

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE 2019 ELECTION IN GUNUNGKIDUL DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT

Women's representation in the 2019 elections has increased. At this time the position of women in the world of politics is equal to men. The proof is that in each election period the participation of women has increased, from the elections in 2009, 2014, and until now the number of women's representation has increased. In Gunungkidul Regency, the representation of women in political parties has reached a percentage determined by the legislation, even exceeding the 30% quota. However, the electability of women in the parliamentary seats in Gunungkidul only reached 22.22%. This study aims to analyze the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Gunungkidul Regency and its factors. There are supporting factors and obstacles in this study. This study uses a qualitative method. Data sources used are primary data and secondary data. Retrieval of data by interviewees through interviews and documentation. Based on the data analysis, it can be concluded that the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Gunungkidul Regency has increased in each election period starting in 2009, 2014, until 2019 at present. Although in 2019 it only reached a percentage level of 22.22% women's representation and has not reached 30%, this is already considered good. In addition, there are supporting factors which consist of family, social skills, availability of campaign costs, and parties. On the other hand there are also inhibiting factors namely the crisis of women's trust from the community, low political education, and minimal political costs. From the 7 aspects of these 2 factors, the authors have tested the field research with respondents who produced 71.4% of the factors according to experts the same as events in the field. There are 2 aspects which according to experts, are not felt in the lives of the respondents during the time leading up to the election. So there are new findings that occur in the field related to factors that affect the choice of women in the council seats.

Keywords: *Representation of Women in Politics, Elections, and Political Parties.*

INTRODUCTION

The word Election is familiar to the people in Indonesia, the extension of the Election is the General Election election system for members of the people's representative institutions that are democratically elected by the people. Initially the elections in Indonesia were intended to elect legislative candidate members from the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency / City DPRD. However, after the fourth amendment of the 1945 Constitution of 2002, it was agreed that the presidential and vice-presidential elections, which were originally chosen by the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly), had been agreed that the direct presidential election was elected by the people and from the people so that the election the president and vice president are included in the series of elections.

Not only that, the election of legislative or legislative candidates also has its own criteria. At present, women's representation in a democratic political system is urgently needed. (Mukarom, Women, and Politics: Political Communication Study on Women's Representation in the Legislature, 2008: 268) argues that women's participation in political areas needs to be pursued by maximizing and empowering women themselves, in addition to effective political communication strategies, so that women can maximally participate, including getting representatives in the legislature that matches their number in the community. This also refers to the Election Law in Indonesia concerning the fulfillment of a 30% quota for women's representation in parliamentary seats. According to Law No. 2 of 2008, political parties are required and required to represent the relationship of women in the nomination of people's representatives, which is at least 30%. This policy allows for change and will bring the quality of decisions made in various political institutions. Then, in Law No. 10 of 2008 asserted that political parties could only take part in the election after the fulfillment of the minimum 30% quota requirement for women's involvement was fulfilled in the management of political parties at the central level.

Also, the representation or representation of women in elections and politics can not be separated from various obstacles and problems. Culture is still inherent in Indonesia regarding the principle of patriarchy which considers women unfit to be in the political arena, but only men are considered capable. Secondly, women are considered not to get much support from political parties because in the leadership structure of political parties are dominated by men alone. Furthermore, the lack of relationship with the mass media regarding women's representation, lack of support from the family, low political education and poverty. This we can know according to Khofifah Indar Parawansa. "Obstacles to Women's Political Participation in Indonesia." *Journal of Case Studies*. (41-52).

In Gunungkidul Regency, 2019 elections of 16 political parties were declared to have passed factual verification by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Gunungkidul Regency, ahead of the upcoming 2019 elections. However, in Gunungkidul Regency itself it is not 100% to apply the conditions for representation of women councils in the 2019 election. "For women representation of 30 percent we did not qualify, because the provisions are on the Indonesian KPU, while in the regions may not apply," said the Commission's Legal Division General Election (KPU) of Gunungkidul Regency, Is Sumarsono, Friday (2/2/ 2018 / *Tribunjogja.com*). This sentence is a big sign of why in Gunungkidul Regency is reluctant to implement the regulation. This is very interesting to study, namely about how the actual

representation of women in Gunungkidul Regency itself is. Besides, what are the factors that do not meet the 30% quota for women councils in the council seats?

The number of women council representatives who passed in 2019 in Gunungkidul Regency only reached 10 people. While the number of permanent candidates (DCT) is 191 people. Significant differences occur in the final results of legislative elections in this district. Nearly 77.78% of the council seats are occupied by men, while the newly elected women's council only reaches 22.22%, and still cannot meet the 30% quota itself.

Seeing that the 30% quota for women councils has not been achieved in the DPRD seat in Gunungkidul Regency, it is the author's reason to research the Representation of Women in the 2019 Election in Gunungkidul Regency in connection with the implementation of the 2019 elections starting from women in each electoral district, political parties to representation in parliament.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theory of Representation of Women in Politics

According to Phillips (1998), "representation is just another word for participation. When there is an increase in the number of representations, it is not certain that the participation of women as the initial goal can be realized immediately. In this case, also reinforced by his explanation that heterogeneous societies or with different diversity and potentially conflicting interests must be recognized. The use of sound has not been proven strong enough to deal with this problem. There must be equality between those who are elected to office. This reinforces the assumption that women's political equality and participation that are expected so far cannot be resolved only by increasing the quota of representation.

Furthermore according to Asmaeny (2013: 194) namely "the influence of the strong role and gender division between men and women that limit or hinder the role of women in the field of leadership and policy or decision making. Second, there are obstacles to women's access to power that is spread across a variety of socio-political institutions, such as elections and parties. Then it can be concluded that the 30% quota presented by the government is only the beginning of the road to achieving active women's participation in Indonesian politics. Because the number of women who have increased in parliament through the 30% quota will still not be able to rival the voices of men who still occupy a higher percentage. So, when there is still inequality for women in occupying strategic positions in politics, this quota will only be in vain because it does not have legitimacy".

Besides, the role of political parties, cultural acceptance, quality of human resources and the electoral system are factors that influence women's representation in the DPRD. If the breakdown is further, these factors can be divided into two, supporting factors and inhibiting factors. Factors supporting women's representation in the DPRD include family support, social skills, availability of funds or campaign costs and support for political parties. While the inhibiting factors are a crisis of public confidence in women politicians, low political education and minimal political costs. Such is the conclusion of the Thesis of the Faculty of Social Sciences Student Studies of the Pancasila and Citizenship Education Program State University of Malang (UM) Iklima Amal Bhakti. Thesis with the title " Women's Political Involvement as Legislative Member of the Hanura Party in Tulungagung District Parliament " (Bhakti, 2016).

Theory of Gender Analysis

In the case of gender, this problem is familiar to the public, especially in the State of Indonesia. Differences in responsibilities, roles, behaviors and activities in society are still clearly visible today. Can not be separated from the assumption of ancient society that women must be gentle and must be behind men. In essence, in any case women should not be equal to men both in the field of work and responsibilities. However, currently, the representation of women in various fields has emerged by itself. This is considered as the progress of women to fulfill their rights, both at work and others.

a) Nurture Theory: in this theory the differences between women and men are essentially the formation of society through socio-cultural construction, to produce different tasks and roles. That difference causes why women are always left behind and neglected through their roles and contributions in family, community, national and state life. Social construction places women and men in class differences. Men are identified with the bourgeois class, and women as the proletarian class.

b) Also, according to Daulay Gender in (Nurfilani, 2016) that the conception that hopes for equality of roles and status between men and women. Gender is not obtained from birth but is obtained through a process of learning (socialization) from childhood to adulthood. In contrast to Ferre, he said that "gender is not an individual property but is an ongoing interaction between actors and structures with enormous variations between the lives of men and women" individually "throughout their life cycle and structurally in the history of race and class" (Puspitawati, 2013).

Political Party Theory

This theory can be called a form of organization that has the same goals and desires, political parties are also called a group that aims to convey the voice of the aspirations of the people and can even make it happen in the election of the people's representatives of this party in the election. With the help of the people, political parties will have the power and great power to occupy power in government to carry out their policies.

As Sigmud Neumann said in his theory "political parties are organizations of political activities that seek to control government power and seize government power and win popular support based on competition with a group or other groups who have different views".

The different definition put forward by Carl J. Friedrich, according to him political parties are (Budiardjo, 2008): "A group of people who are stably organized to seize or maintain control of government for the leadership of his party and based on this mastery, give his party members the benefits of an idiotic nature and material".

Also, according to Prof. Meriam Budiardjo, "the understanding of a political party is an organized group in which its members have the same orientation, ideals, and values. The purpose of this group is to gain political power and seize political position by constitutional means to carry out its policies".

According to the above definition of political parties convened by several experts, it can be concluded that a political party is an organized, stable, and politically based group that has the objective to gain and maintain power in government

Election Theory

Elections are held to elect representatives of the people and regional representatives, as well as to form a democratic, strong government and obtain popular support to realize the national goals as mandated in the 1945 Constitution.

General Election in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections are: "General Election, hereinafter referred to as Election, is a means of popular sovereignty to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly, members of the Regional Representative Council, the President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly, which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fair in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. "

According to Ali Moertopo, the understanding of the Election is as follows: "Basically, the election is a means available to the people to run their sovereignty following the principles set out in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. The election itself is a democratic institution that elects members of the people's representatives in the MPR, DPR, DPRD, which in turn are tasked with working together with the government, setting politics and running the government of the country ".

Meanwhile, according to Morrisian, the election is a way or means to find out the wishes of the people regarding the future direction and policy of the country. At least there are several types of general election objectives, namely: it is very possible that there is a safe and orderly transfer of government and to exercise the sovereignty of the people in the context of exercising the rights of citizens”

Furthermore according to Suryo, according to Suroro, the election is defined as "General Election (hereinafter referred to as Election) is an election conducted by Indonesian citizens who have the right to vote, to elect their representatives who sit in the House of Representatives, namely the House of Representatives (DPR), Level I and Level II Regional House of Representatives (DPRD I and DPRD II) ".

RESEARCH METHODS

In this study the authors used qualitative research. By digging primary information in the form of interviews and documentation by the speakers. The resource person was held with the female candidates in Gunungkidul Regency and the party administrators concerned, namely the National Awakening Party and the National Mandate Party. While secondary information in the form of data obtained through the KPU, other research results, the media, along with various relevant documents. Furthermore, the data that has been obtained are analyzed and managed qualitatively.

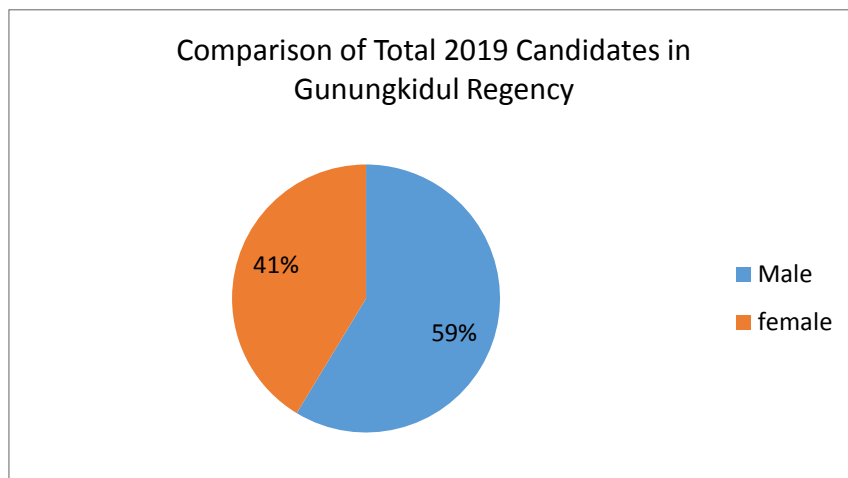
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Representation of Women in the 2019 Elections in Gunungkidul Regency

The level of progress on the representation or representation of women in politics has brought a breath of fresh air. The 30% quota for women's representation is insight. This is based on the law which has participated in increasing the representation of women in parliament in this country. By-Law No. 12 of 2003 Article 65 (paragraph 1) which reads:

"Every political party participating in the election may nominate candidates for members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, City/ Regency DPRD for each electoral district by taking into account the representation of women at least 30%."

It can be seen in the article of the law that every political party participating in the election can at least run in the members of the council with a minimum quota of 30% female council. This will be very beneficial for women. Because with this, women can easily change the mindset of society that not only men can become people's representatives, but women can also play that role to create a balanced and better life. The influence of women is the main weapon, this can be proven that voters in Indonesia reached 190,770,329 voters according to the results of the determination of the General Election Commission. Of the total number of voters there are 96,557,044 female voters in the country. While the number of voters who were abroad reached 2,058,191, 1,155,464 female voters. These results can be concluded that women have a huge opportunity in choosing and being chosen.



In the 2019 elections, Gunungkidul Regency was able to place itself at 22.22% the level of representation of women in the seats of the council. With the election of 10 women's councils out of a total of 45 councils can prove the increasing number of women's representation from the previous election.

Table 1.1 List of Officially Candidate (DCT)

NO	Name of Party	Male Candidates		Female Candidates		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1.	PKB	23	53.48%	20	46.52%	43
2.	GERINDRA	19	55.88%	15	44.12%	34
3.	PDIP	29	64.44%	16	35.56%	45
4.	GOLKAR	29	64.44%	16	35.56%	45
5.	NASDEM	29	64.44%	16	35.56%	45
6.	GARUDA	3	42.85%	4	57.15%	7
7.	BERKARYA	8	53.33	7	46.67%	15
8.	PKS	30	66.66%	15	33.34%	45
9.	PERINDO	11	61.11%	7	38.89%	18
10	PPP	11	57.89%	8	42.11%	19
11.	PSI	5	55.55%	4	44.45%	9
12.	PAN	23	51.11%	22	48.89%	45
13.	HANURA	20	58.82%	14	41.18%	34
14.	DEMOKRAT	24	54.54%	20	45.46%	44
15.	PBB	7	50%	7	50%	14
16.	PKPI	-	-	-	-	-
Total		271	58,66%	191	41,34%	462

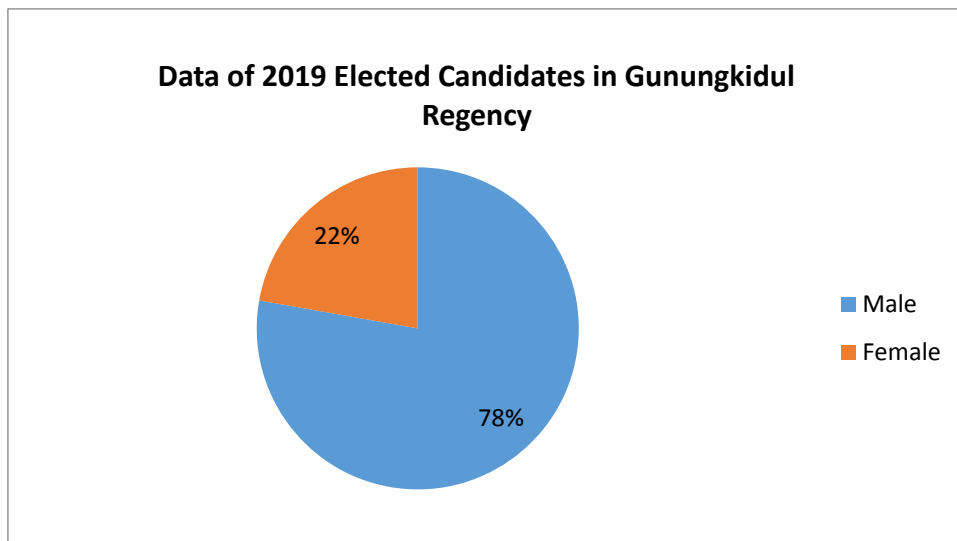
Sumber : <http://kab-gunungkidul.kpu.go.id>

Table 1.2 List of Officially Candidate (DCT)

NO	Name of Party	Male Candidates		Female Candidates		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1.	PKB	2	50%	2	50%	4
2.	GERINDRA	3	75%	-	25%	4
3.	PDIP	8	80%	2	20%	10
4.	GOLKAR	3	60%	1	40%	5
5.	NASDEM	7	77.78%	3	22.22%	9
6.	GARUDA	-	-	-	-	-
7.	BERKARYA	-	-	-	-	-
8.	PKS	4	100%	-	-	4
9.	PERINDO	-	-	-	-	-
10	PPP	-	-	-	-	-
11.	PSI	-	-	-	-	-
12.	PAN	5	83.33%	1	16.67	6
13.	HANURA	-	-	-	-	-
14.	DEMOKRAT	2	66.67%	1	33.33%	3
15.	PBB	-	-	-	-	-
16.	PKPI	-	-	-	-	-
Total		35	77,78%	10	22,22%	45

Sumber : <http://kab-gunungkidul.kpu.go.id>

In the 2009 elections the level of female electability in the legislative elections in Gunungkidul Regency only reached 5 people. Whereas in the 2014 elections the elected female legislative candidates rose 3 levels, reaching 8 people, namely a difference of 2 points by 2019. This should be appreciated, little by little the thinking of the people with patriarchal culture faded. The increase in the number of representations of 2 people in one period from 2014 to 2019 can be given a thumbs up. Without realizing it also from year to year the representation of women will be equal to men, even beyond it. The aspirations of the people, especially women, increasingly have the right place to present the figure of women in the chair of the council.



With the acquisition of 3 elected women legislative candidates. Followed by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the National Awakening Party with 2 seats each, and followed by the Democratic Party, the National Mandate Party and the Golkar Party which sent 1 selected candidate. It is known that the 10 female candidates who managed to qualify were six of whom were incumbent candidates who had previously occupied the parliamentary seat of the Gunungkidul Regency DPRD. So 4 of them are the council that really just started its work.

Although in reality they have not been able to meet the 30% quota in Gunungkidul, the presence of new councils can provide a new color and atmosphere. So that it can be maximized correctly in strengthening the struggles of women. It can be explained that putting forward the struggle of women in the form of fighting for the protection of rights, guarantees of rights, and avoidance of discrimination against women. The incident of discrimination out there has reached a very alarming point, namely in the form of sexual harassment and squalidity that occurs to women in the household or who are single. Apart from the KPU data, the writer also interviewed with one of the National Mandate Party officials, he was Mr. Sugeng Nurmanto, SH, MM. He is also an elected candidate in District 3 of Gunungkidul Regency who also serves as the party administrator and has served as a parliamentary council for these 2 terms. According to him,

"The representation of women in Gunungkidul Regency this time has begun to increase, with the increasing number of female legislative candidates in each period. In 2019-2024 it can

be proven that women's representation can occupy the position of Chairman of the DPRD Gunungkidul Regency, namely Endah Subekti Kuntariningsih, SE. Also, the position of Deputy Chairperson of the Gunungkidul Regency DPRD was also filled by women, namely Mrs. Wiwik Widiastuti, SE, and MM. He has been the people's representative for these 2 periods. I think this has been realized by the community so that, little by little the form of an increase in the role of women will achieve the desired goals. "Besides, the writer also obtained data through the guest speaker, Mr. Drs. Rojak Harudin, as the administrator of the National Awakening Party. He previously served as a people's representative as well.

According to him the woman's representation:

"In my opinion, this representation in Gunungkidul is already good. We can see that in each period of the election implementation, women's representation always increases. Even in the National Awakening Party, representation of women is now the main point. Apart from the existing regulations, the National Awakening Party realizes that the participation of women in political parties and elections is very important. This is not based on patriarchal culture which always prioritizes men. Women can now hold this position and are deemed to have the same responsibilities and things. Therefore, this party always puts women first." Like Mrs. Hartini, she also ranked first. The placement of this sequence is proof of our respect for women who have dared to persistently nominate themselves as representatives of the people who will bring people's aspirations into reality.

As according to Mrs. Dwi Erna Astuti as a non-elected candidate in the 2019 elections carried out by the National Mandate Party states that:

"The representation of women in the 2019 elections in Gunungkidul Regency is based on a law that has been arranged. This encourages women to be able to go forward in listening and to channel the aspirations of the people. I think not only men can do this, but women are also capable. Because women run it all with a sense, which makes it sure to be right on target. I am also happy to see the participation of women in political parties and elections at this time is increasing. Better than in previous years. But there is one thing that I can feel, new candidates like me will be difficult to get a place at the beginning. Because the community is still thinking of the old candidates, especially those who already have a place in the community. My advice for new candidates is to be smart to get involved in the community, be able to embrace the community and listen to their complaints about their rights that have not yet been obtained." Based on the explanation above it can be seen that "Law number 12 of 2003 article 65 (paragraph 1)" explains that the DPR, DPRD level 1, DPRD Regency/ City that will advance in the general election must at least pay attention to women's representation of 30% ". However, in Gunungkidul Regency itself it has not reached the set percentage.

Whereas according to the writer herself, the representation of women in this district is considered very important. The role of women is needed to stabilize the wheels of government. Indeed in ancient times, women could only help from behind, but at this time women had to dive right into the field. Problems that are increasingly complicating require the role of women to harden their hearts and heighten emancipation towards women. One-sided eyes towards women today 90% almost fade. They or the community can open their minds as widely as possible to the changes that occur. This is as revealed by Asmaeny (2013: 194) that the influence of the strong role and gender division between men and women that limit or hinder the role of women in the field of leadership and policy or decision making. Second, there are

obstacles to women's access to power that is spread across a variety of socio-political institutions, such as elections and parties. Then it can be concluded that the 30% quota presented by the government is only the beginning of the road to achieving active women's participation in Indonesian politics.

b. Factors That Influence

Included in the factors that influence the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Gunungkidul Regency, in this case there are 2 factors, namely supporting factors and inhibiting factors. Supporting factors include family, social skills, availability of campaign costs, and political parties. Whereas the inhibiting factor in this case is a crisis of public confidence in women, low political education, and minimal political costs. According to the informant I interviewed, Mrs. Suhartini as an incumbent candidate from the National Awakening Party explained that the four supporting factors were very true. Starting from the family is the most important thing, besides that social skills towards the community should be well-established but according to the unelected candidates, Mrs. Dwi Erna Astuti considers this to be one of the inhibiting factors, because she feels to be a new candidate who has not yet established a relationship broad and intimate with the community, in contrast to candidates who have been involved long, in this case, they will be easier to take the hearts of the community, then sufficient campaign costs and support from political parties that are considered high. Furthermore, according to Mrs. Dwi Erna Astuti as the unelected candidates who were promoted from the National Mandate Party revealed that the crisis of public trust in women was not an obstacle. Today's society has an open mind on gender. Both men and women are considered the same. As expressed by Mr. Sugeng, he said that this was not an obstacle, because women were flexible creatures who could enter various existing organizations or activities. The second about the low political education according to Mrs. Dwi Erna Astuti is considered to be an inhibiting factor also because if you do not have enough knowledge about politics. Furthermore, the lack of political costs is also a limiting factor, because not enough funds will be an obstacle.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions according to the explanation above that the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Gunungkidul Regency increased every election period. This can be seen through the results of the election of women legislative candidates in elections in each period. Starting from the 2009 elections, 2014, until the 2019 elections. In 2009 the electability of women was only 5, in 2014 the number of elected women councils in the legislative elections had begun to increase, namely 8 people. Whereas in this year's elections in 2019 the choice of women in the election increased to 10 people. If it has been tested, it has reached 22.22% of women's representation in the 2019 Gunungkidul regency council, although it has not been able to reach the 30% figure under the law, the level of women's representation can be felt its development and improvement. In terms of the factors that influence the representation of women in the 2019 elections in this Regency include 2 factors. These 2 factors include supporting factors and the second is inhibiting factors. From the supporting factors, there are several aspects, namely family factors, social skills, the availability of campaign costs and political parties. These four factors, according to 3 speakers, were supporting factors for their nomination as people's representatives. However, according to 1 resource person several aspects make this an inhibiting factor. One of them is from the social skills factor, the individual social skills can be in the form of interaction or relationship between legislative candidates and the community. The less interaction or relationship of legislative candidates with the community the fewer votes are also obtained. Besides that it is included in the inhibiting factor, there are 3 inhibiting factors in the shooting process. This is in the form of a crisis of their confidence in female candidates, low political education, and low political costs. 2/3 of that statement is indeed true between low political education and low political costs. However, there is one aspect which according to the two sources is not an inhibiting factor in the process of capturing women. That aspect is the crisis aspect of people's trust in women. At present women are rational voters who incidentally have more voters than male voters. And for the 2019 election this is a very spectacular election, both in political costs and the number of candidates. Especially in the 2019 elections to the presidential and legislative elections put together, so that many voters are confused because there are too many candidates. Young people also feel it, especially you elderly who have a limited focus. So, it can be concluded that there are several aspects which according to the informants do not match the factors expressed by the experts. According to the explanation above, various things can be suggested as follows:

1. Society

The efforts of women legislative candidates can be considered to be maximal in conveying the vision and mission when campaigning or carrying out the tasks they are supposed to do for the people for the elected candidates. However, according to the authors personally the community still classifies women as human beings who deserve to work at home and are unable to carry out their duties as representatives of the people in particular. Awareness of gender issues needs to be applied in this regard. The first thing to do is to change the mindset or mindset of the people. This mindset needs to be changed so that public trust in women can be fully given. The second can put women outlined in common with men. It is also very influential, that women can carry the same tasks and positions as men with the same responsibilities. Moreover, women can be more flexible to place themselves in several aspects of an event or event.

2. Women

In this millennial era the role of women has reached the end of the country. This seems to have no limitation on employment as a woman. The role of men can also be touched by women, especially the role of representatives of the people. Especially with the existence of a law that says that women's representation in the drawing process or quota portion in parliament is at least 30%. The existence of these laws should bring fresh air to women. Women should be more enthusiastic and persistent in representing the people's aspirations that have not been fulfilled. Besides this, many women out there are still victims of discrimination. Sexual harassment is one example of discrimination. As both women, female candidates also have a big hand in this matter. Not only from the local government. Embracing and protecting women from this will have a positive impact on women candidates and victims of discrimination to bring welfare to women.

3. Political Parties

In the field of political parties, the representation of women is still shackled. Women's representation is still far from what is expected and desired. However, from the last decade, the representation of women from political parties or elections has increased considerably. The waning of the boundaries of women who were once very attached, we can now feel the role of women too. This warning has provided positive energy for women to more broadly explore their qualities and potential. In the world of politics women today should not only be a sweetener and complement in the world of politics. Instead it makes women a weapon in improving the quality of the wheels of government and politics as well as providing change for a sovereign, unified, just and prosperous Indonesia.

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