

Women's Political Representation in the Gerindra Party Faction of the Central Java Legislature: an Analysis of Affirmative Action Policies and the Obstacles Faced

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Abstract

Women face challenges to enter the realm of power as long as the concept of power continues to be associated with masculine traits. The phenomenon of limited space for women in political party structures cannot be interpreted simply as a quantitative issue of the number of representation, but rather a manifestation of more fundamental power relations in the Indonesian political system. This research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive research methods to seek deeper information about affirmative action, political representation and the politics of presence, as well as the obstacles and constraints of women in the Gerindra Party Faction Central Java. The results shows that Gerindra Party has implemented a number of policies and strategic steps that encourage women to be active in politics. However, although Gerindra Party provides equal opportunities for women, there are still challenges that need to be overcome. While there are still challenges that need to be overcome, the party's efforts should be applauded as part of a broader struggle to create a system of gender equality in.

Keywords:

Affirmative action, Gerindra Party, Women Representation, Politics of Presence

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of women's political representation in the contemporary democratic system is a fundamental reflection of the level of development and maturity of a gender-equitable political system. Affirmative action as a strategic instrument has become a key mechanism to dismantle the systemic structure of women's marginalization in the public sphere, especially in the context of politics, which has been

dominated by masculine interests. The Gerindra Party, as one of the national political forces In Indonesia, is a very strategic object of study to analyze the complexity of the implementation of affirmative policies and the transformation of women's political representation. The phenomenon of limited space for women in political party structures cannot be interpreted simply as a quantitative issue of the number of representation, but rather a

manifestation of more fundamental power relations in the Indonesian political system.

Historically rooted socio-political constructions have shaped the institutional structure of political parties as masculine arenas that systematically limit women's space for movement and actualization. Affirmative action aims to dismantle this hegemonic structure through a series of compensatory mechanisms aimed at creating political acceleration and accessibility for women. In the context of the Gerindra Party, an in-depth exploration of the politics of women's presence is crucial to identify the extent to which political parties have been able to transform the rhetoric of gender equality into concrete practices in internal governance and electoral representation. The 30% quota regulation for women's representation in political party structures and the legislative nomination process, for example, does not necessarily guarantee women's substantive participation in strategic decision-making processes.

The complexity of the issue of women's representation in the Gerindra Party cannot be separated from the structural and cultural context that surrounds it. Factors such as internal recruitment mechanisms,

patriarchal culture, economic barriers, and the construction of gender stereotypes are important variables that shape the dynamics of women's political participation. This research will comprehensively explore how affirmative action operates within the party's institutional framework, analyze the mechanism of political representation, and critically examine the politics of women's presence in the Gerindra Party structure. Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectional approach, which is an analytical framework used to understand how various social identities-such as gender, race, social class, sexual orientation, religion, disability, and others-interact and influence each other. In shaping one's experience, especially in the context of inequality and discrimination, will be used to unpack complex power relations, identify structural barriers, and map transformative strategies in encouraging women's substantive participation.

The academic and practical significance of this research lies in the effort to not merely describe the phenomenon of women's representation, but to produce a critical analysis that can provide theoretical contributions and practical recommendations for the development of a more inclusive

democracy. Through an in-depth reading of the affirmative action mechanism in the Gerindra Party, this research intends to present a new perspective in understanding the dynamics of women's political representation, which is not only limited to achieving formal quotas, but towards substantive transformation in political power relations at the party institutional level and the national political system.

The dynamics of women's political representation in the contemporary democratic system, especially in the context of the Gerindra Party, illustrates the long journey that connects affirmative policies with efforts to decolonize traditional political structures. While the 30% quota policy provides quantitative opportunities for women to engage in politics, the main challenge lies in its more substantive application, which involves women's influence in strategic decision-making. A paradigmatic shift is needed to ensure that women's representation is not just a number, but also serves to change the course of policy in a more inclusive and gender-equitable manner.

Using an intersectional approach, we can explore the important role of women in confronting structural barriers, both from within the party and patriarchal social culture. This allows us to explore how women in politics can

break the shackles of existing inequalities, and foster a more sustainable movement to bring about more fundamental change at the party and societal level.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive research methods. Qualitative research is a research method that uses post-positivism as the basis for its thinking which is used to research a natural object condition, in qualitative research methods, the researcher acts as a key instrument, the data collection techniques are combined and the data analysis used by qualitative research methods is inductive / qualitative so that the results of the research focus more on meaning than the whole (Sugiyono, 2016).

This research was conducted in Semarang City on November 19, 2024. The data used in this study consisted of primary data and secondary data obtained from interviews and documentation. In this study, researchers used interview and documentation techniques as techniques in collecting the data needed for the research being studied.

In the observation technique, researchers made direct observations to the Gerindra Party Faction in the Central

Java DPRD to observe, seek deeper information about *affirmative action*, political representation and the politics of presence, as well as the obstacles and constraints of women in the Gerindra Party Faction by asking several specific questions that had previously been designed in advance by researchers to informants, namely the Expert Staff of the Gerindra Party Faction in the Central Java DPRD. The interview technique used by researchers in this study is a structured interview where the researcher will ask several structured questions that have been previously compiled by the researcher. In terms of determining informants, researchers use *purposive sampling* techniques where informants are selected based on criteria that have been determined by researchers in accordance with the research objectives. The documentation method carried out by researchers is useful as a support in collecting data that is not obtained from the results of conducting interviews. The data used in the documentation method can be data obtained from journals, related articles, and others.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action is a policy that aims to ensure that a particular group/group (gender or job) has the same or equal opportunity with other

groups/groups in the same field. It can also be interpreted as a policy that grants permission to certain groups. In a political context, active steps are taken to make the number of women more representative in legislative institutions.

In Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning the General Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD (Legislative Election Law), affirmative action for women states that the list of legislative candidates must contain at least 30% women. In addition, the Legislative Election Law also has a zipper system to make it easier for women to be elected as legislative members. This system requires that for every three prospective candidates, there must be at least one woman. The goal is for women to be in the 'finished' number, not in the last number. This is stated in Article 55 paragraph (2) of the Legislative Election Law.

Affirmative action is very much needed for women in politics because women are 50% of the population, so that women can also participate in making policies. The interests of women that have not been accommodated. Women can feel like women. And to eliminate the obstacles for women in public roles.

Affirmative action in the Gerindra Party:

- Total number of women occupying legislative seats.

Of the total 17 members of the Gerindra party of the Central Java DPRD, 3 seats are occupied by women, including Hj. Sri Hartini, ST. Shinta Laila, SH, MH. Orizah Santifa. In addition, for the placement of expert team members from a total of 10 members, there are 4 seats that are also filled by women.

- PIRA as a supporting organization in the affirmative action of the Gerindra Party
 - Making PIRA the main support organization that functions to mobilize female cadres and provide political training.
 - Holding meetings for PIRA members at local and national levels and forming a special division to handle the recruitment of female cadres.
 - Organizing political education such as political and leadership seminars with women activists.
 - Focusing campaign strategies to increase women's electability
 - Providing monitoring programs to assist female cadres so that they understand the political

system and nomination process.

- Distributing aid to women's groups such as PKK mothers, religious study groups, and other women's organizations as a step to strengthen the PIRA network.
- PIRA as a Container for Women's Aspirations
 - Using PIRA to identify and voice relevant women's issues in the community.
 - Encourage PIRA's active involvement in the formulation of pro-women public policies.
 - Involving female Gerindra legislators in PIRA activities to absorb women's aspirations and strengthen relations with constituents.
 - Recruitment and Promotion of Female Cadres through PIRA by directing DPC to recruit talented women through PIRA, with priority given to those with a strong mass base.
 - Providing opportunities for PIRA members to advance as legislative candidates with intensive assistance.

The Politics of Women's Presence in Gerindra Party

To realize the presence of

women in the political world, the Gerindra party has several strategies implemented, such as building a Gerindra staff cadre forum through a forum called the Greater Indonesia Women's Party (PIRA) as a forum for empowering women Gerindra party cadres based on their potential, supported by training in the form of developing and increasing their potential in politics, one of which is organizational skills. The agenda carried out by PIRA is a seminar filled by women activists from the Gerindra party and supporting government programs such as nutritious food campaigns for pregnant women and children. Furthermore, these activities are massively disseminated on social media and magazines as an effort made by the Gerindra Party to show the political presence of women in the public sphere.

Women's political representation is also implemented in parliament with women's issues fought for by Gerindra party legislators at the central level based on statements of support regarding one of the women's issues, namely the addition of birth leave for working mothers so that it can be immediately legalized into policy, this view is based on the general view of the Gerindra Party faction.

As well as to increase women's

political participation in the elections, the Gerindra party carried out several strategies, namely (1) selecting female figures who have the potential and strong mass base in the community at the district / city level and determining legislative candidates based on the results of the Gerindra party's deliberations with its supporting parties. (2) After determining the legislative candidates at the Regency / City level, the Gerindra party conducted a massive campaign on social media to support its candidates and mobilize all elements of the coalition of political parties in the region to win the regional head elections. The target of this campaign is to win women's votes in order to encourage the presence of women in politics in parliamentary institutions.

In the 2024 Central Java Election, the political presence of women from the Gerindra party has been running with the acquisition of 3 seats for female staff out of a total of 17 seats for Central Java DPRD members for the Gerindra party even though it has not met the 30% quota for women's representation. But this is an effort to realize Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections which states "that women's representation on the management of political parties at least includes a minimum of 30 percent (thirty percent) for the general election of members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD or Regency / City DPRD."

In addition, to realize gender equality within the Gerindra party, especially for its female staff, one of the obligations that must be taken by all female staff is to continue their education to a higher level or Master's degree. This is done as a form of Gerindra party's support in the field of education so that the existence of education is prioritized for its female staff and to realize the sustainability of education Gerindra party provides support to its staff morally and materially so that they can continue their education to a higher level.

Political Analysis of Women's Presence According to Anne Philips

According to Anne Philips, Political Presence is divided into 3 types, namely (1) Descriptive presence is the presence of women in political, social and economic institutions as a symbol of their physical presence in these institutions. (2) Substantive presence is the presence of women who have a role to fight for the interests of the wishes and desires of the people they represent. (3) transformative presence is the presence of these women can have an influence to change themselves so that they are able to develop their capacity in carrying out the functions of their presence. If analyzed based on the political case study, the presence of Gerindra party

women is classified into two types of representation, namely descriptive presence, which is indicated by the presence of female representatives who occupy 3 seats out of a total of 17 Central Java DPRD seats for the Gerindra party. This shows the presence of women in political institutions even though the number does not meet the 30% quota of women's representation based on Law Number 17 concerning general elections. As well as Substantive Presence evidenced by the role of Gerindra party's female staff at the central level who carry out their functions to represent the interests of women's issues, through their views that support the addition of birth leave for working mothers so that it can be immediately legalized into policy.

Barriers and Constraints for Women in Gerindra Party

Political parties always strive to present women so that they can be involved in various aspects, but this will also not be separated from the obstacles and obstacles experienced by women members in political parties. In terms of quotas, most political parties can fulfill the 30% quota, but *the glass ceiling* theory still applies in the political sphere due to personal barriers, situational barriers, and social barriers (Amaliatulwalidain et al., 2022). This is

also the case in the Gerindra Party faction of the Central Java DPRD, in fact, currently the Gerindra Party is optimal in accommodating the role of women in politics, such as with the PIRA organization. However, the Gerindra Party is certainly also inseparable from the obstacles and constraints experienced by female members in the Gerindra Party.

The first obstacles and constraints experienced by female members in the Gerindra Party tend to be more directed towards internal obstacles, which are felt directly by one of the Gerindra Party Expert Staff who continues to go down to the Electoral Districts (Dapil) to campaign for Gerindra Party legislators while pregnant until 8 months of pregnancy. Of course, during pregnancy it becomes an obstacle because pregnant hormones appear which make her more emotional and baper, so she becomes easily tired during activities even though at that time she was also running for the legislature. Obstacles and constraints regarding conditions during pregnancy can be seen based on the results of an interview with Mbak Puput as Expert Staff of the Gerindra Party, Central Java DPRD: "Actually, there are no obstacles and constraints by seeing female members who are married as something that

can hinder the performance of the party, but yesterday when I was 8 months pregnant I still went to the field and it was only 36 weeks pregnant that I stopped going to the field and was full in the office. Of course I felt very stuffy, so from the first to the 9th month I still went down to the Dapil to campaign for Gerindra Party legislative members. Indeed, there are female hormones that make us a bit emotional and emotional, so I feel tired."

The second obstacle and constraint experienced by women members in the Gerindra Party is during the nomination process and the placement of serial numbers in the Gerindra Party. For Gerindra Party members who want to run for the legislature, a screening will be carried out by looking at the advantages of the legislative candidate's base and political capital. In addition, the husband's blessing for married female members and the blessing of parents are also taken into account during the nomination and placement of serial numbers in the Gerindra Party. Therefore, if a female member does not fulfill these four requirements, then her candidacy as a legislative member may fail and have no chance of getting the first serial number, so this becomes an obstacle and obstacle for female members in the Gerindra Party who want to run for the legislature.

The obstacles and constraints regarding the four nomination requirements and the placement of serial numbers can be seen based on the results of an interview with Ms. Puput as Expert Staff of the Gerindra Party Central Java DPRD: "It depends on the husband usually, there are several candidates that we see first. For example, candidates 1-4, how come one is superior in terms of political base and capital, and superior to the blessing of the husband. This also depends on the blessing of the husband, who is the main sponsor and parent. So this continues to be netted massively and even every day there is networking. It is also seen and assisted by the coalition political parties for the executive and assisted by the DPC for the legislature in the process of nomination and placement of serial numbers."

Relevance to Lawrence Friedman's Analysis of Women's Barriers:

Based on the results of the analysis of obstacles and constraints for women in the Gerindra Party, it tends to show cultural barriers. Cultural barriers are certainly inseparable from the patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture places men as rulers and women are second-class humans who must submit to men (Halizah & Faralita, 2023). This is evidenced by the provisions for female members of the Gerindra Party who want to run for the

legislature and in the process of placing serial numbers, they must fulfill the four conditions, namely political capital, political base, and husband's blessing, as well as the blessing of parents. If the female member does not fulfill these four conditions, her candidacy as a legislative member may fail and have no chance of getting the first serial number, so this becomes a cultural barrier for female members in the Gerindra Party who want to run for the legislature. Because the cultural barrier here reflects the provisions of the Gerindra Party which require the female member to get her husband's blessing, which in turn shows that men are the rulers and women are second-class human beings who must submit to men and if the woman already has capital and a qualified political base, but is blocked by her husband's blessing, this becomes an obstacle and obstacle for women to pursue a career in politics.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the analysis of Gerindra Party in increasing women's representation in politics shows some important achievements as well as challenges that are still faced. In an effort to realize gender equality, Gerindra Party has implemented a number of policies and strategic steps that encourage

women to be active in politics. This success can be seen from the number of women who occupy legislative positions at the Central Java DPRD level, both as legislative members and in an expert capacity. This reflects that women have significant space in the party structure. The selection of legislative candidates in Gerindra is also carried out with an approach based on individual capacity and networks, regardless of gender, which emphasizes that individual quality is prioritized.

However, although Gerindra Party provides equal opportunities for women, there are still challenges that need to be overcome, such as the need for support from family in the nomination process. In addition, social and domestic burdens such as pregnancy or family responsibilities are still often perceived as barriers for women to fully participate in politics. Nonetheless, women in Gerindra Party have shown that these factors do not prevent them from actively contributing to politics and continuing to fight for the aspirations of the community.

Gerindra Party also strives to create an inclusive environment for women through various programs that support their political career development. The moral and material support provided by the party also

demonstrates a commitment to women's political participation. These initiatives include special training programs, networking opportunities, and rewards for women's contributions to politics.

Overall, Gerindra has shown real strides in realizing gender equality in politics. While there are still challenges that need to be overcome, the party's efforts should be applauded as part of a broader struggle to create a system of gender equality in.

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