

Conference Paper

Women's Representation in Politics: Case Study of Women Legislative Member in Regional of Representatives Nusa Tenggara Timur Period of 2014-2019

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Abstract

This article explores women's representation in politics in the Province of East Nusa Tenggara (Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT) between 2014 and 2019. Since 2004, Indonesia has seen the implementation of a strategy to boost the level of female representation in parliament through affirmative action. However, the 30% target quote has not yet been achieved. Women's representation in politics is an important indicator in the political system reflecting a recognition of the existence and interests of women as citizens. The success of the initiative is highlighted by the fact that the 2014 legislative elections saw female representation in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD NTT) increase by 100% from the 2009 election representation levels. Using the case study method and analyzing the process, this article argues that NTT women already have the awareness to actively participate in politics and become party representatives and legislative members. The presence of women in parliament is necessary to achieve gender equality and improve women's welfare through gender-responsive policies.

Keywords: representation, politics, women, east nusa tenggara

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1. Introduction

Women's representation in politics is needed for the following reasons: First, justice and equality. From the perspective of justice, democracy basically involves rights and as a consequence there must be opportunities for all groups of people to participate in various relevant policies. Men and women have the same right to participate in political policy making, the output of which greatly influences their lives. Second, the interests of women. Considering that women have different interests from men, women must be involved in the process of making political policies to improve the quality of life of women who cannot be represented by men to fight for it (Subono 2009). The third, emancipation and change in the political process. Because of patriarchal society breeds

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a sharp imbalance of power between men and women, the structure must be dismantled through political actions in order to promote a more equal and just and independent society. Fourth, the argument. It means that women have certain experiences and qualities (moral, ethical and new political styles) that need to be integrated in politics to change policies and institutions that are very male-centered. The last, the role model. The presence of women in representative institutions will encourage other women to get involved in politics (Subono 2009).

Joni Lovenduski and Azza Karam (2012) explores that normatively the presence of women is expected to influence the performance of legislative institutions so that they are more in favor of women's interests. According to Lovenduski and Karam can be done in four ways. First, it concerns institutional or procedural fields, namely making parliament friendlier to women through steps that can show greater gender concern. Second, with regard to representation, it means guaranteeing the continuity and improvement of women's access to parliament, by encouraging female candidates, changing elections and campaigning laws, and advancing gender equality legislation. The third, have an impact or influence. This is important because it relates to efforts to "feminize" legislation by ensuring that all legislation or all policy products made by legislative bodies really consider the interests and needs of women (gender sensitive). And the fourth is discourse, namely changing parliamentary language so that women's perspectives become a natural thing and encouraging changes in public attitudes towards women.

However, women's efforts to voice women's issues and fight for women's interests in parliament often have to face obstacles. According to Budi Shanti, a researcher from the Jurnal Perempuan Foundation (2001) said that women in parliament are often trapped in friction between party interests and women's interests. Party interests are thick with nuances of masculinity sometimes inversely proportional to women's interests. Like it or not, women MPs who have stronger ties with the party will fight for the party's interests. Women's issues are often considered too far-fetched and efforts to fight for women's issues are often considered discriminatory because they place too much importance on the interests of women.

In Law No. 8 of 2012 on the Elections of DPR, DPD and DPRD in Article 55 and Article 56 paragraph 2 it is clearly written that elections participants must involve minimum 30 percent women's representation and in the list of candidates there must be 1 women candidate. This is also contained in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Amendments to Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties in Article 2 paragraph 2 and paragraph 5, 29 paragraph 1a which requires political parties to involve women minimum 30 percent. This has

shown the government’s seriousness in increasing the representation of women in the government both at national and local levels, but in fact, women’s representation in 2014 Elections has decreased by 2 percent from the previous 19 percent in 2009 elections to 17 percent in 2014 elections (Jovani, 2018).

In connection with the aforementioned issues, there are a number of issues concerning women in Indonesia that have arisen, among others, first, the issue of women workers both in Indonesia and in other countries that have not received good protection from the state; second, education which is not in favor of the poor; third, there are still many problems related to women’s health, fourth; the still small number of women sitting in parliament and government.

Women’s representation in parliament in 2009 and 2014 can be seen in table 1 below:

TABLE 1: Number of Women Legislative Member in DPR RI between 2009 and 2014 Elections

Parties	2009 Election			2014 Election		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
PDIP	17	77	94	21	88	109
Golkar	18	88	106	16	75	91
Gerindra	4	22	26	11	62	73
Demokrat	35	114	149	13	48	61
PAN	7	39	46	9	40	49
PKB	7	21	28	10	37	47
PKS	3	54	57	1	39	40
PPP	5	33	38	10	29	39
Nasdem	-	-	-	4	31	35
Hanura	4	12	16	2	14	16
Total	100	460	560	97	463	560

Source: www.kpu.go.id

Table 1 shows the number of women in the DPR has decreased. In 2009 there were 100 women legislative members while in 2014 it decreased to 97. Political parties whose number of women legislative members increased were PDIP, Gerindra, PAN, PKB, PPP. Nasdem as a new political party has four women legislative members in DPR RI. Meanwhile, Golkar, Democratic Party, PAN, PKS and Hanura lost a significant number of seats in general.

Table 2 shows the 2014 election, West Java won 19 most seats in DPR RI, and meanwhile NTT did not get any seats. But what’s interesting here is that although NTT did not get a seat in the DPR, the acquisition of seats in the DPRD increased by 100 percent, where in the 2009 elections gained three seats while the 2014 elections increased to get 6 seats.

TABLE 2: Number of Women Legislative Member based Provincial in 2014 Election

No	Provincial	Total	No	Provincial	Total
1	Aceh	-	18	Nusa Tenggara Barat	1
2	Sumatera Utara	3	19	Nusa Tenggara Timur	-
3	Sumatera Barat	1	20	Kalimantan Barat	3
4	Riau	1	21	Kalimantan Tengah	1
5	Jambi	2	22	Kalimantan Selatan	-
6	Sumatera Selatan	3	23	Kalimantan Timur	3
7	Bengkulu	3	24	Sulawesi Utara	2
8	Lampung	5	25	Sulawesi Tengah	1
9	Bangka Belitung	-	26	Sulawesi Selatan	5
10	Kep Riau	1	27	Sulawesi Tenggara	1
11	DKI Jakarta	4	28	Gorontalo	-
12	Jawa Barat	19	29	Sulawesi Barat	2
13	Jawa Tengah	14	30	Maluku	2
14	D.I Yogyakarta	2	31	Maluku Utara	1
15	Jawa Timur	11	32	Papua	1
16	Banten	5	33	Papua Barat	-
17	Bali	-		TOTAL	97

Source: www.kpu.go.id

The data shows the women's representation in the Provincial DPRD increased by 15 provinces, four permanent provinces and decreased by 14 provinces. Aceh, Riau, Riau Islands, D.I Yogyakarta, East Nusa Tenggara, Gorontalo and West Sulawesi experienced increase more one hundred percent. Bengkulu, South Kalimantan, West Nusa Tenggara and North Maluku experienced with a fixed seat number.

For this reason, women's representation is very important because the presence of women in politics can fight for the women's interests and needs. The presence of women in politics, both at the central and local levels, starts with the realization that all political agendas must be fully supported by elite political parties and electoral systems that are friendly to women (ramah perempuan). Increasing women's political representation means increasing women's role in influencing political decisions that can guarantee the rights of women and the wider community.

This article will explain the representation and increasing number of women legislative members at the local level in the DPRD NTT. The increasing number of women

TABLE 3: Women Legislative Members of the Provincial DPRD in 2009 and 2014 Elections

No	Provincial	2009 Election	2014 Election	Total Seats	
1	Aceh	4	12	81	Up 8 seats
2	Sumatera Utara	20	13	100	Down seats
3	Sumatera Barat	7	6	65	Down 1 seat
4	Riau	7	18	65	Up 11 seats
5	Jambi	5	6	45	Up 1 seat
6	Sumatera Selatan	12	5	45	Down 7 seats
7	Bengkulu	7	7	55	Stable
8	Lampung	14	13	75	Down 1 seat
9	Bangka Belitung	5	8	45	Up 3 seats
10	Kep Riau	8	14	85	Up 6 seats
11	DKI Jakarta	23	22	100	Down 1 seat
12	Jawa Barat	25	19	106	Down 6 seats
13	Jawa Tengah	21	16	85	Down 5 seats
14	D.I Yogyakarta	11	23	100	Up 12 seats
15	Jawa Timur	18	6	55	Down 12 seats
16	Banten	14	13	100	Down 1 seat
17	Bali	4	5	55	Up 1 seat
18	NTB	6	6	65	Stable
19	NTT	3	6	65	Up 3 seats
20	Kalimantan Barat	4	7	65	Up 3 seats
21	Kalimantan Tengah	8	10	45	Up 2 sets
22	Kalimantan Selatan	7	7	55	Stable
23	Kalimantan Timur	11	6	55	Down 5 seats
24	Sulawesi Utara	10	14	45	Up 4 seats
25	Sulawesi Tengah	8	12	45	Up 4 seats
26	Sulawesi Selatan	12	7	45	Down 5 seats
27	Sulawesi Tenggara	7	8	45	Down 1 seat
28	Gorontalo	9	16	85	Up 7 seats
29	Sulawesi Barat	4	8	45	Up 4 seats
30	Maluku	14	12	45	Down 2 seats
31	Maluku Utara	4	4	45	Stable
32	Papua	4	6	55	Up 2 seats
33	Papua Barat	6	1	45	Down 5 seats

Sumber: PUSKAPOL FISIP UI, 2009 and 2014

in the legislature shows that women have a role in fighting for women's interests and needs with the aim of improving women's lives.

2. Materials and Methods

As a study that pioneered debates on women's representation, Hanna Pitkin's *The Concept of Representation* (1967) is a useful basis in defining and describing the concept of representation, as well as discussing the importance of affirmative action. In her book, Pitkin categories representation into 4 types, namely: (1) formalistic representation, a form of representation which receives its authority from an institutional arrangement; (2) descriptive representation, where the representatives are a representation of a certain group, either based on gender, religion, race, or ethnicity; (3) symbolic representation, which is based on how the constituents perceive the representatives based on emotional ties or closeness; (4) substantive representation, where the representative acts to represent the interests of his/her constituency (Pitkin, 1967:11-12).

Pitkin explained this concept in the context of politics, which is a continuous process of compromise and bargains, where the ideal political life is very closely related to the commitment on values, empirical-based decisions, and actions to achieve objectives and interests (Pitkin, 1967: 212). However, to realize this ideal political life, Pitkin argues that the most relevant form of representation is substantive representation, because the other forms of representation are based on "arbitrary", less relevant aspects. Pitkin's emphasis on substantive representation opened a room for debate when considered from the point of view that who the representative is as important as what they represent and how they represent the constituents.

Pitkin's argument did not address the marginalization of disprivileged or minority groups based on race, gender, religion, or ethnicity. When the aspects of who the representatives are and what they represent are separated, the former is often overlooked, causing a demand to pay greater attention to the political involvement of these marginalized groups. In other words, "the politics of ideas" that Pitkin prioritized is challenged by "the politics of presence".

One of the main initiators of the concept is Anne Philips, in her book *The Politics of Presence* (1995). Philips argued that in the era of today, when the issue of identity is becoming more important on the one hand but also more problematic on the other, an influential issue currently arising is what Charles Taylor calls as "the politics of recognition". A general and political acknowledgement that the identity, culture, and way of life of a particular group is of an equal value to other groups, both socially and legally, is now considered as a reasonable demand by every group. However, a recognition alone is not enough, because this recognition must come hand-in-hand with a more inclusive and progressive policy direction (Philips, 1995: 40).

Arguments supporting the importance of enhancing women’s representation through the affirmative action in legislative bodies are basically based on 4 (four) justifications, namely that successful women politicians can become role models for other women; principles of justice must be upheld for both men and women; that women’s interests can only be represented and voiced adequately by women themselves; and that women’s political participation and presence will enhance the quality of political life (Philips, 1995: 62). These factors are the basis of this research, because women’s political participation is an integral part in the process of democracy, and women’s political representation is urgently needed to advocate for women-related issues in the policy sector.

Women’s representation as a legislative member in NTT is indeed still limited to substantive representation, that women reflect the characteristics and fight for the interests of constituents related to the issues represented in the electoral district. This will be explained in the active role of women legislative members in DPRD NTT.

3. Results and Discussion

In the 2014 Elections, the number of women legislative members in the DPRD NTT increased from three women to six women or increased by 100 percent, and in 2015 increased by one women in the alteration of a ruling (Penggantian Antar Waktu/PAW) replace men legislative members who took Head of District Elections (Pemilihan Kepala Daerah/Pilkada) in Kupang Regency.

The following are women legislative members in DPRD NTT in 2014 Elections.

TABLE 4: Women Legislative Member in DPRD NTT in 2014 Election

No	Constituency	Name	Party
1	Dapil 3 (Pulau Sumba yakni Sumba Timur, Sumba Tengah, Sumba Barat, dan Sumba Barat Daya)	Kristein Samiyati Pati, SP	Nasdem
2		Pdt. Adriana R Kahi Awa Kossi	Golkar
3		Nodu Puga, SpDk (PAW)	Gerindra
4	Dapil 4 (Kab Manggarai, Manggarai Barat dan Manggarai Timur)	Dra. Kristofora Bantang	PDIP
5		Yeni Veronika, SH	PAN
6	Dapil 5 (Kab Sikka, Ende, Ngada, Nagekeo)	Angela M. Piwung, SH (incumbent)	Hanura
7	Dapil 8 (Kab Timor Tengah Selatan/TTS)	Aleta Kornelia Baun, SH	PKB

Source: Jovani, 2018

The elections of women as representatives in legislative bodies shows a good relationship between representatives and constituents, this can be seen with the elections of seven women as members of the DPRD NTT. According to the women's representation in regional level, in theory representation is an activity in making the perspectives, opinions and citizens voices "present" in the policy making process (Lovenduski 2008). As is known, in Law No 32 of 2004 on Regional Government, Article 41 has stipulated that as a regional people's representative body that is domiciled as an element of regional government administration, the DPRD has a legislative, budgetary and supervisory function.

Based on the legislative function above, Law No 32 Year 2004, article 42 has set the duties and authority of the DPRD to form a local regulation (peraturan daerah/perda) which is discussed with the regional head for mutual agreement. During 2014-2017 DPRD NTT produced 30 regulations with the following details: 10 regulations in 2014, 5 regulations in 2015, 16 regulations in 2016 and 9 regulations in 2017.

In relation to local regulations that contain women's interests and needs during 2014-2017, a total of 5 local regulations were produced: 1 regulation in 2014, No. 7 of 2014 on Implementation of Education in the Regions. There were 4 regulations in 2016, No. 1 of 2016 on Implementation of Maternal and Child Health; No. 4 of 2016 on Organizing Environmental Protection and Management; No. 7 of 2016 on Services and Supervision of Indonesian Workers; Regional Regulation Number 14 of 2016 Protection of Sustainable Agricultural Land. In 2015 and 2017 there were no regulations that contained the interests and needs of women.

TABLE 5: List of Gender Responsive Local Regulations 2014-2017

No	Year	Total Regulation	Gender Responsive Local Regulation	
			Total	%
1	2014	10	1	10
2	2015	5	-	0
3	2016	16	4	25
4	2017	9	-	0
	Total	40	5	12.5

Source: Biro Hukum Setda Provinsi NTT, 2014-2017

The data shows that gender responsive issues have been accommodated, with a focus on three main issues that all of these local regulations were produced in 2016. These issues are: maternal and child health; environment; and women labor.

First, the issue of maternal and child health. Health is one of the pillars of the guarantor of the nation's future. A healthy nation is a nation that is guaranteed to be sustainable,

maintained its existence and is maintained by its generation. Therefore health must be the first and foremost target in efforts to build a strong economic base, a quality educational base and a civilized moral basis. Because healthy people are people who are able to work hard, think smart and have a sane mind. (Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2016 on Maternal and Child Health). NTT is one of the provinces with health status that is still below average (compared to the national scale). It cannot be separated from the high number attached to a number of indicators of the degree of health such as maternal mortality, newborns and poor nutrition in children. The combination of various factors above has an impact on the quality and degree of public health in NTT.

Second, environmental issues. NTT has limited environmental potential and natural resources, so the consequences in the use of natural resources cause complex environmental problems. NTT has regional environmental characteristics that are different from other regions in Indonesia, where the environmental potential is characterized by the unique biological and non-biological resources, biogeography and 566 islands, both inhabited and uninhabited. NTT Province is a semi-arid zone/semi-arid seasons, is in the path of natural disaster prone and has a typical savanna with a low tree density, limited natural resources where the characteristics of the ecosystem accumulated in the potential of the environment and NTT's natural resources as a whole .

Third, the issue of Indonesian labor. Many women workers who try their fortune and earn a fortune abroad with a series of problems faced. With the workforce working abroad, of course, can generate foreign exchange for the country, but not a few cases of violence experienced by Indonesian workers, especially female workers. Problems that occur related to sending migrant workers abroad, especially about the mismatch between what was promised with the reality, as well as the authority of the employer in employing migrant workers. In addition, there are often arrests and sentences of migrant workers due to incomplete documents (illegal migrant workers). It is not only the problems caused by factors of the recipient country that many violate the rights of migrant workers, but the problems that originate from the candidates themselves. One example, lack of awareness that being an illegal TKI does not have legal protection. This problem causes many crimes against migrant workers such as human rights violations, rape, and salary cuts by employers.

These issues have been formulated and decided to become local regulations in 2016: No 1 of 2016 on Maternal and Child Health; No 4 of 2016 on Environmental Protection and Management; and No. 7 of 2016 on Supervision and Service of Indonesian Labor (Tenaga Kerja Indonesia/TKI).

4. Conclusion

Women's representation in politics, especially in the DPRD NTT has a significant impact in order to encourage the fulfillment of women's needs and interests. This is involved in the formulation of three gender-responsive local regulations in 2016 on maternal and child health, the environment and Indonesian labor.

In addition, the increasing number of women in parliament gives confidence to other women to enter the political sphere and produce good policies for women.

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