

Women Activists To Demand Women's Positions In Politics

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Abstract

There are many definitions of democracy in political science, but it is interesting to look at the indicators of democracy put forward, which can then be tested by the women condition. In this view, it is said that democratic governance must fulfill three things. First, democratic governance involves competition and the use of force is prohibited. Second, full participation, all citizens have the same right to be appointed and elected in election. No adult citizens are allowed to be marginalized in these political processes. Third, civil and political liberties, civil and politics freedom. Freedom to form organizations, freedom of the press, freedom of expression are some of the important things in building democracy. Even in political science, the understanding of democracy does not automatically provide space for women to participate in politics. Women and slaves in demos-kratos in ancient Greece - which were used as a source of democracy - were not considered citizens. Even women are considered as unfinished creatures. One indicator that distinguishes between citizens and non-citizens in Political Science is the right to vote. The country that first gave women suffrage was Australia. The State of South Australia gave women the right to vote in 1894. Meanwhile, the country that became the reference country as a democratic country was the United States. However, the United States did not grant female citizens the right to vote after 150 years of independence for the United States. In 1920 with the 19th amendment, female citizens of the United States had the right to vote.

Keywords: *women activist, women position, women representation, women quota, democracy*

1. INTRODUCTION

In Asian Countries such as Indonesia, female citizens have the right to vote directly after gaining independence. The problem is the extent to which the political right to vote and be elected shows political equality. Indonesia has had a woman president, women parliamentary representatives, female governors and female regional heads and mayors [1]. For a long time, women's struggles were in the realm of political ideas, for the first time after the 1998 reform, women's political struggles were not only political ideas but also politics of presence through the struggle for women's quota of 30%. In 1998, the author specifically put forward an argument in the struggle for women's quotas, namely that women have worked in many fields but do not have political channels. Therefore, women are needed in the decision-making process [2]. Political conditions exist where women are still marginalized in the decision-making processes. Therefore, a strategy to increase the number of women in politics is a must [3].

Another argument is that all state policies have a different effect on female citizens and male citizens. There are three categories why all state policies relate to female citizens. First, policies

specifically related to women's reproductive rights. Everything related to female reproduction does not have the right to determine itself [4]. In other words, women are not their own (we are not our own property). Examples of policies related to abortion, family planning policies and state violence to use women's reproduction as a means of destroying political opponents by committing rape (ethnic cleansing) [5]. The special policy on women's reproduction, although this is a health problem, it is only specifically for women who have problems giving birth. Maternal death rate is still quite high. Current Indonesian data was 228 in 2008 and targeted 165 MMR (Maternal Mortality Rate) in 2015. Maternal mortality are caused by bleeding (28%); Eclampsia (24%); Infection (11%); Abortion (5%); old / stuck partnership (5%); etc. When viewed from the number, the largest percentage was bleeding and eclampsia by 52%. The types of causes of maternal death due to these two causes are medically preventable. They died because they could not access adequate health services and childbirth. Political change from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime does not necessarily eliminate violence against women [6].

Second, state policies related to the relationship between women and men. The examples are state policies relating to marriage, divorce, and women's mobility. Various issues of marriage and divorce as well as women's mobility are restricted and marginalized in the law. Therefore, one of the targets of women activists is to criminalize domestic violence, which has been successful is the Domestic Violence (KDRT) Law which can imprisonment for up to five years for the husband who commits the domestic violence. However, in practice there are still many domestic violence that cannot be reported because women are still afraid to report, whether for reason of ignorance or ideological reasons that husbands have the right to women's bodies as a religious value that they must believe in.

Third, all state policies that are considered neutral but have a different impact from men and women. These policies include health, education, employment opportunities, migrant workers, making wars, making peace, economic development, industrialization and agricultural development and so on. All has different impacts between men and women. The policies related to women are often considered to be fulfilled by the male parliamentarians. Unfortunately, the special interests of women do not get an adequate portion of the existing political policy [7]. Therefore, a new strategy is needed to increase the number of women in decision making. There are two methods to increase the number of women, namely the incremental additional route and the fast track through the quota.

Scandinavian countries implement an additional route after these countries go through a very long process so that women's representation has reached 20-30%. It took Denmark, Norway, and Sweden 60 years to reach a female representation rate of 20%. Therefore, these countries used an additional route by implementing gender quotas in the 1970s and 1980s. Currently, the Scandinavian countries are countries with the highest representation of women in the world, Sweden 48%; Denmark (42%) and Norway (39%); besides currently Rwanda is the highest with 56.3% female members of parliament. Political policies relating to women in Scandinavian countries can often be said to be strictly Islamic in nature. One example is the woman right to get leave for two years after having a baby. Apart from this leave, paternity leave was also introduced. One third of women's leave rights must be taken by their husbands.

2. Increasing the Number of Women's Representation

Increasing the number of women's representation through the fast track has been implemented in many countries since the 1990s, including Indonesia in the 2004 election. Argentina was the first country to implement a women's quota. Currently, about 40 countries have introduced gender quotas for the election of their legislative members. The quota policy is a new pathway to increase political representation for women, although this policy is not easy in the process and implementation, and still receives resistance from male political groups as well as from women themselves [8].

Table 1: Countries with constitutional quota and/or election law quota regulation for national parliaments (lower house)

	Quota Type (in constitution and/or in law)	Year of Introduction	Present quota system (percentage)	Women in Parliament (last elec'tion/percent)
<i>In Americas:</i>				
Argentina	C,L	1991/1991	30	38.5 % (2009)
Bolivia	L	1997	30	24.4 % (2006)
Brazil	L	1997	30	8.8% (2006)
Costa Rica	L	1996	40	38.6 % (2010)
Dominican Republic	L	1997	25	20.8 % (2010)
Equador	L	1997	20	32.3 % (2009)
Guyana	C	N/A	33	30.0 % (2007)
Honduras	L	2000	30	18.0 % (2009)
Mexico	L	2002	30	26.2 % (2009)
Panama	L	1997	30	8.5 % (2009)
Paraguay	L	1996	20	12.5 % (2008)
Peru	L	1997	30	27.5 % (2006)
<i>In Europe:</i>				
Belgium	L	1994	33	39.6 % (2010)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	L	2001	33	19.0 % (2006)
France	C,L	1999/2000	50	18.9 % (2007)
Mecedonia	L	2002	30	32,5 % (2008)
Serbia and Montenegro	L	2002	30	21,6 % (2006) & 11.1 % (2009)
<i>In Africa and Middle East:</i>				

Djibouti	L	2002	10	13.8 % (2008)
Eritrea	C	N/A	30	22.0 % (1994)
Jordan	L	20003	6 seats	6.4 % (2007)
Kenya	C	1997	6 seats	9.8 % (2007)
Morocco	L	2002	30 seats	10.5 % (2007)
Rwanda	C,L	2003	24 seats	56.3 % (2008)
Sudan	L	N/A	10	
Tanzania	C,L	2000	20-30	30.7 % (2005)
Uganda	C,L	1989	56 seats	31.5 % (2006)
South Africa	C	1999		44.5 % (2009)
<i>In Asia:</i>				
Afghanistan	C	2004	25	27.3 % (2005)
Armenia	L	1999	5	9.2 % (2007)
Bangladesh	C	2004	45	18.6 % (2008)
Indonesia	L	2003	30	18.00 % (2009)
Korea, Democratic Republic	L	N/A	20	15.6 % (2009)
Nepal	C,L	1990/1990	5	33.2 % (2008)
Pakistan	L	2002	60 seats	22.2 % (2008)
Philippines	C,L	1995/1995	20	17.8 % (2001)
Taiwan	C	1997	10-25	22.2 % (2001)

In the 1998 political change, it was used by women activists to demand women's positions in politics. Women activists were also involved in the struggle to bring down the authoritarian regime in Indonesia in 1998. Through the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Democracy and peace movement, one of the policies to increase the number of women in parliament was fought. In 2002 and 2003, the Political Party Law provided space for women to participate in politics and become legislative candidates through a 30% quota. The implementation of women in political parties and elections was a challenge for women in Indonesia. The number of women in the national parliament in Indonesia had increased in the last 2 elections, see table 2 below. The emergence of Islamic political parties in politics in Indonesia has not automatically put Muslim women in an equal position, because the understanding of religion is still dominated by patriarchy.

Table 2: The Number of Elected Women in the National Legislative (lower house/DPR), Elections 1955-2009

Year of election	Total number of the seats	Number of women elected MPs	Percentage
1955	272	17	6.25
1971	460	36	7.83
1977	460	29	6.30
1982	460	39	8.48
1987	500	65	13.00
1992	500	62	12.50
1997	500	54	10.80
1999	500	45	9.00
2004	550	61	11.09
2009	560	101	18.04

Sources: Report from Secretariat of Parliament House and KPU.

The question is what are the challenges for women to involve in politics. There are a number of problems that make it difficult for women to involve in politics [9]. First, the political system, the election system, and political party support are still very low. Second, the condition of women is still poor, entering the world of politics requires significant costs, the very high level of money politics is an integral part of political practice. Third, is the ideological view of religious and cultural interpretation which is still very patriarchal; the role of the media which still sees women as mere physical objects. Another factor comes from women who lack self-confidence [10]. This is due to the inexperience of women in organizations so that they do not have the confidence to present in public spaces.

Thus democracy, which should be a channel for women's interests, still has very complex obstacles in its implementation. Muslim women have more responsibility, not only in the context of facing the conditions of a modern state, but also must have sufficient knowledge to improve women's bargaining position [11]. Education is the main answer in increasing the role of women in the political realm. Both education through a schooling system and training. In the last decade, some women have trained themselves to appear in public. However, the main obstacle that cannot be avoided is the system in public and the male politician is still very patriarchal. With education on gender equality, it is not only intended for women, but it is also compulsory for men. This challenge is not easy to do and cannot use the fast lane, because education takes a generation to see the results [12].

3. Participation and Competition

Participation in the democracy concept can be said to be a sine qua non of all indicators of democracy. Government by the people in a modern state cannot be implemented directly, because government through representation cannot be separated in political life. Government by the people logically means that people's involvement is at the core of the governance process. If it cannot be carried out continuously and directly in the life of a modern state, then the involvement of the people in deciding both the legislative and executive representatives becomes the core of the democratic process [13]. The mechanism is carried out through elections, with a significant level of participation. In a representative system, citizen participation is the most important thing to do through the election. In addition, it can also be measured from the candidates and political parties involved in the election process [14]. The indicator used to measure is the presence of voters at the polling stations or voter turnout, election participants both in government opposition and government power.

Voters turnout is a classic indicator of popular participation which can generally be understood as an important dimension in the quality of democracy. However, voter turnout becomes less important if voting is the responsibility of the people, such as in Australia. Every citizen is obliged to participate in the election, while if he does not participate he can be subject to fines. At the same time, the very high level of voter turnout in elections must also be viewed critically

[15]. Are voters forced to attend to provide legitimacy for authoritarian rule or voluntary mobilization. It is understandable that during the New Order era the rate of participation in elections was very high. However, it is also understood that the level of participation was not voluntary. In a democracy, to be able to measure the quality of democracy through the percentage of voters who come to the polling station [16]. Thus, the context is different, but theoretically a high level of participation is still better than a low participation.

As an example of the presidential election in Sri Lanka, in some provinces most of the participation rates are high. However, in the area of the Tamil Tiger movement in Javna, the participation rate was only 2%. Of course the legitimacy of the election is being questioned. At the same time, the measure used to increase the voters turnout is the extent to which the level of voter data collection is an important part that must be considered. Therefore, in the 2004 election, the KPU had a P4B program, namely continuous population and voter data collection. Thus the level of voter data collection becomes an important measure in the election process and becomes an important indicator in the quality of election [17].

Meanwhile, the number of registered voters through the P4B program in 2003 was 215 631 379 registered residents and 145 701 637 or 148 000 369 voters. Meanwhile for the presidential election, the registered population was 216 948 359 and the voters were 155 048 803. Meanwhile, the voter turnout rate in the 2004 election was 84.09% in the legislative elections, which was 124 456 342 voters. Meanwhile, in the first stage of the presidential election, the voters turnout rate was 82% and in the second stage presidential election it was 80%. Although the threat of the 2004 election was boycotted by the term of Golput campaign for the 2004 election, in reality, the level of voter participation was still quite high in terms of democratic elections.

As the second election after the change of the regime from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime, in fact the 2004 election was easier than the first election in 1999. However, the reality was that all political party laws had changed completely, the position of election administrators has become independent from the intervention of the government. In fact, there is a tendency due to independence, there is a sense that the KPU is not a state institution like NGOs. Meanwhile, from the NGO perspective, KPU is considered an NGO so that it is not considered important in the perspective of state life. This ambiguous position underlies the process of organizing the 2004 election. Meanwhile, for the first time, Election Commission (KPU) held direct presidential and vice presidential elections in the history of Indonesian politics.

If at the conceptual level that high participation in democracy is important, the indicator is the number of political parties, including "opposition" political parties participating in the election. Political parties have an arena to fight for power through the peaceful election. Opposition parties are usually still involved in elections even though there is no chance of winning in election that is far from free and fair and have high legitimacy [18]. In some cases, opposition political parties do not participate in the election because they know that if they are sure to lose, the election boycott is a weapon to negatively discredit the regime who has power but can be a strategy to fight the authoritarian government regime [19]. This political strategy can destroy the democratic process itself. Thus, indicators of the involvement of political parties in elections are very important in the democratic process [20].

In the definition of a government that is said to be democratic provide the first indicator is competition [21]. In this competition, there is no violence (excluding the uses of force). Election in this context is a mechanism to replace the executive leaders of the President, Governors and Regents / Mayors and Legislative elections for DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regional DPRD which can be carried out with a high level of competition. Competition is an important value in the democratic process to elect government, accountability and responsiveness of people's representatives [22]. In the elections during the New Order era, it was seen that there was no significant competition between the three political forces that participated in the elections in 1976 to 1997.

4. CONCLUSION

The study of political change in Indonesia is very minimum from the perspective of specifying theory, methodology and perhaps most importantly the lack of comparative data for comparative analysis. Therefore, it is important to collect various papers from the experience of democracy at the local level. Even though it has not contributed conceptually enough, it has partially contributed to revisit how the practice of politics and democracy in Indonesia. It provides a political and democratic perspective in post-reform Indonesia and can provide a meaningful formula for democratic development through continuous elections which in turn improve the quality of democracy. The formula for democracy development through election instrument and local election practice can be collected and conceptualized which can provide a lot of data since the election in 2005 with various problems between theory and practice. This strategy is to provide many solutions to the puzzle of politics and democracy through elections in general and regime changes and democratization in particular. Democratization always involves struggles about political power. These struggles often involve the life and death of the actors who sacrificed bravely the political change. The main element in this struggle is the struggle for the legal and political rule of the game. Whatever the drawbacks of the democratization process since the 1998 reform in Indonesia, there are many lessons from the democratization process in Indonesia. Do not let us lose faith in the importance of continuing to fight. For local, national and international actors the main message is to keep fighting, keep up the good fight and the battle will often be won eventually. We must be able to prove that the quality of election will get better if the demands and pressures for multiparty elections are practiced. Many political practices and analyzes suggest that it is better to continue to hold election even though the quality seems to be decreasing and the people are getting bored and apathetic toward the election. The quality of democracy will tend to get better after the third election and subsequent elections. The series of elections with a multiparty system will contribute to democratization. In the end, democratic election becomes the sine qua non of representative democracy.

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