

GENDER AS A POLITICAL RESOURCE IN SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP (THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT)

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Abstract

Women's political presence in the public sphere, including their political participation and representation, is an important, though not equal element for Indonesian citizens in their capacity as participatory and sufficient in multiple strategies to create gender equality. This paper aims to find out about gender as a political source in social citizenship, especially the role of women in the Indonesian parliament. The legal materials used in this study include primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. The collection of secondary legal materials is carried out by literature studies. The existence of women in parliament gives a new spirit in the gender equality order as policy makers on governance issues. In its existence, affirmative action is still a problem for women in improving the quality of their representation in parliament.

Keywords: *Gender, Political Representation and Citizenship, Women and Politics, Indonesia*

1. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, not a few women still consider or are considered weak, and there are still many women who enjoy their role only taking care of the household, or often referred to as the *Kasur well kitchen*, even though women also have the same rights to take part in the world of polity, meaning that women have equal rights with men in terms of life or work, one of which is in terms of politics. The equal role of women and men is stated in Article 28D paragraph (1) of the 1945 NRI Constitution "everyone has the right to fair and equal treatment before the law" and paragraph (3) says "everyone has the right to get equal in government" it is very clear that women should get the same rights as men even if it is representation in the political field (Siallagan 2016). As in Article 1 paragraph (3) "Indonesia is a State of law" and the characteristic of a State of law is to apply the principle Equality Before the Law. Therefore, there is no doubt that women's representation can be increased and of course the role of women in politics cannot be separated from a woman as a mother for her children as well as a wife for her husband. But apart from that the involvement of women in government in the public must be broader such as in terms of economy, education, socio-culture, politics and so on. The parliamentary quota for women's representation has been set at 30% based on Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council (Wahyudi 2018).

To develop a democratic life by upholding freedom, equality, togetherness and honesty, it is necessary to represent women in voicing their rights and one of the roles of women begins with being involved in political parties in order to occupy parliamentary seats. With women sitting in parliamentary seats will be a means to present the wishes of opinion and be able to take a political stance, of course, still uphold freedom, assembly, association, and equality (Wibowo 2011). The existence of women in parliament provides a new spirit in the gender equality order as policy makers on issues government. However, its existence, especially affirmative action, is still a problem for women in improving the quality of their representation in parliament. Providing psychological impacts for women in politics attached by the community paradigm to the existence of corruption that ensnares female politicians and public officials. Gender bias is a challenge for women in treading politics in Indonesia. The paradigm of women and corruption must be straightened out by women's representation in parliament by providing a concrete understanding to the public about the substance of corruption through good, professional, and accountable representation performance. In the context of corruption, anyone can be caught in it, if they do not place themselves professionally and proportionately in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations, both men and women (Wibowo 2011).

In 2009 a World Bank researcher stated that a woman is far from corruption. Then vivi Alatas in 2006 strengthened the statement by conducting a study into corruption behavior including those that occurred in four countries, namely Indonesia, India, Singapore and Australia. This shows that perpetrators of corruption are not based on gender but because of the existing culture. Therefore, women's representation in parliament becomes a pillar and milestone of the community paradigm towards the behavior of female public officials, especially female politicians in parliament as representatives of the people in improving their quality to provide hierarchical substance to inherent representation. Therefore, there must be a way or strategy in improving the quality or in optimizing the representation of these women through various media which must continue to be built by strengthening partners to several women's organizations in increasing their capacity for representation and representation. Evaluation of women's performance in parliament can be internalized through gender with universal affirmative action on the interests of the people with various policies implemented. Affirmative action not only strengthens gender equality and justice, but also leads to an inclusiveness of the substance of equality of participation and representation with men in policy making towards wider nation development (Education, Economy, Development, Health, etc.) for the better, fairer and equitable welfare of the people (Wahyudi 2018)

2. IMPLEMENTATION METHOD

TheIn this case, researchers use a type of normative legal research (Normative Legal Research), which is "a type of research carried out by examining library materials or secondary data". The legal materials used in this study include primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. The collection of secondary legal material is carried out by literature study. The analytical method used is a theoretical instrument and / or legal

concept that is the main legal issue with a concept approach (conceptual approach) whose results are presented in a qualitative descriptive form.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women's political presence in public domain included participation and their political representation, is an important, though not sufficient, element in multiple strategies to create gender equality (Siim 2000, p. 156). Long having been mobilized to explain the discrimination of women from the public sphere, the concept of citizenship is now increasingly used to analyze the inclusion (and its limits) of women's perspectives and then the gender dimension in public policy. Thus, many researchers essentially regard citizenship as a practice by highlighting the active involvement of individuals in the public sphere (Bratton 2005). In this perspective, political citizenship is understood above all as "An important instrument of struggle that contributes to the improvement of women's social citizenship" (Engeli, Ballmer-Cao, and Giugni 2006), p. 17). Special attention is paid to the influence of feminist activism on feminist or gender agendas.

However, political citizenship is rarely seen from the point of view of political elites. This is all the more curious because some elements invite us to revisit the centrality of this 'perspective from below'. On the one hand, analysis of social movements shows that institutions are indispensable relays in the demand for citizenship rights (Marshall 1950). On the other hand, the principles of modern governance mean that the separation between institutional and non-institutional actors is increasingly erased in the formation of public policy. In addition, gender equality and gender dimensions are formally state issues in modern democracies. As a result, the DPR and its elected representatives stand out as an integral element of the process of mobilization and aggregation of citizens' interests.

It focuses on the impact of parliamentarians on the development of gender-based citizenship. In this context, Parliament is the arena of choice for women, as well as for men, to practice their own citizenship. At the same time, the political mandate is a structure of tremendous opportunities to update social norms and relations. We will try, through an analysis of roll-call voting in Indonesian elections, to examine the impact of the sex of parliamentarians on the bill regulating gender relations. The case in Indonesia was increasingly interesting to study, until the mid-1990s, by traditional gender regimes where the system "male breadwinner" win (Giraud and Lucas 2009). Indeed, many rights relating to women's social citizenship were acquired too late, as illustrated by the decriminalization of abortion in 2001 or the introduction of maternity in 2003. In addition, partisan discipline is relatively low in the National Council. As we will see later, this aspect is explained by Indonesia's own historical and institutional peculiarities, allowing parliamentarians to vote according to their preferences and to disobey their party's slogans when they deem it necessary. It is therefore questionable whether an increase in the number of women in the legislature has been possible. Female voice Appears on certain issues.

First of all, the author will present some theoretical benchmarks on the tension between participation and representation in the development of gender citizenship. The author will also

review the debate on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women as it has been discussed especially in Anglo-Saxon countries. The author will then answer the question of whether the inclusion of women in Parliament allows gender perspectives to be heard when legislation on women's citizenship is at stake.

3.1 Female Citizenship Between Participation And Representation

T.H. Marshall's conception of citizenship through successive extensions of civil, political, and social rights has been the subject of much feminist criticism. It is criticized among other things, for its androcentric character and gender illiteracy because its conception does not take into account "Different access of men and women to civil, social and political citizenship " (Skjeie and Siim 2000). Some authors have also pointed out the shortcomings of republican and liberal conceptions of citizenship (Lister 1997; Siim 2000). While the republican conception highlights the active principle of citizenship by considering participation as a necessity, even an obligation, it is not very concerned with the reality of social inequality that strongly conditions political activity. On the other hand, if the liberal conception recognizes the granting of rights as a prerequisite for full and equal citizenship, it is hardly interested in the direct involvement of individuals in this process. From the point of view of women, i.e. politically marginalized groups, the risk is to have pure formal citizenship, or even fictitious citizenship, or non-negotiated citizenship (Walby 2000).

Lately, researchers have adopted a less static conception of rights taking into account their insertion into the political process (Lister n.d.), p. 35). This is how it focuses on the question of how to ensure and develop the rights of women citizens. It has also led to a renewed interest in the interconnections between different types of citizenship rights, especially between political citizenship and social citizenship which has been highlighted by (Marshall 1950).

As mentioned earlier, the 'bottom-up perspective' has been studied extensively in this context. Indeed, numerous studies have shown how militant actions, especially feminist movements, have contributed to setting feminist or gender themes on the agenda. However, the practice and development of women's citizenship should also incorporate a 'top-down perspective', with an emphasis not only on participation but also on representation (Lister n.d.). Indeed, gender equality and gender mainstreaming are also state issues. Beyond active political participation, it is also a matter of considering the specific relationship forged between the state and citizens (Moreau and Leathwood 2006). The report is updated particularly in political institutions, such as the parliamentary arena, which ideally represent the demands of citizens.

In this case, cultural and religious constructions will inevitably cause trouble. In certain racial and religious groups, women are portrayed differently from men. This distinction is then constructed into a kind of norm about women through discourse and the practice of power. The emergence of feminist movements in the West was a response to these conditions. However, the experience of women in third world countries such as Indonesia is somewhat different from that of Western women. Here, the development of the nation-state is still at a relatively young stage, and is

highly dependent on politically and economically developed countries. Democracy in third world countries such as Indonesia, therefore, always raises hopes and concerns, especially for women.

Thus, the inclusion of women in political institutions is often presented as a necessary step to ensure that the needs and interests of citizens are taken into account by politics. This is what Anne Phillips (1995) calls "Politics of Presence", where women's experiences and special interests are transmitted in politics by female politicians. However, the presence of selected women should not make us "ignore the dynamics of social construction of differences between women and ignores power relations between the sexes" which manifest themselves within the institution itself. The parliamentary arena is also fraught with many divisions and constraints, including partisan and ideological conflicts. It is therefore not surprising that many studies investigate whether, and under what circumstances, the presence of women in legislatures (descriptive representation) leads to the taking of accounts of women's interests (substantial representation) (Phillips 2001).

3.2 Representation of Women's Social Citizenship Services

The relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women has been approached in very different ways and the results obtained by studies vary greatly depending on the angle of approach chosen. While some are primarily interested in the attitudes (speeches) of elected officials, others focus on their behavior (actions). In the first case this is the recognition of women's interests by Members of Parliament and their willingness to act in defence of interests that have been the subject of numerous investigations. Some studies have also focused on the question of adequacy between the attitudes of female parliamentarians and female citizens or feminist organizations. As for the behavioral analysis of Women parliamentarians, research has focused on putting women's interests on the political agenda (initiation of draft laws), legislative work (in committees), participation in parliamentary debates and voting in favor of projects that directly or indirectly affect women's interests. Research often shows that the impact of female politicians is greater in the early stages of the legislative process, i.e. when placing them on the political agenda than in the final vote (Venter et al. 2001).

While attitudes that benefit women's interests indicate a willingness to act in support of women, an indispensable prerequisite for action, other researchers have shown that there is often a gap between women's attitudes (discourses) and behaviors (actions) of speaking. mentaries. First, women parliamentarians are not always able to act the way they want, as partisan and institutional pressures can force them to act against their will (Senti 1999; Reingold 2000; Lloren 2012).

Beyond these observations, it should be noted that the relationship between descriptive and substantial representations of women poses an essentialist hazard problem. Concretely, we can wonder whether better representation of women is achieved by women, who do not always identify with feminist values (Dodson 2001) or by feminists, who can be both male and female (Tremblay, Pelletier 2000). (Childs 2004), p. 197) summarizes this debate as follows: *"Too often the substantial representation of women by female MPs is confused with the substantial representation of feminist values by female MPs. But feminist thoughts should not be confused with women's*

bodies. Some women may reject feminism and act for women, albeit in different ways (and that feminists may feel inappropriate)". Therefore there are various ways to defend the interests of women, namely none, Priori, a political orientation that monopolizes women's representation. The diversity of views of female MPs translates into positions that can be both traditional and progressive (Skjeie 1991).

In addition, institutional traditions and codes of conduct for men in legislatures can sometimes prevent elected women from acting in favor of women. Thus, political issues in women's interests are sometimes considered secondary interests, and therefore not of much interest, to many male parliamentarians (Childs 2004). And that 'ambitious' women, i.e. women who want to pursue a political career, are sometimes reluctant to address gender equality issues because of the stereotypes associated with these issues. Instead, one can think of the gendered division of labor in parliament, or even more so, about the ghettoization of women's interests, since women's advocacy is often assigned to female parliamentarians.

However, elected women do not deal exclusively with these types of issues and their male counterparts, especially on the left, regularly support legislative projects regarding gender equality. It should be noted, however, that bills regarding women's interests are more likely to be accepted if they are brought by women (Bratton 2005). However, it is the lack of gender of MPs that matters rather than the prominence of the problem, that is, its importance for political parties or for voters, which makes it possible to understand the success or failure of legislative projects in the interests of women. In addition, the existence of female parliamentary structures, whether formal or informal, partisan or non-partisan, will increase the tendency of female parliamentarians to be willing and able to act on behalf of women.

Partisan affiliation is clearly a determining factor in understanding legislative activity in general and actions in favor of women in particular. Indeed, with the emergence of mass political parties instituting social divisions, party democracy gradually took place. People's representatives are now elected as members of political parties based on the electoral program. The margin of independence of representatives is thus reduced by the partisan discipline that binds elected representatives otherwise to the party's electoral program, at least to its leaders. Therefore, women's cohesion would be an illusion given the importance of partisan divisions.

Opposition parties tend to be more supportive of defending women's interests than parties in majority governments. Therefore, party support for gender equality issues is not necessarily a partisan ideology. Instead of a left-right divide, there will be more levels of competition between parties that will be decisive in understanding why some people put women's issues on their political agenda. Notably, when the right is under electoral pressure, it will be drawn to women's interests to woo female voters. Thus, female parliamentarians are more likely to unite, that is, to adopt the same voting co-port, when the objects put to the ballot are not prominent given the left-right conflict, since they will be subject to less pressure from their party in this configuration. (Lloren 2014).

However, this conclusion must qualify. Indeed, while women and men on the left have a tendency to vote more in favour of gender equality, female MPs from far-right parties support and act more often in favour of gender equality than their male counterparts. Moreover, Childs (2004) points out that, in some contexts, left-wing female MPs are more loyal to the party than their male counterparts, even in the case of bills. unfavorable for girls. In addition, research shows that the nature of the issues put to the vote should also be taken into account. Indeed, the likelihood of active representation of women's interests is greater when measures are perceived to apply to women as a class or social group, that is, when they affect women directly as individuals, and when these measures are defined as gender during the political process, or because these issues are on the organizational agenda.

Therefore, in practice, many factors can interfere with and obscure the theoretical relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women. While globalte's empirical studies confirm that the presence of women in legislatures often enhances legislative action in favor of women, the question now is to explain this by identifying circumstances that might hinder the defense of women's interests.

3.3 Mechanisms for Obtaining Substantial Women's Representation

Women's politics as part of the formulation of affirmative action policies for gender equality and justice to provide equal participation and representation for Indonesian citizens. Awareness of women's political presence is preventive and must continue to be increased because active participation increases diversity and equality. More constructive, social and progressive political education is needed to increase women's awareness and understanding of the role of politics in a better life. Through political education, of course, knowledge and understanding will be more widely open to thoughts and paradigms, thus having a participatory impact on women's communities in increasing women's representation in parliament. Community empowerment needs to be done concretely on the importance of political meaning for better life strategy policies, especially for women in their lives as representatives and representatives to have a constructive impact on policies for more equitable interests in gender justice Furthermore, Bhayangkara provided the same understanding of the importance of a policy strategy in improving the quality of women's representation in parliament with substantive affirmative action, namely, among others: (1) build and strengthen relationships between women's networks and organizations; (2) increase women's representation in the organization of political parties; (3) advocating for leaders of political parties; (4) establish access to the media; (5) increase women's understanding and awareness through education and training; (6) improve the quality of women; (7) provide quotas to increase the number of female parliamentarians.

Understanding and awareness of the importance of women in politics is to provide political education substantively with concrete performance and implementation of representation in a real and accountable manner. The accessibility of women in politics must continue to be encouraged and developed through self-actualization in increasing the quality of adequate human resources in political rules. The demand for better quality of women in their representation becomes important

for political parties in recruiting female candidates, no longer to the level of complement to the requirements required by law as a medium for passing political parties, but oriented towards credible capacity and professional causality. Improving the quality of women's representation in parliament through various policies on social, economic, educational, health, and various other accesses that prioritize equal rights and responsibilities as well as equality and justice.

3.4 Inhibiting Factors of Women's Representation/Participation in Parliament:

1. The view of society that considers men stronger than women.
2. Gender stereotypes of women who represent women only as followers not leaders
3. The public view that women will violate their nature if they become leaders
4. The existence of women is only in the private sphere, not in the public sphere
5. There are many obstacles for women when they become members of parliament, because women have full responsibility for their roles at home.
6. Lack of political will towards women such as private rights and equal rights with men
7. The political structure is dominated by men In key decision-making, women are only a minority, because there are often differences of opinion and their influence is not good.
8. The view that politics is a man's world
9. Women are only a complement to politics so that in the political field women only get ordinary positions.
10. Discriminatory political system for women's representation

Table 1. Data on Women's Involvement in 33 Provinces of the Indonesian Parliament, 2020-2021

NO	PROVINCE	Women's involvement in Parliament (Percent)	
		2020	2021
1	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	13,33	13,33
2	North Sumatra	13,00	13,13
3	West Sumatra	4,62	10,77
4	Riau	18,46	21,54
5	Jambi	14,55	14,55
6	South Sumatra	21,62	21,33
7	Bengkulu	16,28	15,91
8	Lampung	20,00	18,83
9	Pangkal Pinang	10,00	10,00
10	Riau Islands	11,11	8,89
11	Jakarta	21,70	21,70
12	West Java	20,83	20,83
13	Central Java	18,80	18,33
14	IN Yogyakarta	18,18	20,00
15	East Java	18,33	17,50
16	Bantam	17,65	17,65
17	Bali	16,36	16,36
18	West Nusa Tenggara	1,56	1,59

19	East Nusa Tenggara	20,00	20,00
20	West Kalimantan	13,85	16,92
21	Central Kalimantan	33,33	33,33
22	South Kalimantan	20,20	20,20
23	East Kalimantan	18,18	20,37
24	North Sulawesi	29,27	29,55
25	Central Sulawesi	26,67	27,27
26	South Sulawesi	28,40	25,88
27	Southeast Sulawesi	19,05	20,00
28	Gorontalo	26,67	26,67
29	West Sulawesi	11,11	11,11
30	Maluku	23,26	23,26
31	North Maluku	26,67	28,89
32	Papua	14,55	14,55
33	West Papua	14,29	14,29

Based on the data above, it can be concluded that women's representation in the Indonesian parliament on average in each province has not reached 30% as Affirmative Action policies that have not been fulfilled include those recorded from 2020 to 2021 Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam 13.33-13.33 North Sumatra 13.00-13.13 West Sumatra 4.62-10.77 Riau 18.46-21.54 Jambi 14.55-14.55 South Sumatra 21.62-21.33 Bengkulu 16.28-15.91 Lampung 20.00 -18.83 Pangkal Pinang 10.00-10.00 Islands Riau 11.11-8.89 DKI Jakarta 21.70-21.70 West Java 20.83-20.83 Central Java 18.83 80-18.33 IN Yogyakarta 18.18-20.00 East Java 18.33-17.50 Banten 17.65-17.65 Bali 16.36-16.36 NTB 1.56-1.59 NTT 20.00-20.00 West Kalimantan 13.85-16.92 Central Kalimantan 33.33-33.33 South Kalimantan 20.20-20.20 East Kalimantan 18.18-20.37 North Sulawesi 29.27-29.55 Central Sulawesi 26.67-27.27 South Sulawesi 28.40-25.88 Southeast Sulawesi 19.05-20.00 Gorontalo 26.67-26.67 West Sulawesi 11.11-11.11 Maluku 23.26 -23, 26 North Maluku 26.67-28.89 Papua 14.55-14.55 West Papua 14.29-14.29.

The existence of Affirmative Action for women is an opportunity to contribute in the political field, of course, to voice women's rights, one of which is when the new law will be passed. Affirmative Action should be able to increase women's representation in parliament, but the fact is that from 33 provinces in Indonesia based on above-average data, they are still unable to occupy 33 percent of seats in the country.

4. CONCLUSION

The presence of women in parliament provides a new spirit in the gender equality order as policy makers on governance issues. In its existence, affirmative action is still a problem for women in improving the quality of their representation in parliament. Providing psychological impacts for women in the political world attached by the community paradigm to the existence of corruption that ensnares female politicians and public officials. In practice, many factors can interfere with and obscure the theoretical relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women. While globalte's empirical studies confirm that the presence of women in legislatures often enhances legislative action in favor of women, the question now is to explain this by identifying circumstances that might hinder the defense of women's interests.

Women in political institutions are often presented as a necessary step to ensure that the needs and interests of citizens are taken into account by politics. This is what Anne Phillips (1995) calls "*presence politics*", in which women's special experiences and interests are transmitted in politics by female politicians

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