.78). This is still felt to be very far from the 30% minimum quota. Several factors cause the 30% representation of women in the DPRD of South Tangerang City is not fulfilled, such as the still-strong male candidate and the male figure is the right figure for the leader.
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