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Women's Suffrage in Indonesia: A Structural Analysis of Women's Representation in Parliament

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the meaning of women's suffrage through the representation of women in parliament in Indonesia. The Research method used is A Structural Analysis of the Historical Research Method. The study results show that the meaning of women's suffrage in Indonesia, especially in the political field, means the right to vote and be elected. Every woman who has the right to vote can use her right to vote freely, but women who have been successfully elected "to sit in parliament" have not been equal and balanced in number compared to men. The lowest gender empowerment index is the involvement of women in parliament; nevertheless, in the period 2019-2022, there has been an increase. This condition will certainly affect the next period if political parties can consistently carry out affirmative action and other interventions based on gender equality. There is a need to strengthen a gender-responsive political paradigm through various training forums on gender mainstreaming for leaders and members of political parties continually.

Keywords: *Women's Suffrage, Women's Involvement in Parliament*

1. INTRODUCTION

The struggle of women to get the right to vote in Indonesia is actually not as difficult as the struggle of women in the United States. The United States had been independent since July 4, 1776 but American women later gained the right to vote in 1920 [1]. When compared with Indonesia which became independent on August 17, 1945 and on August 18, 1945 the 1945 Constitution was ratified as the Constitutional basis for the administration of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, including the equal status of Indonesian women and men before the law, this also shows that for Indonesian women after Indonesia's independence it only took one day to get their right to vote; different from American women who had to fight and wait for 144 years to get their right to vote.

From a religious perspective [2], all human beings are actually equal before God, but not from a cultural perspective which is dominated by men. This applies not only in underdeveloped, developing countries but also in developed countries. Women in the United States

must fight to break the cultural order that is discriminatory and marginalizes women [3]. Then have to wait 144 years to get the right to vote. Whereas women in Indonesia have received their right to vote since 1945 when the Indonesian state became independent and had the 1945 Constitution. The revolution for the struggle for Indonesia's independence experienced its success due to the contribution of women fighters who had participated in the struggle since the time of the national movement.

The changing dynamics of national politics have in fact colored women's involvement in politics [4]. Likewise, new ideas in international movements also strengthen the position and role of women in politics. The emergence of awareness about gender equality and justice in various aspects of life has encouraged women to be able to participate actively in community development in Indonesia. Then how is the meaning of the right to vote realized in the political order in Indonesia [5] which is very dynamic in every period of government? How do Indonesian women exercise their

right to vote and what is the realization like in the political field, especially the representation of women in the legislature or parliament?

The struggle of Indonesian women [6] in exercising their right to vote both to vote and to be elected is getting more and more concerning. Data on the gender empowerment index, especially women's involvement in parliament, shows an increasing direction in the period between 2010-2013 but there was a decrease in the period 2014-2018, then in 2019-2022 there was an increase from the previous period [7]. The following shows a summary of the data on the gender empowerment index in Indonesia for 2010-2022, which was reported by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 1. Women's Involvement in Parliament 2010-2022

No.	Year	Percentage
1.	2010	17,49%
2.	2011	17,49%
3.	2012	18,04
4.	2013	18,04%
5.	2014	17,32%
6.	2015	17,32%
7.	2016	17,32%
8.	2017	17,32%
9.	2018	17,32%
10.	2019	20,52%
11.	2020	21,09%
12.	2021	21,09%
13.	2022	21,74%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia

The highest increase occurred in 2022, but the decline in 2014-2018 shows that the gender empowerment index for women's involvement in parliament in Indonesia is still in a low condition. Until 2022, the minimum quota has not been reached or at least 30%.

The basic problem that is the focus of this research is why is the increase in the percentage of women involved in parliament still low? What are the inhibiting factors for women's involvement in parliament? Is there no de facto gender equality? Is the meaning of women's suffrage still limited to the exercise of the right to vote?

Meanwhile, the data on the number of women as professionals is not balanced compared to the number of women involved in parliament. Data on women as professionals in 2010 amounted to 44.02 then increased in 2022 to 48.65%. The data shows that there is an imbalance between the number of women as professionals who have higher education and the number of women represented in parliament. What are the causative factors? Why is the number of women's representation in parliament still low, even though there is an increase every year?

According to Mulyono [8] that the increase in the number of women involved in parliament is still hampered by the winding road, namely political parties. Why is that because the entrance to parliament must be through political parties. If there are still parties that are not pro-women or not gender responsive, then these obstacles still exist.

To minimize these inhibiting factors, resulting in an increase in the number of women in Parliament, namely the implementation of affirmative action against women in politics through general elections. It turns out that the results can increase women's representation over time. The number of women's representation continues to increase in line with the enactment of laws and regulations that emphasize the need for affirmative action. The increase in women's representation was more significant when the zipper system was applied to the system of determining candidates for members of the DPR and DPRD by political parties. In addition to implementing the 30% women's quota, these female candidates for certain political parties have been assigned 1 (one) out of 3 (three) prospective candidates.

This condition is interesting because it presents the next problem, namely do all political parties have the commitment to carry out such a thing? It turns out that based on the results of interviews with two educated women who have stunning reputations in government that a complicated political system in which to run for legislature is limited by various unwritten requirements such as ownership of capital (money) to finance political activities, until now money still plays an important role in being involved in the election of members of the legislature so that it has limited the opportunities for quality women, who have a high capacity to participate actively in the political field (results of interviews with MK and GS April 2019).

Regulations governing women's involvement have not been implemented consistently and consistently by political parties in the sense that if women deserve a minimum quota of 30% then the supporting factors should be maximized. This problem becomes even more complex when the inhibiting factors originating from the social order and patriarchal cultural values continue to shackle women to fight for their right to vote – to vote and be elected. This article aims to analyze the

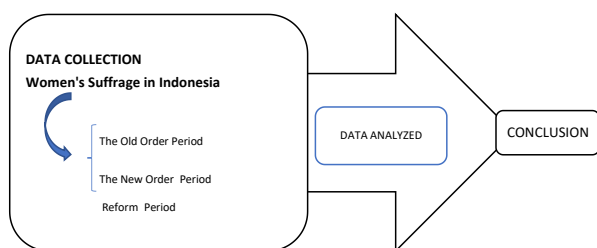
meaning of women's struggle in realizing their right to vote in the political field, especially women's representation in parliament in Indonesia [9].

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Structuralism approaches that combine event and structural approaches have been used in research on the struggles of Indonesian women in interpreting and realizing their right to vote [10]. The method used is the Historical Research Method (March Block, 1988) aimed at reconstructing historical facts about women's involvement in parliament during the three phases of political development in Indonesia, namely during the Old Order, New Order and Reformation [11].

This research analyzes the historical [12] and political environment of the Republic of Indonesia, which from the beginning has laid the foundation for emancipation in the life of the nation and state. These historical facts are collected and analyzed in four stages namely: first, heuristics, historical data sources are collected based on the focus of this research, namely the fulfillment of women's suffrage rights in Indonesia through various available data sources, both printed and digital (electronic), including interviews with informants. Second, Criticism of data sources both in terms of authenticity, accuracy of the data and the credibility of the data presented. Triangulation was carried out on all data obtained; Third, interpretation and meaning of data; Fourth, data presentation and drawing conclusions for historiographical writing in the form of the historiographical article Women Suffrage in Indonesia.

This research process can be shown in the following figure:



Picture 1. Process of Research

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that the involvement of women in parliament in Indonesia is still very low, both during the New Order, Old Order and Reformation periods. Over the past decade, the increase in the percentage of women involved in parliament has remained at 4%-5%. When compared with the data on

the number and capacity of Indonesian women as professionals, it is still not balanced. An example of data for 2022 regarding the percentage of women's involvement in parliament is 21.74%, while women as professionals have reached 48.65%.

Since Indonesia's independence in 1945, the de jure position of women and men has been equal. By law, all Indonesian citizens, both men and women, have the same rights as men; but de facto different. Socio-cultural factors and other related variables influence the use and fulfillment of women's right to vote. The background of socio-cultural differences in society in Indonesia also influences people's perceptions of the role and involvement of women in politics. There are internal and external factors that hinder women's involvement in politics. According to Ade Muslimat that internally women have low motivation and feel inferior, helpless, lack knowledge in politics; while external factors are patriarchal cultural values, even further, according to Banjarnahor [13] there is a negative perception of politics which is full of dirty games, needs popularity, requires high costs, there is a strong political dynasty, a strong patriarchal culture, there are political parties that still consider women's representation in the legislature to be less important. The role of men is very dominant in politics. This is a cause and effect of the social structure of Indonesian society which is dominated by men as power holders, in most aspects of life.

Everyone is equal in various aspects of life. The state appreciates and develops every socio-cultural aspect that can support nation-building. Women's Human Rights are a unique form of rights because women have unique needs [14]. The state has regulated the equal position and role of women but in reality they are still faced with a number of obstacles. Regulations governing women's involvement have not been implemented consistently and consistently in the sense that if women deserve a minimum quota of 30% in parliament then the supporting factors should be maximized.

The gender-based division of labor has had a less favorable impact on women [15]. There is polarization that women should work in the domestic sector and men in the public sector. If a woman wishes to enter the public sector, for example "fighting" to become a member of the legislature, then the woman must fight extra strictly, not only to increase her capacity but to break the patriarchal culture which is increasingly deeply rooted in society, including in certain political parties.

Chronologically, women's struggle to realize their right to vote can be discussed in each of the following periods:

1. The Old Order Period.

The socio-cultural structure that always places men as leaders helps strengthen the perception that women do not need to take part in the public-political sector. However, Indonesian history has also proven that female fighters have made a major contribution in the struggle for Indonesian independence. In fact, since the 19th century Kartini has succeeded in fighting for the emancipation of women on the island of Java and then expanded to other regions in Indonesia.

During the struggle for independence and the Indonesian Revolution for Independence there were female figures who sat in the Indonesian National Party (PNI), namely Kartini Kartaradjasa and Supeni. Then the Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo) has Maria Walanda Maramis; in Nadhatul Ulama there are the names Mahmuda Mawardi and HAS Wachid Hasyim; and others. However, when compared to the number of men involved in political affairs, the number of women is still very small.

In 1955 general elections were held and the Indonesian Women's Party/People's Women's Party emerged. The results of this first election put 19 women representatives in parliament: 4 from PNI, 4 from Masyumi, 5 from NU, 5 from PKI and 1 from PSI [16]. The interesting thing from the results of this first general election was that the Indonesian Women's Party joined the fight with a number of other major parties. Women get the widest possible opportunity to be involved in discussing and finding solutions to problems faced by Indonesian women in general.

The facts above can actually be used as a basis for recovering the courage of Indonesian women, some of whom have experienced and inherited trauma from politics during the New Order era which has depicted women's involvement in the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) during the Old Order as cruel women, having evil intrigues so that they deserve to be persecuted and punished. This condition also contributes to negative perceptions of women being involved in politics. Many women worry about the detrimental effects when they enter politics. Banjarnahor explains that one of the obstacles for women to take part in politics is a negative perception of the world of politics. As a result, "some women don't want to take part in politics because they think it's full of dirty games." It is perceptions like these that make women ignore/rule away from their own potential to become problem solvers in solving problems faced by women through political channels.

2. The New Order Period.

Historical records regarding political involvement have been shackled at this time where women who are members of the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) have become the target of the political conflicts that took place at that time. Many Gerwani

cadres were punished as the destruction of Gerwani was eradicated from its roots throughout Indonesia. Women who are affiliated with Gerwani are portrayed as women who are cruel, inhuman, and like to torture their victims [17]. The image of how dangerous women were as perceived by the New Order government not only discredited women in the world of politics but also contributed to creating and passing on political trauma to Indonesian society after that. Even so, it still needs to be tested scientifically.

Several women's organizations established during the New Order era were more aimed at socio-cultural activities than political affairs. In 1974 Dharma Wanita was founded as an organization for civil servant wives. Likewise there are many other women's organizations such as Bhayangkari, PIA Ardhya Garini, Jalasenastri, Chandra Kirana, Persit, and others.

During the New Order era, various efforts were initiated to establish institutions/ministry that could handle women's welfare affairs which had begun in 1978-1998. At that time, the Junior Minister for Women's Affairs, Mrs. Lasijah Soetanto (1978-1983). Furthermore, in 1983-1987 Mrs. Lasijah Soetanto became Minister of State for Women's Role. In 1987-1988 the Minister of State for the Role of Women was led by Mrs. A. Sulakin Moerpratomo. He led until the next period 1988-1993. Towards the end of the New Order period 1993-1998, Mrs. Mien Suganti was appointed Minister of State for Women's Affairs. Until 1998 the role of women in politics had not been much initiated. The role of women is more devoted to socio-cultural and economic affairs. The role of women is more aimed at supporting the success of development programs that have been set out in the Outlines of State Policy [18].

Along with the expansion of the international movement for women's struggle, various non-governmental organizations emerged in Indonesia to fight for women's equality, such as the Women's Solidarity NGO, Rifka Annisa NGO, and various other women's organizations. At that time political affairs were still dominated by the Golongan Karya with full power centralization in this group where women who entered parliament were only those affiliated with the Golongan Karya (this group was considered by the authorities not to be a party). There were only two political parties at that time, PPP and PDI, which were affiliated with the government. The state formulated the role of women according to the political direction of that time.

Due to strong international pressure, the New Order government through Law Number 7 of 1984 ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). However, support for women's involvement in politics is still

limited and their activities are monitored so that they do not come into opposition with the government.

3. The Reformation Period

The Reformation period has brought major changes in the history of women's struggle to play a role in various aspects of life, including politics. Since mid-1998 the seeds of women's struggles which had been dwarfed during the New Order era have emerged and thrived in an era when freedom of expression was opened as wide as possible. In the cabinet structure at that time there was the State Minister for Increasing the Role of Women (1998-1999) led by Mrs. Tuti Alawiyah AS. In 1999-2001 it changed its name to the State Minister for Women's Empowerment led by Mrs. Khofifah Indar Parawansa and in 2001-2004 led by Mrs. Sri Redjeki Sumarjoto, SH. In the 2004-2009 period led by Prof. Dr. Meutia Hatta Swasono; in the 2009-2014 period became the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection led by Mrs. Linda Amalia Sari Gumelar, S.IP. The 2014-2019 period was led by Prof. Dr. Yohana Susana Yembisa, DIP. APLING, MA. Furthermore, in the 2019-present period led by Mrs. I Gusti Bintang Puspayoga Darmawati, SE, MSi.

The involvement of women in politics continues to increase from time to time. One of the indicators is the trend of increasing women's representation in the legislature, especially since the 1999 general election (Pemilu) until the last election in 2019. In the 1999 election (9%), 2004 election (11.8%), and 2009 election (18%); even after that it continues to increase and in 2022 (21.74).

Amendments to the 1945 Constitution have been made and contain explicitly the equality of women in various fields. Then in Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights the element of women's representation in the legislative field was also formulated. The seriousness of political parties in implementing affirmative action policies to increase women's representation, so that political parties participating in elections pay attention to women's representation of at least 30% in nominating candidates for legislative members and then escort and fight for success in sitting in parliament.

The increase in the number of women's representation in parliament has not succeeded in reaching the quota that has been set even though changes in the social structure of Indonesian society have changed. This change has strengthened in connection with improvements in various fields, especially education and the economy. Likewise, the emergence of many women as heads of families and this has been recognized by society as a result of real conditions in society. For example (1) the number of educated and professional women who become heads of families because they have lost their husbands; (2)

There are women who are not married but have to become the head of the family because they lost their father and other male family members; (3) women who live alone and must be responsible for themselves; and (4) other reasons that place a woman as the head of the family.

The position of women who are highly educated, have high incomes, and also as heads of families does not have much influence on fulfilling women's rights to be elected and actively involved in politics, especially in parliament to fight for their rights. Data for 2022 regarding the success of increasing the Gender Development Index (91, 63) in Indonesia apparently has not had much impact on the Gender Empowerment Index in Indonesia (76.59), especially the number of women's representation in parliament (21.74). Of course there are inhibiting variables so that increasing the gender development index has not had much impact on gender empowerment.

The Gender Development Index (IPG) and Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) are two measurements that are always used to assess women's empowerment and development contributions to women. The size in the IPG is the same as the HDI which shows that the two impact indicators in this development have equality that must be realized together [19].

According to Bintang Puspayoga, one of the most important efforts to increase women's representation in parliament is that women need to support women. With the willingness of women to support women, the number of women's representation in parliament will increase from time to time. It is believed that women's involvement can produce representative and inclusive policies for the best interests of women. Women legislators who have the ability to empathize best understand the best interests of fellow women more broadly and deeply.

The existence of gender-biased policies reflects the low participation of women in the field of legislation. Increasing the number of women involved in parliament will also improve the quality of gender responsive decision-making and policy formulation. It is hoped that an increase in the number of women legislators will have implications for determining the direction and monitoring of gender responsive policy implementation. Every male and female citizen will receive equal fulfillment of rights in development, including enjoying equal and fairer development outcomes.

4. CONCLUSION

The reality of women's struggle to get real suffrage rights for women in Indonesia is still ongoing today. The meaning of the right to vote for women in Indonesia is significantly new to the "right to vote" (the right to vote in elections) and has not yet had the

opportunity to be voted for and elected. The trend towards an increase in the number of women's involvement in parliament since 1999 projects a continuous increase in the following period. Strategic steps that can be taken are to optimize the supporting factors and eliminate the inhibiting factors. The supporting factors that need to be optimized are: (1) Increased education and knowledge, capability and confidence of women in politics; (2) creating a gender-responsive political organizational culture; (3) increasing the role and involvement of women in the public sector; (4) increasing men's support for women. Furthermore, eliminating various inhibiting factors that have limited women's involvement in parliament, namely: (1) there is a wrong perception in society that politics is full of evil, dirty and detrimental intrigues for those involved in it; (2) There is a political system that is gender biased and elections that are complicated and costly; (3) The inadequate capacity of women to fight in politics which is still dominated by "money politics" so that only women who have a lot of financial capital can succeed in financing their political activities; (4) The existence of strong patriarchal cultural values that have taken root in society so that society does not support women legislator candidates; (5) the low political knowledge of the people so that they are less critical in responding to various hoax news, easily pitted against each other, reactive and sensitive to issues of race, religion and ethnicity which can reduce the reputation and credibility of quality female candidates for legislatures.

The most inhibiting factors and their most dominant influences come from outside the woman (external), so that no matter how hard a woman struggles, she will not be successful if these external inhibiting factors are not overcome. The political system needs to be improved so that the opportunities for women to be involved in parliament can be increased. Educated women with reliable track records can enter parliament without significant hindrance. Increasing women's representation in the legislature should be accompanied by commitment, escort and struggle with a sustainable gender perspective in the entire political process.

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