

The Politics of Gender in Indonesia's Political Parties

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Abstract—After the 1998 political reforms, political parties had been encouraged to practice gender politics, oriented to have equality by providing lots of affirmative spaces for women's involvement as the demand for political parties is more inclusive to women to take apart and carry cooperative programs for women improvement. Based on Law No. 17 of 2017 concerning general elections with a minimum quota of 30% must be female, there is a space for positive affirmation of gender politics in Indonesia's electoral democracy. This paper scrutinizes the basic foundations and practices of political parties in conducting gender politics through two things, namely the role of women in the power structure and the women's empowerment program. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as Nationalist Ideology and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) as Modernist Islam in the regional level, in Malang City, are as a case study.

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method in which primary data collection techniques were conducted through observation and structured interviews, whereas documentation and library techniques collected secondary data. The results reveal that PDIP and PKS, in Malang City, have differences when practising gender politics in which PDIP is more inclusive based on competence and social networks but weak on women's empowerment programs and having a small number of female cadres whilst on the other hand, although it is still attached to patriarchal culture so that women are tough to reach the highest positions, PKS has many core female cadres and produces integrated programs to empower women.

Keywords— *Women, Political Parties, Gender Politics, Malang City*

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian politics have a very masculinity character due to patriarchal culture. The dominance of masculinity in social life, including politics, ultimately, is very detrimental to women (1). It happens because of a patriarchal system where men are in power to determine everything that will be done or not (2) This way is sometimes sponsored and maintained by

the state, which, in fact, directly and systematically oppresses women. As a consequence, it is challenging for women to defend themselves amid the discourse dominated by a male perspective (3)).

Undoubtedly, the patriarchal structure in the party, state, and community life has a wretched influence on the level of women's political participation as this depends on the fact that although there are two-thirds of gender rules, women's representation in leadership positions is low (4). Hence, it has been affected by cultural aspects as O'Brien & Piscopo stated "institutional, organizational and structural barriers such as masculine culture and male-dominated political parties constrain women's ability optimizing their talents and abilities (5). Such patriarchal culture is still deeply rooted in eastern countries. Feminism can then fight back and can continuously be focused on aspects of culture rather than religion (6).

Political reform provides a vast opportunity for increasing gender mainstreaming in Indonesian politics – "gender politics". The term gender politics represents the third wave of feminist thinking, which evaluates and criticizes the dominance of men's social roles (7). Gender politics opens a severe critique of such paradigms by attacking patriarchal culture, which makes it difficult for women to emancipate.

In practice, gender politics has become a significant issue on Indonesia's political life today; for instance, in the practical elections, there have been affirmative actions of women's involvement in political life, proved by Law No. 17 of 2017. The law has required every political party to have a female legislative candidate at least 30% as interpreted as a constitutional order to strengthen the representation of women in parliament.

This obligation forces each political party strengthening the representation of women as it is indeed quite ideal for stimulating the active participation of women in political life and making the management of political party institutions more pro-gender equality. However, are such actions effective enough in bolstering the representation of women in practical politics in a sustainable way?. To answer it, we must pay more attention to how far the paradigm of political parties in viewing and placing women and their affairs in organizational life – "vision-mission and work programs".

Abraham Nurcahyo argued that patriarchal culture is one of the biggest obstacles in efforts to increase women's political representation in Parliament (8). During post-reformation women's political representation has never reached double-digits (20%) as the highest number occurred in the 2009-2014 period of 18.10 per cent higher than the 2014-2019 period which is only 17, 3 per cent. Nuni Silviana said that the 30 per cent affirmation of women's quota in the election had not significantly increased real representation in parliament due to the weak regeneration generated by political parties (9).

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses descriptive qualitative methods. Such research model examines objectively and naturally on a phenomenon (13) The qualitative approach is considered representative to analyze and understand the phenomenon of gender politics implementation in PDIP and PKS in Malang. Data were collected through depth interview with PKS's Local Management Board of Malang City (DPP PKS Kota Malang); Moh Syaiful Ali Fatah (General Secretariat), Nur Fadilah (Head for Women and Family Resilience) and Lina Sulistyati (Secretary for Women and Family Resilience), while with the PDIP's Local Management Board of Malang City (DPC PDIP Kota Malang); Harvard Kurniawan (Deputy Chairperson for Election and Political Communication) and Mia (Deputy Chairperson for Women and Children). Documentation was obtained from photographs of the activities of the two parties, whereas other data sources also come from books, journals and news. Data analysis methods used are a reduction, display and data interpretation

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The birth of PKS is inseparable from the enormous effort to generate modern Islamic political parties in Indonesia. Since officially following the first elections in 2004, the party which has the slogan of the da'wah movement consistently fights for Islamic reform agenda. One of the main features of the Islamic modernity ideology proposed is considerable opposition to all forms of Islamic worship inappropriate with the example of the Prophet Muhammad in which PKS struggles by seizing power spaces from the practice of democracy as this path is a constitutional way to implement sharia products. Such Islamic agenda has been socialized in an ongoing and sustainable manner where it is done in stages through the Campus Propagation Institute (LDK) to the party level. Islam, which is called for by PKS, tends to be accepted in big cities with the level of intellectuality from the middle to upper.

In practice, PKS also pays serious attention to women through the fields of Women and Family Resilience. In Malang City, DPP PKS Kota Malang for the 2015-2020 period has nine core boards by placing four women in it, namely Febriana Rismayanti, Nur Fadilah, Lina Sulistyati and Widuri Kustiyanti.

Table. 1: Management Structure of DPD PKS Kota Malang in the Period of 2015-2020

No	Name	Position
1	Chairman	Ernanto Joko Purnomo
2	Vice-Chairman	Chaidar Danial Zaki
3	General Secretary	Moh. Syaiful Ali Fatah
4	General Treasurer	Mirza Ahmad Purnomo
5	Chairman of the Cadre Division	Alwi Hidayat
6	Secretary of Cadre Division	Febriana Rismayanti
7	Head for Women and Family Resilience	Nur Fadilah
8	Secretary for Women and Family Resilience	Lina Sulistyati
9	Head of the People's Welfare Sector	Widuri Kustiyanti

Source: Document of DPD PKS Kota Malang

This proportion is 45 per cent that has met the requirements for the women's representation in party management as following the provisions in Law No. 7 of 2017. The obligation of representation forces PKS using pragmatic considerations, as long as they are fulfilled first. As a consequence, quality and capacity are not yet the leading benchmark. Moh Syaiful Fatah, on 9 April 2019, explained that the placement of large women was only one of the excuses to deal with the obligations of the Election Law. It is natural that in the management structure of the Daily Executing Agency (BPH), from the general chairman to the Chairperson of the Cadre Division, is male. BPH is the core management of the DPD PKS that is always involved in making strategic party policies as they get a more strategic position than others.

In choosing the DPD's chairman, PKS deploys an internal election mechanism, for example, in Malang, by choosing men as competency and gender factors are the primary consideration. If men and women have the same or a little different competence, the priority is still men, and however, this characteristic is the face of PKS in general. Moreover, the PKS leadership concept applies gender equality, but it is limited. In recruiting or determining public office and party positions, PKS commits to competency aspects; capabilities, credibilities, social networks and resources, meaning if there are female cadres who meet these qualifications allowed, but this is only limited to certain positions.

Women, in the party structure, are banned from occupying the Party President and Chairperson of the Syuro Council as well as in the DPD and Regional Leadership Council (DPW) of the whole. In history, only one is a woman, precisely in the DPD of Central Sulawesi, which is actually due to the essential factor - "there are no other cadres". Besides, **in the context of public office, PKS allows women cadres to become regional heads but not to the president.**

For the PKS, the president is a political office unsuitable for women as the hadith of Abu Bakrah *Radhi Allahu*, in which the Muhammad *Sallallaahu 'Alayhi Wa-Sallam* said: "It will not be fortunate for a people (nation) when submitting its affairs (leadership) to a woman.

PKS assumes that politics is divided into two things, goals and processes where the goals mean achieving power – “women enable to take a role through many things”, while for the process, politics is considered to be the dangerous world so that it is practically incompatible with women. Even though Islam guarantees political equality for men and women, both have specific characteristics in order that in some respects they need differentiation, for instance; psychologically women experience menstrual periods so that they are prone to making inappropriate policies. In addition, the political world is synonymous with lobbying and lengthy negotiations which, of course, if done in full by women, it will interfere with their primary obligations as mothers and wives.

Based on interviews with Nur Fadilah and Lina Sulistyati, on 11 April 2019, in the context of women's involvement in party structures and political processes, however, they believe the main task of women is in the family. In a legislative candidate, for example, although competent, some cadres decided not to participate because children need serious attention in the productive age. Furthermore, PKS's female cadres could be allowed to join when getting support from families, especially their husbands, as following the Islamic principles believed by PKS. Inevitably, PKS is a Da'wah party that moves based on Islamic principles or alignments with Muslims as not only a place seeks power, but to teach the common good gathered in the party, and of course, the basis of PKS is Islam.

In the case of women's empowerment, PKS has a specialized field of Women and Family Resilience (BPKK). The mission is to strengthen the resilience of Indonesian families, power the paradigm of family resilience, increase the capacity and characterization of PKS female cadres and optimize the institutional relationships of women. PKS believes that as a superior cadre, women need to have two complementary and balanced roles; as a wife and mother (domestic and nature) as well as a pioneer figure in fighting for women's political interests (public).

Subsequently, BPKK has several excellent programs, one of which is the Indonesian Family Home (RKI). The RKI program is one of the flagship programs that have derivative activities such as prenuptial training, harmonization of husband and wife and Mother's School. In particular of Mother's School, this is formed as a channel that contains information about the role of women as good family mothers as here the PKS preaches how to shape the personality and behaviour of women under Islamic teachings.

Mother is known as a vital figure in giving birth, educating and growing the next generation of the nation to hold the nation's leadership relay. The mothers take apart in the family and community expected smart in order to answer the dynamics of the times, especially in educating children. Amid rapid information technology, if not monitored, children will make misbehave. Therefore, PKS through the forum initiates mothers to be smart and genuinely to become pioneers of good deeds in their families and environment. In

Malang, RKI is routinely carried out once a month by participants from cadres and other communities as actual channels for PKS to recruit new cadres.

For improving the administrative capacity, a women's political training session was done and last held in November 2018, as some competencies are taught, namely public speaking, personal branding, and negotiation and branding techniques. Such activity was directly facilitated by the Cadre Division, oriented to increase the political capacity of PKS female cadres so that those are easier to become a pioneer cadre in their respective environments. In a particular example, there were forty-two of PKS's legislative candidates in Malang that joint to the last political training in September 2018, 35 per cent of them were women. By this forum, those gained an overview of the political persuasion's techniques, seeking support and political branding, while women's cadres are projected more militant and have an effective political strategy to attain votes in the election, on 17 April 2019.

However, there is a significant difference between PKS and PDIP in which PKS is religious-oriented while PDIP has a more modernist style, which of course has a different view on the involvement of women in politics. As one of the major parties was born and developed rapidly after the reform, PDI-P is known to give more expression of more significant articulate space to women in their party institutions.

PDIP is currently led by a woman named Megawati Soekarno Putri as the women's leadership also enormously influences the representation model of women applied in PDIP. Nevertheless, the patriarchal culture of Islam suspected of curbing the potential of women to obtain the highest positions is almost invalid in PDIP. The 2014 election-winning party enables women to occupy the highest positions in the party and government as the most important thing about this party is to have the capacity and capability to lead. It is in accordance with the Harvard Kurniawan's explanation in which he, on 10 April 2019, stated that in PDIP there is no distinction between women and men as long as they are able and have the capacity, they have an absolute right to lead. For example, in the 2013 Mayor Election of Malang City, PDIP nominated its cadre, Sri Rahayu Priyatmoko Oetomo.

Even though it is more modernist or inclusive by avoiding the gender aspect, but paying capacity, PDIP Kota Malang does not yet have a consistent and sustainable program for women and children empowerment as for the last few years this party has not worked as it should. Based on Mia's explanation, on 13 April 2019, there had not been any severe political programs carried out. The party does have a women's empowerment program design, but it is not practical or unsustainable because of any limited resources and seriousness from party cadres. PDIP's women cadres seem to learn politics independently by themselves through the means provided by the party. As a logical consequence, increasing their political capacity is slow, even if there is a fast part, it is due to family factors such as Sri Untari. Hence, women cadres build their political capability base without being accompanied massively by the party as they seemed to study on their own by looking for means outside the party.

IV. CONCLUSION

The mentioned research above shows the actualization process of gender politics in each institution, both PDIP and PKS departing from a shared vision, but the ways are different. Both of them expect the creation of gender justice and bring out the process of empowering women in their party programs, whereas the difference lies in the paradigm used. PKS with the modernist Islamic platform remains to commit to the primary function of women as mothers and wives as the governing principle. For this reason, party programs such as the mothers' school are actively involved. The presence of women in practical politics is possible as long as they do not negate their domestic affairs. The PKS interprets women as the nature of God's creation, even though women in Islam are declared equal, as well as men have psychological superiority so that they are better able to hold the highest mandate such as the Party President and State President.

PKS has narrowly applied gender justice, while PDIP is more open and put aside the total aspects of gender in filling political positions in both parties and government. PDIP apprehends women as human, which means similarity to men. The measure is the capacity of social capital and not gender networks. Because of that, for example, the PDI-P is led by female Chairperson Megawati Soekarno Putri whereas in Malang, in 2013, PDIP nominated a Mayor for women from her cadre named Sri Untari. As a sequence, this model has a weakness in the form of a lack of serious attention to women's empowerment programs accurately and continuously.

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