

## Barriers and Impacts of Female Participation in Formal Politics in Makassar City Period 2019-2024



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**ABSTRACT:** The increase of women's representation in formal politics in Makassar is encouraging for democracy. Even though there has been an increase in numbers, it has not yet reached the 30 percent quota in accordance with the affirmative action policy. This article wants to discuss the barrier for women in Makassar making it difficult for them to get chance into formal politics. Then, this article also wants to discuss the barriers and impact of female in Makassar legislative and executive institutions to gender equality. In writing this article, we used the library research method. The conclusion in this article is that social structures and political party are barriers for female who want to advance into formal politics, and the impact of female participation in legislative institutions is also quite satisfying by issuing policies and programs that contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment.

**KEYWORDS:** Female; Politics; Gender; Election; Makassar

### I. INTRODUCTION

Gender equality in the political studies is an issue that is always interesting to explore, because gender equality in the political study is considered as one way to eradicate discrimination against female. Female representation in the political institution, both legislative and executive, is very necessary, there must be female who represent and fight for women's rights. One of the reasons why female or female interests do not appear in the institution of politics or political policies is the acceptance of the concept of a fundamental separation between the public as the domain of men and carrying out "political action" in a policy, and the private sphere which is associated with the role of female in the local political institution.

In the western, concepts related to patriarchy have begun to be eliminated since the 19th century, starting with feminist activism movements, until they spread to the academic institution. Apart from that, ideas about gender equality have also received the 'blessing' of the United Nation (UN). On the basis of gender equality, it is a fundamental human right as stated in article 2 of the declaration of human rights held by the United Nations on 10 December 1948, which states that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms"

In Indonesia, there are already regulations regarding female representation that have been issued and continue to be refined, namely the Election Law No. 12 of 2003 which contains an appeal for political parties participating in the Election to nominate 30% of female as legislative members, the Political Party Law No. 2 of 2008 which contains 30% of female as members. legislative members. party founders, and political party management contains 30% women, and Election Law No. 10 of 2008, Law No. 7 of 2017 which contains a list of candidates that is 30% female, and every three names on the list of candidates, contains at least one female candidate or a zipper system (Women Research Institute, 2009).

The female need to be fought for in the political element because that female are always the object of discrimination from all aspects, in the aspect of poverty, for example. Female are the gender that is most responsible and the biggest victim in every poverty and destitution. The burden of poor female is heavier than men because female always try to earn additional income to cover the income shortfall in the family. Especially if the poor female is the head of the family and the sole breadwinner in the family (Palulungan et al., 2020).

Therefore, that female must participate in politics, so that the bargaining position for policies that favor women's interests is not weak when making decisions. In developing countries, such as Indonesia, patriarchal practices are still often seen. Patriarchy is a social system in which male as the dominant group control power over female. Indeed, in Makassar City, the dynamics of female

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in the political arena or in the public sphere are not as dominant as male. The city of Makassar, which is also dominated by the Bugis and Makassar tribes, is almost the same as other tribes in the archipelago where the social and cultural constructs differentiate treatment between male and female (Kesuma, 2019)

This social system gives rise to stereotypes and subordination of female, such as the opinion that female are more suited to work in the domestic sphere (household work) than in the public sphere (politics and the state), there is even an even more extreme assumption that female are a second class of society, These assumptions are always heard so that female's position is increasingly marginalized. Especially in politics, affirmative policies are needed as a form of the government's efforts so that female can be equal to men, reject gender-biased policies, and not ignore the needs and aspirations of female which are considered private areas. In Makassar City, not as many female's participate in formal politics as expected, for legislative members for the 2019-2024 period, for example, of the 50 seats, only 13 seats are filled by female, meaning only 26 percent of the 30 percent set by law. The following is a list of names of female legislative candidates who were elected in the General Election in the Makassar City area;

**Table 1.1. Female Legislative Member of Makassar City Period 2019-2024**

No	Name	Serial Numbers	Parties
1	Andi Suhada Sappaile	2	PDIP
2	Andi Astiah	2	PKS
3	Budi Hastuti	2	Gerindra
4	Fatma Wahyudin	1	Demokrat
5	Galmerry Kondorura	2	PDIP
6	Hj. Apiaty K. Amin Syam	2	Golkar
7	Hj. Muliati	3	PPP
8	Irmawati Sila	7	Hanura
9	Kartini	2	Perindo
10	Nurul Hidayat	7	Golkar
11	Nunung Dasniar	2	Gerindra
12	Reski	7	Demokrat
13	Yeni Rahman	1	PKS

Source: kota-makassar.kpu.go.id

The number of female's elected as legislative members of the Makassar City for the 2019-2024 period has increased compared to the 2014-2019 period. In the 2014 period, female's were elected in only eight of the 50 seats available (Wawan Abdullah Goran, 2017). For the 2009-2014 Legislative Election, female's were elected in only seven of the 50 seats available, or around 14 percent. Even though it has increased, the percentage of women serving in legislative institutions has not yet reached 30 percent (Nawisa et al., 2022).

In the executive institutions, in its history, Makassar City has never been led by a female mayor. It is recorded that only the deputy mayor has ever been filled by a female figure, in the second term the mayor of Makassar, Moh Ramadhan Pomanto, in 2020, took a female figure as his deputy, namely Fatmawati Rusdi.

What are the obstacles for female in Makassar City so that they never reach the 30 percent representation requirement in the legislative institution, and female never become mayors in Makassar City? And are political products related to women's interests effective when the number of women has increased in the legislative institution?

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

The type of research in this article is qualitative research. Qualitative research is a research method that aims to gain an understanding of reality through an inductive thinking process. Qualitative research aims to understand, look for the meaning behind the data, find the truth, both empirical, logical and theoretical truth (Sugiyono, 2015)

The data collection technique in this article uses library research or library study techniques. Researchers will study and process data through documents related to research, documents can be in the form of journals, books, and print or online media. According to Moleong (2018) in Rita Fiantika et al (2022) there are several reasons why documents can be used for qualitative research;

- Documents are a rich, stable, and encouraging source
- Documents are useful as evidence of a test
- Useful and appropriate to qualitative research because they are natural
- Not difficult to obtain

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- e. Non-reactive so they are difficult to find by content review
- f. The results of the content review will open up opportunities to further expand the body of knowledge regarding the thing being investigated.

Documents are divided into two, namely personal documents and official documents. Examples of personal documents are diaries, personal letters, and autobiographies. Official documents consist of internal and external documents. Internal documents in the form of memos, announcements, instructions, regulations of a particular community institution that are used for their own circles. Examples of external documents are magazines, bulletins, statements, news broadcast to the mass media. This article was written using external documents.

The data analysis technique in this article goes through a three-stage process. First, data reduction. The data that has been obtained from literature is sorted according to the themes studied so that they match the research topic. Second, data presentation. The data will be presented systematically according to the data that has been previously reduced. Third, conclusion. After the two previous stages have been carried out, conclusions are drawn on the existing data and conclusions are also drawn on the problems raised from the start.

### III. DISCUSSION AND RESULT

Politics is the right of all humans, regardless of gender, in accordance with Indonesian Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights which protects human rights and basic human freedoms in politics. This means that female also have the right to vote and the right to be elected. However, in fact the world of formal politics is dominated by men, both in the legislative and executive institutions, not only on a global scale, but also on a national and local scale. Even though female's politics has become a global issue, until now female's participation in the political institution has not met our expectations, especially on a local or regional scale. Although, there has been progress since the concept of gender equality began to be discussed, namely that initially women were more directed to take care of domestic matters, and women who worked in the public sphere, such as politics, were considered 'taboo'. As well as an increase in the number of female's representation in legislative institutions, but this is not yet in line with expectations. For representatives in legislative institution of the Makassar City, from the 2009 election to the 2019 election, female's representation has continued to increase, but has still not reached 30 percent in accordance with the affirmative policy (Nawisa et al., 2022).

In this article, the author wants to discuss what obstacles barrier are faced by female in the city of Makassar so that female's contribution in the formal political sphere is not optimal in terms of numbers, and what impacts are felt by society, especially female, when the number of women's participation in legislative institutions is increasing.

#### A. Barriers to Female's Participation in Makassar City

Female are faced with social constructions that tend to be patriarchal, the view that there are boundaries between men and women has been ingrained in the minds of Indonesian society for a long time, including in the city of Makassar. Although throughout its journey, the Indonesian nation has made every effort so that women do not only focus on domestic affairs, but must contribute to nation building, this can be proven by the first Women's Congress in 1928 (Parawansa, n.d.).

Until now, members of the legislative in Makassar City continue to promote gender mainstreaming, to erode society's perspective regarding the position of female in society. One of the Makassar city legislative members period 2019-2024 who socializes about gender is Budi Hastuti. Quoted from Rakyatdotnews (2022), Budi Hastuti said;

“Jadi perempuan harus diperhitungkan keberadaannya, perempuan banyak kemajuannya sekarang, mereka bisa sebagai ibu, teman sudah bisa dianggap lebih maju dalam lingkungan kehidupannya”  
("So women's existence must be taken into account, women have made a lot of progress now, they can be mothers and friends and can be considered more advanced in their life environment")

To eliminate stereotypes about the role of women in society, we must continue to carry out political education in the form of outreach. Likewise, the Deputy Chair of the Makassar City legislative period 2019-2024, Andi Suhada Sappaile, also provided outreach on gender equality, in MakassarMetro (2021), Andi Suhada Sappaile said;

“Jadi, jangan anggap remeh perempuan bahwa mereka kerjanya hanya di dapur. Perempuan saat ini sudah berpartisipasi di segala bidang”  
("So, don't underestimate women because they only work in the kitchen. Women now participate in all roles")

The meaning of the statement of the deputy chairman of the Makassar city legislative period 2019-2024, the assumption that women's job is only at home can be used as a reference that indeed patriarchal practices are still often found in society in the city of Makassar. So, even though the government has issued an affirmative policy which is a gateway for women to participate in formal politics, if society's perspective still tends to be patriarchal, then the number of women's representation in legislative institutions will be difficult to reach 30 percent according to the quota provided.

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In the executive institution, in its history, there has never been a female who served as mayor of Makassar. Only in the 2020 regional elections, a female figure managed to win the regional election but not as mayor, as deputy mayor. It is hoped that this momentum can be an encouragement for female figures in the city of Makassar to continue to be more involved in political contestation in Makassar. Fatwamati Rusdi also hopes that women must play a role in the progress of the city, quoted from makassarkota.go.id (2023) Fatmawati Rusdi said;

“Tidak ada lagi kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Saya tekankan itu. Saya ajakki semua perempuan di Kota Makassar untuk bisa lebih berkontribusi, mengasah skill dan mengawal program Pemkot Makassar. Dan juga menunjukkan kemampuannya bahwa perempuan tidak lemah dan bisa melakukan banyak hal”.

(“No more violence against women. I emphasize that. I invite all women in Makassar City to contribute more, upgrade the skills and watching Makassar City Government programs. And also shows the ability that women are not weak and can do many things”)

Calls to move away from patriarchal practices must always be made, this is not only the task of executive and legislative office holders, but must be carried out by all elements of society, especially educated people, so that there can be changes in the social construct that has taken root in society. Changing the social construct in society is very necessary, and giving women confidence regardless of their background so that all women can show their capacity in representing the voice of society in legislative institutions and in leading the region (Sulastri, 2020).

Apart from the patriarchal social construct of society, society also tends to experience a crisis of confidence in regional head candidates who want to campaign. Especially female voters who are expected to be involved in supporting female figures to advance. Women's groups such as women's exercise groups, social gathering groups, and so on, join the campaign not to listen to the vision and mission of prospective candidates, but only to wait for material rewards (Muhammad et al., 2023).

The next obstacle for female is the support of political parties in nominating female. In accordance with the function of political parties as stated in Indonesian Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, the task of parties is as a vehicle for filling public positions through election mechanisms. In the political party selection process which is usually carried out by a small group of officials or party leaders, where awareness of gender equality and justice is still low, male leaders of political parties have a disproportionate influence on party politics, especially in terms of gender. Female do not receive much support from political parties because the leadership structure is dominated by men (Parawansa, n.d.).

Female are placed in less strategic election numbers. The number in the election is very important in the chances of electing legislative candidates. This is proven by the 2019 election results that the total number of elected legislative candidates came from serial number 1 as much as 63.83 percent. When viewed from the top three serial number positions selected, 87.13 percent (Cakra Wikara Indonesia, 2019).

In the context of the 2019 Makassar City legislative election, the majority of elected female legislative candidates have strategic serial numbers, of the 13 elected female legislative candidates, two legislative candidates are serial number 1, seven legislative candidates are serial number 2, one legislative candidate is serial number 3, and three legislative candidates are serial number 7. Of the 259 female legislative candidates for the city of Makassar, only 13 were elected. This figure is a very small number, even though the number of women elected each election always increases. Patterns like that do not only occur in Indonesia or local areas such as Makassar, but throughout the world, this is still the case, according to Nadezda Shvedova in International IDEA (1998) that the selection and nomination process in political parties is biased towards women, in finally “male characteristics” were emphasized and often became a criterion in selecting candidates.

There are two important factors that become obstacles for women in the city of Makassar. First, namely social construction factors, massive community support to support women to become deeply involved in formal politics is very necessary. Regardless of the privileges that legislative candidates have, all women have the same opportunity to get involved in formal politics as long as they have the capacity to represent the people's voice in legislative institutions or become regional heads. Second, political party support. The role of political parties is very important and strategic in encouraging women's representation in legislative institutions. Of course, the author really hopes that political parties will prioritize gender perspectives, not just abandon the obligation of affirmative policies in nominating women to run as people's representatives, and carry out well the duties of political parties in accordance with Indonesian Law no. 2 in 2008.

### **B. The Impact of Female Participation Politics in Makassar City**

Even though it is small, the percentage of women elected in the Makassar City legislatures continues to increase every time an election is held, as well as in the executive branch, the election of Fatmawati Rusdi as the first female deputy mayor in the history of Makassar City, gives hope for democracy in Makassar City. After seeing these facts, of course there is hope that all the interests of women in the city of Makassar will be accommodated well.

One form of legislative concern for women is that the Makassar City legislatures in 2019 issued Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2019 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in Development. This regional regulation is a form of effort by the people's

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representatives in Makassar to ensure gender equality in the city of Makassar. Quoted from the online media Rakyatdotnews (2022), Member of the 2019 Makassar City DPRD, Fatma Wahyudin, said;

“Perda ini merupakan perda yang diinisiasi oleh DPRD. Dengan hadirnya perda PUG ini, Dapat Memberikan jaminan akan legitimasi kesetaraan dan keadilan dalam kedudukan, peranan dan tanggung jawab perempuan dan laki-laki dalam aspek pembangunan, Politik, ekonomi, sosial budaya, hukum dan lain sebagainya”  
 (“This regional regulation is initiated by the legislative of Makassar City. With the presence of this regional regulation, it can provide a guarantee of the legitimacy of equality and justice in the position, roles and responsibilities of women and men in aspects of development, politics, economics, socio-culture, law”)

This regional regulation is good enough to create an inclusive Makassar, meaning that in advancing regional potential, all parties can participate, both men and women. Apart from being in regional interests, this policy is expected to protect women from all forms of discrimination. This regional regulation is also in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), where one of the main goals of the SDGs is gender equality. The target for gender equality in the SDGs is to reduce all forms of violence against women and girls in public and private spaces, including trafficking and sexual and other forms of exploitation, eliminating harmful forms of practices, such as child, early, forced marriage, and Female Circumcision, ensuring all women participate fully and have equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life ensuring universal access to sexual and reproductive health and respecting unpaid domestic work and services through the provision of services public (Palulungan et al., 2020).

In executive institutions, the Makassar City Government is also innovating to realize gender equality through the "Lorong Wisata" and "Shelter Warga" programs, these two programs received awards from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. The city government hopes that these two programs can become a forum for gender development in the city of Makassar (suaracelebes.com, 2023).

The increasing electability of female in formal politics in the city of Makassar has had an impact on gender equality, with the existence of policies and innovative programs from the government that prioritize women's interests. This impact should be able to reduce patriarchal practices, so that female can become more involved in the world of formal politics in the city of Makassar.

### IV. CONCLUSIONS

It is very necessary for female to be involved in formal politics, as representatives of women to fight for their interests. Apart from that, to strengthen women's bargaining position when they want to issue policies. In Makassar City, women's electability in 2019-2014 continues to increase compared to previous elections (2009-2014, 2014-2019), although in terms of numbers it is still very small, and has not yet reached a quota of 30 percent. To achieve that's quota, obstacles that prevent women from advancing, such as social constructions that tend to be patriarchal, must be minimized, and political parties must also be more "all out" in nominating women to advance to the legislative and executive realms. The more women are involved in formal politics, the greater the possibility that women's interests will be accommodated well, because it is in that realm that policy decisions are made.

Not just numbers, the impact of women's representation must also be monitored. So far, women's representation in the city of Makassar has had quite a good impact with the issuance of a regional regulation on gender mainstreaming. Members of the 2019-2024 Makassar City DPRD are also active in socializing this Regional Regulation, so that the public is expected to become educated and start abandoning patriarchal practices. Apart from that, the Makassar City Government also has a program that accommodates gender mainstreaming. The executive and legislative institutions must work together to 'fight' patriarchy in Makassar City and continue to issue regional regulations and programs that contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment, so that Makassar becomes an inclusive and sustainable city.

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