

The Movement of Women with Disabilities on Indonesia's Legislative Election 2019

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Abstract— The absence of representatives of the DPR RI (Representative Council Republic of Indonesia) from persons with disabilities and the discourse of their political struggle to obtain pre-privilege rights as citizens became an interesting focus study. This research focuses on the issue of the emergence of a movement that was built for the struggle for DPR RI seats in the 2019 legislative elections by candidate from women with disabilities. She does not only carry out women's struggles in carrying out his rights as citizens, furthermore his movement tries to bring the issue of women disabilities to gain seats in parliament. The movement that is trying to be constructed is an issue of fulfilling the right to the person with disability through legislating in parliament. This research uses qualitative methods and phenomenology approaches to unravel the movements that try to be constructed by candidates of person with disabilities in managing issues that will be fought for in parliament as the substance of the political struggle. The findings in this research also emphasize the presence of political struggle movements of person with disability's candidates through the issue of representation, especially women with disabilities through transformative politics. At least the issue of representation of persons with disability to sit in parliamentary seats becomes a political agenda in the 2019 legislative elections

Keywords—women, disabilities, representative, election, movement

I. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this paper is to examine the issue of the emergence of a social and political movement that defending persons with disability groups in carrying out their rights as citizens through electoral channels by becoming candidates for legislative members in the 2019 elections. This movement brings the issue about fulfillment rights of persons with disability, through the making of laws in parliament. The movement that was constructed by women with disability's candidates offered issues on their partisanship towards the rights of persons with disabilities that they would fight for through parliamentary channels (legislative).

Persons with disabilities are defined by Law No. 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities as anyone who experiences physical, intellectual, mental and / or sensory limitations for a long period of time, which condition can cause obstacle in interacting with the environment, and facing difficulties to fully and effectively participate with other citizens based on equal rights. As citizens, persons with disability have equal inherent rights like ordinary citizens.

In Indonesia, there are various versions of the number of persons with disabilities. According to World Health Organization, 10% of Indonesia's population based on the 2011 SAKERNAS BPS (240 million population) [1], is a persons with disabilities, count in 24 million people. Meanwhile according to the Ministry of Social Affairs in

2010, the number of people with disabilities was 11,580,117 people. While data released by the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration in 2010 stated that the number of people with disabilities was 7,126,409 people. In addition, 39.97% of the persons with disability experienced more than one type of limitation, followed by limitations of seeing and walking / climbing stairs according to the Susenas in 2012. The difference in data related to the number of persons with disability is due to differences in the indicators used by each agency in determining whether a person included in the persons with disability category or not.

For example, the Ministry of Health uses bio-medical indicators in the form of malfunction of some members of the body as indicators to determine one's disability. Whereas WHO uses a person's indicator to be categorized as persons with disabilities when impairment interacts with external conditions such as the environment, policies, public areas, etc. creating barriers. The phenomenon that was seen also became multidimensional. The difference in multiple indicators has an impact on the differences in number of persons with disability. This makes it difficult to implement government programs related to the persons with disability. This makes Indonesia one of the worst countries in the service of the rights, of persons with disabilities, compared to other ASEAN countries such as Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines according to data from the Ministry of Social Affairs in 2013.

While the disability prevalence according to sex in Indonesian population aged > 15 years old according to the Ministry of Health Riskesdas in 2013 is as follows:

Sex	Year 2013
Boys	9,2 %
Girls	12,8 %

Both as persons with disability and as women, they are vulnerable to discriminatory practices. Their interests are also often regarded only as complementary to the issue and not seriously managed. As a minority group, they have disabilities and limited access due to status, both as a woman and as a persons with disability. When someone has the status of a woman with disabilities, she will be increasingly vulnerable to discriminatory practices, moreover they will experience double discrimination. This double discrimination is further aggravated by the level of discrimination that women with disabilities receive. The first discrimination is received from non-persons with disability, and the second discrimination they receive from men with disabilities.

This research is important to do because the crossing issues of women and persons with disability, makes them far more vulnerable to experiencing minoritization practices

carried out by the state and society. This intersection is believed to further aggravate the practice of marginalization they receive. Therefore, it is important to track the emergence of a social and political movement that defends the rights for the persons with disability, especially women with disabilities in the electoral politic by becoming a legislative candidate in the 2019 election. The movement launched by women candidates with disabilities, offering support of the rights of the persons with disability he will fight for in parliament.

In the study of Political Science, this research attempt to enrich the study of minority groups in fighting for the representation of their interests. The study of the minority group was not carried out on the issue of victory or defeat on the electoral process in parliament. However, the discourse offered by this study manifests as a New Social Movement that strive in electoral political contestation in the 2019 elections to obtain privileges as citizens with special needs.

II. THEORETICAL

A. *Representation and Gender Mainstreaming*

Representation is the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions, and perspectives present in the public policy process [2]. As a modern form of democracy, representation is important to be carried out in order to realize Schumpeter's minimalist democracy. Democracy, according to him, is interpreted as a competitive mechanism for electing leaders through institutional procedures in achieving political decisions through giving power to individuals to make decisions in order to gain the people's voice [3]. Representative democracy is considered as the main starting point because democracy is not considered to be able to run precisely when all the people rule, because according to Schumpeter the people's will is something that is very ambiguous. Therefore representation is important.

Pitkin said that representation is closely related to guarantee the fulfillment of the rights of every citizen because the representative has an obligation to bring the interests of the citizens he represents. The main elements that must be present in representations are representative (person who is represent others), the represented (person who is represented by others), interests of the represented and the context or socio-political setting. Those elements are the main element and without one of them, the representation will not be able to run well.

Representation is divided into several forms. First, formalistic representation, where representation is understood in two dimensions, namely authority and accountability. Authority relates to what authorization is given by the constituents to their representatives, so that when representatives do something outside their authority then they are considered no longer carrying out the function of representation. The second dimension, namely accountability, explains the existence of liabilities from the representatives of the constituents for the authority that has been given. This accountability is related to everything the representative does.

Second, descriptive representation. This representation requires a representative from the group

represented (standing for representative). So that, what is considered as an ideal representative is a representative that reflects community groups in accordance with what they represent. Although indeed sometimes representatives do not inherently do something in the interests of the groups they represent because they act in no way on behalf of the group. Third, symbolic representation, where the representative is a symbol or represents the symbol of the group represented.

Fourth, substantive representation. This form of representation is occurred when the representative acts to (act for) in order to bring the interests of those he represents into the realm of public policy. This representation refers to the quality of representation where the person who is given the authority to represent acts replaces the person represented with full responsibility. This pattern moves to replace the party it represents, not just to resemble or identify as in descriptive and symbolic representations.

The representation in this study was used to photograph how interests are carried out and campaigned to protest gender injustice. Injustice in women is reflected through the act of naming women only because of their gender, such as marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence and exploitation. Marginalization is a process of marginalized carried out by the community in order to obstruct access to life [4]. One form of marginalization is the closure of access to information and knowledge as well as the limitations of democratic space in women.

Stereotype is the process of labeling certain groups based on the construction of thinking, through years of institutionalized life experiences [5]. The effects of the labeling process are acts of subordination and discrimination. Subordination is the lowering of women only because their gender is considered to be unable to do certain jobs. This subordination will lead to discrimination, which is limited chance and opportunities for women.

Meanwhile women are also vulnerable to violence. Violence against women is perpetuated through cultural and structural factors. Cultural factors see the violence that befalls women is due to the existence of values and norms that place men as those who have full power over women so that men are legitimized to act arbitrarily against women. While structurally, violence lasts because there are structures both formal and informal that perpetuate it.

Gender mainstreaming exists to eliminate this imbalance. Because as a strategy to guarantee gender equality, this principle offers a framework for understanding gender, that is a framework of gender analysis in which the framework is based on the awareness of the possibility of differences in capacities, potentials, aspirations, interests, and needs between men and women in each stage of the development process.

B. *Literature Review*

A lot of research has been done on women in the social and political sphere in Indonesia, especially on the issue of women's 30% representation according to the mandate of the law as an affirmation of women's issues. One of them is a study conducted by RR. Cahyowati in looking at the women's representation in parliament, this dissertation

research was carried out in depth to reveal the extent to which women's representation in parliament could be fulfilled. The issue of accessibility and affirmation from political parties in Indonesia is an in-depth discussion in order to reveal the sustainability of the mandate of the law in the affirmation of a 30% quota for women in parliament. This research shows the lack of agenda and structure of both political parties and society in order to achieve the goal of achieving a 30% quota for women in parliament. This study also shows the implications of the failure that has an impact on how women's issues is not yet a main agenda in parliament [6]

In line with the dissertation research above, Fuad and Hamid's research entitled "Challenges of Political Parties in Meeting the 30% Women's Quota in Banten Province." On this research, the object is to dig in how political party recruit woman representative as legislative member of his political party. The quota policy for women is not followed by good implementation because the political behavior of the parties or their elites is only to fulfill and impose the full quota [7].

Other related research conducted by Indriyany, Hikmawan and Godjali entitled "Mainstreaming Gender Through Women's Political Participation in the Banten Provincial Representative Council." The research highlighted the issue of gender mainstreaming through women's political participation in the Banten Provincial DPRD, showing that women are still considered as objects of power. Agenda and programmatic for women's political struggle is obstructed by conditions that are still strongly attached to the patriarchal culture grounded in Banten. In their research, they said that the presence of women through the affirmation of the 30% quota tends to be merely political symbol and forced to fulfill existing requirements, not to strive for women's programs and agendas [8].

Previous studies have essentially tried to unravel and reveal the challenges of women in striving for their rights in parliament. Different from previous studies, this research takes a different distance, which does not stop at how women are represented in parliamentary seats, but further exploring the new agenda brought by women candidates, namely the discourse on persons with disabilities who are trying to fulfill the rights of their citizens through parliamentary seats. From this discourse, this research is very interesting to do. Besides seeing how this movement is constructed with a more concrete awareness and interestingly, this movement is started by women with disabilities and she brought it to the realm of legislative elections in Indonesia.

III. METHODOLOGY

The research method used in this research is descriptive qualitative method. This type of research will produce descriptive data about spoken and written words and the behavior of the person being investigated. The result of the research is the description of a phenomenon in different contexts so that the conclusions of each individual will differ depending on the point of view used.

While the approach used is the phenomenological approach, in particular hermeneutic phenomenology is the choice of method that researchers use. Because hermeneutic phenomenology opens space for researchers to conduct interpretative research on the problem being examined. Hermeneutic phenomenology is used as a critical-reflective and interpretive analysis of texts. The women in this study as a form of political relations are the text to be interpreted, not only as numbers, but further research is expected to reveal how women transcend the power structure activities in the political realities of society so that they get equal opportunities in the political sphere of governance[4].

Hermeneutic phenomenology has its advantages in a method, in which in this method the approach can be carried out comprehensively towards the emergence of concepts and facts. The interpretation offers an opportunity for researchers to explore facts and concepts. In the end, this hermeneutic phenomenology method leads the researcher to a rational and argumentative thinking in sorting out facts and concepts that appear themselves not as objects but as subjects under study so as to provide researchers with much knowledge in revealing their true meaning.

Eidetic reduction in hermeneutic phenomenology enables this research to uncover meaning that is not only apparent on the surface in existing political realities. Therefore hermeneutic phenomenology as a method is considered appropriate in this study in order to get the true nature (eidos) of the research question in this study.

IV. DISCUSSION

A. *Woman and Disability*

As the situation develops, the issue of disability can no longer be interpreted as an issue that only sticks to the body of the persons with disability, but also the surrounding environment. This view sees the disability issue as a holistic issue. This is in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities which encourages changes in approach and perspective in seeing the persons with disability from object to subject. Seeing the persons with disability as an object can be seen through charity, morals and medical models.

Whereas seeing the persons with disability as a subject, means giving opportunities to the persons with disability that they have the same abilities and rights, and are entitled to make decisions on their own lives based on what they believe. Models used to see this phenomenon are civil rights based models and social models. Civil rights based model recognizes that persons with disability have the right to live and grow. He was clung to rights from birth to death. While the social model explains that the persons with disability is an inseparable part of social and political life. The perspective of a person towards persons with disability will be very visible from the perspective of the community towards the persons with disability. So disability is a reflection of how society is organized.

As part of persons with disabilities, women with disabilities experience gender discrimination, both their identity as women and their identity as persons with disabilities. This discrimination arises due to gender inequality in patriarchal culture. Inequality arises due to the

nature of masculinity. Masculinity creates hegemony and stereotype that men are superior and women are in a subordinate position. This hegemony and stereotype is then perpetuated through legitimacy both in the realm of religion and in the realm of society. For women with disabilities, this masculinity is reflected through the bodies of men with disabilities and non-disability as well as on the standardization of normality over a pseudo body. The body that is considered normal is a complete and perfect body and is able to function optimally. That is, the body of the persons with disability is considered abnormal because it is not able to function optimally due to its differentness.

This will be seen in decision-making opportunities in the community. As a result of this masculinity, femininity is considered as something weak, then women is considered to be unable to make decisions, even decisions relating to themselves. The ability to make decisions indicates that they have power. Decisions on women's bodies, for example, mean that women have power over their own bodies. In a patriarchal society, women are not allowed to make decisions because their decisions are not based on good logic. Especially women with disabilities, all decisions related to their bodies are taken by men around them. As a result they have no control over their own bodies.

Because of this, they are vulnerable to the treatment of marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence and exploitation, added with their identities as women with disabilities. Marginalization of women with disabilities arises through the treatment of closing access to both information access and access to the democratic space. Limited access to information is reflected through the limited information that is accessible for persons with disabilities. In the democratic space, access to women with disabilities is limited because of the absence of representatives who carry their interests in the legislative. As a result, their interests are often neglected. It is this marginalization which then perpetuates the subordination of women to women with disabilities.

Stereotypes arise due to the institutionalized normal construction for decades in the community. As a result, there is still a lack of recognition and acceptance of women with disabilities due to their conditions that differ from normal standards. The stereotyping process on the persons with disability can be seen through labeling. The power of language that arises through the use of language in labeling indicates that the persons with disability is still in a subordinate position due to 'abnormalities'.

Regarding violence, women with disabilities are vulnerable to violence due to the unequal distribution of power in society. The forms of violence can be physical violence, psychological violence, economic violence, social violence and sexual violence. Physical violence is done by making direct contact with disability persons. While psychological violence is carried out with the aim of giving threats or uncomfortable feelings. Economic violence is illustrated for example through the prohibition of women with disabilities to have assets or impoverishment act on themselves. Social violence for example through restrictions on interaction or exclusion act by the community. And finally the sexual violence is illustrated, for example,

through the use of forced contraception in women with disabilities and forced abortion.

B. *Initiative of Movement*

For these conditions, the phenomenon of legislative candidates from women with disabilities emerged. The basic argument that they want to strive for the absence of legislative members from persons with disabilities, both men and women. This has an impact on their interests which are often not represented and considered not as an urgent problem.

This condition is called a political opportunity structure. Tarrow defines this as "consistent but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements" [9]. Specifically this condition is referred to as the opportunity for the emergence of a social political movement. This opportunity is of course clung to chance and risk.

This opportunity is strengthened by the existence of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Election article 5 which states that persons with disabilities who meet the requirements have the same opportunity as voters, as candidates for DPR, as candidates for DPD, as candidates for President / Vice President, as prospective members DPRD and as election organizer. This article is further explained by describing what is meant by equal opportunity, namely the condition of providing financial opportunities or providing access to persons with disabilities to channel their potential in all aspects of the administration of the state and society.

Apart from the realm of the state, political opportunity also arises from the realm of society. The more open structure of society, it makes the legislative candidates with disabilities feel increasingly accepted in social interaction and gain confidence to advance in the process of candidacy. This is supported by the statement of one of the women with disabilities legislative candidates from the Nasdem Party who revealed that the support he got actually came from the artist group, student groups, and motorcycle gang groups. This shows that the inclusive community is no longer a wish that is beyond imagination but it can be realized. Although there are possibilities that in some societies, the existence of persons with disabilities is still considered a curse so that they are excluded from social life.

The next structure that is also very important is the family structure. Families that have members with disabilities can certainly be able to have acceptance of the person with disability. This acceptance will manifest in actions that encourage and provide opportunities for family members with disabilities to be able to make decisions and take responsibility for themselves. They do not consider that persons with disabilities are different from other family members so they must be treated specifically or need to be hidden because they are considered to give a negative image to family members. Persons with disabilities are given the opportunity to go to school and work with other family members.

Acceptance of persons with disabilities in the realm of the family will also be illustrated through parenting that is carried out by parents. One female legislative candidate interviewed told that she received the same parenting style as the others regardless of her different conditions. In fact, the mother always strives for her child to be able to go to a regular school so that she does not feel excluded if she goes to a special school. The ideal parenting for children with disabilities indeed gives them the same opportunity to grow and develop together with other children. This is so that he feels accepted and is not distinguished from the social environment of his community. These three structures are the state, society and family which can be called a political

FIGURE 1. CAMPAIGN IN SOCIAL MEDIA (INSTAGRAM)



Source : Official IG account @anggasari.puji.aryatie

Framing that she is trying to do is to bring the idea of equality to the community. This notion of equality means not putting the persons with disability as a second class citizen. By treating them with disabilities as second class citizens, they are very vulnerable to discriminatory treatment. But by treating them equally, including by providing access and opportunities, persons with disabilities are able to have power over their own bodies. Framing through social media was chosen because Instagram's popularity among voters in general and beginner voters in particular was quite high.

D. *Descriptive Representation as an Ideal Form of Representation of Disability Groups*

The phenomenon of legislative candidates from women with disabilities, raises further questions about the ideal form of representation for persons with disabilities. Candidates for women with disabilities explain that up to now, the form of descriptive representation is still considered as an ideal form in representing the interests of both persons with disability and women with disability. In the form of representation, the elected representative reflects the group she represents and it is important to see the extent

opportunity for a person with a disability to nominate himself and bring his interests in the legislative process.

C. *Framing through Social Media*

After identifying the problems surrounding women with disabilities and finding a political opportunity structure, what is done next by candidates for women with disabilities is to do framing through social media. Framing is intended as an effort to convince the target groups that they are compelled to push for change. In this case, media framing is done to convince voters to agree on the political agenda carried out by legislative candidates. The following is a screenshot of how social media is used as a framing process.

FIGURE 2. CAMPAIGN MODEL FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES



Source : Official IG account @anggasari.puji.aryatie

to which the representative is able to act and strive for the interests of the group she represents.

In the context of this study, the ideal representation for persons with disability groups is the disability itself. The basic argument that is always used to reinforce statements from descriptive representations is that those who understand the needs and problems related to persons with disabilities are the persons with disabilities themselves. When they are able to understand the problems that surround themselves, they are expected to be able to formulate alternative solutions that are substantial and urgent to do. This is believed to be unable to be well understood by representatives of non-persons with disability.

V. CONCLUSION

In this article, the researcher's team underlines that the emergence of political activism for women with disabilities raised by Anggasari Puji Aryatie is an embodiment of a New Social Movement. Political work carried out by Aryatie through her participation in electoral political contestation is able to mobilize constructive discourse in the matter of fulfilling the rights of citizens who are not only

accommodating for women with disabilities but also accommodating their political struggles to fulfill the rights of women in general and persons with disabilities itself. During this time there was a discourse about the political struggle of women with disabilities. With the emergence of the Aryatie phenomenon which took part in the electoral political contestation in the 2019 elections, it was seen as a political manifestation of the representation of minorities in striving for the fulfillment of privilege rights as citizens with special needs. Moreover, this Aryatie political struggle movement is the starting point in reducing the hegemony of Indonesian society mindset towards women with disabilities.

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