THE ABSENCE OF WOMEN’S POWER IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN DKI JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

The study about the absence of women representation in DKI (Special District of Capital Jakarta) Jakarta governor election 2012 aims at mapping political power in DKI Jakarta Province. It also elaborates, criticizes and evaluates political parties’ supports and DKI Jakarta Province in efforts to enhance women consciousness to participate in political practice. This research uses political communication theory focusing on political understanding and women as political candidate, power and hegemony concept of women political realities as well as radical feminism. Critical paradigm with qualitative approach, case study method and feminist research are utilized for this research. The results indicate that the women’s power in the politics of DKI Jakarta compared to men who are clearly dominant. None of the governor candidates and governor deputy are women since there was not any individual who nominate themselves or being promoted by the political parties. Naturally, women have a great opportunity to lead Jakarta; however they need tremendous efforts to strengthen themselves and bolster their quality so that they can decrease domination of the one group of society. In addition, the supports from political parties are significant to develop women political society. Women need to change this situation by conducting the struggle and build a strong network for the development of the power of women in politics. Large is the struggle for women to Jakarta in the future have the ability and courage to dare to be part of the practical politics of Jakarta as the head of the region in the future.

Keywords: women, power, political communication, election, DKI-governor
INTRODUCTION

DKI Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia and ever since has been called as a metropolitan city because rapid changes of the city development and advancement encompassing all aspects of life as well as diverse ethnicities, tribes, community groups, organizations, purposes and interests can coexist. As the capital city of the republic of Indonesia, it is logical if every change starts from there. Jakarta people’s social well being is much better than theirs who live in other provinces throughout Indonesia. It has been viewed from perspective of democracy and justice for every individual and social group in equal participation in their daily life, a marginal condition is vivid in the politics of DKI Jakarta. The discrimination here can clearly be seen in the public sectors. The fact of the absence of woman representation in the governor election does not occur in this 2012 election only, it has been going inattentive ever since such election held in the capital city. Specifically in 2012 election when the expectation for woman seems to rise, from six pair-candidates of the governor and deputy governor, there is no one pair candidate or even one person candidate are/is from woman. The Jakarta development in every aspect clearly affects the Jakarta women. The condition of women here is sufficiently expedient than those living in other regions. It is of the results of that city is more tolerable towards new changes.

The fact implies that there is a strong ongoing and deep-rooted domination of male in the governance domain of DKI Jakarta province. The domination is getting more solid as subconsciously supported by the female group themselves in the city. It is indicated by that the Jakarta women are difficult to support other women for the candidacy of governor and deputy of governor. In certain election, the female group is part to preserve the male domination because their ‘common sense’ attitudes towards a condition being constructed by male. In addition, the female becomes a significant part of processes to maintain the male status quo in a way they keep their power in DKI Jakarta province in accordance with patriarchy system which is being enjoyed by the male as an integral element of the cultural process.

According to the elaboration above, formulation of the problems will be as follows 1) how is the political power map of the DKI Jakarta especially the women? 2) Why is the women representation for the candidacy of governor and deputy governor minor even worse they are absent in the governor election in DKI Jakarta province?

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORKS

Political communication is communication involving political messages and actors, or relating to government, power, and policies. Political communication can also be understood as communication between the "ruling" with "the governed". Rush and Althoff (Nimmo, 1997: 24) stated that political communication is as a process where relevant political information is transmitted from one part of political system to other parts of political system. Communicate means to transform information to obtain a response, meaning coordination between people, and audiences; sharing information, ideas or behavior/attitude for various elements of behavior or lifestyle through a set of defined rules, namely mind meeting on symbols similarity of in participants minds to understand. The process which then brings the individual experience internally sharing with others or transforming information from one
person/group to another party. [Wahid, 2012) The political communication function is as political structure absorbing aspirations, views, and ideas developed in community and distributing it as an ingredient in determining policy. According to Dan Nimmo (2007) communication occurs from one source devoted to the crowd. This communication is known as mass communication that can be performed by using two forms of channels; face to face channel and mass media channel. Both are strategies in shaping public opinion in order to achieve political goals. Strategy in political communication is all current conditional decision about the action that will be executed in order to achieve political objectives in the future.

Power makes women are able to speak up, express and debate what they want and what they want to happen. The situation requires their ability to optimize language power in construction realities. As Castell (1997: 359) suggests that power for ever remains a social rule that constitutes and dominates social life itself. In addition, it asserts that power is an architect of social realm. Power in short designs social roles and interactions as well as structure. Injustice against women is integrated in social-cultural system, religion and politics. The injustice symptoms can be seen clearly using inequality, injustice and gender disparities (Saidah, Khatimah (2013: 39). The strength of cultural effect in the process of reality construction is as the implication from domination and cultural partiality to women reality which is positioned as the subordination. Entrenched discrimination causes men to control public space and women privacy. Women often depend on the reality created by men.

For that reason, women must have power and opportunity to run it so that they can obtain the same and equal outlook as men do. The possessed power results in power distribution that equal and prevalent for both male and female. In contrast, power happens to be owned by a certain group i.e. male who are clearly dominant having bad consequence onto women realities. Male domination and female subordination are also due to the unequal power distribution. Patriarchy systems on which men depend for all the time freely create realities and disadvantage women. Discriminative treatment and outlook as well as injustice towards women are eternal in some forms that subconsciously supported by women themselves and family and states as well.

The research uses political power theory and women subjectivity in the counter-hegemony movement. According to Oxford English Dictionary and Halliwel and Hindes Taylor, 1999:73) there are definitions of power, namely, “power has control and command over others, the sociologists view power in this sense as capacity to have others to do what expected or asked like president to his/her people and parents to their children etc.” power is a legal ability, capacity or authority to act, particularly for a process of delegating authority. The power, in this sense, refers to authority and right that by some of people to get others to do everything that they see them authorized. Power is a capacity to do and influence thing or whichever. The power in this context relates to ‘agency’ i.e. power as individual capacity to make changes or differences in the world . (Taylor:1999:73)

Power is to maintain relationships between civil society and political society. Power must result in prosperity for civil society not carrying out domination generating injustice and political discrimination for less power parties. However, if the condition of violence, injustice, and discrimination experienced by civil society caused by hegemony of the power group or bourgeois
including intellectuals, there will be forces used to fight against repression and pressure as accounted for by Antonio Gramsci’s concept on hegemony. Gramsci argues that power is not only acquired and maintained through violence, but also obtained through more subtle ways, what he names as hegemony. A group for so long considered the power subordinates or on the top of that as the power opponent that might found a new alliance to create a new hegemony. The dominant class, termed by Marxism to indicate power relation within the bourgeois society, is a dominant group who uses hegemony of state and economic resources as well as production resulting in subordination of power, economic resources and production for working class (Roger, 1999).

Male domination and female subordination occur because of unequal power distribution. Men with patriarchy system support, as of now, socio-culturally, expose them freely to create realities that subdue women position. Discriminative treatment and outlook and injustice to women are likely endless in some forms; sometimes the women themselves support the discrimination and unfairness or normally family and state have them unavoidable. The patriarchy outlook generates concept construction about women which is discriminative and male-centered. The social construction, according to Affan Gaffar (Ghafar, 2001), blinds women and makes impossible to them to actively participate in politics. The strong power of male espoused by social and cultural system causes women participation in politics is infrequently to rise to the top. If that so, because their outer realities that against system controlling and surrounding them.

According to Oxford English Dictionary, Helliwel and Hindes (Taylor, 1999:73) term ‘power’ refers to several following meanings:

1. Power is to have control and force of governing others. The sociologists view power in this context as a capacity to get others to do something expected. For instance president to his people or population or parents to their children and others
2. Power is a legal ability; a capacity to act, especially to delegate authority. Power in this sense, refers to authority or right of some people to have others/else people to do everything authorized.
3. Power is an ability to do or influence something or whichever. Power in this context relates to ‘agency’ which implies that some people are able to make changes or differences in the real world.

Another concept used in this research is regional election more specifically governor election as a manifestation from democracy to channel people political participation openly and directly. Has referred to political participation from its frequency and intensity perspective, according to some observations, the number of people involve in political activities un-intensively (not consuming most of their times and not due to their own will) such as voting in certain general election are huge. Political participation is an individual or group activity to partake actively in political life, for instance, voting for state leaders or efforts to influence policies of government. The activity covers deeds like voting in general election, attending plenary session, becoming a particular political party member or a group of interest member, contacting government officials, or parliament members (Budiardjo, 2002:4).

Election of local leader and his/her deputy or regional election is an election to vote local leaders and his/her deputy directly in Indonesia by local people who meet requirements. Previously, local leader and his/her deputy were elected by representatives of the city council (DPRD). After, the 2004 regulation (UU) number 32 was released about the local governance, the election of local leader
and deputy local leader is performed directly through a regional election. In this regulation, the regional election was not included in the general election regime however it was held on June 2005.

METHODE

This research used critical paradigm. Paradigm is a point of view towards realities and it is principle system of belief to guide reasoning in determining options of approach that will be used and how it will be utilized in a research field by the researcher (Neuman and Bacon, 1997: 17) The paradigm used in this research “women and political power: a case study of lack women candidates in the 2012 DKI Jakarta governor election” is critical paradigm and critical theory. The critical paradigm is a paradigm that concerns in efforts to deconstructing hidden aspects behind realities that seem beneficial to a critique and transformation towards social structure. (Neuman and Bacon, 1997: 109)

The research uses qualitative method focusing on a case study. The case study is a research strategy referring to formulation of questions ‘why’ and ‘how’. The researcher strictly does not control events observed however she focuses on contemporary phenomena in several life contexts. The research strategy used for examining contemporary events in relation to attitudes and the given facts cannot be manipulated. In addition, according to Yin (2011: 11), generally the case study in a more appropriate strategy if the main major questions of certain research are ‘how’ and ‘why’. Whether the researcher has a small chance to control events being studied while the research focus lies on current phenomena in the context of real life. Moreover, Yin [11] (2011:13) claims that the case study has so many strengths that questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ addressed to a sequence of events when the researcher has a small opportunity or even nil-opportunity in performing control.

The units of analysis of this research are as follows: (1) The female figures of political parties and female politicians whose parties endorse candidates in the 2012 regional general election, (2) Leaders or officials of political parties, and (3) The female figures who concern on women representation. Techniques of data collection of the research are observation and interview. Observation is processes to discern woman political realities that are ongoing during DKI Jakarta governor election in 2013. Observation is held in accordance with the given social structure. This is an open observation i.e. the observation that the subjects or interviewees are not aware of. The observation is utilized to obtain authentic data from the field with various events encompassing both formal and informal regarding the problems of women marginalization in the 2012 DKI Jakarta province governor election.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Women have not become attracting politicians yet for DKI Jakarta leadership whereas the DKI Jakarta women are arguably more qualified and reliable for both governor and deputy governor candidacy. In addition, the province is a city with the special autonomy and recognition and the capital city and metropolitan city status, a better education, a higher life standard, and more importantly, a center of all advancement. The condition with its all advantages should trigger its inhabitants particularly women to be pioneers of DKI Jakarta transformations including politics.
Women in this context are the subordinate group; a group of civil society in both conceptual practical realms is suppressed by the dominant. As of now, the women see themselves as part of the social structure that they consider higher than their position i.e. men and state. Concepts of their life is determined and regarded by the superior group and the state. The superior and the state are dominated by men that are as a result of systemic construction for a long time that in turn leads to political life where men are the first gender. Men for all this time has broad opportunity and is identified as to get public roles and domains. These results in the rulers and men who have hegemony and dominant ideology and regard women as individuals based on the patriarchy cultural system that privileges men along with affect and bind construction of women perspective in understanding themselves and their surroundings.

The increasing of women willingness in politics can be arguably said as a consequence of the policy of the 30 percent quota of their representation in political practice. Campaign and socialization held by activists who concerns in the issues of women representation in politics, governance, social organizations and on top of that positive supports of mass media by broadcasting efforts and struggles in improving women representation in politics.

Some female candidates for regional leaders from both provincial level and regency level are successfully elected such as Banten province governor, Surabaya Mayor, South Tangerang Mayor, Deputy Governor of Central Java, Minahasa Regent, Karanganyar regent etc. While some others are not successfully elected such as Chofifah Indarparawansa-a candidate for the East Java Governor, Dr. Marissa Haque Fauzi- a candidate for Banten province governor etc.

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Women as politicians in DKI Jakarta are still lack in terms of quantity and how importance its position compared with men. The number of female politicians is lower than their male counterparts taking over political stages whether in executive, legislative or judicative. The condition seems fairly promising after affirmative action in the form of regulation is legalized, namely the regulation for 30 percent women quota. However, the reality does not meet ideal number viewed form quantity perspective of whole politicians in this country especially in DKI Jakarta where women reaching only 22 representatives out of 100 of the total representatives in the city council. On top of that the insufficient number of the council members is worsened by the minimum contribution of the female representatives.
along the period. It means that it needs more efforts and struggles to improve awareness of women politicians and those living in the society.

There must be serious efforts undertaken by political parties and broader DKI Jakarta broader society especially the women themselves to fight continuously for increasing their representation in politics. It is not only of course in terms of quantity but also in terms of quality covering women awareness in politics. Therefore, the persistent determination to improve women roles and contributions are strongly required in politics which affect the unforeseen prosperity of society.

Principally there is no a special regulation that ignores or focuses on women candidacy for governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta. The equal opportunity is shared between two genders. However the opportunity depends on capacity, bravery and willingness of women as well as political parties’ support. Politics is considered a new field for most of the women in DKI Jakarta as this field is patronized to be ‘masculine’ field. As a result, the condition and outlook affects the less contribution and participation of the women.

The limited contribution in politics is a consequence of continuous socio-cultural in all aspects of life. In addition, it is the process that is deep rooted and integrated to form both women mental and social mental. Politics has yet been regarded as convenient activity for women inasmuch as the social contraction about their being appropriate and inappropriate to partake in the area. For long time, women are just supplementary in political processes. They are more likely seen as husband assistant and political organization servant or even viewed as cheerleaders for male political agendas.

Women who are capable in the area call for serious support in other that able to participate expediently within political society. That fundamental support springs out from society, surrounding and the most significant from their family. The family support lies on a fundamental role as the family takes in their closest and most private place within the women politician personal lives in accordance with socio-cultural values altogether with that fact that they as public figures are responsible for looking after their family life. In contrast, men are assumed to have wider space or in point of fact that they freely can do whatever they want as public domain is inherent for them. Men functions as head of family and breadwinner as well as other roles that are fixed socio-culturally or even politically that their activities outside home are necessary and fair-minded.

Clearly, nowadays, women can be a significant part of political processes in Indonesia. Nevertheless, women have to have equal capacity as men do. The effort is evidently uneasy within established political activities of men. Somehow the political condition of women is to have a big chance to actively involve in political domain for some relevant conditions for women as follows: (1) educated, (2) populist, (3) good looking, (4) knowledgeable and (5) financial support

The women presence as political actors tends to disturb and distract men’s status quo for long tome dominating all sectors of life including politics. The women who are regarded
smart become a threat to the men reality and domination. The inconvenience of men towards wider opportunity for men in politics asserts that is it difficult to break through the establishment without the previously mentioned conditions especially political parties and financial supports. The women surplus like educated, popular due to family and descendent influence and sufficient funding is a fundamental asset to competitively participate in public roles and politics.

Within political domain, strengths belong to women facilitate them in political competition with men. The reality becomes a bigger chance for women to choose politics as their routine as women participation mapping is getting bigger as well as more solid. It indicates that some of women have assets to do that. The political opportunity for women is getting bigger as their political activities are supported by constitutional base namely a policy of affirmative action – the 30 percent women quota. The policy guarantees a friendlier political condition to participate competitively as expectedly women are not just playing a supplementary role or just fulfilling the quota without significant contribution to the politics itself. In other words, regeneration is a necessary process including women by any political party along with the women personal improvement. This is to meet expectation when a woman run for candidacy, meaning that she can fulfill what it takes to be a good leader, one of them is to achieve welfare of the DKI Jakarta population.

It is not adequate for women only to have a broad opportunity, it tends to be strategies belong to women to successfully compete and become an active politicians. They should benefit the affirmative action policy – the 30 percent quota as an entry point to make political atmosphere more reformed. The quota has granted them a bigger opportunity yet it has been realized as the need of women politician is not followed by the quantity of women who are willing to actively participate in politics. One of the political strategies that can be applied is political communication to more attractive politician and favored by most of people. Of political communications strategies is taking as many the advantages as possible of mass media for socialization, publicity, campaign that can form certain personal image and public opinion.

The women representation in politics commences to emerge by legalization of regulation of general election and regulation of political parties that are established by the affirmative action – the 30 percent of quota. In that policy, is regulated that women representation should be not less than 30 percent in representatives’ general election in national, provincial and regional/municipal level. The same provision is recommended in the organization of political party structure. The regulation seems to be supported by most of political elements however it does not have the force of law to be adapted and implemented by bodies outside the state institution or it is just an unbounded suggestion. Frankly there is no a particular regulation in the executive domain or the governance apparatus. Nonetheless, openness and big opportunity in political domain remain unconvincing for women activities to actively participate in the area due to prejudiced roles and contribution that they cannot
match men. The opportunity does not necessary mean that women can easily accepted to join political processes actively with ease. Strong and serious efforts are required to enter such area, because politics is a comfort zone for men for so long.

In accordance with DKI Jakarta history from the first regional election until the most current one which is in 2012 having elected Joko Widodo and Basuki Tjahja Purnama as governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta period 2012 – 2017. During the elections whether in the old order era, the new order era or the reform era, there was not female names whose interest to run for both positions candidacy. Among the female prominent local politicians such as Wanda Hamidah from the National Mandate Party, a city council representative and E commission E and Hasnaini from Democrat Party.

Principally, interest and will; to involve actively in political practice surely exist, but the dominant political force i.e. political parties generally whose officials are men, are not willing to promote women for the top position candidacy. The political distrust towards women is truly irrelevant as process of DKI Jakarta is very well executed and might be an example for other regions. Nevertheless, the well-implemented regional election unfortunately, is not followed by women participation as candidates.

Generally, women are very well accepted in the politics of DKI Jakarta, yet the acceptance is obtained due to continuous hard works and seems thorny. It necessarily needs struggle and uneasy efforts to preserve people trust, especially political parties. This is as logical implication from male domination in politics. The men are still a party that creates policies in the Indonesian political stage including DKI Jakarta political events. In terms of capability, the women who are in political positions in the city council of DKI Jakarta, according to Ida Marmudah, are something to be proud of even though it does not meet the 30 percent quota. The female members are competitive enough compared with their counterparts. It is clearly proven that 22 female representatives out of 100 total members of the city council period 2009 – 2014, some of them are appointed as commission in chief, such as the head of A commission, the vice head of C commission, and so forth.

Based on the opinions and statements from the informants mentioned previously, they can be summarized into as follows:
1. The 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election is well-executed and considered a thought-provoking phenomenon for DKI Jakarta people in particular and all Indonesians in general.
2. The gubernatorial election is successfully implemented proven from whether implementation of the election regulations or public participation actively to generate the six pair-candidates for governor and deputy governor.
3. The success of the 2012 gubernatorial election is marked by the emergence of new paradigm of new leaders whom most the voters favor (although it is not something new) people esteem leaders whose track records are honest and clean and almost always stand
in the side of the majority of the people rather than those whose focus only on political image.

4. The success of the 2012 gubernatorial election is acknowledged widely as a new sight as it produces leaders whom most people are right behind.

5. Unfortunately, the success of the 2012 gubernatorial election has a defection that is the absence of women representation for the candidacy for the top position from either political parties or independence. From this perspective, the capital city is still behind Banten province and other regions.

6. The absence of female for the candidacy for the DKI Jakarta one and two creates a headline in the expense of their educational background of women which is much higher than that of women from other regions.

7. The women are frankly quite trusted to partake as local parliament members of DKI Jakarta and executive positions undertaking strategic authority in DKI Jakarta governance such as the head of BAPPEDA, the secretary of DKI Jakarta government, and other significant roles. The reality is evident that women have chance to run for the top position within DKI Jakarta government, all they need to do is just bravery and political parties’ support.

   Another problem being faced by the women is limited funding. This becomes one of the very pivotal reasons of the minimum level of women representation. The minimum quantity is worsened by political distrust in women capacity to face such burden. As a consequence, financial support for their political activities touches minimum level. In addition, the financial force sometimes overpowers the capacity since some political parties require their candidates to be able to finance their nomination, campaign, or even better assist to finance both political party programs and their own political processes. It is common sense that political agendas need financial support to realize.

   The reality in the governor election of DKI Jakarta clearly cannot be abandoned or going as what it is. It requires special treatments though regulation running in the province so that the women representation can be lifted. It is very unfortunate that DKI Jakarta does not have any expected regulation supporting women representation. The regulation exists in the national stage which is the affirmative action, the 30 percent of quota in the structure of political party organization and legislative candidates. As of now, the same regulation does encompass the executive domain and public officials.

   Political parties’ hesitation to support women political activities emerge for some reasons. Political experiences of women are still shorter compared to those of their counterparts resulting in unreliable proof within society. It drives some others’ perception that women are incapable and not strong enough to survive politics. As a matter of fact that political activity is tiring and competitive activity and requires determination, speed and strategy as well as tactical within existing and ongoing socio-political reality.

   Factors determining women cannot survive politics by self nomination are as follows:
1. Internal factors, these obstacles spring out from themselves and close surrounding. Women become unconfident or bouncing due to their being bounded to family problems such as husband prohibition and like or dislike.

2. External factors, these hindrances come from outside of the women such as socio-cultural values, political party distrust and hesitation to the women political quotient.

   Women should build their bravery and willingness to participate at maximum in politics as possible. They should decide options wisely as they are part of political practice to generate alignment and prosperity for society. The basic assumption for their struggle and the affirmative action policy - the 30 percent quota - are to cultivate political awareness and bigger opportunity for them to competitively survive politics. The bigger the women quantity, the greater the expectation of public to them to contribute. The struggle must be carried on because today’s result is just the beginning. The efforts must not stop as the bravery comes out to choose politics as their life. Women do not do activities for only themselves but also to burden the bigger interest namely, the nation and social interests.

   Women should have courage and they are willing to show up as alternative leaders in DKI Jakarta. They can be more caring, honest and public oriented leaders. They with all innate characteristics; sensitive, patient and caring can be a surplus and unique force to lead the capital city. This is so fundamental that the city should be taken care by the right hand in order to achieve objectives mainly public welfare. Consequently, the maximum efforts are demanded to realize public trust and political parties since the put them in to the position right now and for the future. Briefly, women should be able to seize opportunities and chances in any given situation where people are mostly defected and lost for a bigger interest and a stronger force i.e. capitalism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

1. Women political power in DKI Jakarta is still low compared to the number of women voters. Women can match men in politics. Evidently can be seen from the city council members, the period of 2009 – 2014 that touches 22 members out of 100 representatives.

2. In the governor election 2012 of DKI Jakarta, from six pair-candidates nominated both by political parties and by independence, there is no female candidate who runs either for governor or deputy governor. This is to say that there is no women representation in that DKI Jakarta regional election 2012. The condition is clearly unfair for women representation in political domain, particularly in relation to political marginalization.

SUGGESTIONS

1. The female group should be more united in performing political struggles, in having clear strategies and more consistent with the ongoing efforts undertaken so that their objectives are more likely achieved. The efforts and struggles are not for women all alone but it should encompass the broader society interests.
2. Political parties as the only way for political regeneration, nomination and candidacy and assumed to be taken over by men, must promote and support women political activities at the maximum so that they have equal opportunity as men do.

3. The society especially the women themselves have to be able to build togetherness and trust towards women political activities. They should offer and propose unique patterns of approaches and services and more importantly more effective that men do. As a result, their presence and contribution as political leaders are expected and favored by most people within society.

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