

The Role Of Political Parties In Preparing Women's Leadership That Is Just And Gender Sensitive

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Abstract

Since the reformation, the government has paid serious attention to women's involvement as men in guarding, taking and supervising the public policies by issuing affirmative action policies. The affirmative action policy requires every political party participating in the state election that a minimum quota of 30 percent of female candidates can be fulfilled at the time of candidacy, but after competing in the election contest the results are still far from what was expected. This research aims to identify, inventory and systematize the factors that cause women to not optimally win competitions in political positions. This research also aims to criticize and find new innovations in the model of political party regeneration to be more gender sensitive and fair. Field data were collected by means of Focus Group Discussions and in-depth interviews with religious leaders and potential legislative members (caleg). The findings of both literature and field data were analyzed qualitatively using elements of philosophical methods: interpretation, internal coherence, holistic and heuristics. The results of the research found that preparing national leaders who were sensitive and concerned about gender justice was difficult to materialize when the patriarchal system was still firmly entrenched internally and externally by the party. The patriarchal system must be abolished because it undermines human dignity and does not provide a sense of justice to women. Several ethical principles that need to be instilled during regeneration are: good will, caring, empathy, compassion, respect for equality, and working responsibly.

Keywords: Female leadership, patriarchy, affirmative action

Introduction

Since the reformation, the government has paid serious attention to women's involvement as men in guarding, taking and supervising the public policy. The government encourages women to participate, gain access, take control and get equal benefit as men in political life. The government seriousness to encourage women active participation in democratic life is manifested by issuing the affirmative action policy in the general election law. Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties mandates the establishment and management of political parties at the central level must include at least 30 percent women's representation. Law number 10 of 2008 on elections also reaffirms the obligation of political parties to include at least 30 percent women's representation at the central level management. The figure of 30 percent is based on the results of UN research which states that a minimum number of 30 percent allows a change to occur and has an impact on the

quality of decisions taken in public institutions¹. The involvement of women in politics is expected to create a more dignified democratic life.

However, the results of the affirmative action policy after being implemented until the 2019 elections are still far from the coveted ideal conditions. The affirmative action policy requires that every political party participating in the election must prepare a minimum 30% quota for women at the time of candidacy without experiencing any difficulties. However, the results drop sharply after the competition. In the 2009 election, the nomination of female legislative candidates was recorded at 34.86 percent, but only 18.3 percent was elected. While in the 2014 election, the nomination of female candidates increased to 37.27 percent, but the number of women elected decreased by only 17.32 percent. In the 2019 election, the number of female candidates nominated was 40 percent, but only 20.5 percent was elected.

The defeat of women in competing in the political world is inseparable from the nonoptimal role of the political parties in preparing, escorting, accompanying and criticizing women's political leadership. The political parties sometimes include more than 30% quota of women candidates just to fulfill the provisions mandated by the General Election Commission—KPU, so that some of the proposed candidates know nothing, do nothing and do not equipped with comprehensive knowledge².

The religious politicization in a strong patriarchal culture of Indonesian society makes it more complicated for women to win competitions. Religious institutions are still half-hearted in providing moral-spiritual support for women's leadership. Some religious leaders are still debating on the functions, roles and responsibilities of women in the "domestic" sector with activities in the "public sphere". The verses of the al-Qur'an are used as arguments for dogmatism to prohibit and close the opportunity for women to occupy the seat of leadership. Biblical texts are explicitly and implicitly used to justify and support women's subordination. In fact, the involvement of women in politics is necessary to create a new political world that is apart from gender discrimination.

Partini³ found out there were structural, cultural and economic constraints for women to become public leaders. The aspiration, feeling and experiences of the female candidates of legislative members who are directly involved in political life need to be heard. Soeseno's research⁴ on the political party's inability to establish the 30 percent minimal of women's leadership, neither as a legislative nor an executive member, is strongly related to the lack of the parties' seriousness in preparing the women's leadership. The proposed female candidates in 2014 who went through the regeneration process was only 30.3 percent, while the rest 69.7 percent went through the non-regeneration route. Based on these data, the descriptive representation only fulfills the legal-formal requirements. The patriarchal religious interpretation became the constraints of the non-optimal women role as public leaders⁵. Therefore, the substantial representation that is truly able to voice women's aspirations is still

¹Quintarti Djou, "Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Partai Politik Dan Pemilu Serempak," Prosiding Seminar Nasional Hukum Universitas Negeri Semarang 4, no. 3 (2018): 602.

²Partini Partini, "Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Praktek Kewarganegaraan Di Indonesia," Jurnal Perempuan 81 (2014): 32.

³Ibid.

⁴Soeseno Soeseno, "Perempuan Politisi Dalam Partai Politik Pemilu 2014: Perwakilan Deskriptif VS Substantif," Jurnal Perempuan 8 (2014): 103.

⁵Ira D Mangililo, "The Lost-Sisters in the Public Sphere: A Study of Socio-Theological Christianity on the Roles of Women's Politics," Jurnal Perempuan 19, no. 3 (2014): 207-219.

a big question mark⁶. This research intends to deconstruct a patriarchal political understanding as well as to reconstruct a conceptual political understanding that is fairer and gender sensitive.

The purpose of this research is to obtain an indepth, systematic and comprehensive understanding of the political party's assistance and empowerment models that have been carried out in preparing and escorting women's leadership that is fair and gender sensitive. The constraints faced by the political parties in preparing women's leadership is explored depthly. Furthermore, this research tries to discover the ethical principles needed to prepare women's leadership to be fairer and gender sensitive.

Research Methods

This research combines library research with field research. The material object of this research is in the form of a mentoring model to prepare women's leadership that is just and gender sensitive which is carried out by political parties in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The formal object (point of view) of this research is going to see from the perspective of social transformative feminist ethics.

Library data were collected from published books, research reports, journals related to women's leadership by scientists, philosophers and gender experts. Field data collections were carried out by means of a Focus Group Discussion on October 7, 2019 involving Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist and Catholic religious figures in the Kesbangpol Room in Sleman Regency followed by in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were also conducted with several legislative candidates, including: Pembayun (from the Golkar party), M.Y. Esti Wijayanti (PDIP), Elisabeth Listyaningsih (Nasdem), John S. Kaban (Golkar) and Ag. Sukaryadi (Nasdem). The findings of the library and field data were analyzed qualitatively using philosophical method elements namely: interpretation, internal coherence, holistic and heuristics⁷.

Result And Discussion

Conditions for Women's Political Participation in the Nomination of Legislative Members

The Indonesian population in 2019 is 266 million people, consisting of 134 million men and 132 million women. Based on the General Election Commission (KPU) data, there are 185,732,093 domestic voters, consisting of 92,802,671 men and 92,929,422 women. An equal ratio of the voters also occur in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. In Kulon Progo Regency, the total number of voters was 334,392, consisting of 162,661 men and 171,731 women; in Bantul Regency, the total number of voters was 704,305, consisting of 344,327 men and 359,978 women; in Gunung Kidul Regency, the total numbers of voters was 607,112, consisting of 295,998 men and 311,114 women; in Sleman Regency, the total number of voters was 779,687 residents, consisting of 379,616 men and 400,071 women; in Yogyakarta Municipality, the total number of voters is 300,863, consisting of 144,179 men and 156,684 women (data taken from the General Election Commission (KPU) of DIY). The nomination percentage in DIY shows nearly balanced composition. From 578 candidates for Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) of DIY, there are 261 of female candidates.

⁶Soeseno, "Perempuan Politisi Dalam Partai Politik Pemilu 2014: Perwakilan Deskriptif VS Substantif."

⁷Anton Bakker and Achmad Charris Zubair, *Metodologi Penelitian Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Filsafat, 1990).

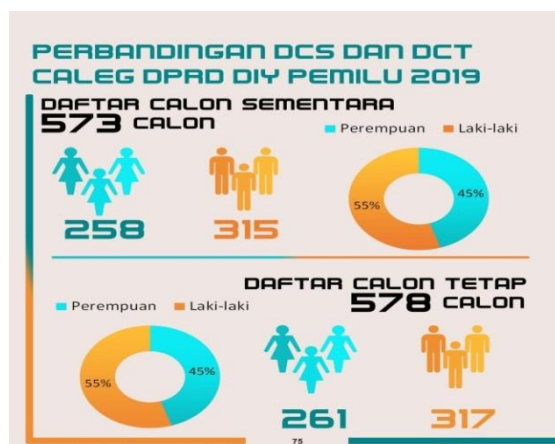


Figure 1. Comparison between temporary and permanent candidates

However, the representative numbers dropped significantly when competing for the legislative seats. Only 16 percent of women representatives have succeeded in serving as the legislative members. Women are unable to compete to win the votes of their constituents. The female candidates’ popularity is not well known and less able to win over the voters. Not all female voters give their votes to the female candidates, otherwise they vote for male candidates. The number of votes collected by female candidates are still insufficient to sit in the regional and national levels of leadership. Therefore, the composition of candidates who sit as the legislative members are still dominated by men.

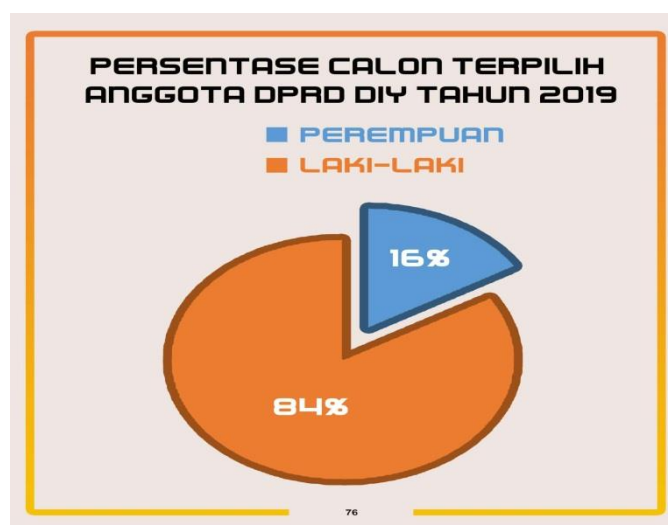


Figure 2. The percentage of selected candidates 2019

The unbalanced composition between the female voters and the legislative female’s representative may cause potential gender inequality. Based on past experiences, the minimum participations of women in political life potentially lead to the marginalization, discrimination and subordination processes in public policy making. The results study of the National Women’s Commission (Komnas Perempuan) in 16 districts/cities in 7 provinces show that the minimum involvement of women in policy making has an impact on the prevalence of gender discriminatory local regulations. A total of 154 policies were made at the provincial level, 80

of which was gender discriminatory⁸.

Several Factors Causing Women Low Participation in Politics

Bad Political Stigmatization Which is Unfriendly to Women

Pembayun and Elisabeth Listyaningsih said that the unfavorable picture of political life developing in society is one of the factors that causes women to be less enthusiastic about going into politics. The political world is unfriendly to women. Politicians work morning, afternoon, evening, often late into the night; whereas there is a negative perception in the society concerning women who is working outside, especially when they return late at night. Politics is stigmatized as the world of men.

The negative political image emerged due to the strong influence of Nicholo Macchiavelli's thought who described politics as a strategy to maintain or gain higher power. All kinds of means can be legalized to achieve the goal. Moral and religious values are ignored in political activities. Everything is legal: violence, fraud, treason and so on, if it is necessary to maintain state power⁹.

The strong impact of Machiaveli's thought resulted in a political image becoming less popular with women. Politics is portrayed as state management which is full of violence, so that it is incompatible with the lives of meek women. Political practice is full of seizing power "intrigue", so that it is not in line with the sincere spirit of women. The virtues of women are characterized by surrender, submissive, loyal, spoiled, childish, sympathetic, warmth, gentleness, indecisive. Those characteristics are in contrast with the forming political image in the society. Women who get involved in politics should have masculine characteristics of toughness, strenght and good influencer¹⁰.

Pembayun encounters the dominant political mainstream that is currently taking place by following the 1970s' feminist movement, namely changing its character according to the existing conditions. The moral principle that is used as a reference is like entering a goat's pen, we have to wheeze, when entering the horse's stable, we must neigh. Women must develop their intellectual abilities so that they do not lose out when arguing rationally with men. Women must be ready and bold to conflict to defend their interests. Women transform themselves by taking over the male model of power and leaving their feminine traits in order to be in power. The feminine attitudes and aspects such as tenderness, prioritizing feelings and harmony should be left behind. Meanwhile, the masculine characteristics which is hard, rational and confrontational are highlighted. Women try to embrace the male model of power by removing feminine characteristics because this is deemed inappropriate¹¹. Women do not like to be involved in political life because the public opinion that is built is not in accordance with the

⁸Komnas Perempuan, "Atas Nama Otonomi Daerah: Pelembagaan Diskriminasi Dalam Tatanan Negara - Bangsa Indonesia: Laporan Pemantauan Kondisi Pemenuhan Hak Hak Konstitusional Perempuan Di 16 Kabupaten/ Kota Pada 7 Propinsi," Perpustakaan Komnas Perempuan, last modified 2010, https://perpustakaan.komnasperempuan.go.id/web/index.php?p=show_detail&id=3322.

⁹Theo Huijbers, *Filsafat Hukum Dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Cetakan 1. (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Kanisius, 1982).

¹⁰Siti Musdah Mulia and Anik Farida, *Perempuan Dan Politik*, cetakan 1. (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005); Heriyani Agustina, "Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen Dalam Perspektif Keadilan Dan Kesetaraan Gender," in *Gender Dan Politik* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2009).

¹¹Mulia and Farida, *Perempuan Dan Politik*.

ideal life they aspire to.

Nicholo Macchiavelli's political point of view is less objective, one-sidedness, only accentuates the bad side of the political life practice so that create an immoral image. The negative political picture needs to be changed so that women are not allergic to politics. Politics does not always have a negative connotation. Politics has a human dimension because it aims to welfare human beings completely and entirely; therefore a "political" approach should always be society oriented as a whole¹². A positive political image needs to be promoted so that women are more passionate about politics.

The concept of power needs to be polished with a more feminine touch. Siti Musdah Mulia dan Anik Farida formulated the feminine dimension concept of power characterized by: obsessed to create a more dignified society, nurturing and maintaining the existing life, welfare of others, abundant in affection, empowering not deceiving. The motherly side, which is affectionately responsive to the welfare of others, needs to be developed in political life. The tender and compassionate politicians can be reliable politicians. They do not have to compete by hurting their political opponents to realize their ambitions¹³.

The political image which is women friendly should clad the masculine activities with the feminine behavior. Therefore, politics does not have to be tough but firm, no intrigue instead of negotiation, not cruel but sharing¹⁴. The political image is not the manifestation of female character monopoly, but a combination of masculine and feminine characteristics that can be achieved, both by men and women, without any discrimination.

The Strong Patriarchal Culture in the Internal Political Parties and The Communities

The low participation of women in politics is due to the strong patriarchal culture in the internal political parties and the communities. The patriarchal culture marginalizes women role in politics because the conceptual framework maintains, justifies and perpetuates the relation between domination and subordination¹⁵. Patriarchal conceptual framework restricts women's progress, such as the assumption "no need to take higher education for woman because she will end up in the kitchen". The perpetuation of this jargon makes the political parties difficult to find female cadres who have high intellectual and willing to involve in public matters. The poverty experienced by women limits the space for women's articulation in arguing, being highly educated and taking part in politics¹⁶. The stereotype of labor division in the society is that men are active in the public sector while women are in the domestic sphere. The dichotomous division of labor results in the political stage as the public sector shifts into men sector¹⁷.

The Lack of Support of Religious Institution for Women in Politics

¹²Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Politik; Prinsip- Prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, cetakan 2. (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1988).

¹³Mulia and Farida, *Perempuan Dan Politik*.

¹⁴Partini, "Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Praktek Kewarganegaraan Di Indonesia."

¹⁵Karen J. Warren, "Toward An Ecofeminist Peace Politics," in *Ecological Feminism* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁶Partini, "Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Praktek Kewarganegaraan Di Indonesia."

¹⁷Agustina, "Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen Dalam Perspektif Keadilan Dan Kesetaraan Gender."

Religious institutions sometimes strengthen the patriarchal system by teaching patriarchal doctrines as a destiny that has been finalized by the Almighty. Religious institutions are sometimes still half-hearted in providing moral-spiritual support to women's leadership. Some religious leaders are still debating the functions, roles and responsibilities of women in the "domestic" sector with activities in the "public sphere". Religion in a patriarchal society was politicized to marginalize the role of women by taking shelter under religious holy verses. The verses of the holy book are used as dogmatic arguments to prohibit and close the opportunity for women to occupy the chair of leadership. The position of women in religion is sometimes subordinated in a secondary place to that of men (the second sex).

Riyanto, a Muslim religious leader, argued that the state leadership should be able to act as an imam at the same time. Women cannot become priests of worship for men, so as long as there are men, the leader of the country should be a man. Women can serve as the public official representatives. Sukirman also added that Islam essentially provides equal space for men and women to be involved in political activities as long as they do not forget their nature as women. It is considered less commendable if women are too active in politics and then leave household tasks such as cooking, caring for children, serving husbands and so on. Women who are responsible for raising children then making them become useful to the society, the country and the religion are the women who are glorified by Allah.

The above view is still gender biased because it puts household duties on the shoulders of women. To be active in political life, women must complete household duties first. There is a double burden that is carried by women when they want to enter politics. They should complete household chores in addition to being involved in political work. Men are relieved because they do not need to deal with household duties.

The movement of scripture reinterpretations which are more gender equitable has urged to be done immediately so that every citizen feels comfortable and safe living in Indonesia. All humans are essentially the same as God's creation, so they must be treated fairly. Before God men and women have equal dignity and worth. All humans regardless of gender are the pinnacles of God's creation. The Koran does not privilege humans in one particular gender. According to Surat al-Nisa/4: 124 and al-Nahl/16: 97, men and women have the same potential to become Abd and caliph¹⁸.

Some Basic Value Orientations for Female Candidates

The value orientation is the driving force for the struggle to realize idealism. Persistence in realizing idealism is one of the factors driven by the value orientation that underlies it. Elisabeth Listyaningsih, a female candidate for the Nasdem party, expressed her desire to become a candidate for legislative members in the background of the desire to cooperate with anyone with good will. Since in the family environment, his parents always educate her to get along and cooperate with others for the sake of the common good. Life has to be meaningful, so that the initial intention to become a legislative candidate can be a blessing for others.

Elisabeth Listyaningsih also sees that there are many social and state problems that can and need to be addressed. The deep anxiety of observing the condition of the people and the government that has occurred lately drives the desire to become a legislative candidate.

¹⁸Elli Nur Hayati, Jurnal Perempuan 48: Pengetahuan Perempuan (Jakarta: Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, 2006).

Existential anxiety is a positive trait because it is a prelude to social care. The rise of intolerance, corruption, social injustice, bureaucracy and regulations that shackle minority groups, poverty that is still found in the society is the main driving force to become a legislative candidate. Concern for the actual social conditions of the community moves her to be involved and share the blessings of creating common welfare.

Apart from social motives, Elisabeth Listyaningsih added that there are personal motives that motivate her to become candidates. Becoming a legislative candidate, according to her, can be a means of developing one's own capacity to practice speaking skills, negotiation skills, diplomacy, communication, the ability to build and collaborate with others and collide with arguments that she has felt so far.

The same thing was also expressed by Ag. Sukaryadi from the Nasdem party, M.Y. Esti Wijayanti from the PDIP and John S. Kaban from the Golkar party, who were moved to become candidates for the welfare of the community. The struggle to create common welfare will be more easily realized optimally when you have power in the public sphere. The results of personal efforts are limited and less than optimal. By having the power to formulate policies, the results can be simultaneously enjoyed by the wider community.

Pembayun, a candidate for the Golkar party, revealed that the value orientation of becoming a candidate is not an instantaneous thing. The family is an early institution that inspires the origin of her value orientation. Her parents, who are party activists as well as social organization activists, becomes inspiration and motivation to drive her choice of living values. Their advices, counsels and words form the provisions of her vision of life. Her parents always motivate that everyone basically has a spirit of leadership which shape the nature, character and orientation of his/her life. Pembayun's orientation to become a Golkar candidate is to become a leader who is close to the people.

The Golkar Party is perceived as a political organization that builds strong internal and external family relations. Wherever Golkar cadres are and whatever their status are, they are seen as one family. The attention of party leaders with cadres at lower levels and among cadres is like a mother and a child. They have strong mutual help among fellow cadres and leaders. The presence of administrators, leaders and members is not positioned like an "ivory tower" that keeps a distance from one another, but rather like a "water tower" that gives life, encourages and motivates when experiencing difficulties. The leadership model which is close to all motivated Pembayun to join the Golkar party.

The Strategies to Optimize Women's Leadership

Political parties are one of the pillars of democracy that are tasked in preparing national leaders. The leader "does not come down by himself from the sky" but needs to be prepared, therefore the regeneration process is something that political parties need to be done. Regeneration is the process of preparing future leaders who will continue the baton of the party's struggle to become future leaders. Regeneration is important because the leaders will not be in power forever. One day they will be replaced. It is hoped that the change in the leader figure will not cut off the vision and the mission of the party's struggle.

Political parties should seriously, systematically and sustainably carry out the regeneration process to prepare prospective leaders who take side with women. Political parties must think about regeneration and leadership patterns that care and involve women in long-term stages, not just the moments before the election, merely fulfilling the formal provisions

of the election law. Political parties need to be aware that the lack of women representation will harm their own institutional interests. The low representation of women in the party can lead to narrow perspectives, insights and party struggles. It is hoped that women political involvement will improve the quality of democracy because the rights, interests and welfare of all parties are more represented and accommodated.

Elisabeth Listyaningsih feels that she has never received regeneration from her party in a systematic, tiered and in-depth manner that raises women's issues. The Nasdem Party accepted her as a legislative candidate in her finished form. Her experience in organizations outside the party makes her has gender sensitivity and awareness. Pembayun said that she participated in the women regeneration by being sent by the party to attend courses which held outside the party. John S. Kaban also stated that the regeneration carried out in Golkar was not only intended for women but also for men. The sensitivity and the struggle for justice is not only belong to women, meanwhile it should be the commitment of all human beings, both men and women.

John S. Kaban's idea of a regeneration process is generally accepted, involving both men and women, has both positive and negative sides. The positive side is making the gender justice movement a joint commitment, but the negative side of the study of women's issues is less profound. The side of women's existential needs is only discussed in passing. Various experiences, feelings and ways of understanding women are less systematically, comprehensively and in-depth discussed.

The regeneration process of female leadership candidates who are sensitive and concerned about fighting for gender fairness cannot be done instantly, spontaneously and only be done accidentally. The awareness provisions increasing sensitivity and persistence in fighting for gender justice is not just by sending the cadres for training outside the party. Political parties need to recruit young women who have the potential to carry out a regeneration process in a concrete, systematic, in-depth, tiered and sustainable manner.

Aditya Perdana and Delia Wildianti suggested that the stages of the regeneration process could be carried out in stages: first, recruiting candidates for cadres or members through many methods, either open or closed, in order to get potential candidates. After carrying out the basic debriefing, it provides opportunities for young female politicians to directly participate and interact in the political arena both in the executive and legislative bodies. The involvement of cadres in the real world, both as administrative staff and expert staff in the political arena, is hoped to be able to broaden their horizons and the awareness of their duties, responsibilities and scope of political life. The second step, cadres are involved and become part of the winning team for legislative candidates or candidates in the regional elections. This experience is an important part of understanding the real complexities of winning legislative and executive seats. The third step, young women are given the opportunity to compete in the next election competition. The time lag is important so that young politicians have a chance to reflect on whether the job they are going to do is in accordance with their interests and conscience¹⁹.

The regeneration will not run optimally when there are structural or cultural obstacles that hinder in the party body, within women themselves and in the society. The patriarchal culture as felt by Pembayun must be eliminated from the GOLKAR political party organization.

¹⁹Perdana Perdana and Delia Wildianti, "Gerakan Perempuan Politik Setelah 20 Tahun Reformasi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Perempuan* 100 (2019): 96–97.

To optimize their roles in preparing women's leadership that are fair and gender sensitive, the political parties need to stop or eliminate the patriarchal perspectives and attitudes in the society and in the internal political parties. Women's participation in political life will not work well if the patriarchal culture is still deeply rooted in social life and in the organization of political parties. All efforts and struggles to achieve justice and equality will end in secrecy if the patriarchal mindset is still exist, lived and developed in social life and in the political parties.

The awareness of women in politics needs to be grown up in the society. Women need to be aware that the absence of women in the legislative and executive membership will harm them. Without the presence of women in political life, there will be more potential political policies which do not pro-women. Women need to be aware that without women's participation the practice of discrimination and marginalization has the opportunity to grow more fertile in the society.

Women need to be aware that gender fairness and equality can and need to be fought for. Gender justice must be fought for by women as the disadvantaged party because justice does not come naturally, but it needs to be fought for. Without the serious efforts of those who suffer injustice, unfairness cannot be removed²⁰. Hoping for justice to emerge from the awareness of the oppressors is a futile hope, because the oppressors who benefit from the existing conditions tend to perpetuate them.

The parties who are victims of injustice should be more proactive in fighting for liberation. Within women, a critical awareness needs to be built that gender injustice and inequality still exist, continue but can be stopped. Gender injustice or inequality is not something natural and servant, but something that can be changed by fighting for it. Gender injustice and inequality are morally bad because they insult human dignity and must be stopped and eliminated.

The struggle to achieve gender fairness and equality cannot be done alone. Gender unfairness is not caused by a single independent factor, but it is conditioned by various complex aspects of social life. The economics, politics, ideology, law and socio-cultural sometimes interlock and perpetuate the practice of oppression. Analyzing the practice of oppression that originates from complex problems, it is necessary to build cooperation involving various related aspects of life. The ability to build collaborative networks and develop comprehensive thinking patterns needs to be instilled during regeneration.

The Ethical Principles that Need to be Embodied in the Regeneration of Political Parties Candidates

There are at least six ethical principles that need to be instilled in political party candidates, therefore after becoming political elites they can carry out their duties and responsibilities properly. The six principles are: good will, caring, empathy, compassion, respect for equality, responsibility.

Good Will

The principle of good will is a basic principle that needs to be instilled in the prospective leaders. Good will is the most basic moral foundation that needs to be disseminated to the prospective leaders in order to commit moral actions. Without an attitude or good will as a basis, all morality is impossible²¹. Good intentions are to be built on the foundation of good

²⁰Suseno, Etika Politik; Prinsip- Prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern.

²¹J Sudarminta, Etika Umum Kajian Tentang Beberapa Masalah Pokok Dan Teori Etika Normatif (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 2013).

intentions too. People who enter the political world have various goals, including obtaining increased income, actualizing self-potential, increasing social status, obtaining power positions and so on. It is despicable to legalize all kinds of ways to achieve the goal.

Goodwill is something abstract and hidden so that it is not easy for others to know. Good intentions will be meaningful when it is manifested in real works and actions. The manifestation of a good attitude in real action can be seen from the ability to provide goodness when facing concrete problems. The presence of a leader is expected to give real good blessings to those who are led. To meet these expectations, cadres of political parties are required to have the right knowledge of efforts to realize the welfare of the society in general and women in particular. Political party cadres need to know the women interests, the practical gender interest and the strategic gender interest that will be fought for.

Womeninterestis a complex thing because its identity is heterogeneous, comes in contact with other identities such as social class, economic class, ethnicity, tribe and education level. Therefore, it requires the ability to make categorization by a comprehensive consideration of the various variable position it carries. The strategic gender interest is a long-term need to improve the women's position which are unbalanced, subordinated, marginalized, discriminated by government policies and oppressive socio-cultural constructions. The strategic interests of women, among others, are in the form of eliminating the division of sexual labor, alleviating the double burden of domestic and public work, eliminating institutions that perpetuate discrimination and eliminating violence against women. Practical women's interests usually lead to short-term needs such as water, shelter, food, education, reproductive health services, skills training and so on²². Efforts must be made to gain control over the various interests of women so that they can formulate appropriate steps and strategies to fight for it.

Caring

Caring is a moral attitude that needs to be nurtured in the cadres of political parties. Political party cadres need to care about the survival of the nation, the welfare of society and the suffering of women. Caring can be clearly seen from the partiality for those who are less fortunate due to the unfair structure. Caring is an inner attitude that leads outward to create better conditions. People can be fair because they care about the fate and suffering of others. Caring is an activity to maintain, continue and improve the world so that life goes as best it can²³. Caring is a moral attitude that underlies the principle of justice, because without caring people will not do justice to others²⁴.

Caring is an important component underpinning moral attitudes, behavior and thoughts. Moral actions will only occur when there is an urge to care for other parties and self-interest. Caring will move someone to use all their knowledges, abilities and potentials to pay attention to the needs and welfare of those who are the target of concern. The absence of caring does not only result in bad or wrong moral logic, but also does not produce moral logic at all²⁵. Without a caring attitude, a person will not commit moral actions.

²²Ani Soetjipto Adelina, "Kepentingan Politik Perempuan Dalam Partai: Strategi Gender," *Jurnal Perempuan* 81 (2014): 54.

²³Karen J. Warren, "A Western Perspective on What It Is And Why It Matters," in *Ecofeminist Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2000), 140–141.

²⁴Franz Magnis Suseno, *Pijar-Pijar Filsafat* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2005).

²⁵Warren, "A Western Perspective on What It Is And Why It Matters."

Empathy

The caring ability does not develop automatically with age, but it needs to be trained and honed. The way to train and sharpen caring according to Warren can be done by developing the ability to empathize²⁶. Empathy comes from the Greek which consists of the word "en" which means inside and "patheia" which means feeling, emotion, experience. Empathy is a projection of human inner feelings towards another party or an object. Empathy places the current experience of the object being observed into the inner feelings of the observer subject. The golden rule principle needs to be honed in the human inner attitude. Before making decisions to act, human need to reflect on themselves first. The golden rule reads "If you want others to do for you, do it to them; otherwise if you do not want others to do for you do not do to them. The development of a sense of caring for candidates can be done by increasing the ability of empathy with those who are victims of oppression or gender injustice.

Compassion

Compassion is a moral basis for being fair. Compassion is more active than justice which is merely giving the other party according to their rights. Compassion is more than that because it is trying to give yourself to help others to develop optimally²⁷. Candidates need to be instilled with a spirit of compassion so that later they might become leaders who have the empowering spirit, not the deceiving spirit.

The principle of compassion is a one-way moral principle, fixed on another, and selfless²⁸. The affectionate relationship between mother and child is not like a business activity relationship. Business is a contractual relationship so that every achievement has the right to directly receive a counter-achievement. The sacrifice of a mother to raise her child is not grounded on business considerations but of compassion. Affection is an act of being focused on the other party without directly demanding reciprocation from the recipient party of affection. The compassionate women's leadership carries out the mandate to gain power which is devoted to the good and welfare of others. The interests of others, the society and the state take precedence over personal interests.

Respecting Equality

The increasing number of women's leadership should not only replace the subjects of oppressor. Feminists do not want the society social changes only change the oppressor. Social transformation should not simply replace the patriarchal system into a matriarchal system, but instead replace hierarchy with a social structure based on the principle of equality (egalitarianism). The needs, experiences, knowledge and opportunities of women receive equal attention to that of men. Equality allows to build a partnership relationship, so that the two can complement each other and working together synergistically.

Equality is an important moral principle to create harmonious relationships with others. Other people should not be treated unfairly just because the person has a different gender. Sexism must be opposed because conceptually it will give birth to an unfair, one-sided viewpoint and perpetuates the practice of domination²⁹. Men and women are subjects who have intrinsic value (value in themselves), not just instrumental value (as long as it can be used as a

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Notohamidjojo Notohamidjojo, Masalah Keadilan (Semarang: Tirta Amerta, 1971).

²⁸Sonny Keraf, Etika Lingkungan Hidup (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2005).

²⁹Rosemarie Putnam Tong, Feminist Thought: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Arus Utama Pemikiran Feminis, ed. Aquarini Priyatna Prabasmoro (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004).

means for the benefit of other parties). Women nominated as candidates for legislative members are not as a means of boosting votes, but naturally they have political rights to be nominated or elected. Women and men have equal political moral rights. All forms of domination consider that moral considerations outside of men's interests are unfair and must be opposed. Women need to have access, the right to participate and get the same benefits as men in political activities.

Responsible

Political cadres need to be instilled a moral attitude to work responsibly. The cadres of political candidates will later be elected by the people, so they should be accountable for the results of their works. Women, who are vulnerable of being the victims of unfair policy, need to be heard and noticed for they also have voices and aspirations. As one of the channels for women's aspirations, party cadres need the ability to identify various women's issues or problems, women's needs or interests, strategies to free various discriminatory practices that are detrimental to women and efforts to manifest women's welfare. The cadres of political party candidates need superfine competency standards related to the expertise and skills that related with their future duties and responsibilities, excellent physical and psychological conditions and be able to work effectively and efficiently.

Political cadre candidates need to be instilled a professional working ethic as an accountability to their constituents. People already vote for them to be political elites, therefore the mandates must be carried out with a full sense of responsibility. After being elected, the cadres of political candidates should be able to work as well as possible because their working results will be evaluated by the people. The working results of the political elites will affect the image of their party. The good work will raise the party's image, on the other hand, the bad work will erode people's trust. The survival of the party depends on the level of people's trust, so that a party that is no longer trusted by the people means that the death knell has begun to reverberate. Political elites have a minimum obligation not to do things that can harm the interests of the community, and are even required to make maximum efforts for the usefulness of people's interests³⁰.

Conclusion

- a. Political parties are one of the pillars of democracy in charge of preparing qualified national leaders through a gradual, planned, sustainable, in-depth, interesting, systematic and comprehensive regeneration process. A regeneration curriculum form needs to be designed to develop the cognitive, affective and psychomotoric aspects which is sensitive and caring about gender inequality. Methodologically, the given substances leads to the result to be achieved. a. Cadres should have an open insight that the practice of gender injustice still exists and takes place in society; b. Cadres need to be aware that the practice of gender injustice is an act that is morally bad and legally evil; c. Cadres need to be aware that the practice of gender injustice can and must be stopped; d. Cadres need to have commitment and take concrete actions for the short term, medium term and long term to eliminate the practice of gender injustice.
- b. The efforts to optimize the role of political parties in preparing fair and gender sensitive women's leadership will not produce satisfying results as long as the strong patriarchal system is still gripping the internal aspects of the political parties and the

³⁰Keraf, Etika Lingkungan Hidup.

society. Patriarchal system is morally bad, therefore it should be stopped operating in the internal aspects of the political parties, in the society and in the governmental entities. It underestimates human dignity because it is unfair to women. Therefore, it should be abolished.

- c. To eliminate the long rooted patriarchal system in the society requires a gender sensitive and firmly committed leader to fight for justice. Leaders with noble characteristics need to be prepared through a serious regeneration process, carried out gradually and equipped with extensive and in-depth knowledge. Several ethical principles that need to be instilled in the regeneration process are good will, caring, empathy, compassion, respect for equality, and working responsibly.

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