



## ANALYSIS WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW FROM GENDER MAINSTREAM

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<p><b>Received:</b> 6<sup>th</sup> March 2022 <b>Accepted:</b> 6<sup>th</sup> April 2022 <b>Published:</b> 17<sup>th</sup> May 2022</p>	<p>Fulfillment of the 30% figure in the management of political parties is inversely proportional to the fulfillment of the quota of women sitting in the DPR RI. The target to be achieved, which is 30% for women in the DPR RI, has not been fulfilled even though it always increases in each period. In the 1999-2004 period, the number of women in the DPR RI only reached 9.0%, in the 2004-2009 period, the number of women in the DPR RI only reached 18.8%, and in the 2009-2014 period, the number of women in the DPR RI reached 18%. The representation of women in parliament in the 2009-2014 period in the DPR RI was 103 members out of 560 members (18%), in the provincial DPRD there were 321 members from 2005 members (16%), and in the district/city DPRD there were 1,857 out of 15,758 members. (12%). The inclusion of 30% in several laws governing women's representation is still a debate whether the inclusion of the 30% figure has violated the human rights of women which are constitutionally guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution, that every citizen has the right to have equal opportunities in government. On the other hand, the question arises why only 30% is regulated in the law, why not more than that. Then the inclusion of the figure of 30% women's representation in the law makes political parties that want to recruit women in their political parties, only recruit 30% of women's representation and will not be more than that amount, so that women continue to be discriminated against in the political field.</p>

**Keywords:** Public Policy, gender, women's politics

### INTRODUCTION

One of the goals in Herlina Lubis' Millennium Development Goals (2010) is gender equality and women's empowerment. This means, it is hoped that in this century, there will be no longer any form of discrimination experienced by women against male domination. It must be admitted that until now the role of women in millennium development has not been in line with expectations. This can be seen in the placement of women in a position, where men always dominate.

These structural constraints are often related to problems of education, social status, economy, and employment. Until now, women's work is still often identified with jobs that are difficult to balance with men. Meanwhile, cultural constraints are related to cultural factors that live in society, such as placing women to just stay at home. Now the concept of gender equality is considered as an answer to overcome women's problems. This movement has developed into a very influential mass movement (Anggita Lubis, 2009).

The reforms experienced by the Indonesian people brought changes to the political system and the Indonesian constitutional structure. This change opens up opportunities for every element of the nation to be involved in it towards a better democratic life. For women in Indonesia, this change in the political and constitutional system also gives hope for them to be able to fight for their interests more clearly because the realization of the change in the administrative structure and political system in Indonesia is the amendment of the 1945 Constitution (hereinafter referred to as the 1945 Constitution). In the process of amending the 1945 Constitution, it contains several articles that give rights to citizens, as follows: Article 28C paragraph (2): "Everyone has the right to advance himself in fighting for his rights collectively to build his community, nation and state." Article 28D paragraph (3): "Every citizen has the right to get equal opportunities in government." Article 28I paragraph (2): "Everyone has the right to be free from discriminatory treatment on any basis and is entitled to protection against such discriminatory treatment." These articles provide a logical consequence for everyone in the sense of Indonesian citizens, both male and female, to fight for their rights collectively without any discriminatory treatment. So indirectly, changes to the 1945 Constitution have logical consequences for the equality of positions between women and men because so far it can be seen how the role of women in politics is very lacking.

figure of 30% for several origins in the Political Party Law is a policy carried out by the legislators, namely the Government and the DPR in an effort to empower women in Indonesia. Indonesia should have the same opportunity to participate in politics, especially in the management structure of political parties.

The policy is an affirmative action policy or the provision of special treatment. Especially in Indonesia, the special treatment given to women is an effort to increase women's participation in politics, such as women's representation in the DPR-RI Institution. With this policy, it is hoped that the representation of women in the management of political parties in accordance with Law no. 2 of 2008 Jo. UU no. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, every political party that has the function of political recruitment and political education can empower women in their management.

### RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a normative doctrinal approach (Soerjono Soekanto & Sri Mamudji, 1990). As for what can be used as objects in research with a doctrinal approach that is normative in nature are data in the form of primary and secondary legal materials. This research is carried out through library research, library research or normative research only by reading or analyzing written materials.

The types and sources of data used in this study are as follows:

1. Primary legal materials

Namely binding legal materials, namely several basic regulations, both those that have been in effect and those that are still valid, starting from the 1945 Constitution (before the amendment), the 1945 RIS Constitution, the 1950 Provisional Constitution, and the 1945 Constitution. 1945 (after the amendment). As for other regulations, such as the law on political parties or the election of members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD.

2. Secondary Legal Material

Namely materials that provide an explanation of primary legal materials, such as books, journals, online media, print media, research results, works from legal circles, and so on related to this paper.

3. Tertiary Law Material

Namely materials that provide instructions and explanations of primary legal materials and secondary legal materials, such as legal and political dictionaries, encyclopedias, and so on related to this paper.

The data collection method that will be used in this research is through literature study, namely the method of collecting data by searching, recording, taking an inventory, studying books, literature, laws and regulations, results of previous research, and documentation related to the problem. investigated, namely about the representation of women.

### DISCUSSION

#### Political parties

Nowadays political parties are a means for citizens to participate or participate in the process of state management. Nowadays political parties are familiar in our environment. As a political institution, a party is not something that simply exists. His birth has a fairly long history, although it's also not old enough. It can be said that political parties in general can be said that political parties are new organizations in human life, much younger than the general public state organization. And this is only in modern country. Political parties start from the assumption that by forming an organizational platform they can unite people who have similar thoughts so that their thoughts and orientations can be consolidated. That way they can have a greater influence in the formation and implementation of decisions. In general, it can be said that a political party is an organized group whose members share the same orientation, values and ideals. The goal of this group is to gain political power and seize political position (usually) by constitutional means to carry out its program.

There are many definitions of political parties made by scholars. In this section, some examples of scholars who provide definitions of these political parties will be presented.

Carl J. Friedrich: A political party is a group of people who are stably organized with the aim of gaining or maintaining control of the government for their party leaders and based on this control, providing their party members with ideal and material benefits. Meanwhile, according to Law No. 2 of 2008 Jo. Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties that Political Parties are "national organizations and are formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of common will and ideals to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia".

Thus, it can be said that political parties basically have a central and important position and role in every democratic system. Political parties are commonly referred to as pillars of democracy, because they play an important role as a liaison between state government and citizens. Even according to Schattscheider (1942) "political parties created democracy", it is political parties that form democracy, not the other way around. Therefore, political parties are pillars or pillars that need and are even very important to be strengthened at the level of their institutions in any democratic political system. The degree of institutionalization of political parties greatly determines the quality of democratization of a country's political life (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2008).

Then the political party has several functions. In Party democracies are relatively able to carry out their functions according to their dignity at the time of their birth, namely being a vehicle for citizens and fighting for their interests

before the authorities. In contrast to authoritarian state, the party cannot show its worth, but rather carry out the will of the ruler. Functions of political parties in These democratic countries are, (1) as a means of political communication, (2) as a means of political socialization, (3) as a means of political recruitment, and (4) as a means of managing conflict.

Political parties function as a means of communicating party views and principles, party work programs, party ideas and so on. In order for party members to know the party's principles, the party's work program or the party's ideas to create a moral bond with the party, this kind of political communication uses the party's own media or the mass media that support it.

### Gender and Women's Representation

The issue of gender is not a new problem in social, legal, religious and other studies. However, studies on gender are still actual and interesting, considering that there are still many people, especially in Indonesia, who do not understand this issue and there are still many inequalities in the application of gender, giving rise to gender inequality. Understanding gender issues is not easy, but various studies are needed that can lead to a correct understanding of gender. Studies that are often used to understand gender issues are studies in the social sciences, especially sociology. From these various social studies, various social theories emerged which were later used as gender theories or often called feminist theories. ( Marzuki , 2012).

The word gender comes from English, meaning gender. In Webster's New World , gender is defined as "the visible difference between men and women in terms of values and behavior". Meanwhile, in the Women Studies Encyclopedia , it is explained that gender is "a cultural concept that seeks to make a distinction in terms of roles, behavior, mentality, and emotional characteristics between men and women who develop in society. Gender is also a cultural interpretation of the problem of image , role , and status someone who is born male or female. For example, a culture interprets the image of men as brave, strong, aggressive, and rational; then his role as protector, seeker living; and his status as the head of the family. As for women, her image is gentle, passive and emotional; then the role as household manager (non-productive); and her status as a wife. This interpretation then gives birth to prejudices or stereotypes for men and women, which often taken as a truth. Though the interpretation will image, role, and status above is not something that is universal. Margaret Mead's research (see the history of the concept of gender) provides interesting information about the relative gender relations. ( Nihayah Jaidi Faraz , 2003).

Then an understanding of the difference between the concepts of sex and gender ( Asmaeny Azis , 2009) is very necessary in analyzing the problems of social injustice that befell women. This is due to the close relationship between the different understandings of gender and the structure of legal injustice in the wider community. It is an undeniable fact that the natural differences between men and women from generation to generation have made women have different positions and roles. Of course, this is closely related to the legal, political, social, economic, and cultural factors of the community.

The concept of gender is an inherent trait of women which is shaped by socio-cultural factors, so that several assumptions about the socio-cultural role of women are born. This formation includes women who are known as gentle, beautiful, emotional and motherly creatures. While men are considered strong, rational and mighty. The above properties can be always changing from time to time time. Therefore, gender can be defined as a legal concept that equates men and women.

In theory, gender theory can be divided into 3 namely Nurture Theory, Nature Theory , and Equilibrium Theory . According to theory Nurture , the existence of differences between women and men is essentially a community formation through socio-cultural construction , resulting in different roles and tasks. That difference causes women to always left behind and neglected their role and contribution in family life, society, nation and state. Social construction places women and men in class differences. Men are identified with n class bourgeoisie and women as proletariat .

Whereas According to the theory of nature , the existence of differences between women and men is natural, so it must be accepted. These biological differences provide indications and implications that in between the two types have different roles and tasks. There are roles and tasks that can be interchanged, but some cannot because they are naturally different.

Especially for Indonesia, it has ratified the CEDAW Convention into Law no. 7 of 1984 concerning the ratification of the Convention concerning the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In Article 1-5 it is stated implicitly that: " In the CEDAW Convention, the state legally guarantees all efforts to eliminate discrimination against women through a number of policies or legal rules. The responsibility of the state is not limited to the process of formulating what discrimination is, but is also responsible for making supporting regulations, including evaluating and repealing policies that discriminate against women. " empowerment of women referred to here is an act of integrating development programs into more tangible activities, including in the legal and political spheres, where women and men get an equal share of opportunities to play an active role in improving the accessibility of resources in all sectors . . It is in this connection that women's empowerment programs are seen as part of the implementation of universally applicable human rights.

United Nation of Organizations formulated several ideas related to women's empowerment, namely:

1. Poverty alleviation.
2. Involvement of everyone fairly in the economy.
3. Improving the quality of life of women and men in terms of access to essential goods and services and the information they need to make choices.

4. Creation of productive bases to meet the needs of the population and enable the state of the country's economy to change.
5. Sexual division of labor.
6. Respect for cultural values and aspirations of various social groups.

Especially for Indonesia itself, efforts to empower women to optimize women's representation in every public position have been carried out by issuing several laws and regulations regarding this matter.

The law on political parties regulates the role of women in the management of political parties, both in central level as well as in regional level. Meanwhile, the Law on DPR, DPD and DPRD regulates how these women are in a representative institution, be it DPR, DPD or DPRD. Both laws regulate special treatment for women or affirmative action. This affirmative action provides opportunities for women's representation in a political party. It is stated that at least the existing political parties include at least 30% (thirty percent) representation of women in the management of political parties. It is hoped that a political party that has the function of political recruitment and political socialization can provide a political education to women so that they have the desire to fight for their political rights.

In fact, until now it has become a dilemma in Indonesia regarding the representation of women. Currently, although the government has made several policies aimed at empowering women, it has not been fully realized, because until now women still have a different place than men. In reality, until now, the placement of seats on public policies has not been able to make women get an equal place with men. Not yet in the DPR, where it was hoped that the 30% figure could be met but it did not happen.

After reformation, starting from the 1999 election to 2009 today, women still have a lower place than men. The 1999 election only placed 9.0% women's representation in the DPR, the 2004 elections only put women's representation around 10.7% and the 2009 election only put women's representation as much as 17.6%.

Even though in reality it is increasing every year, it still cannot achieve the number that should be for women to get their political rights in Indonesia in the DPR. So to optimize this, the government must continue to work on how to improve women's empowerment.

### Women's Political Participation

Political participation is all kinds of activities in the field of politics ranging from influencing policy, determining or electing policy makers to inhibiting or opposing a policy. Community political participation can be interpreted as community involvement in the activities mentioned above.

Based on the above understanding, we can define women's political participation as the involvement of women in political activities. Currently, women's political participation is still relatively low when viewed from the form of political participation. Therefore, it is necessary to make efforts to increase women's political participation. The world of politics is the world of men. This is expressed by Siti Musdah Mulia and Anik Farida in their book "Women and Politics" which reads: "So far, politics and political behavior are seen as masculine activities. Political behavior referred to here includes independence, freedom of opinion, and aggressive action. These three characteristics are never considered ideal in women. Therefore, society always views women who are independent, dare to express their opinions, and are aggressive as people who cannot be accepted or desired. In other words, a woman with such character is not the ideal type of woman" (Mulia & Farida, 2005:1).

Based on the opinion above, politics and political behavior are identical with men. Politics for women is considered taboo by society. Because politics is not in accordance with the character of womanhood. So women with characters as mentioned above are not the ideal type of woman.

The world of politics is also related to the world of leadership. According to Siti Musdah Mulia and Anik Farida, "There are three elements that knit leadership in a person, namely the power of self-competence and creative aggression" (Noble & Farida, 2005: 3).

Power is the most important element in building a person's leadership. Power has always been defined as the strength, stubbornness or ability to act needed to achieve a larger goal. In essence, power is neutral, it can be used for good as well as for evil.

The classic picture of femininity is synonymous with submission, obedience, loyalty, childishness, sympathy, warmth, tenderness, friendliness, and indecisiveness. The nature of feminism is not in accordance with the element of power described above. Therefore, power is always identified with men.

Creative aggression can be interpreted as taking the initiative, leading other organizations, expressing their own opinions, setting goals and making steps to achieve goals, maintaining beliefs, and defending themselves when attacked. Creative aggression only exists if a person has ideals and ambitions.

The world of politics which is identified with the world of men is one of the causes of the low political participation of women. This is also supported by the political constraints written by Mr. AM Fatwa in his book PAN Raising the Presence and Dignity of the Nation. The political participation of women, which is lower than that of men, is a condition that needs to be improved. The increase in women's political participation is strongly influenced by educational factors as expressed by Muhammad Ali in his writing "Women's Political Representation and Participation" which reads: "The more educated a woman is, the more politically she is aware. Education affects a sense of self-worth (sense of self-worth), self-confidence (self-confidence), self-image (self-image), and a positive view of oneself and the outside world" (Ali in Media Indonesia, 2001).



### CONCLUSION

Based on the opinion above that education affects the way a person assesses something. Education also gives a person self-confidence. It can also raise women's confidence in participating in politics. Political education can be obtained through political parties as an effort to increase women's political participation as expressed by Muhammad Ali who states: "Promotion and training for women in political parties must be developed. Citizenship education that is more gender-aware is also very strategic in its role, apart from of course religious education that is more contextual." In addition to promotion and training for women carried out by political parties, gender-aware citizenship education is also very important as well as contextual religious education.

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