Quality of Political Participation of Paser District Community in Gender Perspective

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ABSTRACT

An analytical study on the quality of the political participation of the people of Paser Regency seen from the perspective of gender. This paper is to see how the quality of women's group participation in the public sphere in Paser Regency in this case is participation in the political field. The method used in this paper is descriptive with a qualitative approach, namely the data source in the form of interviews or observations in the field. Based on the findings, the decline in the quality of women's political participation in Paser Regency is related to the cultural perspective of the community in seeing the role of women. In addition, there is a tendency in women to show a lack of motivation and competence.

Keywords: political participation, gender equality, women

INTRODUCTION

This paper will look at how the quality of political participation in the people of Paser Regency is seen in the perspective of gender equality, namely the equal role of women in exercising their political rights in participating, this study sees that good and quality political participation is not only participation for men in the field of political participation. Public (politics) literature in the political participation literature reviewed by experts does not highlight the important role of women in the world of politics, this is as stated by Sandra Herding in her book *The Science Question in Feminism* saying that in constructing (social) science it is gender biased, the text that is made more reflects the point of view of men (androcentric) (Lubis, 2015: 112), so if it is associated with the formation of theories regarding political participation as a study of modern (social) political science, it does not consider the importance of gender variables (Lubis, 2015: 113) in analyzing a political problem in a country or nation. So it is important to pay attention to the discourse on gender equality in public political participation.

One of the most important principles in realizing a democratic society is the existence of political participation, the meaning of political participation is simply the involvement of the community to influence government political decisions (Huntington in Cholisin, 2007: 151), political participation is the most important value, it can even be said to be the spirit of democracy. itself (Mujani in Andriadi, 2016: 7).

Political participation is a reflection in upholding people's sovereignty as a principle of implementing democratic government (Austin Ranney in Thoha, 2007: 99) because in this principle the real power is in the hands of the people, in this case the people are given the power to influence every political decision that can affect the people. life, because the assumption of political participation as the main principle of democracy is that the one who knows best about the interests or what is considered good and bad is the community itself (Agustino, 2007: 101) Therefore, to realize a democratic political system in a country both at the local and national levels, it is very important to pay attention to how to increase public participation in government politics.

Political participation must be free where public participation in the political system is driven on the basis of their own will, not coercion or control from above by the ruling regime,

therefore free participation is distinguished from mobilized participation (Huntington in Gau Kadir, 2018: 27). Mobilized participation is community participation that is directed and controlled directly by the government not at the will of the people themselves, this is a characteristic of an authoritarian political system. For this reason, participation that has democratic value is that it requires individual freedom in politics.

Political participation is closely related to the principle of equality, which means that there are equal opportunities for the community/citizens to be involved in political activities, namely in terms of influencing the process of making political decisions and public policies (Austin Ranney in Thoha, 2007: 102), without views the difference because every individual who is legally recognized as a citizen must be given the opportunity to use his political rights both to vote and be elected as government leader and in influencing the process of forming political decisions (public policy).

What is forgotten from the discussion of political participation is how the role of women's groups themselves in the (public) political environment, historically women have generally been neglected in their participation in politics.

In the formation of the text of political knowledge itself, both in classical Greece and the Enlightenment, it did not or even eliminate the role of women themselves, this is seen in the formation of an understanding of classical democracy which assumes that men only have the right to individual freedom (Pateman in Gaus and Kukathas, 2016: 644), in constructing the theory of social contract both Locke and Rosseau do not pay attention to how the role of women there who have the same rights to freedom as men as the owner of the right to the same individual freedoms.

This is of course still a strong patriarchal perspective in human life which sees that men have a higher (dominant) value so that women are subordinated to the second position (Agger, 2016: 117). This is especially true for people who are still strong in holding norms or traditions that regulate roles between men and women. Therefore, the existing conception of participation has not accommodated the important role of women in the public sphere so it is necessary to pay attention to the gender variable, for that political participation is not only for men but also for women's groups.

Gender itself can be understood as seeing the differences between women and men not on a biological basis but a point of view from a culture of society (<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>) which means that gender is a social construction that is not natural but shaped. by society becomes a norm, so the term gender is more directed to culture which refers to the giving of different roles between women and men by society (Heywood, 2016: 387).

With these gender differences, women have a different role in the world of work with men in which men must be active in the world of politics, education, careers, arts and literature while women must take care of their families and be good housewives, men are prioritized. active in the public sphere while women are in the domestic environment, therefore the division of labor in terms of implementing political participation in the public sphere does not reflect gender equality, namely the existence of equal rights between men and women to be active in the public sphere (politics). This means that gender equality opposes the existence of a gender-based division of labor which is used as a norm by conservative circles, such as the feminist movement which seeks gender equality so that it can increase the social role of women (Heywood, 2014: 83).

Gender equality is an important thing that becomes a variable in assessing the quality of political participation because it is related to the granting of equal rights to groups of women who are considered equal to men as individual human beings, the existence of gender equality means that the society is egalitarian and does not discriminate on the part of anywhere on the

basis of race, ethnicity, especially gender, so that in today's modern era one indicator of assessing the progress or not of a country is judged by the presence or absence of gender equality, this is not it.

Gender inequality is one of the many problems that plague the third world as in Indonesia based on the UNDP report it is said that the ranking of gender equality in Indonesia is low, this can be seen from the ranking results that Indonesia is ranked 103rd out of 162 countries and the ASEAN region is in the third lowest rank (<https://mediaindonesia.com/>). Meanwhile, the report from The Global Gender Gap Index in 2020 said that Indonesia was ranked 85th out of 153 countries so it was still lagging behind other ASEAN countries such as the Philippines, which was ranked 16th, Laos 43 and Thailand 75 (www.theindonesianinstitute.com).

Based on a study, it is said that the low gender equality in Indonesia is due to discriminatory treatment against women because of the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesian society which places men as the most dominant (Aprilianda and Krisniani, 2018: 8) with the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia. which places women in the domestic area and men who are more active in earning a living, it also causes gender inequality in the education area (Rustan, 2014; Wani Tune Sumar, 2015; Astina, 2014) apart from education, inequality also occurs in the scope of activities in the public sphere. namely, for example in the organizational aspects of student affairs which are generally still dominated by men (Fibrianto, 2016; Nikmatun Naharin, 2015) as well as in the aspect of political activities gender inequality between women and men also occurs in Indonesia (Tridewiyanti, 2012; Gusmansyah, 2019).

The problem of gender inequality that occurs in Indonesia as described above means that it is also experienced by the community or women's groups at the local level, this is what happened in the Paser Regency area of East Kalimantan province where according to existing data there has been a decrease in the level of women's participation in public spaces. more specifically in the political field, where the decline in women's participation in politics has occurred in a row over the past three years as illustrated in the graph below:

Figure 1. Graph of Women's Participation in Paser District/Women's Representation in Paser District Executives 2017, 2018, 2019

Source: processed by the author. Information: Male (Blue), Female (Brown)

Based on the table above, it can be an example of a decrease in the level of women's participation, which means that there are symptoms of a decline in the quality of political participation seen from a gender perspective, in this case the increase in gender inequality

towards women in the political dimension in Paser Regency, therefore in this paper to see What are the factors that can affect the quality of women's political participation in Paser Regency?

RESEARCH METHODS

In this writing, the method used is descriptive with a qualitative approach where data collection is carried out by field observations in the form of data from interviews with various parties such as the Paser Gender Forum group, PKK Paser Regency, Kadin P2KBP3A Paser, and the East Kalimantan Provincial Bapenda. the participation of women's groups in Paser Regency besides secondary data sources in the form of data from documentation studies such as journals, books and articles related to gender inequality in aspects of women's political participation in Paser Regency with the causal factors.

DISCUSSION

Gender inequality that occurs in women in the aspect of political participation in Paser Regency is caused by various factors that are interrelated at will. These factors can be divided into two types, namely external factors that come from outside the lives of women and internal factors or factors caused from within the dynamics of the personal lives of women's groups in Paser Regency.

External Factors: Religious Norms

Based on the results of an observation in Paser Regency that increasing inequality or decreasing women's political participation cannot be separated from the belief factor in religious norms adopted by the general public, as it is known that social norms in this case religion play an important role in shaping my behavior and way of thinking. Someone, Max Weber said that human life is always directed by social forces in this case values, norms and beliefs that are trusted by the community as a provision (Parwitaningsih et al, 2020: 31).

This means that an individual has a very close relationship with his community, where the perspective of his community greatly influences an individual's life choices, which means what is considered good and normal for an individual relates to what is actually considered good or bad by society, which means that an individual is very limited by society in choosing a life choice.

Likewise, in understanding the role of women in the social life of society, the placement of the roles of women and men is closely related to the norms in women's society in choosing what to do or do during their lives is determined by the construction of gender based on norms in society, in this case the norms What applies in society is religion, religion can be said as a set of norms recognized by society that need to be upheld as a consequence of accepting one's faith in religious orthodoxy.

In looking at the relationship between men and women related to the roles and positions held by each party in religious orthodoxy, it is inseparable from the existence of gender bias, this is related to the interpretations carried out by scholars or male commentators who bring perspectives, tendencies groups of men without including women's views in forming interpretations of religious texts so of course this puts forward the dominance of men over women which means there is a strong influence of patriarchal perspective in the formation of religious norms (Munawar Rachman, 2011; Apandi, 2011; Nina Nurmila, 2015), which of course is related to the aim of maintaining the domination of men over women by religious orthodoxy groups (Ghanim, 2004: 75)

The existence of a patriarchal perspective in religion which shows that in social life men are the more dominant party and have a different status from the women in which the role of regulating and leading the family is left to men while women are led and regulated so that men are given more flexible responsibilities to maintain family survival by earning a living from here, men are freed to work outside the home so that men are given broad roles in public spaces (careers) while women only take care of domestic affairs such as taking care of children, cooking, and also "supporting" her husband biologically.

This perspective that is still inherent in the mindset of the Indonesian people, including conservative circles, is a norm that needs to be upheld, where religious conservative groups themselves see gender as something that has been determined by God's power so that it is more natural (Heywood, 2016: 390) similar to the biological differences between men and women, they see the different roles between women and men that separate the domestic for women while the public for men is a common thing and also according to religious "guidance".

This perspective is of course internalized in the minds of women, because the gender biased religious texts are accepted by women as a norm that must be held firmly and not to be questioned again. The internalization of this perspective towards women cannot be separated from the role of gender socialization in religion itself, where gender socialization is an introduction to values or norms in society that sort out the roles between women and men appropriately so that with gender socialization, an individual is formed. who is truly a woman and a real man (Parwitaningsih, 2020: 38-39).

Gender socialization is one form of socialization in social life where socialization functions in shaping one's personality (Yinger in Parwitaningsih, 2020: 6-7) so that behavior and mindset are in accordance with norms in society, then if it is associated with cases or phenomena, Religion in seeing the decline in the quality of women's participation in Paser Regency that religious education for women includes a gender socialization process that places a dominant role on a man who must lead which means more active and a more passive and obedient role for women.

Gender socialization provides an understanding to a woman about the role that a woman should have in family and community life. Thus, a woman's tendency is formed whose mindset and behavior are adjusted to the norms that have been taught in the process of gender socialization. The impact that occurs is that women in Paser Regency do not pay too much attention to career problems or are too active in participating in politics because they prioritize taking care of household life for example taking care of children because that is what is considered a woman's nature.

Symptoms of the lack of desire of women to pursue a higher career in their work and also to participate in politics not only come from the process of internalizing norms in gender socialization towards women but also the existence of norms in religion itself which are biased towards the interests of men which it has been stated previously that in religious texts there is an interpretation which says that it is a man who deserves a higher position than women, especially in terms of leadership, so that the community prioritizes if it can be attempted to become a leader in a certain agency, be it the government, Both private sector and community organizations are men so that it is appropriate for men to participate in political life, so it does not matter if women are prevented from obtaining positions or positions in certain organizations or participation. n in political participation, whether it's an obstacle due to her nature as a woman who has to focus more on taking care of household affairs or the lack of competence possessed by women both in terms of technical and theoretical knowledge.

This problem in the end became the reason why a woman in Paser Regency did not really use her participation rights as a citizen because if a woman was required to actively participate in politics then she needed to take more roles outside the domestic environment

which was deemed appropriate to be more active. outside the house are men. Political participation itself can be divided into two types, namely conventional political participation and non-conventional political participation as in the table below.

Table 1 Forms of Political Participation

Conventional	Non-Conventional
Voting	Petition submission
Political discussion	Demonstrating
Campaign activities	Confrontation
Forming and joining interest groups	Strike
Individual communication with political and administrative officials	Acts of political violence against property (vandalism, bombing, burning)
	Acts of political violence against humans (kidnapping, murder)
	Guerrilla war and revolution

Source: Mas'ood & MacAndrews, 2007: 58

Based on the division of forms of political participation as proposed by Mas'ood and MacAndrews political participation carried out by citizens is conventional, namely carrying out participation activities that have been constitutionally determined where as citizens are given political rights to carry out political participation such as freedom of assembly or association. participating in general elections both at the local and national levels lobbying the government while non-conventional ones are not directly regulated by the constitution or laws but as a way for citizens to channel their aspirations to the government in influencing a decision in the political system.

Looking at the two types of participation, it is indeed necessary to have someone active in public spaces such as gathering and forming an association, readiness to build communication with the government, either through official lobbying, building personal contact with the government or conducting demonstrations on the street, someone who wants and To participate in politics, it is necessary to form an interest organization which requires leadership skills as well as the ability to build communication both within groups and outside the group.

Based on this explanation, if it is associated with the concept of gender, political participation activities as proposed by Mas'ood and Mac Andrews seem more masculine because there is a demand for an individual who can actualize himself out loud and wants to build a confrontational relationship with certain parties (in terms of This is the government) in fighting for their interests, so these activities are more suitable for men to do compared to women, because it is important to observe the construction of women and men by a patriarchal culture in which a man is formed to be more aggressive and consistent. in pursuing their own interests while women must be more passive, not too aggressive and willing to accept decisions from men, meaning that they are not given space for self-actualization, therefore it is possible that women are not too concerned He himself carried out political participation in a deep and comprehensive except that it was less challenging and energy-consuming, such as following the general election.

This is inseparable from the definition of a woman who is constructed by culture (religion) through gender socialization that women are weak, emotional, irrational in nature that must be nurtured, protected and guarded by a man so that they are not suitable to

participate in participation activities. politics that prioritizes more male traits such as an active self, strong determination, independence, leadership, rationality, even wanting to build conflictual relationships, therefore women are more focused on taking care of children, cooking and serving their husbands rather than taking action. demonstrations on the streets against government policies because they seem "male".

Internal Factors: Attitudes and Mindsets of Women's Group

Another factor that causes the lack of participation of women's groups in the world of politics is the lack of motivation from women themselves, someone to be able to achieve a desired goal as a form of self-fulfillment requires a motive within the individual (Berrien & Wendell, 1957: 71) very motive. It is important for women as an incentive to do something whether it is to fulfill the demands of a career or in terms of participating in politics.

Regarding motivation as an encouragement to do something, including something valuable for a woman, it is important to refer to the concept of achievement drive or n-Ach (need for achievement) which was put forward by David McClelland he said that someone tries to do his job well whatever it is based on on the willingness to achieve an achievement, but that achievement or achievement is not only based on the urge to obtain material rewards (money/big salary) but is a separate satisfaction for doing his job perfectly (Budiman, 2000: 23) further that a person can called having the drive to achieve (need for achievement) as said by David McClelland is how someone sees the need to try to make changes for the better, meaning that someone wants to do a good job to change the situation in a more favorable direction for themselves. so that he is willing to face all kinds of obstacles in the form of tasks or obligations imposed on him, then that person can be said to have a strong achievement drive (Suwarsono and Alvim Y.So, 1994: 27).

Based on this concept, it is clear that the women in Paser Regency do not have the drive to excel (n-Ach) so that they are not compelled to use their political rights, namely to participate more broadly in politics. general elections, but how do women want and are encouraged to get involved in politics, namely being active in civil society organizations or being active in political party activities as is done by men.

Deeper political participation means that women are willing to climb a higher level of stratification, related to political stratification, it is necessary to prioritize the understanding between the elite and the masses as stated by Pareto who said that every society with various types and characteristics must have groups that have different characteristics. have the power to regulate society as well as a group of individuals who have a strong influence in influencing political decisions, the first is the governing elite, while the elite who are not governing but have influence are the non-governing elite (Haryanto, 2017: 7) this is as can be seen in a pyramid image below:

Figure 2. Pyramid of Political Stratification

Source: Haryanto, 2017 : 8

Based on the pyramid of political stratification above, it is shown that there are three main levels, namely non-elite, non-elite governing and governing elite, in which non-elite are parties who do not have either authority in government or political influence, which means the lowest level in society in general, if Pareto only divides political stratification into three different levels with Robert Putnam who divides political stratification into three levels, namely:

1. The decision-making group.
2. The Influential.
3. Activist.
4. The public is interested in politics.
5. Voters and
6. Non-Partisan

(Putnam in Mas'oed & McAndrews, 2007: 106)

With the freedom of the general public to participate in politics, there is an open space for women themselves to climb every level of political stratification with the need for achievement, namely the desire to change the collar situation to a better one for themselves and their environment, so motivated by a desire for women in participating, for that a woman can be encouraged to become an activist or chairman of a community organization (NGO), become a member of a political party and even participate in elections both for party leaders and for the election of heads of the executive and legislative branches, essentially there is encouragement from women as motivation. , speaking of motivation there are various factors ranging from ideological idealism and material interests but what is certain is the desire to change the situation for himself and the environment as a form of self-satisfaction. But the problem is that if it is associated with the lack of motivation for women in Paser Regency to participate in politics, especially to climb the political stratification level, it means that women cannot participate in the elite circulation arena, namely moving themselves from non-elite to elite as a form of process. promotion (Habodin, 2015: 216) because of the lack of motivation for that this is because women's ability is not strong enough to be more involved in participating in political participation this is related to the status or main role given by the environment (read cultural norms) that women are better focus on taking care of children or working in the domestic sphere, while for the public sphere, in this case, participation in political participation is left to the men, so there is a tendency on the part of women that they feel limited and that is something that is considered natural because they define themselves as parties who have to play more roles in the domestic sphere than men.

So, it is very closely related to the results of the internalization of gender education which has a male bias that women are the parties who must be regulated, controlled and take care of the household imprinted in the minds of these women so that they do not want to be too involved in politics, which means that there is no encouragement. to achieve (n-Ach).

Another important thing to say about internal factors is the low level of education of women's groups, because the extent of community political participation depends on the extent of education received by the community as a consequence of modernization (Weiner in Mas'ood & MacAndrews, 2007: 56) because with high education women will realize the importance of political participation in fighting for their interests is also supported by the development of mass communication so as to spread ideas about gender equality in the field of political participation, so the results of education and increasing women's knowledge of the values of gender equality are very important apart from the motivation for achievement., It can also be said that the motivation for achievement will emerge if women can understand the ideas of gender equality well conveyed by feminist intellectuals.

Apart from the lack of motivation caused by the form of gender education that is male-biased and also the strong religious norms in describing women as subordinated parties, there are obstacles to the obligation to obey their husbands in carrying out activities outside the home, such compliance is an obstacle experienced by women. to carry out activities in public spaces, for example that there is a bad feeling if everything does not get the blessing of the husband, including for example to continue higher education levels, the obligation of women to obey the men.

The existence of women's obedience to men is closely related to the existence of structural oppression, where structural oppression is a fact of the existence of a group that has a higher position so that it can control the other party where the domination relationship has been built from the past until now it has become a routine (Ritzer, 2007). 2014: 808) something that is routine is the attitude of women to obey the men, of course this is not egalitarian in which both should have the same degree and can build communicative relationships, not dominative relationships in terms of all perspectives and the interests of men must be accommodated by women without wanting to see the interests/voices of women, this is a possibility that prevents women from participating more in politics and even having careers in certain fields of work.

Actually, the impact of gender inequality, especially in the political field, makes women powerless and unable to voice their interests and aspirations, including gender equality itself. Even though Indonesia has accepted the principles of democratic governance, one of which is the political participation of citizens and the principle of political equality for citizens, it is nonsense if you do not pay attention to the variables of women's interests because if you do not pay attention to the interests, voices and aspirations of women.

The principles of democracy implemented by the government have no meaning whatsoever and are not even able to create a truly egalitarian society if they have not been able to empower and provide opportunities for women's groups to participate in the political system of a country because it is feared that if so it will become a model of a patriarchal state, where the state Patriarchalism as expressed by radical feminist groups is a state that tries to maintain the domineering relationship between men and women, so that the state is actually only for men with the control of the state by men (Heywood, 2014: 113-114) .

To understand and imagine the patriarchal state model according to these radical feminists more easily, we should borrow the famous words from Abraham Lincoln, namely government from the people by the people and for the people the word "people" can be replaced with the word "men" so that the sound is government of men by men and for men.

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation of the discussion of the causes of the decline in the level or quality of women's participation in Paser Regency, it is caused by the strong religious norms (external factors) which illustrate that men are the party who must be more dominant than women to be active outside the home (public space) so as to provide Limitations for women's groups to participate in wider and deeper political participation while internal factors are the attitudes and mindsets of women's groups where there is no motivation to participate in politics due to the lack of encouragement to excel (n-Ach) due to the formation of women's mindsets that resulting from gender socialization which depicts women as those who have to take care of household affairs rather than being active in public spaces and the low level of education of women, especially with the suppression of the structure of patriarchal culture in the family sphere.

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