

Political Participation of Women and Youth in Indonesian Democracy

Editorial

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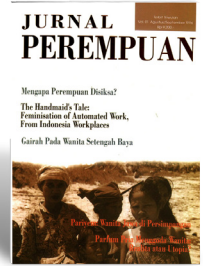
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Political Participation of Women and Youth in Indonesian Democracy

International laws and treaties guarantee the right of women and youth to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. In reality, however, access to decision-making often excludes women and young people.

According to UN Women (2023), women's participation in leadership, politics, and the public sphere is essential to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. However, global data shows that women are not represented at all levels and that gender parity is still far from being achieved. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), women held 11.3 per cent of parliamentary seats in 1995 and 26.5 per cent in 2023. Only six countries managed to reach 50 per cent in parliament, including Rwanda (61 per cent), Cuba (53 per cent), Nicaragua (52 per cent), Mexico (50 per cent), New Zealand (50 per cent), and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with 50 per cent. Of the 23 countries, the 40 per cent target was reached in 13 countries in Europe, six in Africa, three in Latin America and the Caribbean, and only one in Asia. The same data also shows that as of 1 January 2023, only 17 countries had 34 Heads of State and 19 countries had Heads of Government. This means that at such a slow pace, it will take 130 years for women to reach important positions in the public sphere. The picture is similar in Indonesia. For example, based on the 2019 elections results, women's representation in the legislature was 20.8 per cent (KPU 2019). This ranked Indonesia 120th out of 187 countries.

This means that while there has been progress in women's participation in politics, there is a "glass ceiling" in formal and informal politics that needs to be broken. Women still face discrimination and barriers, including cultural and social norms and access to financial resources that prevent them from fully participating as decision-makers.

Twenty-five years after the adoption of the Beijing Declaration, women, especially young women, are still under-represented at all levels of leadership, parliament and public life, and gender equality in politics is far from being achieved. Looking more closely, the IPU shows that the participation and representation of young women in parliament is still very low, at around 2.2 per cent. Young women are the group affected by the making of public policy, so they should be involved in political negotiations. Women's exclusion from politics

is caused by discriminatory policies, gender norms, and various structural inequalities. This situation is a violation of political rights and undermines the principle of inclusivity in democracy. Although many women are now standing for elections, the number still lags far behind that of men. Gender stigma and stereotypes are still the basis for questioning women's political capacity. For younger women in particular, the challenges of political participation are more complicated. In addition to gender discrimination, they also face age discrimination, known as ageism. In the social and political sphere, young women are seen as lacking political experience and knowledge. The formal and informal participation of women and young women in formal politics, especially in elections, is still far from the ideal of gender justice. They are targeted for votes, but without proportionate participation in their aspirations at different levels of governance (community, local, and national).

Feminist thinkers Young (1993) and Phillips (2017) have argued for the importance of women's participation and representation in politics. According to a number of feminist scholars, transformative politics must involve different groups. Social transformation is only possible through dialogue between different experiences and interests. It is important to make explicit gender and other differences, including age. Without engagement and recognition, the prejudices of the dominant group will continue to be reproduced. Feminist scholars believe that egalitarian democracy can only be approached if silenced categories such as gender and other intersecting identities are adequately recognised and responded to.

Political participation is the most basic prerequisite for promoting gender equality and true democracy. Participation is not limited to the presence of women leaders in the political world and the presentation of gender-sensitive policies, but also includes the involvement of political education for the community at large and the opening of spaces for participation in everyday politics, which we can find in the work of women's networks through activism. Forms of participation can include public education and campaigns to support women's political participation; voicing the rights and political interests of marginalised groups; working with men to promote gender equality in politics and policy; and others - as described in seven articles in this issue of *Jurnal Perempuan (JP)*.

JP 115 aims to build a discourse on the importance of women's and youth participation in politics. Specifically, JP 115 discusses: the importance of women's substantive representation in Indonesian politics; political participation of women and youth as full citizens; social movements and activism: meaningful participation of women and youth in informal politics; and political participation that embraces differences and guarantees the rights of vulnerable groups. By ensuring the full

participation of women and youth in politics, we are moving towards a more just and sustainable society. Inclusive political participation will lead to better governance, economic stability, and social cohesion. With its 115th issue, *Jurnal Perempuan* wishes to emphasise that the pursuit of gender equality in politics is not only an ethical obligation - it is a fundamental prerequisite for creating a prosperous, equal, just, and inclusive society for all of us (Abby Gina).

Abstracts

Siti Azizah Namirah & Ida Ruwaida

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Political Empowerment of Village Women and the Role of Civil Society Organizations

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 83–94, 3 tables, 2 figures, 37 bibliographies

This article reviews the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in collective empowerment, in order to encourage women to transform their gender roles, especially in the political field. Various studies on women's political empowerment have been carried out, but most of them still focus on the issue of participation and not much has discussed women's collective action. Therefore, political empowerment in this study is seen in a more comprehensive manner by referring to the conception of Sundström et al. (2017), namely from the dimensions of choice, agency, and participation. This article is more based on a literature review which is supported by the results of a case study at Yayasan PEKKA, known as a CSO which focuses its activism on women, especially in rural areas. The findings of the study show that the empowerment process in principle begins with strengthening individual capacity, but women's critical power and ability to articulate the interests of women and other marginal groups is still questionable (choice dimension). This is a modality for strengthening group and institutional capacity (agency dimension), so as to be able to encourage the active role of women in various stakeholder forums both at the village and district levels (participation dimension). An integrative and sustainable model of empowerment is needed to strengthen women's political position, including encouraging women's power-within-based leadership, namely leadership that promotes collective action, or what is known as social power.

Keywords: collective political empowerment, women empowerment, civil society organization, choice, agency, participation, power within, bargaining position

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Young Women and Political Parties: From Descriptive Participation to Substantive Representation

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 95–108, 1 figure, 29 bibliographies

The low level of political participation among women in general, including young women, in Indonesia can be explained through three reasons. Firstly, women face a challenging playing field because politics is predominantly characterized by a masculine culture. Secondly, in their pursuit of political engagement, women encounter several obstacles, such as patriarchal structures, sexist and ageist views, and social class barriers. Thirdly, young women are also hindered by political nepotism, lack of party support, limited political knowledge, and financial constraints. This paper utilizes the conceptual framework of Women and Political Party by Lovenduski (1997), Squires (2007), Ann Phillips' theory of women's representation, as well as the works of Young, Mouffe, Childs, and Krook to examine the dynamics of young women and political parties in Indonesia from the 2019 elections to the upcoming 2024 elections. The focus is on the interconnection between descriptive participation and substantive representation. The research methodology employed involves a critical analysis of existing literature supplemented by interviews conducted with young women

actively involved in five political parties qualified as participants in the 2024 elections (Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, Demokrat, and PSI), including both ordinary party members and those who were elected as members of the DPR (People's Representative Council of Indonesia) in the 2019 elections.

Keywords: young women, political parties, political representation

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

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Participation and Agency: Indonesian Young Women in Advocating Sexual Violence Crime Law

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 109–122, 2 tables, 48 bibliographies

Since a decade ago, the women's movement in Indonesia has consolidated its power to advocate for policies aimed at eliminating sexual violence through legislative advocacy and public campaigns. These efforts were a response to the increasing cases of sexual violence and the absence of a legal framework to address the issue. In the process of policy advocacy, young women have played a crucial role by participating in formal and informal political processes, although their participation has often been overlooked and unrecognized. This research examines the dynamics of young women's activism in various forms at the national level in the advocacy process for Sexual Violence Crime Law (UU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/UU TPKS). This research aims to demonstrate the role and forms of activism among young women in advocating policies related to sexual violence. The study utilizes a qualitative methodology through in-depth interviews with eight young women activists involved in the advocacy, lobbying, and campaigning to pass the bill. The research finds that young women face various barriers and challenges, but simultaneously demonstrate their agency in the policy advocacy process.

Keywords: young women, participation, agency, TPKS law

Usep Hasan Sadikin

Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (Perludem)

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

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 123–136, 1 table, 13 figures, 49 bibliographies

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%. 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

Salsabila Widyadhari & Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem
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Agency and Inclusive Citizenship for Women with Disabilities: A Case Study of the Role of HWDI in Handling Covid-19 in Jakarta

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 137–147, 48 bibliographies

Persons with disabilities experience vulnerability in fulfilling their right to protection in a pandemic situation. This study aims to examine the participation process of groups of persons with disabilities, namely the Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia – HWDI) through the struggle for disability protection during the Covid-19 period in DKI Jakarta. This study uses the perspective of inclusive citizenship to see efforts to involve active participation of citizens in encouraging the fulfillment of rights by the government. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with narrative analysis techniques. The results of the study show that although HWDI has been able to influence the DKI Jakarta provincial government in several policies, there are rights that still need to be fulfilled in the dimension of inclusive citizenship. These rights include social, civil, and political rights which have not been fulfilled by the government, which has implications for persons with disabilities not being further involved in handling the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: persons with disabilities, inclusive citizenship, disability protection rights from disasters.

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Men as Allies of the Feminist Movement: Men's Involvement as a Strategy for the Advocacy Movement Carried Out by Civil Society Networks in Encouraging the Ratification of the Sexual Violence Crime Law

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 149–160, 1 table, 28 bibliographies

This research discusses the advocacy strategy carried out by the Civil Society Network (JMS) by involving men to push for the ratification

of the TPKS Law. By referring to the theory of the strategic capacity of gender equality policy advocates by Htun and Weldon, JMS has used organizational capacity through strategies of (1) framing demands; (2) building networks, and (3) lobbying policymakers. This study uses a qualitative method by conducting in-depth interviews to obtain primary data and collecting secondary data through a study of documents including regulations, news, and previously existing scientific papers. The findings from this study indicate that JMS involves men in advocacy strategies that are carried out by utilizing the privileges of men. For instance, the involvement of male religious leaders to counter the narrative of rejection of the TPKS Law which considers the TPKS Law to be inconsistent with the religious and moral values of the Indonesian people. Apart from that, JMS also involves male legislators who have a strategic position as Chairperson of the TPKS Law Working Committee to help lobby other members of the Indonesian Parliament.

Keywords: advocacy strategy, JMS, allies, sexual violence

Ikhaputri Widiyanti¹ & Retno Daru Dewi G. S. Putri²

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Learning from Young Women Activists: A Way to Influence Early Political Awareness

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 161–173, 1 table, 18 bibliographies

This research emphasizes the importance of involving young women in various activism. Problems arise when young women are often considered immature to be involved in social and political movements. Apart from being supported by a patriarchal mindset that tends to subordinate women's experience, there is an intersectional problem where young people need more knowledge to make changes. In fact, one way to encourage active representation of women in political space is to encourage involvement from a young age. This research explores the activism experiences of young women who influence their respective communities. Data was collected through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and strengthened through literature studies. The data is managed using a political participation theory approach, as well as the influence of affect theory in digital activism. The findings in this research show that young women's knowledge is just as essential in the political space. Their advocacy is full of the spirit of the times, so they can have a strong influence on other young women through the community they have built.

Keywords: youth community advocacy and networking, young women activists, young women's political participation

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

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