

Women and Political Communications in North Sulawesi

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Abstract—The existence of women in Indonesian politics has been controlled by election law especially with affirmative action pattern and zipper system. In consequence, North Sulawesi Province placed itself at a percentage of 33.3 percent or 15 legislators out of 45 from the total number of all women's representation in all the Provincial People's Representative Council of Indonesia in the period of 2014-2019. Related to this phenomenon, the researcher wants to see how the political communication of women legislator in carrying out their duties and functions. Does gender difference affect the political communication of women and men legislators? To dissect the problem, researcher uses a qualitative approach with 10 informants from 15 female legislators. The findings of the study show that female legislators have understood if they exist in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council because of the political party that carries them. Therefore, female legislators should be able to synergize with the faction as an extension of the political party. In the implementation of the plenary meeting, the female legislators have been given the role to appear to read out the general views of the fraction or the final opinion of the fraction. Women legislators, especially those who have two more periods utilize the moment of the Plenary Meeting, and usually attended by the executive to convey complaints about development in their election areas that have not been touched and noticed. All women legislators say gender does not influence them to express opinions, advises, and lobbies, etc.

Keywords— *women, political communication, and self-concept.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The juridical equality of the degree between women and men is guaranteed at the same level in various spheres of life as stated in the 1945 Constitution. In addition, Indonesia has ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by Act No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Article 4, paragraph 1, this Act provides an obligation to States to develop special rules to accelerate gender equality between men and women.

Similarly, Law No. 39 of 1999, Article 46 on Human Rights states that the electoral system, political party, election of legislative members, and appointment system in the executive and judicial sectors must ensure the representation of women in accordance with the specified requirements. (Amalia in Amalia 2012: 238)

The rule of law is also reinforced by Presidential Instruction (Instruction) Number 9 Year 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in National Development. This Presidential Instruction formulates Gender Mainstreaming as a strategy to achieve equality in gender equity through policies and programs that address women's and men's experience, aspirations, needs and problems into the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation process of all policies and programs in various areas of life and development sectors. (Report on the Study of Women's Perceptions of the 30% Quota Law in Kendari City in Amalia, 2012: 238-239)

Given the legal basis, it is very open for women to be able to exist in all components of national and state life including serving in the field of politics and government. But it is well known that there are cultural barriers which are still the most serious obstacles for women to enter politics and government.

The Election Law has also provided wider opportunities for women to participate and exist in the political field, namely the necessity of political parties to accommodate the existence of women at least as much as 30 percent, whether included in the party stewardship or become a legislative candidate. This is contained in Law no. 12 of 2003 on General Election Article 65 paragraph 1, which was then replaced by Law no. 10 of 2008 concerning General Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Regional Representatives Council, and Regional House of Representatives.

Finally, Law no. 8 of 2012 on General Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Regional Representatives Council, and Regional People's Representative Council mandates the obligation of political parties participating in the election to fulfill the 30% quota of women in the legislative candidate list and at least one woman among the three legislative candidates (see Article 52 paragraph 2 Law No. 8 of 2012) or known as the zipper system that is a zipper system such as zippers in capturing legislative candidates.

Especially in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council, post-reformation which in the period of 1999-2004 until the period 2014-2019, the representation of women become female legislators are quite good; Not only that, but also entrusted women legislators to the vice chairman of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly even to become chairman of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly of North Sulawesi Province in the period 2009-2014.

Table 1

The existence of Women Legislators in People's Representative Assembly North Sulawesi Province

| PERIOD | WOMEN | MEN |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| 1999-2004 | 7 (15,56 %) | 38 (84,44 %) |
| 2004-2009 | 8 (17,77 %) | 37 (82,22%) |
| 2009-2014 | 12 (26,66 %) | 33 (73,33 %) |

North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council

In the General Election 2014, when female politicians inaugurated as legislators in the North Sulawesi Provincial, People's Legislative Assembly increased from the previous period of 5 percent or from 12 people in the period 2009-2014 to 15 people or by 33.33 percent. Researcher assumes that the increasingly female politicians indicate the existence of women in the political world in North Sulawesi Province are more trusted to aspire the needs of society and government, especially those elected with the most vote mechanism.

Those who are inaugurated as legislators in the North Sulawesi Provincial Legislative Council consist of five female legislators from PDIP. Golkar Party presents four of its best female politicians. The Demokrat and Nasdem each presented two female legislators. Meanwhile, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), and Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) present one legislator.

Legislative Composition in the People's Representative Assembly of North Sulawesi Province Based on Political Parties

| No. | Political Party | Women | Men | result |
|-----|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. | PDIP | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| 2. | Golkar | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| 3. | Demokrat | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| 4. | Gerindra | - | 6 | 6 |
| 5. | PKS | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. | Nasional Demokratik | 2 | - | 2 |
| 7. | PAN | - | 2 | 2 |
| 8. | PPP | 1 | - | 1 |
| 9. | Hanura | - | 1 | 1 |
| 10. | PKPI | - | 2 | 2 |
| | | 15 | 30 | 45 |

North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council

From the 15 members of the women's legislature, five attempted to become members of legislators at the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council one from the PDIP, two from the Golkar Party, one from the Democrats, and one legislator previously in the Partai Damai Sejahtera moved to the National Party Democrats. Two other legislators previously took part in the Regional House of Representatives of Tomohon and the Regional House of Representatives of East Bolaang Mongondow Regency of the PDIP and PPP and one legislator has been active in the period 2004-2009 and re-

entrusted in 2014-2019 at the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council. Some who have never been legislative, have been bupati (head of district) for two periods from Bolaang Mongondow election region and former member of Bolaang Mongondow County People's Legislative Council and became Chairman of the Golkar Party there. Women's political progress in North Sulawesi Province can not only be at the local legislative level but also at the national level.

Seeing the phenomenon, the aim of this study is to see how the political communication of female legislators in the House of Representatives of North Sulawesi Province. Does gender difference affect the political communication of women and men legislators?

Communication by Michael Rush and Philip Althoff (2002: 24) is a process whereby relevant political information is passed from one part of the political system to the other and between social systems and political systems. Rush and Althoff (2002: 23) also say that political communication is a continuous process and involves the exchange of information among individuals with groups at all levels of society.

Astrid S. Soesanto in Harun and Sumarno (2006: 3) adopted a formula for the definition of political communication that is "communication directed to the achievement of an influence in such a way that the problem discussed by this type of communication activity can bind all its citizens through a sanction determined together by political institutions.

In all activities as a legislator, there will always be a political communication activity that serves to absorb various aspirations, views and ideas. Nimmo (2011: 28) states that everyone is a political communicator; anyone in the political setting is a political communicator. It stretches from the lowest level (people) to the top (elite) level.

Women legislators in People's Representative Council of North Sulawesi are political communicators in carrying out their duties and functions, either as leaders / members of the factions, leaders / members of the commission, leaders / members of the Budget Agency and other tasks. The political communication that a woman legislator runs in carrying out her duties and functions will be closely related to the self-concept of the legislator.

According to George Herbert Mead (Ahmadi in Umiarso and Elbadiansyah, 2014: 156), self-conception is a process derived from the individual's social interactions with others. Individuals are creatures that are sensitive, active, creative, and innovative. Its social existence determines its social environment and itself effectively. "Self" can be both object and subject. The object in question applies to itself as the basic character of another being, so as to attain self-consciousness and the basis of taking an attitude for itself, as well as for social situations which can be described by the concept of taking the role of another the other. "Self" will become the object first before *he* is in the subject position. In this case, "self" will undergo the process of internalization or interpretation of the subject, over the reality of a broad

structure. *He* is the dialectic product of the impulsive I of self, “me” as the subject and “Me” the social side of man is *me* as the object. The development of self in line with the socialization of the individual in a society that refers to capacity and human experience as an object for oneself. In short, “self” arises in the interaction process because humans are only aware of themselves in social interaction.

Explained by Burns (1993: 19), self is a social structure arising from social experience. Once formed, it is able to provide a social experience for itself. But more importantly in self-concept, Mead sees language as the link between self and society. Since humans have a language symbol, it does not matter whether the meaning is communicated between two individuals or an individual with itself. So every attitude, behavior, as well as political communication by female legislators in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council becomes a personal and social experience for herself. The female legislator must continue to interpret its existence in the Regional People's Legislative Assembly as a member of the fraction which is an extension of the political party, in which she runs.

Political world has been constructed as a world of men. In fact, men are more interested in being politicians than women. Many factors cause it, whether social, cultural, and religious, including laws and legislation. But everything has changed when the legal and legislative factors are already aligned with women, the Gender Equality, and Justice Movement.

Zamroni (2013) conducted a study of women in the study of political communications conceptually and practically. According to him, women who are in the greatest quantity of voting in the general election is very appropriate to enter the political system is not just a voter. Mukarom (2008) describes Women and Politics related to Political communication must continue to be done through counter political communication which is not only done by women politicians but also must involve male politician. The first counter is by gender mainstreaming in women. Second, encourage affirmative action on women. Third is the political education in women. Political parties must also engage in communication strategies with messages and media strategies. Herewith, the researcher sees the Political communication of female legislators in carrying out their duties and functions in the Regional House of Representatives of North Sulawesi Province.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

Women legislators elected to the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council from the period to the post-reform period experienced a marked increase. This is uniqueness compared to other areas. Seeing the increase of female legislator has intrigued the researcher to find out how political communication female legislators in carrying out their duties and functions as members of the Regional House of Representatives of North Sulawesi Province. Does gender difference affect the political communication of women and men legislators?

This study uses a qualitative approach, which according to Bogdan and Taylor, qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and oral data of people and observable behavior of the natural environment (Moleong, 2014: 3). A qualitative approach is used to gain an explanation of the political communication of women legislators in the Provincial Council of Sulawesi in performing their duties and functions.

Qualitative research is an interpretive research (using interpretation) which involves many methods, in examining the research problem. In accordance with the principle of epistemology, qualitative researcher commonly examines the things that are in their natural environment, trying to understand or interpret, the phenomenon of awareness of the meanings that people give to these things. (Mulyana, 2010: 4)

Data collection in this research is in depth interview, and observation. In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the experiences of 10 female legislators in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council in carrying out their duties and functions. Observations were made to look directly at the work process of 10 women legislators in carrying out their duties and functions.

III. RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *Political Communications Commission Determination*

The existence of a legislator since he/she runs up to do an inauguration will always be related and dependent on his/her political party. After the inauguration, the legislators will be accommodated in a group based on a political party or a coalition of political parties called fractions. From this fraction each legislator will be placed in commissions that are grouping members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly functionally based on the tasks that exist.

Each legislator must be subservient to a political party, especially if the political party leader presents together in the venue of the Regional House of Representatives of North Sulawesi Province. Leaders of political parties will directly observe and assess each legislator, which commission is best suited to the capacity of the legislator to be combined with the needs of the political party.

In relation to placement in the committees women legislators have their own opinions. First, willingly rely to the Fraction's determination. According to some female legislators, what the Fraction determined is good for them, because fraction is a direct extension of the political party. The second is to communicate before the Fraction is determined. According to informants from Golkar Party, all appropriate fraction assignments come from party assignments, but it all can be firstly communicated. Third, the placement on the Commission is alternately from the Faction. According to informants from the PDIP faction, the fraction allows each legislator to have experience of each of the different commissions. He who has a background as a doctor in the first period was placed in Commission IV in the field of People's Welfare and this time in Commission II for Economic Affairs and Finance.

The experience of being a female legislator is seen from how many periods in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council was not directly proportional to the trust to become chairman of the Commission. As experienced by MMS and AD informants. Both were first legislators but both were directly elected commissioners. MMS as a Chairman of Commission II of Economy and Finance and AD as a Chairman of Commission III of Development and Infrastructures. These two commissions are the most popular commissions of every legislator because they are related to the finance and development. Both agreed that the appointment was a political party's trust to them.

B. Women Legislator in Plenary Session

In the Provincial People's Legislative Council there is a term of plenary meeting which is often held. The plenary meeting is a meeting of members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly, led by the Chairman or Vice Chairman who is the highest forum in exercising the authority and duties of the Regional House of Representatives, among others, to approve the draft of Regional Regulation into a Regional Regulation and the decision of the Regional House of Representative. At the plenary meeting there is a quorum rule (minimum attendance) so that the meeting can be implemented that is half the number of members plus one person. In addition there is a Special Plenary Meeting with the same mechanism that aims to carry out a particular event that does not take decisions. For example: the Plenary Meeting due to the framework of the Provincial Anniversary.

In the implementation of the Plenary Meeting, particularly in the plenary meeting, in order to read out the general views of the faction and the final opinion of the faction, women legislators have been given the role to perform. Specifically, those who are considered as new legislators (one period) or who are fairly young by age are always given the opportunity to read out the general views of the faction or the final opinion of the faction. As told by CW informants from the Golkar Party Faction which, according to observations of researcher is often assigned to bring a general view of the faction or the final opinion of the faction. CW is fairly woman legislator who is still young, often also inserted rhyme witty at the end of her speech. It is quite refreshing and can melt the atmosphere of a plenary meeting.

Women legislators, especially those who have two periods at the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council, from the researcher's observation, are more likely to use the moment of the Plenary Meeting. Meetings that are usually attended by the Governor and Vice Governor are used to convey complaints about development in the electoral district that has not been touched and noticed by the executive.

C. Barriers in Duty and Function

Women legislators in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Legislative Council have diverse backgrounds, work, experience in politics, educational background, as well as social. Therefore, when become a legislator, there will be

many things differently happened, so that they need the process of adaptation. Here are some things women legislators need to do in the adaptation process. First, Must learn more. What a legislator needs to do as told by CW and IB informants is to learn and keep learning about things that need to be known related to his activities in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council. Known, both are involved in the special committee that attracted the public's attention. It is also said that IB who is also much involved in the special committee and is in the Budget body members, that the learning process either via the internet, newspapers, or friends must continue to support its activities in the House of Representatives of the Province of North Sulawesi. IB informants who comes from the PDIP faction who are given many roles in some special committee activities also said other tips for its activities in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council more smoothly. The way is how to discuss with many NGOs or other activists.

Second, meetings are often clashed. Legislators are always demanded by constituents and even observers (academics) to always be able to display its performance in performing duties and functions as people's representatives. Women's legislators are no exception in the Provincial Council of North Sulawesi. From this study, the significance of female legislators in the House of Representatives is apparent, but only a fraction of those who are truly trusted by the factions to carry out their duties. As a result they feel the hassle if the tasks are usually in the form of meetings that were held at the same time or at night. As the CW informant acknowledged one of the obstacles for her when different meetings took place at about the same time. The same thing is said by informants IS that the obstacles that she felt were when the meetings of the Commission, Legislations, and others clashed even uncertain or because of the narrowness of time it is held until the evening.

Third is the obstacle as a Housewife. The most important difference between female and male legislators is the responsibility of being the housewife and taking care the children. This is felt by women legislators who become personal obstacles to be able to maximize activity in DPRD (the Provincial Council) North Sulawesi Province. This is exacerbated by the schedule of meetings such as meetings of the Commission, Budget body, Special Committee, and faction meetings including plenary meetings that often change the time and uncertain.

In interviews and observations of all existing female legislators, gender does not affect women legislators to express opinions, advises, lobby, and so on. The most important is to establish a harmonious relationship with the faction and the party and get more insights and technical capabilities in accordance with its commission, knowing the intricacies of budgeting and other technical regulations. The goal is to increase confidence while talking in budget discussions, establishing local regulations, and in commission meetings.

From the research result, it can be seen that female legislators have already begun to interpret their existence in

the Regional People's Legislative Assembly as a political activity that is closely related to the vision of their political party's mission. They can not be so free to follow the vision of a personal mission but always synergized with political parties. The self-concept of women legislators follows the development of the needs of the fraction which is an extension of the political party. The positive self-concept makes women legislators more courageous in expressing the needs of their constituents.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on above explanations there were found several conclusions as follows:

1. Female legislators have understood if they exist in the North Sulawesi Provincial People's Representative Council because of the political party that carries them. So that female legislators should be able to synergize with the faction as an extension of the political party.
2. In the implementation of the Plenary Meeting, female legislators have been given the role to appear and read out the general views of the fraction or the final opinion of the faction. Women legislators, especially those who have two more periods utilize the moment of the Plenary Meeting usually attended by the executive to convey complaints about development in the electoral district that has not been touched and noticed.
3. As legislator many things are experienced and different so that the process of adaptation needs to be done. First, Must Learn A lot. Second, meetings are often clashed. Third is the obstacle as a Housewife.
4. All existing female legislators declare gender does not affect women legislators to express opinions, advise, lobby, and so on.

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