

Building Women's Resources in Local Politics:

A Case of Indonesia Political Women's Caucus Karawang

Dede Lilis Chaerowati*, Nova Yuliati, Mochamad Rochim

Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi
Universitas Islam Bandung
Bandung, Indonesia

*dede.lilis@unisba.ac.id

Abstract—Women have historically been underrepresented in political spheres. They remain underrepresented in the region's political institution, especially at local levels of governance. Political women's organizations as institution that build women's capacity in politics are still not fully able to increase the competence of women who want to enter politics. Whereas building women's resources in politics is one of the prerequisites for women to understand and fight for pro-women political policies. This paper examines the efforts of political women caucus in Karawang in building women's resources in local politics. This study is based on the concept of gendering moral capital. Moral capital as a specific political value of virtue that inclines others, in particular the political public and followers. Drawing on single case study research in Karawang, data collection techniques were carried out with in-depth interview, observation, and literature study. The informant of the research was the management of Karawang Regency Political Women Caucus. The results of the study show that building women's resources in local politics is carried out through various programs for the Karawang political women's caucus that are oriented towards increasing the knowledge, capabilities and leadership of political women. This research also find the three figures of local political women to be increased representation of women in local legislative positions, namely women from harmonious families, women who care about community, and women as fighters for women.

Keywords: *gendering moral capital, local political women figure, political women, women in development*

I. INTRODUCTION

Women in political history have long been marginalized, especially in the level of representation in parliament. Although now the number of women in politics has increased, both in terms of the involvement of women in political parties, as well as the number of women in parliament. The new trends in the participation of women show a positive improvement in the participation of women. This is a positive development given that increasing the number of women in politics is a tactical means of eradicating the structural foundations of inequality between men and women [1]. Even women have been marginalized and under-represented, they have recorded some measure of political achievement and have contributed to the sustenance of the emerging democracy [2].

Across Southeast Asia, women remain under-represented in representative political institutions, particularly at local levels of governance. While hardly unique in this regard, the limited extent of improvements in Southeast Asian women's representation in local political institutions stands in tension with the prevailing sense that women in Southeast Asia have seen important gains in their socioeconomic status and with respect to the extent and exercise of their formal political rights [3].

One common approach to stimulate more equal gender representation in the political sphere has been the adoption of gender quotas within countries' electoral systems. A large empirical literature has subsequently developed to assess their implications in terms of women's representation at different levels of government or in positions with legislative/executive power [4].

In Indonesia, the level of representation of women in the DPR is still below 30 percent, although a 30 percent quota affirmation policy for women has been imposed since the 2004 election. Perludem is the abbreviation of association for election and democracy. Perludem is an independent non-profit organization that carries out research, advocacy, monitoring, education, and training in the fields of electoral and democracy noted that there was indeed an increase in the percentage of women's electability from the 2004 election to the 2019 election. However, the amount of the increase was not significant, namely from the 2014 election of 17.6 percent to 20.5 percent [5].

The figure appears based on UN research which states that a minimum amount of 30% allows for change and has an impact on the quality of decisions taken by public institutions. But since the 2004 elections to 2019, the number of women legislative members in the Indonesian Parliament has never reached the target.

Likewise, when 2013 in Indonesia an electoral law was enacted about a 30% quota for women's membership in each political party, but this quota until the 2019 election, had still not reached the ideal number of women in parliament. One problem that arises is the readiness of women to enter the parliamentary stock exchange itself. Clearly, this requires efforts to make women political cadres who have the capacity and credibility to be elected and trusted by the community as qualified representatives of the people.

In fact, women and parliament, both have a close correlation, politics have such a big impact in every aspect of life. On the other hand, women's contribution is needed in creating representative public policies for their people [6].

To be able to have a more significant political stake, the Indonesian Political Women's Caucuses commonly abbreviated as KPPI is a women's organization in politics carries out various political education efforts for women political activists from various political parties. This is done because one of the predictions of the lack of representation of women in the legislature is due to the lack of women's capacity in politics, such as campaigning, so that people are still hesitant to choose them as figures who will be able to represent their communities. Therefore, examining the efforts of the Karawang KPPI in preparing women who will engage in politics is important. This is also to illustrate the extent to which Karawang KPPI is able to carry out its organizational mission to prepare the resources of women who are ready and able to compete and engage in politics. In addition, another thing that is also important is to uncover the political figures of women presented by members of the Karawang KPPI to build the figure of Karawang political women in order to convince and win the hearts of the people.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses qualitative methods with a single case study approach, because it only examines and illustrates natural phenomena in the Karawang Political Women's Caucus. The election of the Karawang KPPI was also based on the consideration that in the membership of the Karawang DPRD for the 2019-2024 period, the KPPI Karawang had been able to increase the number of women representatives in the legislature compared to the previous period.

Data collection techniques are carried out through: (1) in-depth interviews with the management of Karawang KPPI, namely the chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary to obtain a comprehensive picture of the ongoing phenomenon and the meaning and experience of the actor directly. This will produce analysis units as a theme description; (2) observing the training activities organized by KPPI Karawang on September 2019; and (3) literature study will be carried out through the collection of supporting data from various sources of written information, in the form of books, journals, and articles in the media including the internet.

After a variety of data collection techniques are carried out, then the next step is data analysis to be able to draw conclusions, the key to qualitative data analysis is how researchers arrive at conclusions by going to existing data. Qualitative data analysis is carried out interactively and lasts continuously until complete with a cycle model in the form of interactive model.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Development of Women's Resources in Local Politics*

Karawang Political Women Caucus resumed its activities more actively by carrying out various work programs to

explore and develop the potential of women who are concerned in politics.

By December 2015, the KPPI management in Karawang has continued to consistently carry out political empowerment through a variety of trainings and social works and has always actively participated in various activities organized by KPPI West Java.

The existence of this KPPI Karawang institutionally is certainly inseparable from the role of the Regent of Karawang Regency and the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of Karawang Regency and the political parties in Karawang Regency.

The potential of political women continues to be developed so that political women can be more active in various policies and their implementation and existence can be felt directly by the community.

Building women's political resources is carried out by KPPI Karawang through various activities, including: upgrading KPPI Karawang management, leadership training, entrepreneurship training, political workshops for women, outreach and coordination with other women's organizations, information dissemination of laws relating to women's issues, legal and human rights advocacy training, public speaking training, education and training in the field of politics, socialization of regional regulations on women's empowerment, Three Ends campaign, capacity building, holding health seminars, training in public policy making, monthly routine study, organizational management training, training of women self-defence, training in state defines, women's political seminars, mapping the potential of community organizations and institutions that play a role in empowering women and children, following technical guidance on the registration of political parties, participating in socialization activities for verification of political parties, participating in socializing election laws, taking public trials proposed regional elections and seat distribution for DPRD members, discussing with ex-migrant entrepreneurial groups, attending development planning meetings for women's empowerment and child protection, attending national coordination meetings, participating in participatory oversight socialization activities for the community in Karawang District, following gender mainstreaming socialization activities, attended training in increasing political capacity for women candidates for the legislature, as well as participating in multi-stakeholder regional consultation activities.

If classified according to the implementation aspects, the activities for the development of KPPI Karawang women's political resources are divided into two: internal management and external management. Meanwhile, if it is classified based on the field of development, including: character building, political and regulatory capacity, leadership and organization, public speaking, health, empowerment of women and children, law and human rights, public and government policies, entrepreneurship, partnerships, and gender mainstreaming.

TABLE I. LOCAL POLITICAL WOMEN'S RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

	Program Scope	Development Field
Political Women's Resource Development Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internal organization - External organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Building personality traits - Political & regulatory capacity - Leadership & organization - Public speaking - Health - Empowering women & children - Law and Human Rights - Public & government policies - Entrepreneurship - Partnership - Gender mainstreaming

The development of women's resources by the Karawang KPPI was built through improvements in the aspects of women's knowledge, capabilities and leadership in politics. As a result of research observations on education and training activities conducted by KPPI Karawang on 2 September 2019, which was attended by 50 female politicians and 7 members of the Karawang Regency DPRD aimed at increasing knowledge and learning behaviour. The convening of this activity for women politicians can increase knowledge. Because participants have discussions with resource persons who have been prepared and have capacity in their fields.

"Surely it can be useful for administrators and members of the Karawang KPPI". In addition, the participants were also given outbound material which is learning about leadership and management behaviour in the open with a unique and simple but effective approach. This training is not loaded with theories but is directly applied to the basic elements of a daily basis, "such as mutual trust, mutual attention and proactive and communicative attitudes. The dimension of nature as an educational object can be a real laboratory and an exciting playground with various methods" [7].

According to the Chairperson of the West Java KPPI, Political Women's Communication was also carried out to encourage the implementation of 30% female legislative candidates in legislative bodies at every level. Political Communication for Women can provide insight, confidence and enthusiasm to fight for women legislative candidates to be able to compete healthily in the field. Able to carry out political ethics and raise the dignity of women in politics. Fighting spirit, ready to win and ready to accept defeat and not stress and despair. Women legislators must also care about the fate of women and women's problems, and be able to carry out their main tasks and functions with full responsibility [8].

The creation of gender awareness training for political party members and leadership training for prospective women leaders is also important. Gender sensitive and equitable policies in the agenda and operations of political parties should be promulgated and their implementation monitored. A gender balanced political leadership is crucial to the sustenance of democracy [2].

Why is that? Because from the local to the global level, women's leadership and political participation are restricted. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, whether in elected offices, the civil service, the private sector or academia. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally in democratic governance [9].

Therefore, training for women political candidates to help build their capacities, and offer civic education and sensitization campaigns on gender equality. Like UN Women back gender equality advocates in calling on political parties, governments and others to do their part in empowering women.

Preparing women's resources in politics is empowering women. Preparing these women's resources becomes very important, especially when not all political parties are seriously preparing their legislative candidates to be able to contest. "However, the hope is that a quota of 30% of women representatives in parliament must be achieved. Because they tend to be one voice and leave the party ego when dealing with issues concerning children and women" [10]. That's the female political ego.

B. Local Political Woman Figure

In developing political women's resources, the KPPI Karawang also constructed female figures that must be understood and imbued by these political women. Starting from understanding themselves by reforming themselves, then forming a harmonious family, then providing benefits or good for the community. Only then, improve the law in the community as a way to make changes for the better.

"Our task is the first for ourselves. Stages that improve themselves, reform themselves. That is our duty to God. Then we must have a second contribution, which is to form a family. Form an ideal family, harmonious family. When you have finished the task in the family, you must have the goodness in the community, the benefit in the community. Now if the community is good we have contributed to the community. It can. Now if we have that stage, we will go to the next stage, there must be a law reconciliation, improving the law, must recite Wotton, there is state liberation. Freeing the country does not mean colonialism in the colonization like the Dutch era, but now the war is known as the war of thought, well how we free the state of mastery of thought, opinions - opinions. It's like that now. Or economic, this must also be freed from the trap of other countries who want to undermine" [11].

Putting the family first is a priority, especially when it comes to children's education. "For me it is more important when I can secure my family. Outside I'm great people say, but if the children are not cared for because the father's mother is busy, I must give understanding and understanding to the children first. Parents' success is not in my career, but what can educate my child to be a child that prides parents and is beneficial to society, is what I apply to children. Why would I have a career as a regent, a member of the DPRD, if for example my children were exposed to a drug case, that's not something to be proud and my children understand enough because my communication with children is always maintained via telephone" [12].

It becomes a matter of pride when political women with the construction of figures they build also succeed in building the trust of others. Although for this it is not enough just to construct the figure alone, but also must be with real work, so that the community will become a believer. "The first is pride, yeah, it turns out that you have the potential to be seen by others, then that woman has to move forward, when I went down to 36 sub-districts it was very sad. There is violence in the household, how health is not guaranteed, and their livelihood. Departing from there will be domestic violence, from end to end there are trapped by "bank emok". How the heck can women advance women? by becoming a politician I can give the best for the community, raise people's economy" [12].

Institutionally, the KPPI Karawang also pays attention to social economic issues. "KPPI now has several partners, in Soksi I have one target and has already covered the entire Karawang Regency. Today they are given free training with the labour service. Why give that? Not to come back again. For what if it's just a seminar? I happen to be the head of a puspa that includes several organizations in Karawang, I don't want high class mothers to participate, but how far these great women in Karawang Regency can make other women great too. If you make a seminar, what is the implementation for the community" [12].

Constructing this figure is also a form of showing their existence in society as a portrait of women who are involved in politics. This is important because women cadres understand that their involvement in various political parties is not just to fulfil the 30% quota of women in politics, but because there is a mission that becomes a responsibility and mandate that they must carry for the community. Especially when they gather together in a forum for women's political organizations, then building this figure becomes important so that they can empower themselves and develop it in the KPPI organization.

The figure of political women built is a figure of a woman with a harmonious family, a woman who cares about the community, and women as fighters for women.

TABLE II. LOCAL POLITICAL WOMAN FIGURE

	Figure	Characteristics
Local Political woman	A woman with a harmonious family	- Prioritize family rather than politics - Family permission is the entrance to politics
	Women who care about community	- Interact with the community directly to see the reality & problems of the community - Give out assistance when there are people who need help
	Women as fighters for women	- Women are not just complements, but also fighter - Women are great when making other women are also great

Building women's political figure is important, as the chairman's stated that the KPPI Karawang wants to encourage more women to occupy important public positions in the political sphere, so that it is easier to fight for pro-women's

political policies. KPPI is a movement for the struggle of political women who provide understanding that women are indeed needed, so that they are not only considered to be living in the domestic sphere [12].

The construction of figures built by political women is strongly influenced by gender factors. Gender differences between men and women also have implications for women's understanding in politics, which is different from men. Gender as a *process* is especially appropriate. For Beckwith, "gender as a process is manifested as the differential effects of apparently gender-neutral structures and policies upon women and men, and upon masculine and/or feminine actors." It also suggests "not only that institutions and politics are gendered but also that they *can be* gendered; that is, that activist feminists . . . can work to instate practices and rules that recast the gendered nature of the political" [13].

Another set of empirical studies suggest that women can benefit from their presumptively greater moral capital. Women politicians are often praised for their "feminine" political qualities-e.g., that they are inclusive, consultative, collaborative, more tolerant, and people-oriented and focused on problem-solving [14].

In this set of studies, the concept of "gendering moral capital" is mentioned or alluded to as distinguishing features of women's attributes and strategies. Derichs, Fleschenberg, and Hustebeck argue that Asia's women politicians have used their moral capital, like honesty, modesty and religiosity, in mobilizing support and obtaining political influence [15].

In Asia, moral capital is one of the core assets of women politicians on their way to power. According to Kane's rather Anglo-American concept, moral capital (or reputation/standing) represents a resource for political agents and institutions that is tied to the question of political effectiveness, legitimacy, and survival. Moral capital is understood as a specific political value of virtue that inclines others, in particular the political public and followers, to bestow (ethical) prestige, respect, loyalty, and authority on a political actor or the representative of an institution. The actor her-/himself can then use this moral capital as a resource to mobilize for political goals, activities, or support. While democratic elections—more than emotional support from the public—will always be the central element in the formal legitimization of a politician, moral capital boosts the confidence supporters have in the political skills of "their" politicians and increases their willingness to support politicians. This support, in turn, strengthens the political legitimacy and status of such politicians in their parties [16].

In the broader context of development theory and understanding of basic concepts on women in development (WID) and gender issues help place the evolution of thoughts and actions within the World Bank. "Women in development" and "gender" are not interchangeable. The former was applied to actions designed to ensure that women benefited, or at least did not suffer, from development efforts; on the other hand, gender-related development activities take a broader view of the differences in behaviour expected of women and men, seeking their causes and their consequences for economic and human resource development. Through direct intervention on

immediate constraints, or through strategic changes in the legal and regulatory framework of the country, gender-related actions can prevent deleterious consequences and maximize the potential contributions specific to women or men [17].

IV. CONCLUSION

Women's involvement as citizens have the same rights in political sphere as men. However, in practice, the involvement of women who have been stipulated in the law must meet the 30% quota is only limited to the representation of women in political parties, not yet the representation of women in parliament. Women still have a lot of homework to be able to reach a 30% quota in parliament. One of the obstacles is the capacity of legislative candidates and the trust of the people who still do not side with political women.

To build trust in the community, of course, political women's organizations must continuously improve the quality of women's resources to be ready and able to reach and compete with men in politics. Moreover, so far the political world is still synonymous with the masculine world.

Various development programs to provide knowledge, as well as increasing the capacity and leadership of women in politics are absolute, especially when political parties have not seriously prepared their female cadres to become members of parliament. By involving women in parliament, aspirations regarding women's interests can be championed, because women MPs will better understand women's issues and interests.

To build the capacity of capable women's political resources, women's political organizations also need to construct political women figures. This is important to show the existence of women in politics, which has different meanings and actions from men, because gender is indeed different. When political women are able to build strong female political figures, then a gender perspective in seeing the potential and existence of political women will also be influential, that women's political meanings and actions are clearly different from those of men. This perspective will influence the perspective that is expected to place women in politics from a gender equitable perspective, not gender bias.

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