Patriarchal Political Culture, Obstacles of Women Political Performance

Case Study of West Java Province in 2018 Regional Heads Election

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Abstract—**This article discusses about the powerless of West Java's women in political sphere because of many obstacles. Using a qualitative descriptive paradigm with case study method, data were collected through in-depth interviews both orally and in writing, observation and documentation studies. The informants were drawn from women activists who joined in the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI) in West Java. While for the validity and reliability of data, done by triangulation method. The results show that West Java is culturally an agrarian society that tends to be egalitarian, but there are striking differences in the political aspect. On the one hand women have multidimensional and multi gender roles as mothers, wives, workers, family members and social members, while men are more often positioned as breadwinners. In politics, all informants said they did not feel any difference in political competition with men, but social construction in society tended to place men better than women for politics. Even when competing in elections, women always lose the pace and financial strength of men because of several obstacles such as patriarchal culture. Furthermore, it is necessary to develop social construction of women's political reality in West Java through an effective political communication strategy.**

Keywords—patriarchy; political culture; women political performace.

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia in 2018 is currently conducting regional head elections simultaneously in 171 regions covering 17 provinces, 39 cities and 115 districts. That's why this year is called the political year.

The General Elections Commission (KPU) states that there are 570 candidate candidates for the regional head, 4 couples are not accepted because they are not eligible and 566 are accepted. Based on sex, there are male candidates as many as 1,041 people and 101 women.

There are about 101 candidates for women heads of regions who took part in the election of regional heads (Pilkada) in 2018. Of that number, only about 95 people who declared by KPU eligible to follow the election event.

It's interesting to look at the fact that female political candidates are very few (8,85%) compared to male candidates.

Even this figure is increasing, (although not significant) when compared with women's participation in elections 2015 and 2017 ago. Women's participation in the 2018 election is 8.85 percent, meanwhile, in 2017 elections is only 7.17 percent and in 2015 only 7.47 percent.

These 101 women are registered in seven Provinces, 26 Cities and 45 Districts. As for that number there are two women as governor candidate in elections 2018. They are, Khofifah Indar Parawangsa in East Java and Karolin Margaret Natasa in West Kalimantan. While the five candidates are nominated as Vice Governor candidates, Ida Fauziah in Central Java, Puti Guntur Sukarno in East Java, Chusnunia in Lampung, Sitti Rohmi Djalilah in NTB and Emelia Julia Nomleni in NTT. There are 31 candidates who are candidates and 16 candidates as candidates for Mayor. Meanwhile, 28 women became candidates for Vice Regent and 18 people became candidates for Vice Mayor.

Furthermore, it interesting to look at the background of women who register as candidates for regional head and vice regional head which is dominated by Party cadre. Another background are women with nets of kinship, former members of DPR, DPRD or DPD and incumbent of Regional Heads. This phenomenon illustrates that women who dare to run in political competition in the local political realm are those who are already accustomed to plunge in the field of practical politics.

Unfortunately, the women candidates who in fact have experienced in this political world, almost missed the issues of women themselves. Although women's representation in local elections (Pilkada) has increased, their preference on women's agenda and issue is still low.

Looking at the background of those mostly related to the nets of kinship, it is not strange if there is a suspicion of society that most of the women candidates nominate themselves to perpetuate political dynasties.

Perludem (Perkumpulan Untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi), one of the NGOs in the field of elections and democracy, notes that there are only 12 out of 23 elected candidates in the 2017 elections that promote women's issues and child protection. By 2015, only 17 out of 45 candidates have a side to the issue of

women. In fact, many of the heads of regions stumbled over corruption cases. Lastly, the Regent of Subang Imas Aryumningsih netted a hand-catch operation (OTT/ Operasi Tangkap Tangan conducted by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

This has boomeranged for the affirmation of women's representation in the election. The public will think, the policy makers will also think it is useless there are women there, yet not 100% female heads of women who are gender responsive or gender sensitive put forward the issue of women. In addition, when they were in office, they did not fight for female affirmations.

In my opinion, this is because of the motivation of women in politics is strongly influenced by the family, both encouragement from husband and parents, to perpetuate his political dynasty.

Accordingly, the involvement of women in politics is considered to still depend on the kinship network, including in the 2018 election battle. The party is still considered pragmatic and oriented towards the aspects of electability and capital strength. Therefore, the opportunity for women's candidacy is covered by the dominance of capital strength and electability which majority of men domination.

Perludem's data shows that the number of female candidates for regional heads with backgrounds of kinship networks is increasing. In the 2015 election, the number reached 24.39 percent. That number rose to 31.82 percent in the 2017 elections and in the 2018 election reached 39 percent. It shows that the party has no adequate supply of female cadres. This tendency occurs because the party has no inclusive and open member recruitment mechanism. In addition to the kinship network, there are three backgrounds of female registrants who are still dominant regional head candidates, namely party cadres, former legislators, and incumbents. The regeneration to prepare qualified women and have high electability also not run well.

Based on this background description, where women who run in elections tend to those with a kinship network. While women who, despite having conceptual and visionary abilities but lacking a kinship net, tend to be difficult to penetrate these local political barricades. Looking at this matter, it is interesting to explore more deeply about the constraints faced by women candidates in the competition for political leadership.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative descriptive paradigm with case study method, where the data obtained by conducting in-depth interview, observation and study documentation. The informants were taken from the women members of the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus Organization (KPPI) of West Java.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The political culture of West Java seems to be patriarchal in which men are strategically positioned that has its own power

in the family and social sphere as well. This phenomenon can be observed in the following statistical data, which shows the number of women politicians holding political power in West Java is still minimal.

TABLE I. WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN PARLIAMENT BY REGENCY / CITY IN WEST JAVA (%), 2014-2015.

Women's Involvement in Parliament by Regency / City in West Java (%), 2014-2015		
District/Country	*2014*	*2015*
1 Bogor	18,00	18,00
2 Sukabumi	12,00	12,00
3 Cianjur	16,00	18,00
4 Bandung	28,00	24,00
5 Garut	14,00	14,00
6 Tasikmalaya	16,00	14,00
7 Ciamis	10,00	10,00
8 Kuningan	22,00	22,00
9 Cirebon	28,00	28,00
10 Majalengka	14,00	14,00
11 Sumedang	22,00	18,00
12 Indramayu	22,00	28,00
13 Subang	14,00	16,00
14 Purwakarta	24,44	24,44
15 Karawang	20,00	20,00
16 Bekasi	10,00	12,00
17 Bandung Barat	16,00	6,00
Women's Involvement in Parliament by Regency / City in West Java (%), 2014-2015		
District/Country	*2014*	*2015*
18 Pangandaran	14,29	14,29
19 Kota Bogor	15,56	15,56
20 Kota Sukabumi	14,29	14,29
21 Kota Bandung	6,00	6,00
22 Kota Cirebon	25,71	25,71
23 Kota Bekasi	16,00	16,00
24 Kota Depok	38,00	38,00
25 Kota Cimahi	26,09	26,67
26 Kota Tasikmalaya	4,44	11,11
27 Kota Banjar	4,00	4,00
28 Jawa Barat	22,00	22,00
29 Indonesia	17,32	17,32

[a.] Source: www.kpujabar.go.id

Theoretically, in a democratic country, gender equality is an element that needs to be guaranteed by the government, particularly in political positions such as in government offices, political parties, and other decision-making institutions. Unfortunately, such condition faces a significant obstacle that comes in the form of patriarchy system in the society, especially in the parliament as an institution representing the society. Currently, there is already an internationally recognized minimum target of 30% women as political representatives in the legislature bodies, as part of the initiative to promote women representation in the parliament. It is expected that with this target, women would have a starting point to claim their rights and to have a significant influence in the decision-making process.

West Java is culturally an agrarian society that tends to be egalitarian in society, but there are striking differences in the political role between men and women. On the one hand women have multidimensional and multigender roles as

mothers, wives, workers, family members and social members, while men are more often positioned as breadwinners.

In contrast to other region cultures, such as Bali, it is expressed in Ni Gusti Ayu Ketut Kurniasari's research dissertation where the differences in roles between Balinese men and women are clearly visible in the social fabric of society. The structure of Balinese society provides opportunities for men to be in public activities. This is why the Balinese family should have a son, because to be a purusa (male / leader / eternal) as the heir and a continuation of lineage or lineage in the culture of Bali. Boys should be able to replace the parent's position as a community member (banjar) when their parents are old or the boy is married. This is due to the tradition that every activity of Balinese society such as banjar meetings only presents the men as the head of the family. Although in practice the banjar admits that the married is made up of lanang (male or head of household) and wife (female) and unmarried members are included in teraman teruna (clusters of youth), but still in meetings Banjar, women are not allowed to attend. This shows that, the political role of men and women in Balinese culture ranging from banjar is very different.

In West Java, no such extreme situation exists, there are no restrictions on women's rights and positions in society. Now many women are active in social activities, especially Posyandu. Even the positions of RT, RW, Lurah and Camat are also few held by women.

This is quite a contrast to Balinese culture, where male groups have a prominent role in political decision making which is then implemented by members of the banjar, while the role of women takes more portion as the executor of the course. Even if the women's group meetings, it also addressed as an extension of the command program to implement the agenda decided by the authorities or the government, such as Posyandu, gymnastics and arisan PKK, etc. So it can be seen that, political decisions in the smallest society that exist in the Province of Bali was already dominated by men.

The concept of patriarchy in Bali inspired researchers to see if this happens also in the community of West Java? Are there any factors that influence the lack of involvement of West Java women on the local and national political stage, given women's political participation can not be separated from the interaction access and social involvement of women in every public sector. Not only the quantity but also the quality of women in interpreting each activity as a political communicator.

The pattern of interaction of political women of West Java as a process of political socialization in office, authority and organization that managed to be a real reality that will be a detailed attention in this study. How to manage during the interaction process amid the football of West Java men who seem to dominate political activities to become background in understanding the process of constructing the meaning of political communication activity conducted by political women in West Java.

The presence of women in the public sphere or in particular in the political sphere is still very small. It is also that makes the study related to women both in political participation and related social interactions are still always interesting to review. Despite the existing government policies and opening up greater opportunities for West Java women to increasingly emerge in the political arena both locally and nationally. Such as Affirmative Action which was echoed during the era of President Megawati Soekarno Putri's government which until now still does not meet the target of 30% quota.

While in the executive line, the condition is much better where there are now a few West Java women who emerged as Regional Head of a total of nine regional heads in West Java Province, namely Indramayu, Banjar, Kuningan, West Java DPRD Chairman, Bekasi, Subang, and Cimahi.

The result of the study shows three main elements, i.e. Basic Information on Electoral System; Women and Political Representation; and Socio-Cultural Obstacles.

The first element on Electoral System comprises several key factors, which are the district magnitude (territory and number of citizens); the nomination; the balloting; and the electoral formulae [1]. The element on Women and Political Representation pays closer attention to women representation in the elections, parliament, and government offices in various levels; also the support given by political parties for the representations above. While the last element, the Socio Cultural Obstacles, dwells more on the social and cultural factors that hampers initiatives to improve women's awareness, education, and political positioning in the society [2].

It has been assessed extensively by many scholars how electoral system influences the voting result. Quoting Norris [1]:

"The electoral system concerns multiple aspects of electoral law, and the most basic features involve the ballot structures, determining how voters can express their choices, the electoral threshold, or the minimum votes needed by a party to secure representation, the electoral formula, determining how votes are counted to allocate seats, and the district magnitude, referring to the number of seats per district."

Electoral systems always affect the representation of interest in the parliament. It particularly shapes the way parliament members are elected, based on the broad constituency preferences or the narrow special interests [3]. The main distinction within different electoral systems lies in its basis of representation and voting procedures [4].

The most adopted classification of electoral rules is distinguished into the district representation, where candidates are elected solely from the Majoritarian, and the Proportional, where seats are allocated based on the proportionate vote share. Some countries have also practiced the Combined, a combination of these two systems. The recent development in the last decade has seen how established democracies undergoing reform have opted for an alternative system, which combines both majoritarian and proportional representation in a single election [5].

As a country, Indonesia is led by the President, based on absolute majority vote. The parliament system is divided into two houses, with the first one, the Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah), works as an advisory

body consisting of 128 members. Each province serves as a multi-member district with allocation of 4 seats, which are gained by single non-transferable vote. The second house, the House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), elects its 560 member through open list proportional representation in multi-member constituencies. A 2008 constitutional court ruling have set up that voters are free to either vote for the party or the individual. Under this system, political parties is obliged to secure a 2.5 percent threshold nationwide in order to be eligible for the election. Although the party list is decided by candidate preference votes, parties also need to ensure the representation of at least 30 percent female candidate. Overall, both the President and the representatives serve for a 5-year term [6].

While composing up to more than half of the population, women still constitute only 18% of parliament members around the world [7].

On the other side of the coin, scholars have claimed that situation at the local level is useful in examining women's representation in political offices, since many of them who hold position at the national level generally began their steps at the local level. In reality, however, Carroll & Sanbonmatsu reiterate how the representation number at the local level is often as low as the national level. Reverberating the notion above, this assessment found that the numbers that have come out at the national level often do not represent the situation at the local level [8].

Efforts to increase gender balance within the electoral system alone of course would not be sufficient to raise women representation. The outcome of women representation in political offices is always affected highly by features of political party system that shape the game and influence women's venue to attain power [9]. Since caucuses serve as a key network in recruiting legislative candidate [8], it is then essential to ensure that women in each focus country have a special caucus for them as a networking venue. Within the parliament, women caucuses have been established, with various level of effectiveness in the implementation in each country.

From many aspects, political parties are the ones that hold the power to determine legislative representation, including the gender balance within [10]. This takes commitment and cooperation between parties and the election commission to establish a system that ensures gender balance in legislative composition. In response to this, many political parties these days have also taken the initiative to establish a gender quota voluntarily, without being forced by the legislative rule, ensuring participation of at least 20% or 30% women in the party and for the electoral candidates [7].

Electoral system, in affecting women representation, does need to interact with a set of cultural, social, and political variables. In taking a better look on these variables, the cultural and social factors often have a bigger determinant power in influencing the result of election, hence the percentage of women in the parliament [10].

The positive correlation between these socio-cultural factors and women's success to political seats then creates the need to take a closer look to how the factors was shaped from the most fundamental view, i.e. on how society perceives and values equality between women and men.

Referring to an opinion poll by UNDP Indonesia, 77.6% of respondents from both genders consider that the role of decision-makers and leaders of the community should be left to men. The poll, focusing on attitudes and perceptions to women's social, economic and political participation, reveals another result of 95% respondents preferring men to be the leader of the households, and 94% believing that women should not work without permission from their husbands. The findings above seem to come from the ideology of sexual division on labor, defining women's primary roles to be at home as mothers and wives, exclusively giving the privilege of having productive roles in the public sphere to men. Such ideology causes women in Indonesia to be lacking in social capital, since they rarely become the head of community or have independent power base. It becomes a domino effect and vicious cycle at the same time, where the lack of social capital leads to the lack of financial support from political parties to entering formal politics. Without independent financial means, social and economic power base, all of these circumstances create an extremely difficult situation for women to enter the male dominated world of politics [11, 12].

Four things dominate the background of female candidates from regional head to elections. This shows that, firstly, the party is still pragmatic-oriented on the aspects of elektabilitas and capital strength. Therefore, the opportunity for women's nomination is covered by the dominance of capital and elektabilitas power which majority is owned by men. In the context of women who have high elektabilitas-for example, women with pragmatic party-legislative background hold hostage to the consolidation of women to go ahead lead the government.

Women with legislator background (39 percent), for example, have accumulated the political power it possessed when he became a member of the legislature. Then the woman ran for the head of the region where she served as a member of the legislature. This makes women ex-legislators have high elektabilitas. However, the party did not see the political consolidation of this woman. The pragmatic party sees more elektabilitas. The party only selects candidates who have a great chance to be elected.

Second, the party has no adequate supply of female cadres. This trend occurs because the party has no inclusive and open member recruitment mechanism. Kaderisasi to prepare high quality women and have high elektabilitas also not run well.

Although the data show the percentage of female candidates for heads of regions with the highest number of party cadres (43 percent), the percentage is culminated with other backgrounds of former legislators and kinship networks.

Joining the party is the "between" path that women take to the power of local government. Women need time to convince themselves, gain political elite support, and win the confidence of local voters. Women do not take the road directly, he must enter the party to win the support of political elites and occupy

strategic positions such as members of Parliament or DPRD to achieve voter support.

The two factors above show that women's participation and representation in politics can be improved if we can change the paradigm and the party's behavior become more open to women's groups.

The Party is required to no longer nominate women by only considering high elektabilitas but start nominating qualified women. The Party has homework to bring together the significance of women's presence with improved integrity and quality.

The quality of women can be enhanced by encouraging women to be present in daily organizational structures and engaging in any formulation of internal party policy and decision making.

Unfortunately, the provision of 30 percent of women's representation in the 2019 Election has declined. The 30 percent provisions of women's representation apply only to central management, not at the provincial and district levels.

Fragmentation of parliamentary parties in regions where there are women candidates for regional heads has an effective number of parliamentary (ENPP) score of 8.1, which means the existence of extreme multiparty polarization. That is, to spawn the policy of women, regional head women should lobby 8 political forces in parliament. This high level of parliamentary fragmentation will make it difficult for women's vision, mission and programs to be implemented into policy.

Under these conditions, women head of region will be faced with three choices when going to make decisions with the legislature. First, let the conflict happen and lead to deadlock. Second, creating a solid coalition of government supporters. Third, building a party system that is cartelized to smooth public policy proposed by the executive.

In Indonesia, the head of the region will prefer the third option, establishing a party system that is cartelized. With this option, governments can still walk and policies can be born because of political compromises. Not infrequently also this practice leads to bribery and even corruption.

Party cartelization makes the party let go of the ideology and programs to be fought for the purpose of sustaining that power. In government, power is used to achieve state resources.

This will certainly make it difficult for the vision, mission, and program that carried by women to be implemented into policy. Women heads of regions, unable to win the support of parliamentary majority, need to think of ways to fulfill political promises or visions, missions, and programs offered during the elections. The weak support of parliamentary political parties has an impact on the hampering of proposed public policies.

West Java is culturally an agrarian society that tends to be egalitarian, but there are striking differences in the political aspect. On the one hand women have multidimensional and multigender roles as mothers, wives, workers, family members and social members, while men are more often positioned as breadwinners. In politics, all informants said they did not feel any difference in political competition with men, but social construction in society tended to place men better than women for politics. Even when competing in elections, women always lose the pace and financial strength of men because of several obstacles such as patriarchal culture.

There are three main elements occurred in understanding the obstacles of West Java Women political activities. The first element on Electoral System comprises several key factors, which are the district magnitude (territory and number of citizens); the nomination; the balloting; and the electoral formulae. The 2nd element on Women and Political Representation pays closer attention to women representation in the elections, parliament, and government offices in various levels; also the support given by political parties for the representations above. While the last element, the Socio Cultural Obstacles, dwells more on the social and cultural factors that hampers initiatives to improve women's awareness, education, and political positioning in the society.

Furthermore, it is necessary to developed social construction of women's political reality in West Java through an effective political communication strategy.

IV. CONCLUSION

There are some obstacles faced by women of West Java in their activities as politicians, namely:

- patriarchal political culture is a socio-cultural constraint

- electoral systems that tend to burden women from the financial aspect.

- basic information of election system

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