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## G OPEN ACCESS

## Conference Paper

# Women Politicians in Participation and Participation of Women's Voices in Election 2019 

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#### Abstract

. Female voters outnumber male voters. However, until now, many female politicians who had failed to compete in the general election with male politicians. However, what factors make women's voices in the 2019 general election whitewash, remains a questionable. The informants were taken from residents of DKI Jakarta, who represented Central Jakarta, Jakarta, South Jakarta, West Jakarta, North Jakarta, and East Jakarta that female voters chose female politicians based on attractive visuals, the party where the female politician joined, the vision and mission. There are also who choose based on advice from friends and some even choose on their own without a good reason. In addition, mass media and social media also play a role in influencing the election of female politicians. Framing carried out by the mass media or imaging in the media will greatly affect female voters in determining their choice. Meanwhile, for the mass media, it is clear that they are not in favor of women politicians. The framing given often focuses on the sexuality of female politicians rather than on their performance or intelligence. In social media, many politicians are highlighted by netizens from the point of view of their beauty. This has a negative impact that affects female voters in determining their choice in the 2019 election.


Keywords: female voters, female politicians, 2019 election

## 1. Introduction

Women's voices are the main target for party candidates who will compete in general elections every period. The reason is that female voters are potential votes to get the most votes because there are more votes than male voters. This is confirmed by data from the 2019 General Election Commission, the number of permanent voters totaling 100,359,152 votes, female permanent voters at $50,194,726$ votes and male permanent voters at $50,164,426$ votes. There is a difference of 30,303 female votes more than male votes.

In 2014, there were $7,523,101$ voters entitled to represent their people. This number continued to grow until it reached $7,761,598$ voters in 2019. This number increased by
$3.17 \%$ or as many as 238,497 voters. One of the factors that increase the number of voters is the increase in the number of residents with Jakarta ID cards in the last five years. Based on the results of interviews by researchers with female voters in the field, many female voters chose male politicians over female politicians. The background of the patriarchal culture is still firmly held by some female voters. This is reinforced by another understanding that states that patriarchy is a social system of gender relations in which there is gender inequality. Men have a monopoly on all roles (Figure 1).


Source: https://statistik.jakarta.go.id/jumlah-pemilih presiden-tahun-2019-di-dki-jakarta

Figure 1: DPT DKI KPU Data.

The majority of female voters who come from a Muslim background also influence their views on the leader to be elected. Most of the scholars such as Imam Shafi'i, Imam Malik and Imam Ahmad are of the opinion that a leader must be a man. Based on surah an-Nisa verse 34. In addition, the hadith from Abi Bakrah narrated by Imam influenced women voters to still be reluctant to vote for women politicians. Female voters, especially housewives, are considered to have a big role in influencing or directing family members, both husbands and children to choose certain candidates, because they interact with families. Even political groups that specifically court the support of women voters are being targeted as the primary candidates in the DPR RI and DPRD elections. Not only female politicians are attempting to win over the votes of female voters, but also male politicians are attempting to win over more of the votes cast by female voters.

This is a great opportunity for women politicians to take steps to win the votes of women voters. In addition, competition among female politicians is also still less compared to competition among male politicians. However, the question is how much is the alignment of female voters in giving their votes to female politicians representing their rights in political parties through perleman? Why haven't women politicians been
able to attract more sympathy from their fellow women? The presence of women in the political arena cannot be separated from merely sweetening the war for democracy in elections, or in local elections. The 30\% quota mandated in Law no. 7/2017, women politicians are still considered not to represent women's rights in the parliamentary space. How many laws relating to women are still neglected today.

Both female politicians and female voters have only become objects, but have not become subjects who are actively involved in formulating victory in the Indonesian political arena. Women politicians have not become the target of winning in political parties, and fill the victory. It is proven that there are still many female politicians who are at the bottom of the list from male politicians. In addition, in the final count, the number of voters who voted for female politicians was still small.

What factors influence female voters in determining their election in choosing female politicians as their representatives in the 2019 DPR election? The purpose of this study is to find factors that influence female voters in determining the election of female politicians as representatives in the 2019 Indonesian House of Representatives elections. This research is expected to provide additional contributions and development of related theories and as a scientific reference material related to the phenomenon of research, namely political communication regarding the votes of women voters and women politicians. This research is expected to increase the understanding of female voters and politicians in Indonesia how they can gain more votes.

## 2. Literature Review

A review of the findings of previous research relating to the issue raised, studies of the problem, and the framework incorporating those studies are included in the literature. This chapter deals with theoretical studies that discuss related research findings and research variables. (1) related studies, (2) theoretical basis and (3) framework.

### 2.1. Related studies

The Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) of the University of Indonesia released the results of a study on the electability of female legislative candidates (calegers) in the 2019 general election. There is an increase in the percentage of women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) from $17 \%$ in 2014 to 20.5 percent. This is the highest number since the 1999 Reformasi era election [1].

It is acknowledged that the 2019 period produced the most women's representation in history, which is 118 or 20.5 percent of the 575 seats in the DPR that will be occupied by women, compared to the 2014 election, but the increase in women's representation is not too significant. In the previous period as many as 97 female DPR members who managed to sit in Parliament, the increase was only 21 people (Figure 2).


Sejorah Pemily Pasca Reformas
Keterwakilan Perempuan di DPR RI Tertinggi pada Pemilu 2019


## Source: https://kpu-klatenkab.go.id/keterwakilan-perempuan-dalam-

 pemilu-2019Figure 2: KPU Data.

Researchers took several references related to this research as a literature review, both from books and from various journals. From the book, the researcher took a book that specifically describes the political participation of women voters. In accordance with the research title "Women Politicians in Aligning Women's Voices in the 2019 Election".

Researchers found several previous journals that had similar titles or the same themes as those studied by researchers including:

1. Masyukur's research entitled "Women's Representation in Politics in Indonesia". In this study, it explains the problem of women's representation in parliament, which is a persistent and tough problem. Meanwhile, the affirmative action came after the reformation by stipulating that parties must include at least 30\% of their female candidates to contest the election. This study, using quantitative methods, and the theory of Gender about liberal Faminism and the conception of patriarchy, there is a difference with the researcher discussing "Women Politicians in Aligning

Women's Voices in the 2019 Election". Researchers also use qualitative descriptive methods, and theoretical political participation, and the place of research that will be studied is different [2].
2. Suryani's research entitled "Participation in Political Communication". This study discusses the factors that influence women's participation in political communication. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method and the theory used is purposive sampling to determine the research subject. The research was conducted in the Palembang district. In contrast to researchers who researched "Women Politicians in Aligning Women's Voices in the 2019 Election". Researchers also use qualitative methods and for different theories, researchers use political participation theory [3].

Reviewing from several previous studies, from various studies that also discuss various kinds of women's political participation, as well as the methods and theories used by different people. However, no one has discussed the issue of "Women Politicians in Aligning Women's Voices in the 2019 Election". How is the level of participation or alignment of women in DKI Jakarta. The extent to which female voters cast their ballots on female petitioners who will become their representatives in Parliament.

### 2.2. Definition of political communication

Political Communication According to Nimmo, Politics comes from the word polis which means state, city, which in totality is a unity between the state (city) and its people. The word polis evolved into politicos which means citizenship. From the word politicos to politera which means citizenship rights. According to Almond and Coleman: "All of the functions performed in the political system, political socialisation and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rulemaking, rule application, and rule adjudication, are performed by means of communication" [4].

As has been stated by many experts, especially Laswell with the formula "Who says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect", communication is the process of delivering messages from the source of communication to the recipient, which can take place using a channel (medium) or face to face. Feedback as feedback on the message that has been received by the recipient in the communication process is very useful for assessing how the consequences occur from the communication process [5].

These communication components are the basis for the process of political communication in a society. To clarify the next understanding of political communication,

Dahlan and Naina stated that, as a field of scientific study, political communication is a field or discipline that examines the behavior and activities of communication that are political in nature, have political consequences, or influence political behaviour [6].

Based on such a communication formulation, according to Fagen and Hall, it seems too simple, because the flow of political communication runs in one direction (linear) from the source of communication as the initiator to another person as the recipient [7]. However, in order to meet the objectives, the formulation needs to be modified. Without a general political theory based on communication, there will be difficulties for "an approach to the study of politics", an approach in which communication as a process is at the core of understanding, so that it appears hypothetically developed. Fagen added that for research purposes there are 3 important things:

1. Communication as a process of filling politics as an activity.
2. If these things are not clearly true, then some aspects of political life can be described according to the types of communication.
3. Since the communication process has the capacity to fill and stretch from the vocabulary of political science concepts, there is a literature that may be relevant to the study of politics and communication.

### 2.3. Female politicians

The current phenomenon that sits in the parliament is still a number of female politicians. There is still no government siding with women politicians. In line with that Budiardjo said that politics is the level of a group or individual who talks about things that happen in society or the state. A person who carries out or carries out political activities is referred to as a "Politician". What it means is "Women Politician" is a woman who is involved in political activities, in thought and also in activities in a country that is supported by certain parties with certain interests [8].

### 2.4. Participation and partisanship of women's voices in election 2019

Political participation here means the attitude and role of the community, especially women, to participate in political activities. With the political participation of women can change the community that was originally apathetic to active. Understanding and theory of political participation According to Ramlan in the book Understanding Political

Science, political participation is any form of participation or involvement of ordinary citizens (who do not have the authority) in making decisions that can affect their lives [9].

Quoted from the book Political Community Participation: Theory and Practice by Halim and Lalongan, political participation can be done individually or collectively. Political participation is more focused on the activities carried out, and not focused on political attitudes. Political participation has two approaches, namely the group political approach and political rights [10].

Launching from the journal Community Political Participation in General Elections (Study of Turn of Voter in the General Election of Regional Heads of Magetan Regency in 2013) by Subekti, political participation activities are individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, steady or sporadic, peaceful or with violence, legal or illegal, and effective or not [11]. Political participation can be interpreted as the role of citizens in the government process. This form of participation can affect the course of government, so that directly or indirectly, it has an effect on the lives of the people of a country.

The female voice here is more of a connotation or refers to words that contain figurative meanings or are not actual words. Women's vote means women's political suffrage which they use to elect their representatives who sit in Parliament or regional heads. Voting or suffrage is giving a vote to a contestant in a general election. Voices in this case can be constituents and society in general. Constituents are groups of people who feel they are represented by a certain ideology which is then manifested in political institutions such as political parties [12].

Women have the same rights and obligations to vote in politics as men. Women's participation is very high, because on average these women go directly to witness the moments that are carried out by the presidential and vice presidential candidates when they are campaigning in each city. By participating in witnessing the election candidates, both male and female politicians in delivering their political speeches. Female voters know where their vote will go. The level of women's participation is higher, because women's voices will determine the success of the 2019 DPR RI candidates.

### 2.5. Framework of thinking

The conceptual framework above, this research will of course be carried out in several stages, the first stage that must be done is to identify the political participation of female voters who voted in the 2019 election. Then, screen female voters who chose female
politicians who took part in the 2019 election. Conduct interviews on the reasons for the voters women vote for female politicians (Figure 3).


Source: Framework of Thinking "Women Politicians in Participation and Participation of Women's Voices in Election 2019."

Figure 3: Framework of Thinking.

## 3. Methods

This study used descriptive qualitative method. According to Moleong descriptive method is a method used to describe or analyze a research result but is not used to draw conclusions broadly. Moleong Qualitative research is a procedure in research that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the behavior of people who can be observed. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that qualitative descriptive research is a series of research activities used to obtain data that is as it is in accordance with reality under certain conditions and the results emphasize meaning rather than reasoning [13].

Research focus is a problem that becomes the main target or goal to be studied. Sugiyono reveals that the focus of qualitative research is holistic (comprehensive, cannot be separated) so that qualitative research determines its research based on the overall social situation under study which includes aspects of place, actor, and activity). which
interact synergistically. The focus of this research is to find out what causes the female voters to choose female politicians who can represent their aspirations in the 2019 election [14].

The research location is the place where the research is conducted. Determination of research location which is a very important stage in qualitative research. Because by determining the location of the research, it means that the object and purpose can be determined, making it easier for researchers to conduct their research. The research locations that the researchers conducted were DKI Jakarta, which included North Jakarta, South Jakarta, West Jakarta, East Jakarta and Central Jakarta. As for the Thousand Islands, the author did not take it because of regional limitations.

Research subjects are people who are asked to provide information about a fact or opinion in accordance with the reality in the field. As explained by Arikunto, the research subject is the subject intended by the researcher to be studied. Thus, the research subject is a source of information that is excavated to reveal the facts that exist in the field. To determine the research subjects in this study using purposive or theoretical techniques instead of random or representative samples as in quantitative research. "Purposive sampling is often referred to as judgment sampling, which can simply be interpreted as selecting a sample that is tailored to a particular purpose by the researcher [15].

According to Spreadley, in order to obtain more proven information, there are several criteria that need to be considered, including the research subject is determined based on the person who is considered to know the most about the information needed in the research, so that it will make it easier for researchers to explore the situation under study.

1. The subjects chosen were women who had permanent suffrage in the 2019 election
2. The specified criteria are the selected Subjects who voted for female politicians in the 2019 electorate

Researchers use different data collection techniques to obtain data from different sources with the aim of generating valid conclusions. The goal is to avoid the value of data collection with the three techniques being inconsistent and contradictory, so by using triangulation techniques in data collection, the data obtained will be more consistent, complete and certain. As an example of a triangulation technique that collects data in the Figure 4 below:


Figure 4: Triangulation Technique.

Triangulation with data sources is to compare and check back the degree of trustworthiness of information obtained through different times and tools in qualitative research [16]. To achieve this trust, the following steps are taken:

1. Comparing observational data with interview data
2. Comparing opinions or opinions, values provided by data sources
3. Comparing the situation and perspectives of resource persons from various points of view and status
4. Comparing the results of interviews with the contents of a related document.

The reason why researchers use triangulation techniques is that every time they conduct qualitative research, researchers must go through that in addition to other processes, where this process determines the validity aspects of the information obtained and then compiled in a study. Data validity checking technique that utilizes something other than the data for checking purposes or as a comparison against the data. The most widely used triangulation technique is examination through other sources. Murti stated that the general purpose of triangulation is to increase the theoretical, methodological, and interpretative strength of a research. Thus triangulation has an important meaning in bridging the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative research, while according to Yin states that triangulation data collection involves observation, interviews and documentation [17].

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1. Overview of research objects

Research determines its research based on the overall social situation under study which includes aspects of place, actor, and activity. which interact synergistically. The
focus of this research is to find out what causes the female voters to choose female politicians who can represent their aspirations in the 2019 election.

The data in the research "Women Politicians in Participation and Alignment of Women's Voices in the 2019 Elections" were obtained through interviews with 5 interviewees, plus the data from the researchers' observations collected in the notes from direct observations. As well as research documentation collected in the form of documents, the results of the data obtained were then recorded and collected.

Collecting data on female voters who have become DPT on the Permanent Voter List which has been determined by the KPU, the General Elections Commission of the Republic of Indonesia. Women who have the right to vote are selected, whether in the 2019 election they choose women politicians. After the data is obtained, interviews are conducted separately, the results of the interviews will be used for research data. Resource persons from 10 selected female voters, they have different ages, education and social backgrounds.

Data reduction is the process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting, and converting rough data from written records produced while in the field. If this process is carried out at the end of the study, then more information must be filtered or selected. At this stage, the researcher filters or selects the information obtained from the informants, Miles and Huberman, in his book Qualitative data analysis, the source book on New Methods, Jakarta: Ul Press. information that the researchers observed directly, as well as documentation in accordance with the problems that occurred About "Women Politicians in Participation and Partisanship of Women's Voices in the 2019 Election", Analysis of what factors affect the level of women's participation in the 2019 Presidential Election. This means things that make voters woman [18].

After conducting interviews, a lot of data was obtained, but not all of these data can be attached to this study because the focus or purpose of this research is only to answer, what are the factors or reasons for female voters to vote for female politicians. In accordance with the purpose of the study, namely, to find out the factors that influence female voters in determining the election of female politicians as representatives in the 2019 Indonesian House of Representatives elections.

### 4.1.1. Key informants

In this study using interviews as a data collection technique. Interviews are a data collection technique to obtain information from women about what factors influence female voters in determining the election of female politicians as representatives in the

2019 DPR RI elections. Researchers disguise the full names and full addresses of the informants for the convenience of their opinion.

Factors that influence female voters in determining the election of female politicians as representatives in the 2019 Indonesian House of Representatives elections:

1. Indah

Female voter, first name Indah, 45 years old, Housewife, Central Jakarta. (Interesting visuals in the media campaign). Indah admitted that the reason she chose female politicians was because she saw the visuals in the campaign media that were attractive. Campaign media in the form of posters, banners and leaflets are widely distributed by politicians to attract the attention of their constituents. In addition, he also knows the politicians he chooses, because these female politicians are quite popular in their area. The politician is also active on social media, so he can monitor the activities of the politician of his choice. When her chosen politician was campaigning, Indah had the opportunity to attend to see firsthand. Although he does not know what the vision, mission and political parties that support the female politician are. Indah feels confident about her choice even though she doesn't know her choice well.
2. Endang

Female voter, first name Endang, 32 years old, employee, South Jakarta. (interesting on social media) The reason Endang chose female politicians was because she often saw the visuals of these female politicians in the campaign media that were widely circulated in her area. Then Endang found out who the politician was, through social media. In addition, he also knows the political party, which carries the female politician. He admitted that he had voted for the political party several periods ago, arguing that many people also voted for that party. Although in the party of his choice, many carry male politicians. He admitted that he had never participated in a campaign and did not know the vision and mission of the female politician of his choice, but Endang admitted that she was determined to choose this politician, because according to her, she did not like other politicians.

## 3. Nurma

Female voter, first name Nurma, age 22, student, West Jakarta (Public Figure). Nurma's reason for choosing a female politician is because the politician is a public figure, active on social media and also frequently appears in the mass media, TV, and print. Nurma saw that the female politician shared her daily life through social media which became
an interesting spectacle for her. Because he was interested, then he began to find out which party carried the politician, up to his vision and mission. Nurma admitted that he became more interested and confident in his choice after he joined the campaign held by the politician. As a young generation, Nurma also seeks out important information about his chosen politician through the mass media. But unfortunately the mass media rarely displays profiles or news about female politicians. According to Nurma, if there is news about female politicians, it does not discuss their capacity as politicians, but only focuses on the appearance of politicians.

### 4.1.2. Supporting information

## 1. Musdalifa

Female voter, first name Musdalifa, 44 years old, Housewife, East Jakarta (Suggestion from friends). The reason Musdalifa chose a female politician was because some of her friends also voted for the politician. She herself initially had no choice as to whom she would choose in the 2019 election. Even though she did not know the politician well, did not seek information from any media, nor did she know which political party she chose, Musdalifa was determined to choose her female politician, because most of her friends voted for the politician at the time. the 2019 election.
2. Yulia

Female voter, first name Yulia, 38 years old, Housewife, North Jakarta (attractive visual on ballot paper). The reason Yulia admitted that she was not enthusiastic about participating in the election, she was also not very interested in finding out which political parties participated in the 2019 election. He also did not find out about the politicians who took part in the election. Especially following the campaigns of politicians. However, he decided to choose a female politician on election day. Because after seeing the visual on the ballot card he felt attracted to the female politician. Because, he had to vote at the last moment. Yulia finally chose the female politician she had just seen on the ballot. According to him, voting is only an obligation as a good citizen.

### 4.2. Research results

From the results of interviews with 5 sources, it was found that some data showed that female voters chose female politicians based on attractive visuals. Attractive visuals can
be from campaign attributes, such as billboards, banners, brochures and ballots or from mass media and social media. Another part of the informants chose based on the party with the most number of women politicians joined. This means that they already know the political parties that competed in the 2019 election.

It is different with female voters who have a student background and some employees, they are not only interested in the visual appearance of female politicians, but they seek to know the background of the female politicians they choose. Some of them even chose based on their vision and mission, they also participated in the women's potential campaign of their choice. Unfortunately, the mass media is considered to have very little coverage of women politicians.

## 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

### 5.1. Conclusions

Attractive visuals may come from several aspects of a campaign, such as billboards, banners, pamphlets, and ballots; from mass media and social media; or from the campaign itself. A further portion of the informants made their decisions on the basis of the political party that the female politician was affiliated with the most. This indicates that they are already familiar with the various political parties that contested the election in 2019.

### 5.2. Recommendations

Suggestions for this research are for female politicians who will campaign, to display more pictures that are able to attract the attention of their female constituents. In addition, the satan for the mass media should provide more coverage or news about female politicians, so that female voters can get to know their politicians.

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