

The Roles of Female Members of the House of Representatives (DPRD) on Formulation of Gender Responsive Policy in Malang City

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Abstract

The government has set a 30% quota of women's representation in the legislature, including Malang City. The existence of women's representation to see women's participation in politics, as well as their role in making gender responsive policy. The policy formulation model used is Easton's 'political system'. The objectives of this research are: 1) to analyze the role of female parliamentarians in the formulation of gender responsive policies. 2) to describe supporting factors and inhibiting factors in the formulation of gender responsive policies. The method used in this research is qualitative with descriptive research type. Data collection was done by observation and interview technique. Source of data comes from primary data and secondary data. The result of the research shows that women representation in DPRD Malang is not maximal, their role in initiating gender responsive policy is still lacking, but in the outside they still have concern especially protection for victims of violence of woman and child.

Keywords: gender responsive policies, women parliamentarians, violence against women and children.

INTRODUCTION

United Nations in September 2015, launched the program "Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)", One of the goals is to achieve gender welfare and empowerment of women. One of its programs is the 50:50 Gender Equality in 2030. Gender equality according to the United Nations refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities between men and women. Gender equality also means that men and women have equal roles in realizing what their rights are and are able to contribute to economic, social and cultural development and politics.

As a country that is a member of United Nations, Indonesia also participates in gender equality, both in economic, political, cultural, etc. One of them in the political aspect is to encourage (affirmative action) in parliament. Nurcahyo (2016: p.25) explains that "the importance of participation and there is a reason, women's political representation is important if we want to place gender democracy." [1]

This affirmative action is expected to have a good impact on the welfare of women, not only

with the increasing number of women in government but also their quality related to gender responsive policy formulation. Gadis Arivia in Women's Journal (2014: p.227) defines affirmative action as a strategic step to pursue progress in terms of more substantive equality and opportunity rather than formality, for certain groups such as women or ethnic minorities who are currently under-represented in positions which determines in society. If more and more women are sitting in parliament it is expected that more and more policy products will be more sensitive to women. [2]

Malang also implements affirmative action in legislative elections. Referring to Law no. 23 of 2014 on local government and Law No. 17 of 2014 on the People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives, the Regional Representatives Board, and the Regional House of Representatives. This law provides special policies to women legislators in people's representatives to facilitate women to gain important positions in government. [3]

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**Tabel 1.1. Acquisition of Chairman of Parliament
Malang City Period 2004 s.d 2014**

Periode	Men	Women	Quantity
2004-2009	38(84%)	7 (16%)	45
2009-2014	34(76%)	11(24%)	45
2014-2019	34(76%)	11(24%)	45

Source: DPRD Malang City 2017/2018

Based on the data quota of women's seats still do not meet the minimum quota set by the Government. However, the participation rate of women in the legislative institution of Malang is quite high compared with the City / District of Malang Raya. The main functions of the Legislature are three, first is the function of legislation, Second is functions of budgeting, and the third is functions of supervision. in this case will discuss the function of legislation that is forming a regulation, policy, proposal or a large design must pay attention to various things in the elements of policy making.

Policies in the political system can be viewed as the government's reaction to the demands, needs and support afforded by its environment. These demands and support can not only be done from inside the bureaucracy or members of government, but also from outside the system of government. Overall Input processed into output will be able to answer how the process of policy formulation, this model is commonly known as the model of political system popularized by David Easton.

Malang City Government has committed in realizing policies related to gender responsive this is stated in vision of government mission of Malang City period of year 2013-2018, which specially exist in mission third point that is Increasing prosperity and protection to vulnerable society, gender mainstreaming, and social harmony. One of the policies issued is Regional Regulation no. 12 of 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence. The context of this research will refer to the policy formulation. Increasing cases of violence from year to year, settlement of cases that lead to peace (injustice for the victim), services that should be the victim's rights can not be fulfilled maximally. [4]

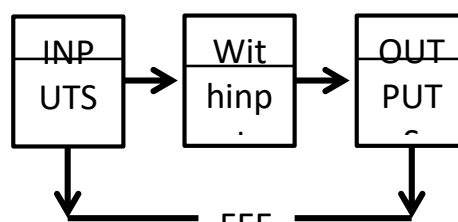
Based on the phenomenon, this research wanted to see the role of the actors and individuals especially the female parliament members of DPRD Malang City, how they receive the articulation and aggregation of interest from

the society, and analyze their role in the formulation of the policy of Regional Regulation no. 12 of 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research uses the formulation model of "The Political System" by David Easton. This model is based on the concepts of information theory (input, output, and feedback) and responds to the political system of the environmental forces (social, political, economic, economic, etc.) that surround it. Thus, the state's wisdom by this model as the outcome of the political system. The concept of a "political system" has the meaning of some of the existing institutions and activities in society used for demands, these sources and support (resources) are the inputs, into decisions or expenses that are free to all members of society (output). Briefly it can be said that the system used to produce input into output.

**Image 1: Formulation Model of "The Politicl
System" by David Easton**



Source: Islamy (1989: h.46)

METHODOLOGY

This study used qualitative research methods. The use of qualitative methods in the study of gender responsive policy formulation aims to obtain more in-depth data. The location of the research taken is at the Regional House of Representatives of Malang City. This study uses primary data sourced from informants and secondary data covering documents, archives, records, and official reports. Informants in this study were female and male members of DPRD Malang, The regional ministry of Women's Child Protection, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (BP3AP2KB), Women Crisis Center, Representative legal aid agencies and psychologists

This research conducted data collection activities by participative observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. Data analysis

technique used is Miles model, Huberman, Saldana (2014) with procedure: data collection, data presentation, conclusion and verification. [5]

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Role of Members of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of Malang Women in Gender Responsive Policy Formulation (Study on Rule No. 12 of 2015 on the Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence)

Malang City Government has committed in realizing policies related to gender responsive this is stated in vision of government mission of Malang City period of year 2013-2018, which specially exist in mission third point that is Increasing prosperity and protection to vulnerable society, gender mainstreaming, and social harmony. One of its legal products is Regional Regulation no. 12 of 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence.

In the last five years cases of violence against women and children are increasingly varied and are increasing every year (both cases of domestic violence, sexual violence, killing and disposal of babies, and violence in courtship). The Regional ministry of Women's Child Protection, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (BP3AP2KB) mentioned that in 2013, it received 20 cases, 2014 cases increased by 29 cases. Januari-juni 2015 there are 16 cases complaints, while 2016 Women Crisis Center Dian Mutiara Malang noted there are 131 cases of violence, 2017 there are 70 cases, while for early 2018 there were about 13 cases.

The increasing number of victims of violence against women and children in this case to investigate how the role of parliamentarians, especially female council members in the process of policy formulation, decision-making, policy discussion in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) Malang. who else is struggling to voice women's rights if not women themselves, especially members of the council as legislators (policy makers), are in line with this research locus residing in government or the political area. To identify the policy formulation process in this case this research uses a political system model by Easton, that is how to look at policy formulation based on information theory concepts (inputs, withinputs / processes, outputs and feedback). [6]

In the concept of a "political system" of political institutions and activities in society that function to change the demands of support and resources all of these are the components that are commonly in (inputs), the input will then become

authoritative decisions or policies for all members of society (outputs). These components will be different from one policy to another, depending on the local community and social conditions, but according to Easton they are the most common in the initial process of a policy.

Demands and insistence have been proposed since the City of Malang won the Municipal Children's Care awards around 2009 but until the next few years have not had the local regulations on child protection. The demand was called by all parties, especially by non-governmental organizations that used to handle cases concerning children and women. The pressure is also because the Regional ministry of Women's Child Protection, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (BP3AP2KB) has no rules regarding providing protection for women and children victims of violence so that it can only provide socialization and consultation can not help deal with the victims further.

The demands of the community are then responded by women members of DPRD Malang by applying for prolegda in 2014, and conducting public hearing. They provide support by responding quickly to the draft local regulations of the executive government. Some members of the DPRD women's council are also in an important position as the chairman of the legislation and chairman of the D commission whose duties are related to women and children so that demands and support from the community can be heard and processed more quickly. Resources are involved not only from the internal government (executive and legislative bodies both women and men) but also the external government ie experts in the field of women and children, Women Crisis Center, experts both in terms of education and criminologist. Members of the DPRD and BP3AP2KB also cooperate, they often hold meetings between women crisis centers or women's cooperatives in Malang to receive complaints and cases of violence against women and children.

The second stage of Easton is the stage of the formulation process. After the plenary and formed the committee then the next agenda is the discussion of local regulations. because the local regulation is included in the task of Commission D DPRD Malang City who holds a public hearing. Commission D invites executives, representatives of Women Crisis Center, police, experts and academics. In an interview with one of the women crisis centers, the DPRD held a public hearing only once. In the agenda is the process of listening to

aspirations, inputs, events and even how to overcome the violence of women and children in Malang.

After that the next agenda is a comparative study to a region that already has a local regulation on violence protection. The Pansus received all input and after it was approved it was brought to the plenary session. In the plenary session the political process is very influential, hearing the final opinion of the fraction up to the argument debates both between female and male members. The role of the female member of Malang City is in charge of article by article, why this policy is necessary, and why the budget amount reaches so much, this is very important considering not all members agree with it. This is in line with Hiplunudin (2017: p30-31) explaining that besides being a function and main role as a legislative body, women are very important because women have women because they have special needs that can only be understood best by women themselves . [7]

After the plenary session and all parties agreed finally brought to the provincial side, before it also consulted with the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. In the legal part of East Java provincial government will be done the inspection of local regulations, whether it meets the requirements of the regulation and does not overlap with the rules above. After the pass will be brought to the city of Malang and will be ratified.

The last stage of Easton's political system model is the stage of output and feedback. After conducting a series of stages of the process and obtaining approval from the provincial government of East Java, indirectly the regional regulation no. 12 of 2015 is legal to enforce. But officially valid when it is signed by the Mayor. and on April 19, 2016, the Regional Regulation no. 12 Year 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence inaugurated and socialized in the city of Malang this means that the output stage has met the final stages of the Easton System Model. Although all the stages have been done each of the issued local regulations will certainly receive feedback, both positive feedback and negative feedback.

Positive feedback that the Government of Malang City already have legal rules about gender responsive policy, especially the policy in the protection of women and child victims of violence. The Regional ministry of Women's Child

Protection, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (BP3AP2KB) now have clear rules related to the implementation and protection of victims of violence, as long before the existence of local regulations the executive can only provide consultation to victims, but after the policy the executive increasingly vigorous in the prevention of socialization, brochure distribution to the service complaints. The number of violence in Malang can't be interpreted negatively, because it also includes positive feedback from all efforts made by the government.

The commitment of female members of DPRD Malang in terms of protection of women and child victims of violence not only stop there. The participation of women members of Parliament of Malang City is still carried out, for example by participating in socializing the policy by holding discussion, recess until giving of victim aid, etc. On several occasions one of the women council members held a discussion related to the extent to which the protection of women in Malang City, to invite the American consulate general to provide motivation related to the participation of women in government, especially in policy making.

In addition, female members of Parliament of Malang City also made its Reses as a complaint service, whether the case of violence, education, economy to health services. they open the service as much as possible especially to women and children. The women members of Malang City Council also do not hesitate to help both morally and materially to the victim or society if anyone complains to them.

Another effort undertaken by female members of the DPRD of Malang City is to provide the Women Crisis Center service in the women's cooperative society, not only that she also provides legal aid services to help any problems affecting female members in her cooperative, from cooperative problems to home problems stairs. This service is very successful in addition to improving the economic of women through cooperatives, as well as consultations, health services, psychologists (Women Crisis Center) and there are legal aid agencies that are ready to serve especially for female members.

Although the maximum effort has been done both by the government and also female members of DPRD Malang, the policy still receive negative feedback. One of them is the Women Crisis Center assessing the aspirations and inputs that they provide during the formulation process of Local Regulation no. Law No. 12 of 2015 on the

protection of women and child victims of violence is ignored, even its aspirations are not considered and not included in the policy section.

The absence of relevant rules on the formation of PPT (integrated service center), so that the services provided only reasonable if it means that there are victims who come outside office hours of the office there is no officer who serves when the victims need protection and safe shelter to avoid those who threaten them. In addition Malang city government does not provide free service to victims of violence of women, so often expensive visa fee they own responsibility, whereas most victims are people who do not work, and not able to economically. Within the local regulation and the commitment of the executive and legislative parties to the existence of the local regulations they can ask for a grant but the Women Crisis Center judges it as a mere discourse, so for some reason the Women Crisis Center often considers Regional Regulation no. 12 of 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence is the same as empty rules.

One of the Women Crisis Center assessed that the government of Malang City is less responsive than the City / District Government in Malang Raya (Malang Regency and Batu City). They assess the government's commitment both executive and legislative in both areas better in the affairs of the protection policy of women and child victims of violence. The visum fee for victims of violence has been borne by the government, shelter houses and officers are available for 24 hours. Women Crisis Center has tried to propose executive and legislative review to both parties but so far there has been no response.

Regardless of any feedback from Local Regulation no. 12 Year 2015 on the protection of women and children victims of violence can be seen that especially female members of Parliament of Malang City has struggled hard in formulating gender responsive policy. From the above analysis it can be seen that female parliamentarians use behavioral approach. Budiarjo (2010: 76) says that this behavioral approach is the view that society can be seen as a social and state system as a political system that becomes a subsystem of social systems. In a system the parts interact, interdependent, and all parts work together to support the implementation of the system. Although experiencing stress from the environment itself,

but trying to overcome it by maintaining the balance, thus the system can survive. [8]

Female members of the Parliament of Malang City understand the phenomenon and respond to the demands of the community to be processed immediately. At the time of input stage they receive the demand and pressure of the community in response to immediately made a policy on the protection of women and children. At the time of entering the process stages women members of the DPRD also fully support the lobbying and advocacy process, they reinforce why this policy is necessary, Then when the output stage of their duties and obligations does not necessarily end, responsibility and awareness as women continue to be carried out by opening discussions, forums, recesses, to add facilities complaints, legal aid services etc. for women and children, especially victims violence.

2. Supporting Factors and Inhibiting the Role of Members of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of Malang Women in Gender Responsive Policy Formulation (Study on Rule No. 12 of 2015 on the Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence)

1) Supporting Factors

a. Personal Experience

Islamy (1986: pp. 25-26) stated that some factors influencing: [9]

1. The influence of external pressures.
2. The influence of old habits
3. The influence of personal traits
4. The influence of external groups
5. The existence of the influence of the past

Personal experience as one of the support factor for policy makers especially female members of DPRD Malang city to supervise and make gender responsive policy. Such personal experiences on the past can be obtained when they see neighbors who have been abused, or become victims of domestic violence, and see the large number of victims of women and children victims of violence. Personal experience gained from self or others who previously was outside the process of policy formulation can be a powerful factor to immediately make policy, especially because at that time also Malang City has not regulation which arrange or protect victim of violence.

b. Similarity Vision and Mission

The similarity of vision and mission made the female members of Parliament of Malang City moved to formulate gender responsive policy. The

same vision and mission is what makes the process of negotiation, adjustment and compromise to reach agreement in the process of formulation. Although it still needs to improve its application in terms of advocacy and diplomacy but with the vision of this mission they make their business easier.

Anderson (1979) in Salaputra et.al (2013: 38) also asserts that bargaining in all actors can occur in three forms: negotiation, mutual giving and compromise. Bargaining is if there are two or more actors or groups of actors who each have a certain authority and position but can make adjustments (sharing) that are expected to be built in the process of discussion. Thus the negotiation becomes the first step to form an opinion and direct the actor to take the negotiation step. After the process of negotiation between actors occurs, the principle of mutual giving and receiving then coloring the policy-making process discussed in the forum involved. Where in the end the process will struggle on the compromistic process in which each kator mutually make adjustments with the concept or idea of other actors so that it can be decided policy. [10]

2) Inhibiting Factors

a. Lack of Gender Understanding

Understanding the ethics of caring for each other and also the needs of each gender will hinder both internal and external policy actors in making gender responsive policies. This will undoubtedly hamper the process of progress and the search for justice by one gender due to the imbalances which are perpetuated precisely by state actors. in the city of Malang and other areas in Indonesia the practice of the masculine ordinary model or the model of patriarchy is still very decisive, especially in political life and legislative bodies. Indeed this dominance tends not to be as tight as it used to be but its practices still exist today.

Shedova in Hiplunudin (2017: 48-49) categorizes the problems or obstacles faced by women who enter political life in parliament into three types, namely political constraints, socio-economic constraints, and psychological or socio-cultural constraints.

The main political obstacles facing women are:

1. The prevalence of "masculine models" concerning political life and elected government bodies;

2. Lack of party support, such as limited financial support for women candidates, limited access to political networks, and multiple prevalence of standards;
3. lack of relations and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade unions (labor) and women's groups;
4. the absence of a developed training and education system, both for women's leadership in general and for the orientation of young women in political life in particular;
5. the essence of the electoral system, which may or may not be favorable to women candidates.

b. Budget Settings

One of the inhibiting factors of the policy formulation process is the issue of budgeting. Because there are some government regulations that change and any activities undertaken in the formulation process of the Regional Regulation must be in accordance with the clause number. In addition, the background of legislative members election that is not based on criteria but the voice of the people also influential in the process of managing budgeting.

Law no. 17 of 2003 on state finances, where article 3 states that state finances are processed in an orderly, law-abiding, efficient, economical, transparent and accountable manner with due regard to the sense of justice and propriety. [11]

in addition to the budgeting policy process refers to more technocratic principles that should be underlined is the political process and citizen participation. In the preparation of a professional budget can not be ignored the existence of politicians who work with political considerations. In other words there is a boundary between technical and political decisions of legislators or politicians.

Political dimensions and interests in the formulation of public policy is a common thing, the influence of power elite dominance can also affect the making of a policy. The political influence in the budget is not only on the preparation, but also in the process. The process in question is from the level of proposal to implementation and assessment. It is in this process that the political elements play a great role. The formulation of a planning policy reflects a lawsuit against the role of power elite who holds ultimate control in the process of policy formulation that will determine the future of many parties, not just the region as passive but

the community as active, including the future of an area itself.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes as follows:

1. The role of female parliament members of Malang City has not been maximized, especially in initiating and guarding gender responsive policies, especially Regional Regulation no. 12 of 2015 on the protection of victims of violence against women and children in Malang even though their number has reached almost 24% of the minimum quota of 30% which has been determined. However, female members of House of Representatives of Malang City follow well all the stages in formulation of policy of 'The Political System' by Easton because this is also the main duty and function as member of legislative institution in accordance with legislation. In the process of formulation of Regional Regulation no. Law No. 12 of 2015 on the protection of victims of violence against women and children in Malang involves actors inside (executive, legislative) and outside government actors (academics, Women Crisis Center, Experts, etc.). Although in the institution of female members of Parliament Malang City still can not give a significant influence, especially at the stage of the formulation process in which the political system is very strong.
2. Factors supporting the role of female members of DPRD Kota Malang in formulation of gender responsive policy are personal experience and similarity Vision and Mission. The inhibiting factors are lack of understanding of gender and difficulties in budgeting setting.

This study yield some suggestions as follows:

1. There needs to be an increase in political education, advocacy training, lobbying, ethics-related understanding of caring for others especially for female members of Regional House of Representatives Malang City.
2. Needs to return the function of public consultation, how before making a mandatory policy to absorb the aspirations and public input, especially from some people who daily handling cases of violence against women and children.
3. Improving the political communication of the House of representatives (DPRD) of Kota Malang between male and female members as

well as outside government actors to realize gender responsive policy.

4. Improving the function of supervision of DPRD Malang City related to the use of budget and services provided, either from executive institution, hospital, NGO, police, judiciary, etc.

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