

The Politics of Hope Synergy: The Intersectionality of Youth Politics in Feminism

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Abstract

Indonesian youth experience age discrimination (ageism) according to the Domination Matrix in the form of legal structural dominance and cultural hegemony. Law Number 40 of 2009 on Youth defines youth as citizens aged 16—30 years, but a number of political positions in Law Number 7 of 2017 on Elections and Law Number 10 of 2016 on Local Elections have conditions that prohibit youth ages. All youths are prohibited from becoming president/deputy which is implied by the existence of a minimum age requirement of 40 years, governor/deputy (30), and members of the General Election Commission/Election Supervisory Body at central (40), provincial (35) and district/city levels (30). Culturally, the ageism which judges youth to be incapable of leading is natural with the fact that youth have never nominated a youth minister and chairman of National Committee of Indonesian Youth (KNPI). It is important for young people to study the politics of hope for feminism, which in history succeeded in removing the ban on women's suffrage and succeeded in obtaining political affirmation of at least 30 percent. As a significant number of citizens, the intersectionality of youth in feminism can be a synergy to achieve a more representative parliament, by recognizing one another's identities within the framework of political expectations.

Keywords: politics of hope, ageism, youth, intersectionality

Introduction

Young people are among the Indonesian citizens who experience political discrimination. The state has legally recognised the specificity of youth identity through Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth, which defines youth as citizens between the ages of 16 and 30. However, Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections prohibits youth from running for President/Vice President and requires a minimum age of 40 years. The same law also prohibits youth from running for the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU*) and the General Election Supervisory Commission (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu*) at the central, provincial, and district/city levels. Then, Law No. 10 of 2016 on Amendments to Law No. 8 of 2015 on Amendments to Law No. 1 of 2015 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors prohibits young people from running for governor/deputy governor because it requires a minimum age of 30 years. So, with regulations that prohibit the political right to be elected in elections and election-related positions, no matter how great Indonesian youth are, they have no chance of becoming President/Vice President, governor/deputy governor, and members of the election organisers.

In addition to experiencing discrimination in regard to the right to be elected, youth representation in the

legislature is very low. In the 2019 elections, youth representation in DPR was only 12.5 per cent (72/575). In the previous election results, the number of young people in DPR was not even a concern.

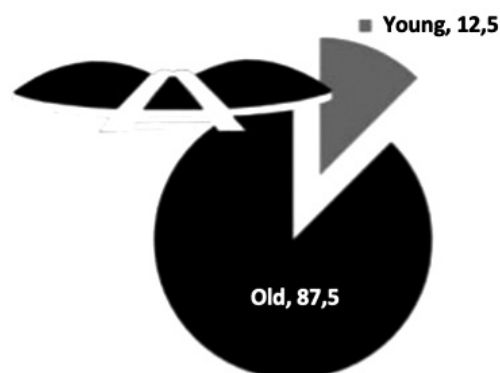


Figure 1. Comparison of Young & Old Members of DPR from the 2019 Elections (%)

Source: Data processed from dpr.go.id

Discrimination against young people in exercising their right to be elected is similar to the historical experience of women in the United States and some European countries before 1920. At that time, women did not have the right to vote or stand for election. Thanks to a long and sustained women's movement, the provision

prohibiting women from voting was removed by the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution on suffrage (Mangan et al. 2019, p. 58).

This glorious achievement was the result of a long struggle by the women’s movement since the mid-1800s. Women won the right to vote and to be elected in politics. The right to vote and to be elected is part of human rights, which is not only a fundamental right but also a natural right that comes with human birth. When the founders or state administrators enact laws that prohibit women’s political rights, it means that there is a theft of rights that violates humanity. The long struggle and achievement of women’s political rights was part of the birth of the first wave of feminist thought and movement (Mangan et al. 2019, pp. 59-63).

To date, the struggles and achievements of feminism in the fight for women’s rights have become an inspiration and been implemented in many countries, including Indonesia. Since its independence as a state in 1945, Indonesia has never banned women from politics. As a result of women’s political struggle, the post-reform constitutional amendments introduced an affirmative article for citizens. Article 28H(2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states: “Every person is entitled to receive ease and special treatment in order to obtain the same opportunity and benefit in order to achieve equality and justice”. This constitutional provision then became the basis for affirmative action for women in political party and election laws in the form of a minimum of 30 per cent women’s representation (Ana et al. 2010, p. 169).

Table 1. Women’s Election Rates in DPR Elections

Election Year	Women in Parliament	Number of House Seats	Percentage of Women in DPR
1999	45	500	9,00
2004	61	550	11,10
2009	101	560	18,00
2014	97	560	17,30
2019	118	575	20,50

Source: Processed by the author from KPU and DPR

However, the existence of affirmative action for women does not mean that political equality and justice have been achieved. Even after five post-reform elections, women’s representation did not reach the minimum level of 30 per cent. The number of women in DPR from the 1999 to 2019 elections successively

resulted in the percentage of elected women being 9 per cent (45 women out of 500 DPR seats), 11.1 per cent (61 women out of 550), 18 per cent (101 women out of 560), 17.3 per cent (97 women out of 560), and 20.5 per cent (118 women out of 575).

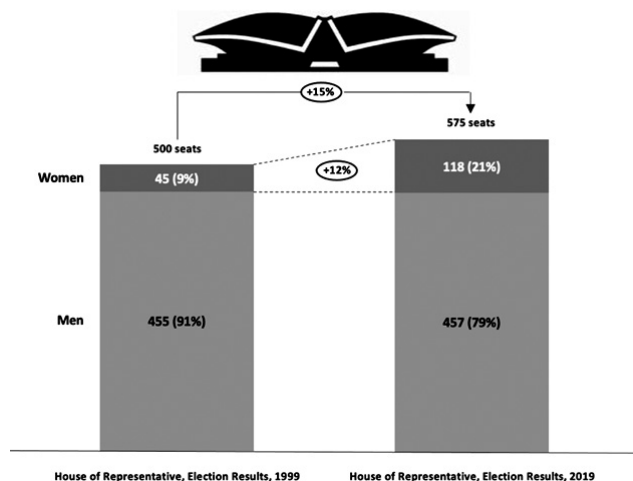


Figure 2: Increase in Women’s Seats and DPR Seats

Source: Processed from KPU and DPR

In fact, the increase in the number and percentage of women in DPR is lower than the increase in the number and percentage of additional DPR seats (1999-2019). In the 1999 elections, out of 500 DPR seats, there were only 45 women, or 9 per cent of the total. In the 2019 elections, out of 575 DPR seats, there were only 118 women, or 20.5 per cent of the total. This means that between 1999 and 2019, the increase in the percentage of women in DPR was less than 12 per cent, while the increase in the percentage of DPR seats was 15 per cent.

The unrepresentative nature of state institutions becomes even more relevant when there are far more victims of violence against women and young people. The results of a survey conducted by the United Nations

Population Fund (UNFPA) together with *Komnas Perempuan* (2021) show that 91.6 per cent of youth (15-30 years old) had experienced sexual violence. 37.6 per cent of them had been forced to have sex and 61.5 per cent had been touched on certain body parts. 75.8 per cent of the respondents were female.

The high number confirms the data in the context of the 2020 pandemic. *Komnas Perempuan* recorded 299,911 cases of violence against women. This includes online gender-based violence (*Kekerasan Berbasis Gender Online, KBGO*). *Databoks* of *katadata.co.id* cites the Statista report that young citizens are the actors closest to social media. This suggests that more victims are likely to be young women.

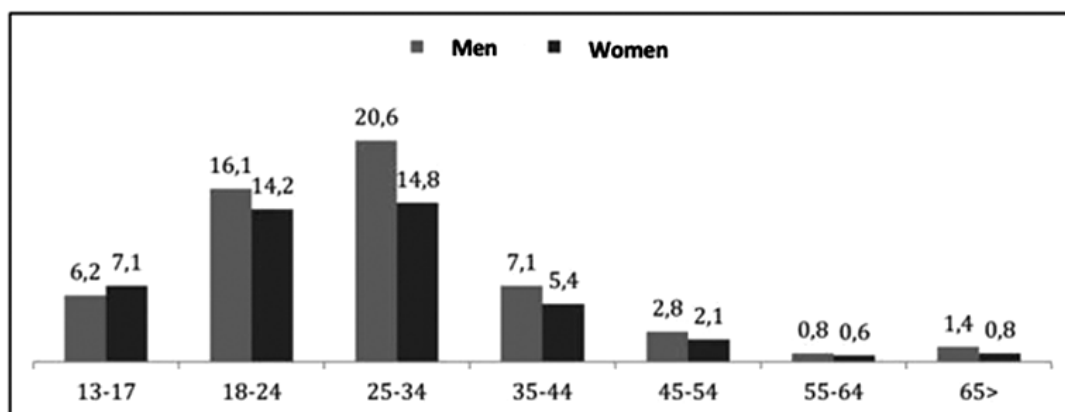


Figure 3. Percentage of Social Media Users by Age Group, (Years) and Gender

Source: *Databoks.katadata.co.id* (Statista) 2020

The fact that young women are victims is paradoxical when they are compared as a demographic force. According to the 2020 census and projections for 2023 by the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS*), female citizens make up about 50 per cent of the total population. KPU announces that young voters (17-40 years old) amounted to 107 million voters or more than 55 per cent of the total voters, which means that about 50 per cent are young women (BPS & KPU 2023).

From all the context and explanation of the problem, there are two questions in this research, namely: 1) How can youth groups learn from women’s groups in achieving political rights recognition and be more empowered to include affirmative politics? 2) What is the intersectionality of youth groups to join feminism?

Research Methodology

The research in this paper uses a qualitative research method that includes a legal and literature review. This

research attempts to answer the research questions in stages: First, analysing a number of legal documents on the legal definition and political rights of youth (Law No. 40 of 2009, Law No. 7 of 2017, and Law No. 10 of 2016), as well as other provisions that discriminate against youth. Second, collecting data on youth representation in state institutions. Third, identifying forms of cultural discrimination based on age (ageism) in public offices that stereotype young people.

From the three stages that produce discriminatory legal documents, data and facts of unrepresentative state institutions, as well as the problems of youth and women as two identities that experience domination, the analysis of this research is based on the theory and history of feminism. There are two groups of theories used in this paper. First, the theory of ageism. Second, feminist theory that refers to the matrix of domination, the politics of hope, and intersectionality and is reinforced by other feminist theories such as women’s representation and affirmation. The history of feminism used is the

history of waves of feminism. First, the history of the women’s suffrage movement as part of the first wave of feminism. Second, the history of women’s achievements

in representation and affirmation. Third, the history of International Women’s Day, including Women’s March.

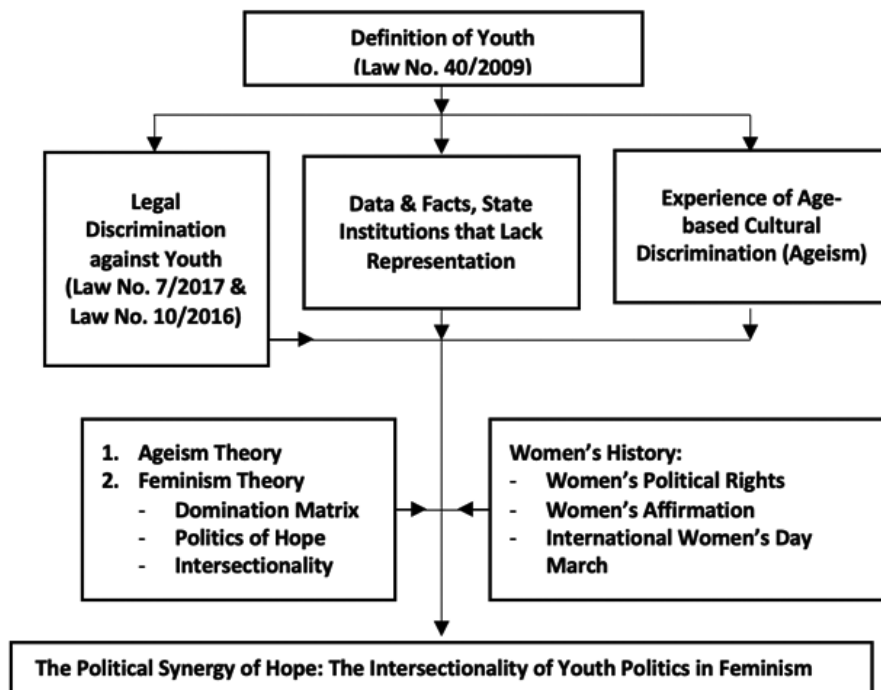


Figure 4. Framework of Thinking

Source: Processed by the author

This research focuses on a number of candidacy requirements for political office in Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections and Law No. 10 of 2016 on Local Elections (*Pilkada*). The discriminatory articles against youth in these laws are linked to discriminatory laws experienced by women, which later gave birth to the first wave of feminism. Drawing on the experiences and achievements of the women’s movement that incorporated the political theory of hope in feminism, this research shows that youth politics must embrace and apply feminism.

The synergy between women and youth’s politics is explained by three similarities. First, the similarity of the experience of domination, by incorporating the matrix of domination theory. Second, the similarity of stereotypes, which is proven by data and facts that patriarchy degrades women, while ageism degrades youth. Third, the similarity of the political spirit of hope.

To deepen the analysis, this research also includes manifestations of the political synergy of women and youth. These include the celebration of International Women’s Day every year on 8 March in the form of Women’s March. This annual march expresses the diversity of demands in which many young people

usually participate, without distinguishing identities based on age, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, and others. The synergy of women and youth groups at the cultural level as a form of politics of hope, which accompanies the increase in the number of masses and their expansion in Indonesia, is expected to be followed up at the structural level to increase the representation of women and youth in parliament.

From the analysis of the theory and history of feminism, there are recommendations for the synergy of the politics of hope between women and youth’s groups. These recommendations can answer two questions in this research. First, they answer the question of how youth groups can learn from women’s groups in the struggle for recognition of political rights and can be more empowered in the pursuit of affirmative politics. Second, they answer the question of how youth groups can participate in the political synergy of hope.

Political Synergy between Women and Youth

The political synergy of women and youth is an attempt to unite the two identities of citizens in an effort to achieve state empowerment for the ideals of justice.

Women and youth as identities can work together by recognising their similarities. From a causal point of view, this makes a lot of sense because both are in a situation of marginalisation and discrimination. In terms of quantity, it is very significant because women and youth make up about 50 per cent of the total population (BPS & KPU 2023). In state politics, where the selection of rulers and their evaluation are centred on elections, the basis of quality and quantity is very important to be converted from mass to votes, to seats of power, then to more equitable policies.

This political synergy is part of the politics of hope. The politics of hope in feminism is a concept that refers to social and political changes that are expected to bring about significant changes in life as a whole. The emphasis on hope is at the heart of the politics of the marginalised. It is a narrative of a strong desire to achieve equality or a better life. The politics of hope believes that political action aimed at achieving equality and justice will lead to a society free from violence and discrimination. Feminism is strongly characterised as a politics of hope because it is underpinned by an idealised motivation to achieve full equality (Coleman & Ferreday 2010, p. 313). Political philosophers Chantal Mouffe (1943-) and Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014) see hope as a desire that is expressed in everyday actions and political activities. In feminism, the belief in hope as desire in daily actions and political activities is the basic foundation of human life to survive in the world and rise from a subordinate position (Zournazi 2002, pp. 112-133).

In order to recognise the common experience of injustice against young people, it is important to start by referring to Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections. The identity of youth as citizens here refers to Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth. Youth are Indonesian citizens who are in an important period of growth and development between the ages of 16 and 30. From this definition of youth, there are a number of articles in Law No. 7 of 2017 and Law No. 1 of 2015 jo. Law No. 10 of 2016 that discriminate against young people, including 1) Article 169 letter q of Law No. 7 of 2017 reads: The requirements that must be fulfilled by a Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate is at least 40 (forty) years of age; 2) Article 21 paragraph (1) letter b of Law No. 7 of 2017 reads: The requirements to become a commissioner of KPU, Provincial KPU, and/or Regency/City KPU is that during registration, at least 40 (forty) years of age for KPU candidate, at least 35 (thirty-five) years of age for Provincial KPU candidate, and at least 30 (thirty) years of age for Regency/City KPU candidate; 3) Article 117 paragraph (1) letter b of Law No. 7 Year 2017

reads: The requirements to be a candidate of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, Regency/City Bawaslu commissioner or member of Sub-district Panwaslu, Village Panwaslu, or polling station supervisors are:... during registration, at least 40 (forty) years of age for Bawaslu commissioner candidate, at least 35 (thirty-five) years of age for Provincial Bawaslu candidate, at least 30 (thirty) years of age for Regency/City Bawaslu candidate...; 4) Article 7 paragraph (2) letter e of Law No. 1 of 2015 jo. Law No. 10 of 2016 read: Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor shall be at least 30 (thirty) years old.

Indonesia's legal ban on youth running for political office positions youth as oppressed citizens. D'Ignazio and Klein explain the concept of oppression in Patricia Hill Collins' (1948-) "Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment" (1990). In this concept, forms of oppression consist of four matrices. First, the structural domain. Second, the disciplinary domain. Third, the hegemonic domain. Fourth, the interpersonal domain (D'Ignazio & Klein 2020, pp. 24-25).

The definitions of the four domains of oppression are as follows: First, the structural domain is organised oppression. It takes the form of discriminatory laws and policies. The prohibition of women voting in the US law before 1920 is an example of the structural domain.

Second, the disciplinary domain is oppression at the level of implementation or governance. In this oppression, the law may not prohibit an individual or group, but because of errors or irregularities in implementation or governance, this unproblematic law becomes oppressive. For example, while the law and the state budget guarantee access to health services, corrupt actions make these state services inaccessible/difficult to access, affecting the victims.

Third, the hegemonic domain is cultural oppression. This takes the form of the dissemination of oppressive ideas through culture and the media. It is very likely that the laws and their implementation already guarantee that all citizens can access their rights, but because ideas that oppress certain identities are disseminated in society and in the mass media, individuals or groups of related identities cannot even access their rights. For example, while the country's laws and their implementation guarantee women's participation in politics, at the same time there are challenges of sexism in mass media coverage and society's views - indirectly making it impossible/difficult for women to be elected as state officials.

Structural Domain	Discipline Domain
Organising oppression: laws and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administering and managing oppression. - Implementing and enforcing oppressive laws.
Hegemonic Domain	Interpersonal Domain
Ideas of oppression: culture and media.	Individual experiences of oppression.

Figure 5. Four Domains of the Dominance Matrix

Source: Patricia Hill Collins (1990)

Fourth, the interpersonal domain is the oppression experienced by individuals. It may be that the laws and their implementation, as well as narratives in society and the mass media, have sought to reinforce an identity, but because of the violence experienced by individuals, they lose or cannot access their rights. For example, people with visual impairments do not want to exercise their right to vote because they are ashamed, feel limited, or are worried about making things difficult for others.

The matrix that explains the oppression of women can also be used for other identities that experience discrimination or marginalisation. Women’s identity struggles exist because of the loss of human rights that should be given by nature. The same is true for other identities such as economic class, colour/race, sex/gender, disability, religion, ethnicity, and others. There is a superordinate identity that dominates other subordinate identities, resulting in discrimination and marginalisation.

Based on the division of domains, there are two dominations of youth that are most relevant in this research. First, the structural domain. Second, the cultural hegemonic domain.

The structural domain is relevant because there are laws that prohibit young people from running for political offices. This ban on the human right to politics has meant that Indonesia has never had a young person as President/Vice President, even at the nomination stage of an election. Indonesia has also never had a young person as governor/deputy governor. Indonesia has never had a young person as an election organiser for either the KPU or Bawaslu.

The hegemonic domain is relevant because young people are indeed victims of discrimination and social violence. One of the forms of violence recorded is sexual violence. UNFPA and *Komnas Perempuan* (2021) data on experiences of sexual violence, both offline and online, shows evidence of the hegemony experienced by youth (15-30 years). Almost all young people have experienced sexual violence. More than 50 per cent have had their body parts touched and almost 40 per cent have been forced to have sex.

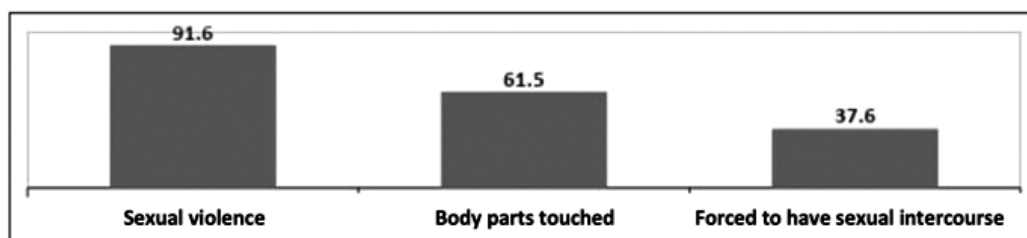


Figure 6. Youth experience as victims of sexual violence (%)

Source: UNFPA & Komnas Perempuan data (2022)

The Youth Movement Needs to Learn from the Political Movement of Women’s Representation

To combat this structural and cultural discrimination, it is important for young people to learn from the women’s political movement. Before 1903, Britain and a number of European countries or colonies still prohibited women from voting in elections. This situation was relatively accelerated by the women’s movement in New Zealand in 1893, which succeeded in obtaining legal guarantees for the right to vote in elections. Women’s solidarity across countries succeeded in overturning the ban on women voting in the US elections in 1920 (Mangan et al. 2019, pp. 45-46).

The women’s movement for political rights was part of the first wave of feminism. Two of those who narrated this struggle were John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858). Both believed that women needed the vote in order to be equal to men. Voting gives people the power not only to express their own political

views, but also to change systems, structures, and attitudes that contribute to the oppression of themselves and/or others. This idea gave rise to the women’s rights movement in the US in the nineteenth century, as part of the women’s suffrage movement (Tong 2018, pp. 20-22).

The struggle of the US suffragette group in the early 20th century successfully raised the issue of women’s suffrage. The history of this struggle was further strengthened by the appearance of Sojourner Truth (1797-1883) at the 1951 Ohio Women’s Rights Convention with her speech entitled Ain’t I A Woman! This speech also made the struggle for women’s suffrage inseparable from the abolition of slavery. Thus, the abolition of the ban on women’s suffrage should include the abolition of the ban on black suffrage. The right to vote is part of the struggle for equality in public life. It applies to all citizens, including women and black people (Tong 2018, pp. 23-24).

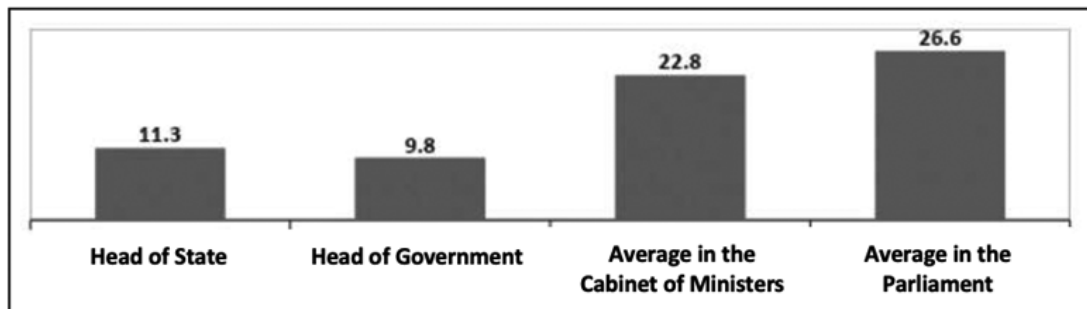


Figure 7: Achievement of Women’s Presence/Representation in State Positions/Institutions in Percentage

Source: IPU 2023 Data

Thanks to the long struggle of feminism, all democratic countries now guarantee women’s participation in politics. Not only the right to vote, but also the right to be nominated and elected to political offices. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), various state institutions and political positions have been occupied by women. In January 2023, relatively positive data was obtained. 11.3 per cent of countries have women as heads of state (17/151). There are 9.8 per cent of countries have women as heads of government (19/193). For ministerial positions, on a global average, 22.8 per cent of women are in government cabinets. For parliamentary institutions, women make up 26.6 per cent of parliament in the average country in the world. (IPU 2023).

The struggle of youth groups to eradicate discrimination and gain political recognition faces a serious challenge. The challenge is that the variable of age, which forms the identity of youth, is a fluid variable. Meanwhile, the gender/sex variable that forms women’s identity is a relatively fixed variable. Some may question the politics of youth. If youth are citizens between the ages of 16 and 30, will the struggle for identity lose its relevance when the age of the fighters goes beyond the notion of “youth”? And what is so special about young people compared to old people, if everyone can be young or has been young? This perspective has led to many community organizations that claim to be “youth” but are led by older people who do not address the developmental needs of the youth experience.

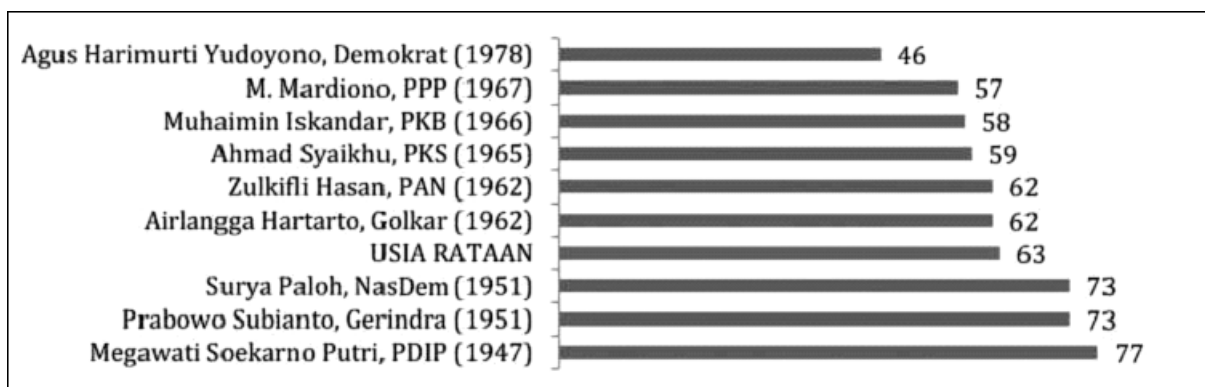


Figure 8: Comparison of Age (Years) of Youth Organization Chairpersons

Source: Processed by the author from Tempo.co (2023), Antara News (2023), Liputan 6 (2020)

According to information from the news, there are no youth community organizations led by young chairpersons in accordance with Law No. 40 of 2009 (16-30 years old). They are all over 30 years old, with an average age of 49.5 years. The youngest is Dzulfikar Ahmad (36), chairperson of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah*. The oldest is Japto Soerjosoemarno (74), chairperson of *Pemuda Pancasila*. For the activists of these organizations, youth is defined as youthful spirit, not age.

Given the fluidity of the age variable and the doubts about the political identity of youth, it is actually necessary for youth groups to learn from the women's political movement. Feminism has an explanation that can strengthen the fluidity of the identity variable to become the identity of the political movement. Feminism, based on the experience of the body, recognises that our bodies, regardless of age, have personal and collective experiences. Discrimination and violence can be felt from an early age, including in the youth age group (16-30 years).

Another challenge for the political identity of young people is the doubt of quality. This doubt is based on ageism (Butler 1969). As the World Health Organisation (WHO) explains, ageism refers to stereotypes (how do we think?), prejudice (how do we feel?), and discrimination (how do we behave?) directed at people because of their age. It can be institutional, interpersonal, or self-directed. Institutional ageism refers to laws, rules, social norms, policies, and practices of institutions that unfairly limit opportunities and systematically disadvantage people

because of their age. Interpersonal ageism occurs in interactions between two or more people. Self-directed ageism occurs when ageism is internalised and turned against oneself (Gutterman 2022, p. 2).

Ageism's view of youth is similar to patriarchy's view of women. Women's political identities have not been accepted in the past, partly because of doubts about their quality. In general, youth are still perceived by many people in Indonesia as an age group that is not yet ready for leadership. The experience of young people is still limited, and their skills are not good enough (Irdiana et al. 2021). This is also part of the consideration of the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi, MK*) in rejecting the judicial review of the regional head nomination requirements. Based on the decision Number 58 / PUU-XVII / 2019, the judges who protect democracy and the Constitution argue that the determination of the age of candidacy in elections is not within the competence of the Constitutional Court, so it is left to the legislative body - DPR.

If we expect DPR to agree to a minimum age for political candidacy, this is less likely. As a legislative body, DPR has no incentive to grant it. Its members are elected, so it tends to make the requirement exclusive. DPR, which includes factions of political parties, is linked to political parties, all of which are led by old people, so DPR tends to be unwilling to make a young age requirement for candidacy. All the leaders of the political parties want to become President/Vice President and do not want young competitors.

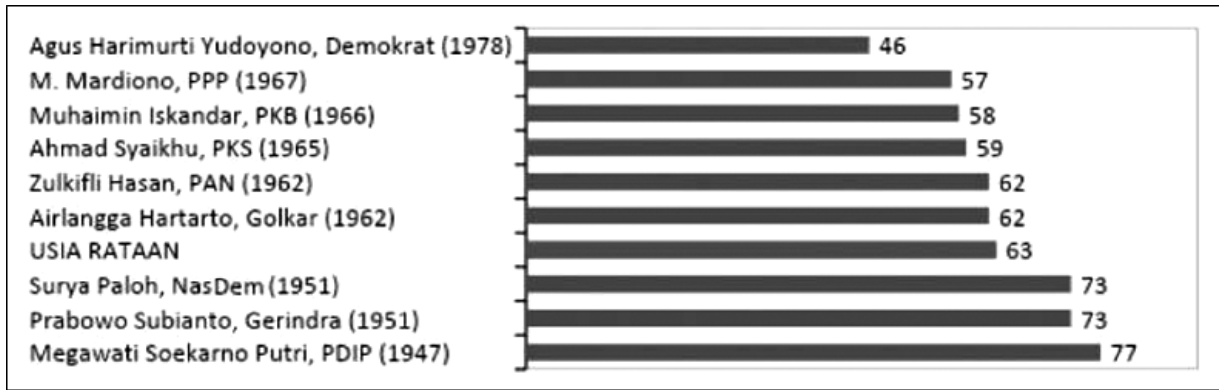


Figure 9: Comparison of the Age (Years) of Political Party Chairpersons of DPR by Year of Birth and Election Year 2024

Source: Processed by the author from Tirto.id

Of the list of DPR political party leaders, none are of an age that meets the definition of youth in the Law on Youth (maximum 30 years old). The average age of political party chairpersons is 63. The youngest chairperson is the chairperson of *Partai Demokrat*, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (46 years old), who is the son of the former chairperson of *Partai Demokrat*, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (President of Indonesia, 2004-2009 and 2009-2014). The oldest chairperson is Megawati Soekarno Putri (77), chairperson of *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)*, the party with the most seats in DPR. In order to pass the youth age requirement for the nomination of President/Vice President and KPU/Bawaslu members, more than 50 per cent of DPR seats are needed, which unfortunately is dominated by old members and old leadership in political parties.

The dominance of old people in the leadership of political parties is linked to the Law on Political Parties, which imposes very strict requirements for their establishment. This has an impact on the institutionalisation of political parties away from the youth. These requirements create a tendency that only old people can establish a political party, and its membership is much more filled with old people. The dominance of old people in political parties has an impact on the difficulty for young people to join political parties because they are considered to be qualitatively and financially powerless.

The underestimation of youth is also reflected in the position of youth minister. In fact, this position in the government cabinet can be based purely on the will and authority of the President. Unfortunately, this prerogative is not used by the President in a positive way to empower youth.

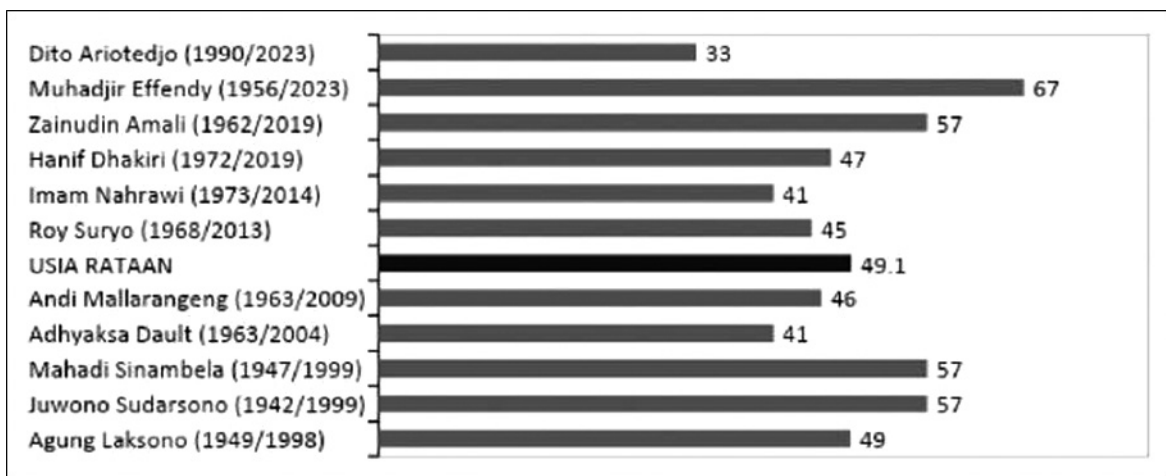


Figure 10: Comparison of Age (Years) of Youth Ministers Based on Year of Birth and Initial Year in Office

Source: Processed by the author from Ministry of Youth and Sports Data

On the list of youth ministers above, none of the youth ministers are of the age that corresponds to the definition of youth in the Law on Youth (maximum 30 years old). The average age of youth ministers is 49.1 years. The youngest youth minister is Dito Ariodtedjo (33 years old), who serves in the last term of the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin government (2019-2024). The oldest youth minister is Muhadjir Effendy (67 years old), who instead became the first minister of the Reform Government Cabinet (*Kabinet Pemerintahan Reformasi*) following the 1999 elections, the result of the overthrow of Soeharto by students and young people.

There is not a single woman on the list of youth ministers. It is as if youth minister (not female youth) is an exclusively male position. In fact, the head of this ministry seems to be the binary opposite of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. The bias that youth is male is compounded by the physical bias that the name of the ministry is the Ministry of Youth and Sports. Thus, instead of the position of Minister of Youth in the Ministry of Youth being an affirmative position for young citizens, this position is an addition to male dominance in state positions and institutions.

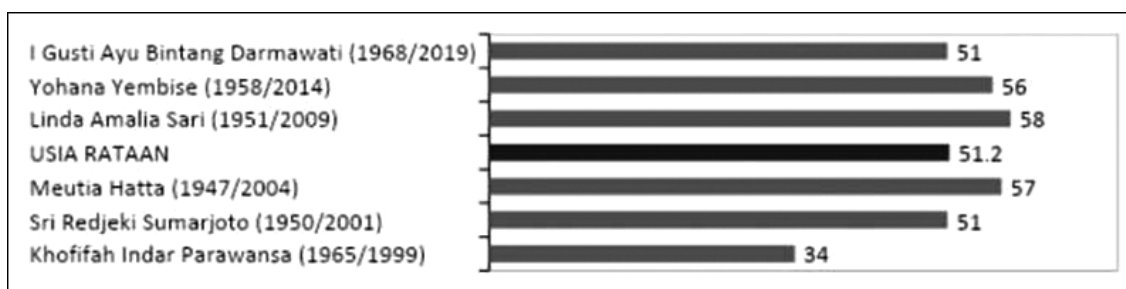


Figure 11: Comparison of Age (Years) of Ministers of Women's Empowerment Based on Year of Birth and Initial Year in Office

Source: Processed by the author from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Data

None of the ministers responsible for women's empowerment are young. The average age is 51.2 years, older than the average age of youth ministers (49.1 years). The youngest is Khofifah Indar Parawansa (34), Minister for Women's Empowerment in President Abdurrahman "Gus Dur" Wahid's Reform Cabinet of 1999. The oldest is Linda Amalia Sari (58), Minister for Women's Empowerment in the 2009 election Cabinet of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The lack of youth among the women in the Ministry of Women's Empowerment reinforces the maternalist bias of a state institution called the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. It also contributes to the underestimation of women in public office as only suitable for children and domestic matters.

The underestimation of women in politics and their lack of economic security is also evident in the reporting of corruption cases. If there is a corruption case against a female politician, the public's opinion is stronger than against a male politician (Novita 2016). Conversely, when a male politician is arrested for corruption, the wife or woman around the perpetrator is often blamed (Erry et al. 2013).

In fact, male politicians are far more corrupt than female politicians, according to DPR corruption cases in

the period 2009-2014 as processed by *rumahpemilu.org*. Only four women in DPR, or 3.9 per cent, were arrested for corruption. The rest, out of a total of 34 members of DPR arrested for corruption, 30 were men.



Figure 12: Comparison of the Number of Female and Male Members of DPR 2014-2019 as Corruption Offenders

Source: *rumahpemilu.org*

Clarifying the quality of youth can be a counter-question. If youth are required to be qualified, why is

there no demand for quality from old DPR members who dominate the parliament? The Global Corruption Barometer (2020) ranks the parliament (DPR/DPRD) as the most corrupt institution, which is a picture of state institutions controlled by old people (Transparency Indonesia 2021).

The Intersectionality of Youth Politics in Feminism

After learning from the feminist movement, it is important for youth politics to join feminism. This is done by positioning youth political identity as part of intersectionality within feminism. By definition, intersectionality in feminism is an approach within feminism that recognises that gender inequality cannot be separated from inequalities based on race, class, sexual orientation, religion, disability, and other identity factors, including youth. Intersectionality seeks to understand and address the ways in which systems of power interact and influence each other. When youth politics incorporates the intersectional perspective of feminism in its activism, it can play a role in creating more inclusive and equitable change for all groups in society. This enables the realisation of shared goals for gender equality and social justice (Runyan 2018).

In addition to women’s political identity, with feminism having experiences and ideological concepts about the subordination of bodily identity, women’s political identity has also become an umbrella for the struggle for the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. All kinds of bodily identities that experience violence, marginalisation, and discrimination come under the auspices of the women’s movement (Zournazi 2002). This is in the same way that feminism encompasses the identity groups of labour, economic disadvantage, disability, indigenous peoples, orientation/change, sex/ gender, minorities (including men), environmental issues, and others.

Youth politics, based on the awareness of discrimination and oppression and the hope for an equal and just life, has the same political hopes as women’s politics. Hence, the combination of these two subordinated body identities is not a contradiction. In fact, the two are interdependent, because women’s politics, overshadowing youth politics, will increase the mass and extend the reach of the political influence of equality to achieve justice.

Women’s March can be a testament to the intimate intermingling of women and youth’s political identities. The celebration of International Women’s Day on 8 March

not only aims to communicate the women’s agenda each year, but also to show the strength of the mass of political identities. If we look at Women’s March in Indonesia every year, many of the marchers are young people. This colossal action on the streets is not only massive offline, but also online through social media. For example, Women’s March Jakarta Instagram account has more than 17,300 followers as of 26 July 2023.

Surprisingly, Women’s March is not only organised in Jakarta. Based on local Women’s March accounts on Instagram, there are also initiators and masses of the International Women’s Day March in a number of regions in Indonesia. These include Yogyakarta Women’s March (2,554), Malang (1,452), Kupang (1,347), Lampung (892), Cirebon (572), Serang (578), Jember (460), and others. All are highly youth-driven, interconnected, and communicative.

The synergy of women’s and youth identities merging into young women’s identities is also evident in the International Women’s Day March. This makes us realise that within women’s identity there is youth identity and within youth identity there is women’s identity. Within women’s identity, the young outnumber the old. The number of women is relatively balanced with the number of men within the youth identity.

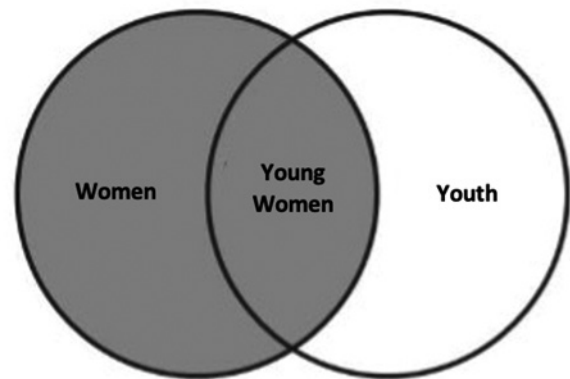


Figure 13: Young Women’s Identity as a Slice of Women and Youth’s Identities

Source: Processed by the author from the comparison of elections voter data, KPU (2024)

The phenomenon of the synergy between women and youth in the Women’s March that accompanies the digital activist base is also happening in many countries. This global trend was not even present in the dynamics of the second wave of feminism. Younger gender activists are returning to some of the fundamental concerns of the second wave, including issues of sexual harassment

and violence, sexual freedom in the broadest sense, capital distribution and labour organisation (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p. 6). The difference is that these gender activists have new practices in the form of social media. Lucy Mangan and other feminists argue in *The Feminism Book* (2019) that the fourth wave of feminism is online feminism.

The vibrancy of feminist activism and thought automatically refutes the judgement of outsiders a decade or so ago. Feminism was declared obsolete. Some even spoke of a “post-feminist age”. The Women’s March, which continues to draw large numbers of participants, including campaigns and education on social media, proves that feminist activism is experiencing an extraordinary revival in many regions, countries, and the world, demanding bodily autonomy in freedom of expression, reproductive health and resistance to sexual violence, as well as victim assistance and protection, so it is not wrong to say that a new wave of feminism is taking place (Molyneux et al. 2021, pp. 32-33).

Interestingly, these different forms of social media practice can connect groups of women and young people. The common goal of achieving equality and justice broadens their connections by including individual actors and groups. It looks more like an alliance because it is not always looking for fellow feminist activists or women’s organisations but is open to being involved and even visited by different groups from different sectors. These include youth groups, LGBTIQ groups, environmental issues, and others (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p. 7).

With this positive new trend, it is necessary to include a wider range of consciousness. Firstly, women’s political movements, together with youth, should not pursue a single gender agenda, but rather fight for diverse aspirations and against discrimination for the benefit of diverse marginalised groups. Secondly, because of this diverse and participatory agenda, feminist approaches no longer return to the emphasis of the second or first wave of feminism, but to the third wave of feminism with its intersectional approach (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p.7).

The political synergy of women and youth at the cultural level is very important to be followed up at the structural level. The alleged dominance of the young masses in the Women’s March is important to prove through the tradition of recording numbers. How many people participate in the Women’s March every year, both in Jakarta and in other cities? How many are usually the initiators/ organisers? How many participants? How many people donate money or buy Women’s March

products? How dominant is youth in the organisation and participation of the Women’s March? It is important to record all of this in quantitative terms, including names and locations.

Significant numbers of women and youth are important to combine to represent the politics of hope in representative institutions. The level of women’s representation in parliament is illustrated by the balance of gender (and other) identities in legislative power. Women, who make up half of the country’s population, have four important reasons for representation (Phillips 1995, p. 62), namely 1) to provide role models of successful women politicians; 2) to demand the principle of gender justice; 3) to identify the special needs of neglected women; and 4) to improve the quality of political life.

If political participation is defined as the presence of political actors, it is important to discuss the concept of women’s representation. The principle of the role of representation does not only aim at the representation of certain groups. The concept of women’s representation in parliament is to emphasise the function of protection and state services that are responsive and accountable to all citizens (Soetjipto 2011, p.71). Women’s representation will fulfil the meaning of representation in parliament. First, pictorial representation with the meaning of representatives who must resemble those they represent. Second, theatrical representation, in the sense of representatives who must speak and act for the party they represent. Third, legal representation means that the representative acts on behalf of, with the consent of, and/or in the interests of those they represent (Suseno 2014, p. 16).

Women’s representation is not just about numbers. A significant number is important as a starting point for breaking through the marginalisation of women. More than that, women’s representation also means substantively advancing marginalised groups and being able to articulate their interests (Soetjipto 2011, p. 21). The political achievements of women, who are already aware of the importance of numbers with a minimum representation of 30 per cent, need to be continued with the integration of women’s and youth identities. This will increase the number and scope. It is important that more women and young people are empowered to participate in the governance cycle. During the election, this should be linked by constituency to the electorate to formulate a political contract based on the women’s and youth agenda. A significant number of people will strengthen the political bargaining power of hope and incentivise the election of candidates and political parties. After

the election produces politicians who are officials in the government, it is important for the mass base of women and youth to control policies to keep them in line with the contract of politics of hope.

Then, women's identity, which already has affirmative provisions in the Political Parties Law and Elections Law, must also be fought for and achieved by the youth identity. We must realise that women's affirmation uses the legal basis in the Constitution that can also be used for youth identity to strengthen its political empowerment. Article 28H (2) of the 1945 Constitution states that every person is entitled to receive ease and special treatment in order to obtain the same opportunity and benefit in order to achieve equality and justice. If women can get a minimum of 30 per cent, why cannot youth?

Closing

Based on all the discussions in this paper, answers to two research questions have been obtained. Firstly, youth groups can learn from the politics of hope of women's groups who are gaining political recognition of their rights and are more empowered to engage in affirmative politics. The age identity of young people experiencing ageism is similar to the gender identity of women experiencing patriarchy. It is important for youth groups to have a collective awareness that they, like women, experience structural and hegemonic domination of political rights discrimination in elections. Youth groups can learn from the first-wave feminism, which united to remove restrictions on political rights in electoral laws and local election laws through legislative revisions in DPR and judicial reviews in the Constitutional Court. The achievements of youth politics in the revision in the DPR/ judicial review to the Constitutional Court are followed up with affirmative politics in laws and regulations.

Secondly, youth groups can come together as part of the intersectionality of feminism. Women and youth can work together by recognising each other's identity within the politics of hope. Women's groups need to be consistent that feminism, as an umbrella for the politics of hope that accommodates all kinds of marginalised identities, must also recognise that youth are part of the politics of hope. The same goes for youth groups. The mutual need to unite significant masses of people can increase the political empowerment that can be linked to political parties and electoral participation. If women and youth work together, the number and reach of the politics of hope will be significantly strengthened, starting from the mass base, candidacy, and political electability. State institutions that are representative of women and youth

will be more likely to produce laws and policies that protect and equalise their citizens to achieve justice.

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