
FEMINISM AND POLITICS: A STUDY ON WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE SIMULTANEOUS REGIONAL ELECTIONS 2018 IN MAKASSAR CITY

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: This study discusses the role of feminism and women's representation in general elections in Indonesia, especially what happened in the Simultaneous Regional Election of Makassar City in 2018, where two women were asked to become candidates for Deputy Mayor. **Method:** The author uses descriptive qualitative research and has conducted observations, direct interviews, documentation, audio, and visual materials. **Result:** The result of this study, based on the Final Voter List, is that women (507,487 female voters) are more optimal in exercising their voting rights in the Regional Head Elections in Makassar compared to men (483,349 people). **Conclusion:** Interviews show that women are highly expected in elections where society wants leaders who can understand mothers' and women's issues. This phenomenon is expected to ignite the spirit of women's participation in elections. Representation of women gives a new color to political strategy, especially in socialization and political communication activities.

Keywords: feminism, politics, women's representation, Simultaneous Regional Elections, Indonesia.

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INTRODUCTION

According to Mansour (Mansoor Fakhri, 2016) in his book entitled Shifting Conceptions of Gender and Social Transformation, feminism is a unified social movement and awareness that is mutually sustainable, based on various acts of violence that befall women, such as oppression and exploitation. As a social movement, feminism has had various impacts, ranging from reform of perspective, and resistance to gender injustice to the struggle for the recognition of women's rights (Sen & Grown, 2013).

Building civil society is the same as fighting for community space, including all Indonesian people, both men, and women (Fauzan, 2017). One of the implementations of feminism in Indonesia is to fight for gender equality in the representation of women in the political space. With political representation, the role of women can be increased to build the country. In a country that adheres to a patriarchal value system, such as Indonesia, women's opportunities to become politicians are relatively limited due to public perceptions of the division of roles between men and women, which tend to be biased towards limiting women's roles to household affairs or domestic affairs only (Inglehart et al., 2003).

The issue of women's representation in politics in Indonesia has become an important discourse to increase women's political participation in every election. One of the main topics of discussion in this article is the representation of women in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Makassar, namely two Makassar women who bravely participated in the election of deputy mayor of Makassar, Andi Rachmatika Dewi, and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti.

In addition, the city of Makassar has a great opportunity to make a history of new women leaders even though they are Deputy Mayors when compared to the previous leaders, which are continuously occupied by men, both Mayors and Deputy Mayors. This is a big breakthrough for every Makassar woman, so they can dare to be directly and actively involved in every democratic party in Indonesia. The courage and persistence of the two women led to the success of the Makassar regional election where their experiences can be used as examples, and become knowledge, as well as new political capital to increase the chances of female candidates in the future (Maguire, 2018).

Today, with all the openness and freedom of opinion accompanied by responsibility, the struggle for gender equality defenders is still underestimated (Fata, 2014). Outdated views about women having to take care of domestic and kitchen affairs still haunt the struggles of the feminism movement in Indonesia, even though there are so many women who have occupied crucial positions in everyday life, especially in government to overcome various problems in social life and state (Iswary & Hum, 2010). Therefore in this article, some questions arise such as, how is the representation of women in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Elections in Makassar City? How are feminism in Indonesia and its role in elections?

METHOD

In this article, the author uses a descriptive qualitative type of research on how much effort Makassar women make to be actively involved in the democratic party or Simultaneous Regional Elections in 2018. The primary data collection technique consists of 4 types, namely: observation, and direct interviews with two women as candidates for Deputy Mayor. and several women as representatives of the Makassar community, documentation, audio, and visual materials (Creswell, 2010). While secondary data is obtained from various theoretical foundations on feminism, women's representation in politics, and data from government agencies or research locations. In data collection and data analysis, the researcher is the main instrument (Noble & Smith, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Feminism in Indonesia

Feminism can be understood as a study (paradigm) as well as a methodology that aims to reveal that in social, cultural, political realities, and so on, there are gender inequalities, unequal relations between men and women, oppression of women, incorrect stereotypes attached to women, and political domination (Tong & Botts, 2018). Apart from being a study and methodology, feminism is also a social movement that fights for the rights and dignity of women (Fischer & Dolezal, 2018).

The modern Indonesian women's movement began in the early 1900s, starting from pre-independence until Indonesia's independence was opened by the thoughts of R.A. Kartini. Along

with the growth of nationalism in the country, which was marked by the establishment of nationalist organizations initiated by a handful of educated Indonesians. The establishment of the first Indonesian women's organization, Putri Mardika (1912), could not be separated from the national and even international movements that fought for emancipation, nationalism, and against colonialism (Haq, 2021). After that, various women's organizations emerged that were part of the nationalist movement such as Jong Java Meiskering, *Women Oetomo*, *Wanita Muljo*, *Aisyiah* (1917), Young Javanese Girls Circle, *Poetry Indonesia*, Catholic Women, Jong Islamieten Bond, and others.

The quality of women's consciousness was crystallized in the political consciousness expressed in the Women's Congress held on 22-25 December 1928 in Yogyakarta. This congress argued that equality would be achieved in an uncolonized society. Since then, the Indonesian women's movement has entered period after period (Rad et al., 2019) December 22, which is the start date of the first women's congress, is celebrated as National Mother's Day until now.

Feminism as a social movement has the goal of gender equality. Currently, the issue of gender equality has become prominent in the development platform, not only in Indonesia but also in the world. Based on gender equality index data, released by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Indonesia is ranked 103 out of 162 countries, or the third lowest in ASEAN (Winahyu, 2020). This shows the reality on the ground that currently, Indonesian women are still lagging behind men, both in the fields of education, health, economy, and representation in politics. According to data from the World Bank, Indonesia is ranked 7th in Southeast Asia for women's representation in parliament. The low number of women's representation in parliament has more or less influenced policy issues related to gender equality and has not been able to respond to the main problems faced by women (Priandi & Roisah, 2019).

The contemporary women's movement in Indonesia faces various challenges. According to the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*), since the reformation 154 regional regulations have been passed that discriminate against women. Starting earlier this year, seven provinces and 16 districts across Indonesia still enforce discriminatory local regulations (Azriana et al., 2017). In addition, some challenges are not easy to overcome in dealing with the low representation of women, such as the persistence of strong resistance, especially from religious fundamentalist groups, conservatives, and right-wing populism who generally reject issues of sexuality, reproductive rights, and women equality who directly influence the dynamics of how women are involved in practical politics (Fischer & Dolezal, 2018).

The reality in Indonesia at this time, feminism is expressed by various parties ranging from grassroots to policymakers. One of the fresh air for feminism and the women's movement in Indonesia is the increasing number of female leaders and women's representation in the legislative sector which is directly proportional to the quality of a healthy state (BlackChen, 2015). In 2019, the number of female members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*, *DPR-RI*) increased presentation from the previous period, although this increase in presentation had not yet reached the minimum quota of 30% female representation. The representation of female members in 2019 reached 20.9%, an increase compared to 2004, 2009, and 2014 (Iriansyah, 2017).

According to a study by the Conservative Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) in 2021, female legislators are proven to do more constituent work than male legislators. More female political leaders are also positively correlated with lower levels of corruption in the countries studied. In addition, when women lead, the formation of policies prioritizes women's interests, and social protection issues propose, and passes women-friendly policies. This shows that women's representation plays an important role in the implementation of feminism in Indonesia. If women get equal opportunities and roles with men, then the potential for human resources in Indonesia will be much greater, and this will benefit and benefit the nation's development.

B. History of the Women's Rights and Movement in Indonesia

At the time of Soekarno (Indonesia's first President), named the "Old Order" era, women's rights had been recognized in politics, either the right to vote in the 1955 general election or to sit as members of parliament. For example, *Wanita Marhaen* is the political wing of the Indonesian National Party, Indonesian Women's Movement (*Gerwani*), Indonesian Women's Congress (*Kowani*), and the Union of Indonesian Women (*Perwari*). At that time there was also a lawyer with the nuances of gender justice, namely Law 80/1958. The law prescribes the principle of equal pay for equal work and that women and men are not differentiated in the pay system. The issuance of the law is one example of the success of the women's movement (Jovani, 2014).

However, not all women's struggles have succeeded in achieving the expected ideal situation, for example ending the practice of polygamy that violates women's rights to equality in marriage. This is a consequence of the subordination of the struggle for gender interests under the nationalism project that must be borne by the women's movement, including socio-religious organizations such as *Fatayat (Nahdlatul Ulama)*, Catholic Women, *Aisyiah (Muhammadiyah)*, and so on (Haq, 2021).

The appearance of Suharto as the second president to replace Soekarno or the so-called "New Order" era following the Indonesian Communist Party (*PKI*) rebellion in 1965 and the anti-Soekarno student movement in 1966 had its meaning for the women's movement. In the New Order, there are many records of human rights violations experienced by Indonesian women as a result of the authoritarian New Order government power system. At the beginning of the New Order era, the women's movement underwent a process of domestication with implications for taming, segregation, and depoliticization. The political climax included the case of Marsinah, a woman activist who was found dead in a tragic condition after being missing for three days, on May 8, 1993 (Arivia & Subono, 2017).

Due to these incidents of human rights violations, several feminist organizations, directly or indirectly, began to carry out various anti-New Order political tactics and movements. This increasingly shows its shape after *Dharma Wanita* (1974) and *Dharma Pertiwi* (1974) were inaugurated as an organization for the wives of civil servants and the wives of members of the Indonesian Armed Forces (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, ABRI*), as well as professional wives (Indonesian Doctor's Wives Association, and others). Women's organizations are now entering a period of "no resistance" to the discrimination and exploitation experienced by women in Indonesia (Fauziyah, 2015). The organization emphasizes the position of women as

companions of men, who put the existence, status, and honor of women in the shadow of the identity of the husband, not the identity of the woman herself (Jovani, 2014). Seeing this fact, women activists consider it as a suppression of ideas and is very much against the principles of democracy.

In the Reform Era (now), the fall of President Suharto in 1998 gave new hope for comprehensive reforms in the political, economic, governmental, and social systems. The peak of the women's movement in this era was the formation of the Women's National Commission (*Komnas Perempuan*). *Komnas Perempuan* is a quasi-state institution that was formed in response to public pressure both domestically and internationally. The aim is to uphold the human rights of Indonesian women and for the government to have a stronger commitment to eliminating violence against women. This institution was established with a vision to create order, social relations, and conducive behavior patterns so that women can enjoy their human rights as human beings (Fauziyah, 2015).

In addition to international public pressure, the women's movement is also supported by global or extra-local forces that also color the political dynamics at the local level, both at the city/district, provincial, and even national levels. The study conducted by (Stokke & Törnquist, 2013) shows that in Indonesia, we find many groups of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) funded by the World Bank that work by carrying out neo-liberal agendas such as 'good governance. World Bank sees the importance of the role of NGOs or women's organizations in the long-term development process and economic reform at the community level, so that it does not apply only at the level of state economic institutions but invites women to actively participate in politics and development.

One of the most surprising things in Indonesia was that in the 1999 election, a female presidential candidate, Megawati Soekarno Putri, General Chairperson of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP*) emerged. Some Islamic politicians use religious arguments to thwart her political moves (Jovani, 2014). Finally, in 2001 when Abdurrahman Wahid resigned as President of Indonesia. Megawati, who was his deputy at the time, rose to become Indonesia's first female president.

The results of the struggle to uphold women's rights are shown by the strengthening of network patterns among actors who care about issues of justice and gender equality as well as advocating and assisting the birth of various gender-responsive laws (Anastasia et al., 2013). These laws are Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Law Number 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship, and Law Number 21 of 2007 concerning Eradication of the Crime of Trafficking in Persons. Women's organizations are also actively involved in advocating for substantial changes that have the potential to harm women in the Draft Law Number 44 of 2008 concerning Pornography and Pornoaction, Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the Election of Parliament The House of Representatives – Regional Legislative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPR-DPRD*) Members, and the active movement to advocate for the 30% quota for candidates for members of The House of Representatives – Regional Representatives Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPR-DPD*) in the 2008 and 2003 Election Laws.

These efforts are commendable achievements, and we see that women's organizations have been able to mobilize their voices when carrying out movements, for the birth of gender-responsive laws (Dotti Sani & Quaranta, 2017). Legislation relating to the life and life and position of women in Indonesia is the key to protecting women's rights as citizens.

C. Simultaneous Regional Elections 2018 in Makassar City

The contestation for the Makassar Mayor election in 2018 was initially followed by two pairs of candidates. However, after the process was running, one pair was disqualified which was the incumbent Dhani Ramadhan Pomanto paired with Indira Mulyasari. Pair number one Munafri Arifuddin and Andi Rachmatika Dewi participated through the party line, while the Incumbent pair before being disqualified, participated through the independent route. The challenger pair brought almost all parties, while the incumbent was only supported by Democrats and *Perindo* who were outside Parliament.

One thing that attracted attention in the political event this time was that the two couples asked for representatives from women. This study tries to trace the representation of women in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Elections in Makassar City. This phenomenon is a trace of women's participation in politics that should be appreciated. But, how exactly is the contestation of women in this event? The following are the responses of several Makassar women who were collected in one interview excerpt because they were considered to have similar answers.

"Women need to be chosen because so far it is men who dominate. Now and then we need female leaders so that we can convey our complaints to mothers or women and it is easier for us to tell from heart to heart if the candidate is a woman. So they will understand the problems we face in our daily life."

From the results of the interview at a glance, we can understand that women are highly expected in this contest and Makassar women want a leader from women who can understand the problems of mothers or women.

The author notes that in the 2017 Regional Head Election, the participation of women as voters is almost always higher than that of men. Nationally, female voter participation was 76.2%, while male voters were 73.8%. In other words, women are more optimal in exercising their right to vote in Regional Head Elections than men. Unfortunately, their votes were not directed in favor of female candidates.

Similarly, the participation of women as voters in the Simultaneous Regional Elections in Makassar city in 2018 was also higher than that of men. Based on the Final Voter List (*Daftar Pemilih Tetap, DPT*) from the General Elections Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU*) of Makassar City, it shows that the number of *DPT* for women is 507,487, compared to the *DPT* for the male gender, 483,349, from the total *DPT* which in total is 990,836.

These results are considered to be able to attract the attention of several mayoral candidates to pair up with female candidate pairs so that they can win the female vote. As a result, the Makassar City *KPU* only determined two candidates in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Elections contestation where each candidate paired up with a female representative (Source: Makassar City *KPU*). Unfortunately, ahead of the election, pair number one Dhani Ramadhan Pomanto paired with Indira Mulyasari was disqualified.

The battle for the Makassar mayoral election still seems to be dominated by certain political groups. If women appear, it is none other than because they are part of a political group that is rooted in society. This is also what happened in Makassar City as expressed by Sopian Tamrin, a Makassar political observer and a Makassar State University Lecturer who revealed that:

"Makassar is still strong in the old group in the fight. The candidates may be new, but those who play this from behind are still the same. Rachmatika Dewi must have brought the Ilham Arief Sirajuddin group (former 2nd term Makassar Mayor) and the Incumbent Group not far from the old opponents who were close there. Mr. Syahrul Yasin Limpo's group (Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia from 2019) as long as no family comes forward, will face Mr. Ilham Arief Sirajuddin's group. It has become an open secret for us in the city of Makassar".

This means that politics in the city of Makassar itself still involves the old political forces that exist. It's just that they don't appear in front of the screen anymore, but become the determinants of the contest behind the scenes. Likewise, women's motivation in politics is strongly influenced by their family, both encouragements from their husbands and parents and they have relationships with strong political clans in each region and center.

Women who participate in the contest as deputy mayor of Makassar are not appointed just like that but through various variables. It's not just that they are women and the turnout of women voters is significant. More than that, they have an important aspect in the electoral considerations of the political map.

First, both Rachmatika Dewi and Indira Mulyasari are both members of the City and Provincial DPRD and even leaders of the DPRD.

Second, both also have a clear base in their respective constituencies. The main consideration for the party appointing its cadres as DPRD leaders is the highest number of votes in the 2014 legislative elections.

Third, both are known to have powerful political clans. Andi Rachmatika Dewi with the support of Mr. Ilham Arief Sirajuddin's extended family (former 2nd term Makassar Mayor). Meanwhile, Indira Mulyasari is a family businesswoman and her father has a close relationship with several high-ranking party officials and elite networks at the center.

Fourth, both are cadres of major parties made by Surya Dharma Paloh (General Chair of the National Democratic Party). Where the party machine has also proven successful in bringing many women to sit as heads and deputy regional heads. Some "marry" aspects of party cadres and other factors to gain more votes from voters. The dominance of such backgrounds raises concerns that women who will sit in the executive chair will only be controlled by those who are already in the circle of power, and their election will not bring breakthroughs in the form of policies that pay more attention to the interests of women and marginal groups.

The more political variables a person has, the more likely it is to win in political contests. Meanwhile, Andi Rachmatika Dewi and Indira Mulyasari have more or less these variables, so it is natural to consider them as a pair of Deputy Mayors to accompany incumbents and challengers. Political dynamics, especially for the Deputy who fought, caught the public's attention. Reports and conversations in open space often discuss the enmity of representatives, namely Mrs. Andi

Rahmatika Dewi and Indira Mulyasari. Both are members of the *DPRD* from the same party, namely the National Democratic Party (*Nasional Demokrat, Nasdem*). The two of them are also known to be good and close friends, so it is not uncommon for Rachmatika to socialize early as a candidate for mayor. Indira often accompanies and even helps socialize with her friend as a candidate for mayor.

After the two officially registered at the *KPU* with their partners as participants in the general election, the friendship war began to heat up. Until Indira Mulyasari was disqualified, the relationship did not cool down because the couple was secretly indicated to support the movement to choose the empty box. In the case that was raised in this study, it could not be fully explored comprehensively because of the single candidate problem. However, the contestation of the two provides a picture of political dynamics by moving the segment of women as political participants who actively discuss feminine political discourse.

Thus, based on the plenary meeting of the results of the vote count for the election of the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Makassar which was held at the Max One Hotel, Jalan Taman Makam Pahlawan in Makassar City, Friday (6/7/2018), the Chairman of the *KPU* of Makassar City determined and decided the empty box as the winner in the *KPU* of Makassar city in 2018. The empty box defeated the single candidates Munafri Arifuddin and Andi Rachmatika Dewi in the vote. In the vote recapitulation, empty boxes won in 13 sub-districts in Makassar City. While the single candidates Munafri Arifuddin and Andi Rachmatika Dewi only won in 2 districts. Empty boxes received 300,795 votes (53.23%), while the single candidate received 264,245 (46.77%) votes. The total votes obtained for the Election of Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Makassar reached 565,040 votes (Source: *KPU* Makassar City).

D. The Role of Feminism in Elections

As previously explained, Feminism has an important role in ending the oppression and domination of men in the political sphere against women. Feminism is a belief, movement, and effort to fight for the equal position of women and men in a socio-political structure that is still patriarchal and fights for the rights and dignity of women.

In subsequent developments, this movement also projects a vision of a just, democratic, and prosperous society (Mansour Fakhri, 2013). Because, the injustice experienced by women in the social structure is manifested through economic, social, political, and cultural life. According to socialist feminists, the injustices experienced by women are understood as a result of socio-political and cultural structures. The root of the domination relationship is a patriarchal culture, where men are more dominant over women. The same thing was expressed in a direct interview with Rachmatika Dewi, Candidate for Deputy Mayor of Makassar for the 2018-2023 period, Chair of the Regional Board (*Dewan Pimpinan Daerah, DPD*) of the Makassar Nasdem Party, and deputy chairman of *DPRD* of South Sulawesi Province period 2014-2018:

"... firstly, in Indonesia, this woman is still considered a second-class citizen. Second, our patriarchal culture is very much felt, meaning that until now it still exists – sometimes the injustices felt by women are still victims of violence, there are still many things that happen in our society."

The informant's statement, Andi Rachmatika Dewi, illustrates that there are still injustices, violence, and marginalization felt by women in various sectors of life, both at the ideal level

(values) and at the practical-empirical level. The injustice experienced by women is the result of the cultural construction of the patriarchal system which is very detrimental to women. The existence of this system does not appear without a cause, but all of this has gone through a long and continuous process of interaction in our society. Therefore, gender as a result of social construction in his understanding has been dominated by a male bias which results in certain pressures on women (Wahid, 2014)

The patriarchal society system is being challenged by feminists because it tends to suppress the position of women. The most feminist theory states that the natural pressure in gender relations is based on the dominance of patriarchal understanding. Feminists also examine the unequal distribution of power between men and women (Wahid, 2014). Women tend to be positioned as subordinates, integrated into the domestic world, and have limited rights to enter the public world, even though women and men have the same potential and therefore should have the same rights (Kultsum, 2017).

In the study of communication, feminist communication experts examine how men speak which is considered biased, always dividing reality into two dichotomies, namely male-female, strong-weak, rational-emotional, public-domestic, and so on. All these social categories according to Stephen W. Littlejohn: will have an impact on the relationship between women and men. The relationship between women and men appears as an unfair, corrupt, manipulative, and vertical relationship. The ways of male domination have influenced communication among women. Feminists always place women's experiences as the central point of research, which legitimizes the values of women's experiences themselves (Wahid, 2014)

Apart from the influence of patriarchal culture, it is also influenced by the platform of political parties on the side of gender equality. Ahead of the election, almost all political parties try to adopt a gender perspective because they are afraid of being published in the mass media. Therefore, political parties trying to accommodate a gender perspective are not really to accommodate women but are part of the way political parties adapt to the demands of women who want to exist more. However, the real motive is to maintain the existence of the party. Many political parties claim to have difficulty accommodating women's requirements as mandated in the law (Amalia et al., 2021). This is reinforced by the words of Rachmatika Dewi when she first entered a political party in a direct interview:

"... in the 2009 election, that was the first regulation that required political parties to recruit 30% of women as candidates for DPRD members. The first time I joined the party as a compliment, at that time, 30% of women were represented."

The involvement of women in political parties is only a compliment. And also sometimes women enter political parties because other people or their families were with the party first, as revealed in a direct interview with Indira Mulyasari, Candidate for Deputy Mayor of Makassar for the 2018-2023 period, deputy chairman of the Makassar City DPRD and treasurer of the *Nasdem* Party *DPD*:

"...yes indeed because my parents at that time were involved in the entry of the Nasdem party in Makassar City. I joined. I only saw the Nasdem party, the Nasdem party when it was formed in Makassar City were young people, there

was Rachmatika Dewi's mother, all of them young people. So, I think I am also the same age as Rachmatika Dewi's mother. Let's go inside, let's be young people together to raise this party."

Most of today's Indonesian feminists come from elitist middle-class backgrounds, higher education, and children of officials or businessmen who attend foreign institutions and maintain a high level of fluency in English, which allows them to access more feminist literature. Not many of them have extensive experience working at the grassroots level, while women who are involved in grassroots groups such as in rural areas, and some small towns in Indonesia are still vulnerable to conservative campaigns to change members of more progressive networks. Feminists need to engage heavily with grassroots movements to prevent shifts in established networks. In addition, feminists must also be stronger and more united than before, build bridges with "opponents", and build coalitions with other movements that are important to prevent a decline in feminist progress in Indonesia (Kartika, 2019). Because feminists themselves believe that giving women more space in politics will provide fresh air and hope for political change that is arrogant, corrupt, and patriarchal.

One of the ways are chosen as a strategy for struggle is to make the 30% quota for women in parliament a temporary measure (affirmative action) to be realized. It is said to be a temporary measure because the quota is not an end goal, but the 30% quota affirmative action is needed because of the different circumstances and the start between men and women. Quotas will encourage women to enter politics because it opens a path that has been very difficult for women (Wahid, 2014).

Based on this reality, it is deemed necessary to have a special policy to support women to dare to enter the world of politics. That's because the start between women and men is different. The condition of men in social, cultural, and political realities is also different. In addition to these considerations, women activists and women political experts view that numbers are also important to make it easier for an issue to be fought for. Changes will be possible with an adequate number of women's representation. That reason was later stated that increasing women's representation in Indonesia can be accelerated by affirmative action as a legal strategic policy in the Act (Wahid, 2014).

According to Megawati Soekarno Putri in her official speeches as President of the Republic of Indonesia, she said that the 30% quota degrades the degree and dignity of women so this quota is expected to be much more than this, even up to 100%.

This means that political parties in Indonesia and the government must pay great attention to women that it is important to represent women or encourage the presence of women regional leaders, because they will carry out various capacity building and various preparations to advance women, especially from their cadres in the election or candidate contests. legislative. The role of political parties is very significant in encouraging women's representation in political momentum. If the party always carries several female cadres as an option, it will gradually produce female leader candidates.

This encouragement also has a clear legal basis in Article 8 paragraph (2) letter e of Law Number 8/2012 concerning General Elections which states "Representation of at least 30% of

women in the management of political parties at the central level is a requirement for election participation", could be wrong. one entrance is to form reliable female cadres and then compete in the election or legislative candidates. This means that they are included in the structure of political parties and it is in that realm that they then hone their leadership skills, of course for a long time.

If necessary, 30% is only used as a minimum standard, not a maximum standard. This means that if there is a party that can accommodate party members with more female representatives, there is no need to question it. The more women absorb in the political process, the more feminine conversations will be in the public sphere. The presence of women in the realm of practical politics as evidenced by the representation of women in the political arena is an absolute requirement for the creation of a culture of public policy making that is friendly and sensitive to the interests of women. Without the representation of women in the government bureaucracy, the interests of men as the center of policy making will likely be difficult to contain. Finally, the thing that we still have to realize and then we try to continue to improve is that political parties have not maximally paid attention to gender equality in every democratic party or election. Rachmatika Dewi said the same thing:

"So, the problem is to create a conducive atmosphere for political parties and the government and the whole community to take a role and encourage the role of women in politics. The government makes regulations, and political parties prepare their cadres and prepare special political education for these women who will work in politics. If political parties don't prepare for it, it will be difficult to realize it all. I'm sorry, yes, there is still a lot of management ahead of the election for new political parties to recruit all women to fulfill the 30% quota. Why not from the start? 30% of women are recruited and then given a good political education, so that in the election they are ready to fight, with the skills and knowledge they have, now it's not like that."

This problem, of course, does not stand alone but is caused by the electoral system, combined with some cultural features of political parties, shaping the types of female candidates recruited by parties in several problematic ways (White & Aspinall, 2019), such as the recruitment of women as a complement to the 30% quota. , then the function of regeneration does not work as it should, every party member should carry out regeneration first before being appointed as a member or party cadre.

The choice of electoral system and rules applied in a country will affect the level of representation of women in parliamentary institutions (Tigran, 2022). It is proven in the first simultaneous elections in Indonesia in 2019 which increased the representation of women in the *DPR*. A total of 120 women were elected to the national body, taking up 20.9% of the seats (*KPU*, 2019), the highest number in Indonesia's history. compared to the 2014 election results which showed an increase of around 3.5%, when women got 17.3% of the seats (*KPU*, 2014). Although still relatively low compared to men, this is the highest result for women's representation in Indonesian history (Amalia et al., 2021).

Other research on women's representation shows that the three main factors that have the most significant influence on the level of women's representation in institutions whose members are elected are, 1) the electoral system, 2) the role and organization of political parties,

3) cultural acceptance, including affirmative action (affirmative action or positive discrimination) that is mandatory or voluntary. One form of affirmative action is the provision of a certain number of quotas for women. The core idea behind the quota system is to recruit women to enter political positions and ensure that women are not merely a "sign" in political life (Artina, 2016) but as a driving force to create changes in the socio-political structure that is dominated by the patriarchal culture, then also participate in the development and welfare of women (social justice).

Women's representation in the 2018 simultaneous regional elections in Makassar city and the success of the 2019 simultaneous elections, is a critical minority. One thing that is important in this paper is that women's representation is a temporary measure. If the structural barriers to women's entry into politics can be removed, then regulations relating to women's representation need not be applied anymore. Because historical records show that women are far behind in their "start" when entering the world of politics compared to men. Thus, in future elections, the representation of women is already on the same starting line as men (Artina, 2016).

Political space is one of the most decisive areas in policy making. This means that the interests of every human being must be accommodated in policies regardless of their human background. And those interests must be fought for and guarded so that they are truly accommodated amid many interests. Because women's interests have always been ignored because the number of women's representation in various political institutions is not able to influence policy. Thus, the number of women's representation in every election in Indonesia must be increased so that women's interests can be accommodated.

In addition, not all female politicians who are in political institutions or elections do not always think in the interests of women. However, although it may be true, there is no real relationship formed between the level of women's participation in elections or political institutions and their contribution to the advancement of women, but the existence of women as members in political institutions and women's representation in elections is considered as many women's participation in elections. critical thinking that can help women to have a meaningful influence in politics, both then and in the future. Therefore, the presence of women in elections or political institutions is very important for women and also for feminism.

CONCLUSION

As a social movement, feminism in Indonesia began in the early 1900s, starting from pre-independence to Indonesian independence, which was opened by the thought of R.A. Kartini. From there, the influence of feminism starts from the renewal of perspectives, the struggle against gender injustice to the struggle for the recognition of women's rights. Regarding the struggle for the recognition of women's rights, this struggle is now starting to bear fruit as evidenced by the various rights of women which have been recognized more or less during social and state life, such as civil rights, the right to education, the right to be treated equal rights, political rights, and various other rights.

In addition, some challenges are not easy in dealing with the low representation of women, such as the continued implementation of discriminatory regional regulations and strong opposition from religious fundamentalist groups, conservatives, and right-wing populism.

One of the fresh air regarding feminism and the women's movement in Indonesia is the increase in women's leadership and representation in the legislature. In 2019, the number of female DPR-RI Members increased the presentation from the previous period, although this increase in presentation had not yet reached the minimum quota of 30% female representation. The representation of female members in 2019 reached 20.9%, an increase compared to 2004, 2009, and 2014.

This also had an impact on the Simultaneous Regional Elections in Makassar City in 2018. The KPU of Makassar City only determined two candidate candidates, namely each candidate paired with a female representative candidate, pair number one Munafri Arifuddin paired with Andi Rachmatika Dewi, and pair number two, Dhany Ramdhan Pomanto, paired up with Indira Mulyasari. In the process, pair number two is disqualified, so pair number one continues to advance and fight against the empty box. Finally, the empty box defeated the single candidates Munafri Arifuddin and Andi Rachmatika Dewi in the vote.

From the results of this study, it can be seen that women are more optimal in exercising their voting rights in simultaneous regional elections in Makassar 2018 compared to men. Based on the Final Voter List with 507,487 female voter participation, compared to male gender 483,349 people, out of the total Final Voter List total of 990,836. Interviews show that women are highly expected in elections where society wants leaders who can understand mothers' and women's issues.

With the phenomena found in Simultaneous Regional Elections in Makassar City in 2018, it is hoped that it can ignite the spirit of women's involvement in elections. As women's representation increases, policy formation prioritizes women's interests, and social protection issues, and proposes and passes women-friendly policies. This shows that women's representation plays an important role in the implementation of feminism in Indonesia. If women get equal opportunities and roles with men, the potential of human resources in Indonesia will be much greater, and the most important thing.

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