

Emak-Emak and Srikandi Shari'ah Economic Movement Pemilu period in Indonesia

Heri Junaidi^{1*}, Rusmiatiningsih¹, Chici Rima Putri Pratama¹

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang

Email: herijunaidi_uin@radenfatah.ac.id

Abstract

The realm of domestication of women still continues to leave studies through the study of gender studies in perspective. In line with this, sharia economics is still not present in the study of implementative studies, especially related to the economic activities of Muslim women. The presence of elections as part of this is in line with efforts to improve equality and justice between men and women in the public sphere. This study emphasizes their economic activities in the midst of Indonesia's political events that have escaped from various previous studies. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with data sources from various conversations in online media and relevant literature. The results show that women who are active in Islamic economics in the 2019 elections by calling the emak emak group and the Srikandi group and continue with these terms in the 2024 elections rely on the concept of *maslahah* as a form of responsive participation for the success of the struggle in the public sphere as well as to help their respective family economies. This paper concludes that the economic activities of emak emak and Srikandi by building on Islamic values make an important contribution to increasing the number of women's votes included in the list of legislative candidates in Indonesia.

Keywords: Movement; Emak-Emak; Srikandi; Elections in Indonesia

Abstrak

Ranah domestikasi perempuan masih terus meninggalkan kajian melalui kajian kajian gender dalam perspektifnya. Sejalan dengan hal tersebut, ekonomi syariah masih belum hadir dalam kajian implementasi khususnya terkait dengan aktivitas ekonomi perempuan muslim. Hadirnya pemilu sebagai bagian dari hal tersebut sejalan dengan upaya meningkatkan kesetaraan dan keadilan antara laki-laki dan perempuan di ruang publik. Penelitian ini menekankan pada aktivitas ekonomi mereka di tengah peristiwa politik Indonesia yang luput dari berbagai penelitian sebelumnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan sumber data dari berbagai percakapan di media online dan literatur yang relevan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan yang aktif di bidang ekonomi syariah pada pemilu 2019 dengan memanggil kelompok emak emak dan kelompok Srikandi dan melanjutkan istilah tersebut pada pemilu 2024 mengandalkan konsep *maslahah* sebagai bentuk partisipasi responsif untuk menyukseskan pemilu. perjuangannya di ranah publik serta membantu perekonomian keluarga masing-masing. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa kegiatan ekonomi emak emak dan Srikandi dengan berlandaskan nilai-nilai Islam memberikan kontribusi penting dalam meningkatkan jumlah suara perempuan yang masuk dalam daftar calon legislatif di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci : Gerakan; Emak-Emak; Srikandi; Pemilu di Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

One of the fundamental changes in the state system in Indonesia is the distribution of people's sovereignty in general elections which provides space for women to be present in the realm of the event both in terms of practical politics and the economic side. The presence of general awareness that the differences between women and men are essentially the formation of society through socio-cultural construction, resulting in different roles and duties. This difference causes women to always be left behind and neglected in their roles and contributions in family life, society, nation and state. so that a culture

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emerges that men are identified with the bourgeois class, and women as proletarians (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016).

Efforts to mainstream gender in the realm of Islamic economic studies are a very strategic step. This is considered important, because it refers to one fundamental reason where Islam is often considered as one of the 'legitimization tools' for gender bias, even conservatives and Muslim feminists themselves claim that Islam is a religious patriarchal system that adheres to a hierarchical relationship model and gender injustice (Öztürk, 2023). This claim occurs partly due to the pattern of reading that tends to be wrong about the sacred texts of Islamic teachings. Therefore, some Muslim thinkers, especially those who are sensitive to gender issues, try to reinterpret religious texts that tend to be biased, especially in the economic field.

Previous studies have also concluded that women in the historical frame have always been the "true" victims of authoritarian state policies. The economic and political oppression of regime policies has always been "more" against women, so it can be seen that women's interests are involved in anti-authoritarian resistance. Women who during the authoritarian regime were "awarded" the lowest position of the social structure became increasingly concerned with ensuring the path and robustness of the democratic transition so as not to fall into repeated oppression. Between the authenticity and frame of democracy is still an important part of the inequality debate (Fishman, 2016). The debate on women to engage in practical politics and economic strengthening has also developed in Islamic dialogue in positioning the equality of men and women in two perspectives.

First, the group believes that Islam does not recognize political and economic rights in the public sphere for Muslim women. They argue that if a woman becomes a leader or holds a position, it will have implications for insubordination to her husband. Likewise, when women are present to dominate economic activities in the public sphere, it will have an impact on the strength of women's authority in the household (Laksana & Abduh, 2023; Siltanen & Stanworth, 2023). They see the feminism movement in terms of hosting the oppressor's ideology, a movement that tries to internalize the ideology of the oppressor (masculinity). The feminist movement, which is supposed to be a defender of the ideology of femininity, instead takes the principles of masculinity, which are full of violence and competition, as the basis of their movement. This critique is particularly pertinent to the dominant feminist movement, which includes liberal feminism, which assumes that freedom and equality are rooted in rationality. Since "women are rational beings" too, they should be given the same rights as men. To solve the problem, women must be educated to be able to compete in the arena of opportunity.

Second, the Group asserts that the interpretation of religion that is *rahmatan lil 'alamiin* never prohibits women from working and having a profession in the public sector as long as it does not interfere with their domestic sector. On the contrary, Islam gives women the right to hold a profession and actively engage in commerce and trade. This shows that women have the right to work in the public sector and earn income. Examples that have been built since the time of the Prophet, such as Khadijah bint Khuwailid who is known as a company commissioner, Zainab bint Jahsh as a textile entrepreneur, Ummu Salim bint Malhan as a beauty salon manager, Qillat Ummi bint Anwar works as a businessman, and al-Shifa as a secretary of hisbah and was assigned by Umar bin al-Khattab to manage the market of Medina.

In line with this group, national data shows that microenterprises contribute 30.25 percent to gross domestic product, most of which are run by women. Female heads of households who are self-employed amount to 37.91 percent. This figure is greater than that of men at 22.34 percent. Women who are self-employed are mostly in micro enterprises. The highest level of equality in entrepreneurship between women and men is in the Asia Pacific Region, with an inter-gender activity ratio of 1.01 (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2023). Based on BPS data, SE 2016-continued, 2019, 43.45 percent of micro

and small business owners are women (BPS, 2019). Research from McKinsey Global Institute Analysis also claims that Indonesia can increase its GDP in a year by \$135 billion in 2025, or 9 percent above the usual figure. Based on data from the "Women, Business and the Law 2021" report published by the World Bank in 2021, 60% of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in Indonesia are owned by women (World Bank, 2021).

As a result of these differences in views, Islamic economics as a solution to building the economy in Indonesia is not present in the scope of the Muslim women's community who are trying to help the economy of their respective families. The basic assumption is that the absence of women voicing Sharia economic aspirations in the scope of women's participation in the labor force sector, as well as in sectors with high productivity (Azid & Ward-Batts, 2020). this means that the political economy of women has not had the maximum impact. plus economic development is still inclined to male productivity only. Women are less likely to get opportunities for activities in the public sector. People still think that women's job is to take care of the house, while the task of earning a living is done by men. If there are women who can work in the public sector, they are also still burdened by home duties (double burden).

The effort to test this is assessed from the emak emak and Srikandi movements that aspire to support the election period based on women's efforts to be present to support the political movement, which if ignored will have implications for increased life dependents and income that cannot be sufficient in fulfilling needs. Based on an initial study of the wing movement of the 20219 Election women's group supporting Jokowi-KH. Ma'ruf Amin declared themselves under the name ibu bangsa and several other names such as Srikandi Indonesia, Super Jokowi (Women's Voice for Jokowi), cool, energetic, religious and nationalist women (Perempuan KEREN).

Women Bravo 5. In general, they support Jakowi for four reasons: First, an increase. Women supporters of Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno consist of emak emak who are members of MAKBUL, Emak-Emak Party Supporting Prabowo Sandi (Pepes), Blue Wednesday Movement (GRB), Perempuan Prabowo. Still with the same activities in the struggle for the 2024 election era, the economic movement of the women's wing has emerged, such as the Permai Arjawinangun emak-emak community, western Cirebon Regency, a form of support for Prabowo-Gibran. Also known as Relawan Mania Prabowo Gibran (Rampag) 02 and Komando Prabowo 08; Indonesian Universal Women's Association Volunteers (P-Perisai). then the Anies wing community with the name Srikandi P-24 East Java volunteers, Anies medicine, Manies, Jarnas. there is also the Women's Movement for a Strong Indonesia (PINK) supporting Ganjar-Mahfud in the 2024 presidential election, the "Women for a Strong Indonesia (PINK)" Movement. The Nahdliyin Women's Caucus in Bandar Lampung declared support for the Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud Md pair.

It is also interesting that the awareness of the emak emak and Srikandi movements is based on the guarantee of the law that says "all people have the right to determine their own destiny". This right gives people the freedom to determine their status in improving their economic, social and cultural conditions. Besides, it answers the question of the issue that explains that women can also actively participate in practical political activities by involving themselves in terms of strengthening the Islamic economy during the implementation process of the political agenda involving women.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In particular, there are not many studies that discuss women's economic movements in Indonesia during the election period in Indonesia. in general, the most dominating studies are women and parliamentary quotas. Fadli (2017) in his study "Islam, Women and Politics: Arguments for Women's Involvement in Politics in Post-Reformation Indonesia", the study results show the involvement of the

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) women's movement in fighting for gender equality based on Islamic values. Islamic economic business activities carried out by emak-emak and srikandi in the span of time from 1999 to the present, are reviewed from several developments that occurred during this period, starting from 1999 to 2010, starting with the Development of Islamic Economics.

During this period, there was an increased awareness of Islamic economic principles in many countries, including Indonesia. Emak-emak and srikandi began to engage in economic activities that were in accordance with these principles, such as fair trade, sharia-based finance, and micro-enterprises with social justice principles. There are four basic things that must be built in the entrepreneurial person, namely the ability to mobilize, the ability to organize, professional by applying Islamic values, exemplary in the form of exemplary in the person of the Prophet Muhammad (Pulungan et al., 2022).

Micro and Small Enterprises, where many emak-emak and srikandi are involved in micro and small enterprises (MSEs) in sectors such as food production, handicrafts, and services. They may use Islamic economic principles in their business management, such as ensuring fairness in transactions, avoiding usury, and making social contributions through zakat and sadaqah. Economic empowerment policy as the basis of the people's economic system through the development of micro and small enterprises is one of the strategic solutions to reduce the number of poor people, in addition to other solutions. Micro Small Enterprises (SMEs) as one of the institutions that seeks to empower the community in the field of improving the family economy (Sufyati & Salamah, 2021).

The emergence of cooperatives and Islamic financial institutions provides more options for emak-emak and srikandi to gain access to business capital in accordance with the principles of Islamic economics. They can become members of cooperatives or utilize Islamic financial products to support their businesses. This is in line with Rizal's research where women in Islamic microfinance institutions in Tanah Datar have a major role in determining the development of Islamic microfinance institutions (Rizal, 2014). After that, Community Development, Emak-emak and srikandi are also involved in economic activities that focus on community development, such as women's cooperatives or artisan groups, which aim to improve mutual welfare by adhering to Islamic economic principles. And finally Technology and Digitalization, The development of technology and digitalization has enabled emak-emak and srikandi to engage in various Islamic economic ventures online. They can run e-commerce businesses that comply with Islamic economic principles, such as the sale of halal products and fair trade. In the digital era, expanding the marketing area for MSMEs is very easy to do with many places to market products digitally. (Yudi Firmansyah et al., 2022).

The Public Role of Women in Parliament (An Analytical Study of the Representation of Women Representatives in Indonesian History). Her work explains the history of women in the public world since the first election in 1955, which already had a women's party contesting, namely the Indonesian Women's Party / Rakjat Women's Party. In that election, there were 19 women elected as members of parliament (DPR). The 30% women's quota policy that came into effect in 2004 saw many women legislators acting as "seat blockers" so that the party could pass affirmative account.

Forum Silaturahmi Studi Ekonomi Islam (FoSSEI) in the Development of Islamic Economics in South Sulawesi Province, This is a study that reviews the role of FoSSEI in promoting the implementation of Islamic economics and providing socialization to the public about Islamic economics. This study shows that FoSSEI has concluded that the Islamic economic movement is stronger if it is supported by many parties and based on the unity of all Islamic economic organizations or stakeholders (Nasrullah et al., 2022). Furthermore, the Dynamics of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia This study explains the Islamic political parties operating in Indonesia, including during the 1999, 2004 and 2009 elections. This study

shows that Islamic parties have a variety of different political strategies and identities, such as using Islamic law as a political agenda (Kadir, 2014).

The women's economic movement during the election period was carried out by various parties, including the Women's Movement: The women's movement achieved positive things in the political sphere, especially post-Soeharto. Then the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA), the Ministry of PPPA provides a Draft Perpres Grand Design to increase women's representation in the legislature, then the Legislative Institution, the legislative institution provides two methods to increase women's representation, namely socialization-based and quota-based. Then the Deputy for Coordinating the Quality Improvement of Children, Women and Youth (Kemenko PMK): The Deputy of Kemenko PMK reminded the importance of increasing women's participation in political decision-making in parliament.

Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI): KPPI said that improving the quality of women to participate in political decision-making in parliament will accelerate the nation's progress. In addition, there are also other efforts made to increase women's participation in politics, such as the socialization of political education conducted by Ministries and Institutions. Has the Empowerment of Women in the Economy and Women in the Economy and Politics Increased the HDI of Indonesian Women? Abdurrahman Abdurrahman BPS-South Kalimantan Province, Gender Development Index (GDI) figures show that Indonesia is still experiencing gender development inequality. One of the causes is that the Human Development Index (HDI) of women is still far from the HDI of men. This study aims to identify whether women's economic and political empowerment can increase the HDI of Indonesian women. Using multiple linear regression models, the study of 514 districts/cities shows that the large contribution of women in parliament, women as professional workers, and women as entrepreneurs significantly increases the HDI of women in Indonesia.

Hardjaloka (2012), in a research work published in a journal entitled "Portrait of Women's Representation in Indonesian Politics from the Perspective of Regulation and Implementation" explores based on Article 28C paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, however, political parties often ignore the urgency of women's representation. In addition to the provisions in the 1945 Constitution, there is also the Election Law, Article 7 and Article 8 of CEDAW and the Convention on Women's Political Rights, all of which voice that women have the same political rights as men. However, the urgency of women's representation in politics is hampered by negative stereotypes of women's abilities. Some research on the pro-democracy women's movement, especially during Indonesian history, was conducted by Wardah Hafidz in Ridjal's editing, Istiadah (tt), Wahyu & Aeni (2023) outlined the mutual relationship between the state and the women's movement and its impact on Indonesia's political transition to democracy. The colonial era (1900-1942) is concluded in the period of the influence of the gender-colonial doctrine on the rise of the women's movement is very clear, the most famous early aspirational exponent of the Indonesian women's movement was Raden Ajeng Karini (1879-1904) became a promoter of the women's movement who fought for the right to education and a symbol of the struggle for Indonesian independence. Not only that, Kartini represents a symbol of intelligence, courage, the basic idea of women's emancipation and the struggle against oppression and social problems.

Palguna (2024) also explained the era of Embryonic Democracy to Guided Democracy 1949-1965 There was a women's movement to build identity and socio-political activism to the local level. Then the era of the Post-Reform Women's Movement 1998-2019 Now women's rights are guarded and guaranteed by the constitution. If women's activism in the West led to oppression, then the women's movement in Indonesia's historical record developed dynamically.

Not only is the number of women who are interested in writing history limited, but because Indonesian history has always been written by (historians) men, the result is a story that gives the existence of this country as (only inhabited by) men. This male-centered history is called androcentric and has been considered the truth of human history, especially humans who inhabit a space called Indonesia. In the Islamic perspective, the women's movement is discussed by Jones (1990) inviting to deepen the quality of women being subordinated in the political arena, Rusnila et al (2023) in her work concluded that Islam recognizes the position of women and recognizes the humanity of women. Islam eliminates all forms of discrimination, placing women in a noble place.

The position of women in the view of Islam is not as practiced in society. Islamic teachings in essence give great attention and honorable position to women. Islam has succeeded in raising the degree of women's dignity. Women have a political role in order to uphold the sentence of Allah (Da'wah Role). P-Perisai Chairperson Amy Kadiono said that her party did not hesitate to vote for the pair number 2. According to her, the pair is very suitable to lead the Indonesian Nation in facing the nation's challenges ahead.

Kader Bangsa Nusantara (Anak Muda Satu Nusa Satu Suara) held a meeting with Srikandi P-24 volunteer wing in East Java. Anies medicine, Manies, Jarnas, In Indonesia, the role of women in the economy is increasingly significant. In the Medium, Small and Micro Enterprises (MSMEs) sector, 53.76% of the actors are women and 97% of the workers are also women. Meanwhile, the contribution of MSMEs in the national economy is 61%. In the investment sector, women's contribution is 60%. This note was conveyed by the Minister of Finance (Menkeu) Sri Mulyani Indrawati at the national seminar "Sharia Economics and Finance" which was held in conjunction with the commemoration of Kartini Day, Wednesday, April 21, 2021 in Jakarta. "This illustrates that women's literacy and capacity to think smart, be able to secure funds for the family, and invest in productive areas is very potential and real. In designing economic recovery programs, the government also looks at the gender dimension. Family Hope Program assistance, basic food assistance, and direct cash assistance, relate to the role of women who manage their household finances. This social assistance is not channeled through the hands of men.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative research approach to build knowledge through understanding and discovery. A qualitative research approach is a research process and understanding based on methods that investigate a social phenomenon and human problems. In this research, researchers create a complex picture, examine words, detailed reports from respondents' perspectives and conduct studies in natural situations.

This qualitative research uses a type of document study which is a study that focuses on analyzing or interpreting written material based on its context. The research data sources are extracted from various authoritative information accessed from the official websites of women's groups from both camps (Jakowi-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno). Some of the sites that will be examined include the Prabowo-Sandiaga National Winning Agency (BPN) website ttirto.id; national.kompas.com, emak emak Party website; www.Suarasurabaya.com; www.tagar.id. Some data both managed through e-media (Kompas, tribune, digital media), social media, whatsapp groups, and from various national media information are also sources of data that cannot be ignored.

The research subjects were participants with purposive sampling technique. The participants of this study were taken from several views of women leaders in South Sumatra as the basis of this study. Such as female academics, the head of the Pro-Democracy Women's Institute, the Gender Studies Center;

and the PUSPA Sriwijaya Forum. Unstructured interviews were conducted to explore the assessment of various information that appears in the documentation/text discourse obtained from authoritative media messages, e-media, and social media news.

Data collection used two techniques, namely documentation and interviews and was analyzed through the process of arranging the order of data, organizing it into a pattern, category and description unit so that themes can be found and answers to assumptions that arise in this study can be formulated as suggested by the data. Conducting observations and unstructured interviews was deemed more feasible, on the grounds that the researcher already had a base in knowledge relevant to the problem under study. The researcher can be an important instrument that expresses the meaning of the political movement as a key instrument. In this realm, the meaning of each behavior or action of the object of research can be assessed, so that an original understanding of the problem and contextual situation is found. In data analysis also uses Triangulation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reasons for the Indonesian Women's Shari'ah Economic Movement in the 2019 Elections

The women's movement in Indonesia in the 2019 elections joined the "emak- emak group" and the Srikandi group" for various reasons as seen in the various views and assessments of respondents described below: First, the naming that is built is an affirmation of the identity of the women's political participation movement by mentioning various symbols that are not an important part of the discussion. the substance of the moral movement by pursuing women's representation in parliament is the main thing, because so far women are still part of the second class, and the presence of women through the women's movement on behalf of emak emak and srikandi as a form of attention to the agenda of women's rights. including the issue of housewives to reduce the price of clothing, shelter and food which is then affordable for all families in Indonesia while supporting the moral movement of happy families with religious children (Gangopadhyay, 2023).

Second, alleviate the Three Ends campaign (End violence against women and children. End Human Trafficking. End the Economic Gap for Women), as a step to voice the disappointment of the low quota of women in the Legislature as a form of historical treatment (slavery and oppression) causing women not to have the same opportunity to achieve their aspirations for generations. This means that there is an effort to strengthen the pattern of gender relations in politics. The movement to alleviate the dominance of men - and women are still number two human beings.

Third, an equally important reason for the movement is to provide proof that the role and work of women in the social environment also continues to be taken into account, they can be at the forefront in inviting the community to choose legislative candidates (candidates) and presidential and vice presidential candidates intelligently based on an assessment of commitment to building the nation and improving the welfare of the Indonesian people with noble values in politics.

Table 1 show respondents' answers to economic political reasons to dismantle the misunderstanding of the community that assesses absolute responsibility to women for family resilience. this means that women who enter the realm of practical politics will destabilize the joints of family resilience (Sambo, 2023). another reason for the proof that women can manage time according to their proportions. Even those with careers are able to do home and work activities at the same time, let alone just a participation movement so that their aspirations are noticed.

Table 1. Reasoning Assessment Of The Women's Movement In The 2019 Election

No.	Group	Reason Description
1	Prospective	The strategy promotes the Three Ends campaign (End violence against women and children. End Human Trafficking. End Economic Disparity for Women)
2	Emotional	Voicing disappointment at the low quota of women in the Legislature is a manifestation of historical mistreatment (slavery and oppression) that has kept women from having equal opportunities to achieve their aspirations for generations.
3	Responsive	Reminding various women's issues that continue to haunt people's lives in Indonesia, such as discriminatory enforcement of the prohibition of women going out at night, efforts to build gender equality.
4	Hope	Become a supporting part of the affordable food and shelter program for all families in Indonesia while supporting the moral movement of happy families with religious children.

Source: Data Processing, 2020

An analysis of this view can be seen from Prabowo-Sandi's concept of creating an emak emak program in August 2018 with more than 3000 members spread across Indonesia targeting the group most affected by this problem, namely lower-middle-income women. They believe that even women who don't care about politics will demand change when these economic problems continue to be echoed.

In contrast to Prabowo-Sandi's emak-emak, Jokowi's women's partisan groups are diverse and sporadically organized. They appear to carry various issues using a gender perspective, namely First, improvements in basic health services, especially for reproductive health, Second, a free education system that guarantees girls an education and prevents child marriage. Third, more opportunities for economic empowerment programs for women and assistance for the disabled through the Family Hope Program. Fourth, agrarian reform that gives more benefits to indigenous women. "Other women's volunteer groups supporting Jokowi focus on economic issues. For example, Pertiwi, a women's volunteer group that helps access capital and home industries, claims to have helped more than 4 million poor women. In principle, women are the key to the country's success and need encouragement so that they have an important position in the family and society. As mothers of the nation, women educate children, improve the nation's mentality, maintain family morale, and drive the family and community economy.

Women's partisan groups are a mirror of this phenomenon. They advocate for issues that revolve around their roles solely as mothers and housewives such as the price of basic commodities. The emerging role of these women's partisan groups can be celebrated as an example of political engagement that is largely self-driven on the part of Indonesian women. However, the issues they are fighting for are still trapped within the gender ideology promoted by the state in a patriarchal culture, which assumes women's problems are synonymous with mothers' problems.

Characteristics, and Targets of the Women's Movement for Each Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate in the 2019 and 2024 Elections

The characteristics of the women's movement are generally coordinated with a clear and measurable agenda and steps. In addition, the characteristics of the women's movement on behalf of emak emak and srikandi at the time of carrying out their respective activities are in accordance with their

respective consciences and or the consciences of small groups in aspiring to the wishes of regional women and based on the vision and mission goals of each group. However, the results of interviews in the field also found activities outside the program that had been made, such as conducting issues through social media on the weaknesses of one presidential candidate pair, distributing various basic necessities at a time that was not the time and or distributing basic necessities on behalf of one presidential candidate.

Furthermore, the views of the participants on the targets to be achieved by the women's movement can be seen in the following figure 1:

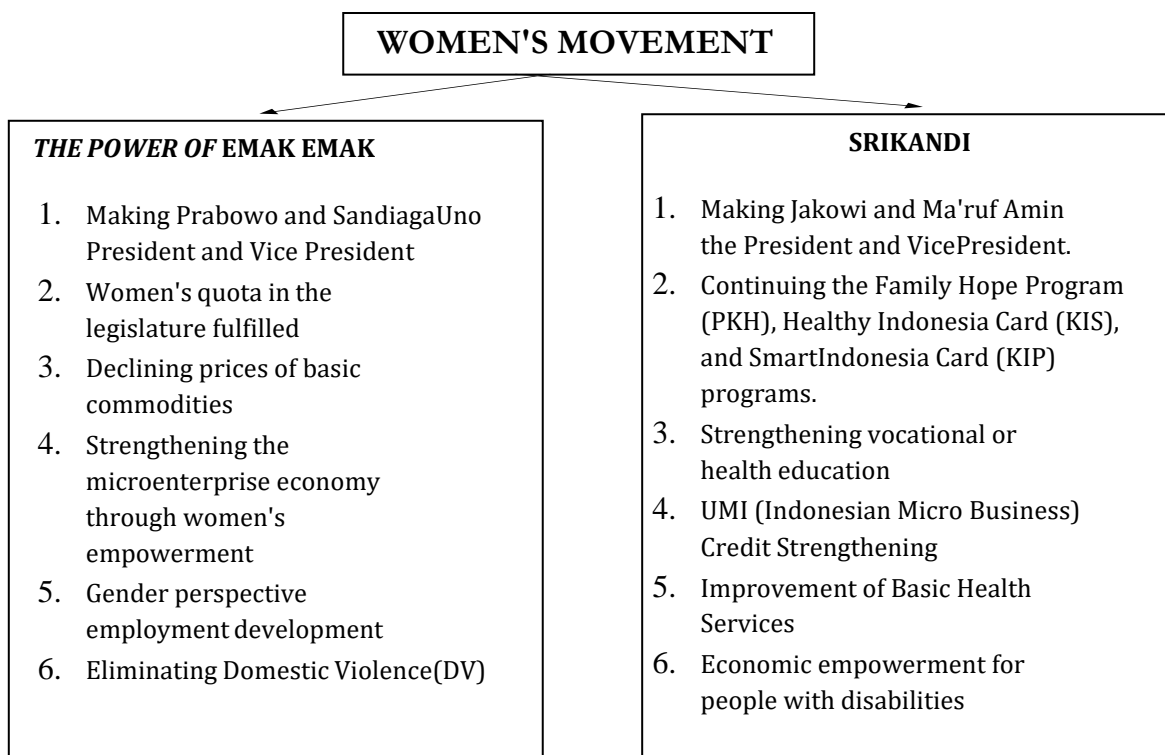


Figure 1. The Target Of The Women's Movement During The 2019 Election

It shows that pro-Jokowi women's partisan groups have a diverse agenda, from health and education services to economic opportunities for women to work from home. Prabowo's Emak-emak program addresses economic problems for women, and the problem of domestic violence. The statement has a common desire of women in their movement, namely 1) Decrease in the price of clothing and food, They believe that even women who do not care about politics will fail to ask for changes in the family economy; 2) Legalized gender equality through legislation and government regulations, including the debate around the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS); 3) Fulfilling the quota of women in policy makers and in the legislative council. Meanwhile, others consider that thereis no specific target, just to provide awareness to the community that women can and are able to participate. The concept that was carried out was only to spread it in the taklim (Islamic study group) environment and women's taklim assemblies in various mosques. The "keprung" strategy (traveling around the village) is one of the steps to provide political learning for mothers, in addition to online social media media.

In contrast to Prabowo-Sandi's emak-emak, Jokowi's women's partisan groups are diverse and sporadically organized. Such as the Cool, Energetic, Religious and Nationalist Women (Perempuan

KEREN) explicitly advocate for women's empowerment and gender-based issues. They argue that women should not be limited to household chores. Another group, Sayap Perempuan Bravo 5, gives 4 important reasons for joining the ranks, namely:

First, Improvements in basic health services, especially for women's reproductive health, establishing JKN, the national healthcare system] provides free delivery services including pre- and post-natal consultations. Second, a free education system that guarantees girls an education and prevents child marriage. Third, more opportunities for economic empowerment programs for women and assistance for the disabled through the Family Hope Program. Fourth, agrarian reforms that provide more benefits for indigenous women. Another group that also carried out movements on Jakowir and Amin's path was Pertiwi, which carried economic issues by campaigning for Mekar, which helps access capital and home industries (Kartika, 2019).

Based on the review of data from the aspect of activities to the problem of gender responsive problems as the main movement of the two candidates to women's participation based on the study of the two camps where in the 1990s, the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) added a new indicator to measure the success of a country's development, if previously only measured by GDP growth (Growth Domestic Product) now coupled with HDI (Human Development Index), one of which measures the concept of gender equality. The study explains that gender equality factors must always be included in evaluating the success of national development. The calculations used are the GDI (Gender Development Index), which is equality between men and women in life expectancy, education, and total income, and the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure), which measures equality of political participation (Human Development Report), Based on the results of the data, it is known that affirmative action, namely the 30% quota for Indonesian women, which is summarized in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2003 concerning Elections, especially Article 65 of 2003, shows the success of gender equality measures. This success cannot be separated from the success in resolving the historical and ongoing debate about the low representation of Indonesian women at all levels of decision making. Furthermore, political reforms that transitioned to democratic political life have widened opportunities for women and other sectors of society to express their views and formulate and voice their demands for greater gender awareness and sensitivity in government policies, legislation, and electoral politics. The economic crisis of 1997 fueled the demand for women's representation at all levels and in all aspects of political life. The crisis had worsened women's living conditions, prompting them to rise up to voice their needs and defend their rights.

In the study of Regulations that Guarantee Women's Rights in Politics, they interpret the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 27 Paragraph (1), which states explicitly that all citizens are equal before the law and government. This means that every citizen, both men and women, have equal rights in all forms of life in society, including in political activities.

The form of women's political participation is 1) the women get information data through media such as electronic media and print media, but there are also women who get information about political choices through informal discussions and appeals from political party leaders. In voting, women go to the polling station where they are registered as voters. This is where the voting system differs from previous elections, in that each voter is actually recorded as an individual who has the right to vote in the permanent voter list; 2) Running for the legislature and each voter can freely choose the party as well as the candidate that is considered suitable for their expectations; 3) Becoming a member of the General Election Commission; 4) becoming a member of the General Election Commission; 5) becoming a member of a

political party; 6) becoming a succession team for a candidate pair; 7) strengthening the movement that they form and or participate in.

The Impact of the Women's Movement in Elections on the Development of Gender Structures in Future Indonesian Leadership

The results of the data review begin with the factors that influence the selection pattern between men and women as members of the legislature and the impacts that arise, among others, First, the patriakal principle is still strongly rooted with appropriate and or inappropriate attitudes, where the political arena is appropriate for men, and it is not appropriate for women to become members of parliament; Second, the selection team of candidates is carried out by an all-male team where there is a view that awareness of gender equality and justice is still low, the impact is that proportionality does not occur in party politics, so women do not get much support from political parties because the leadership structure is dominated by men. Third, the representation of women in parliament is not understood so that the media is not very responsive to their situation; Fourth, the network of women's socio-political organizations has not made a variety of real contributions in fighting for women's representation, in addition to the non-governmental organizations formed have not provided comprehensive studies on gender mainstreaming in all sectors of life; Fifth, poverty and low levels of education of women provide a tendency to be involved in defense efforts or choose non-partisan roles with various considerations.

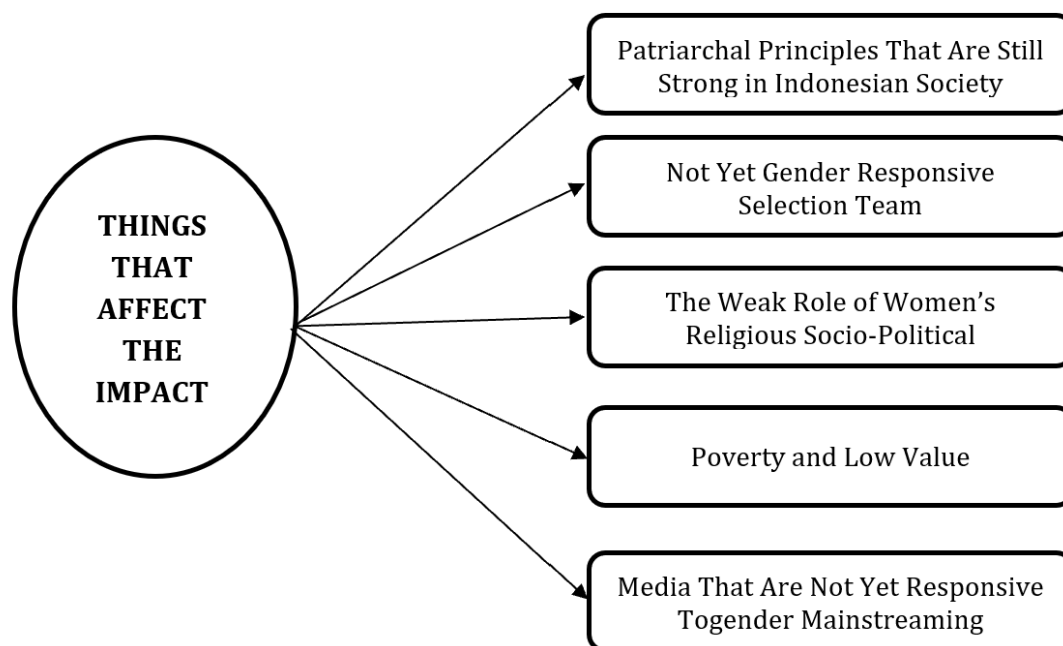


Figure 2. A Response To Gender Perspective Selection Patterns In Legislative Elections

In figure 2 show response to the statement that "the increase in the quota of legislative members from among women due to the women's movement in the 2019 elections", the participants gave different assessments which were categorized into three answer descriptions.

First, I agree with the statement, because women's activities in the movement voice the aspirations of women. This can be seen from the indicator of giving women space to dialogue their aspirations. One example is the expression of one of the female legislative candidates from the Golkar Party. Christina

Aryani in front of women that 1) there is a desire to guard the interests of women, the interests and protection of children and marginalized people; 2) guarding the legislative process and making articles that can be detrimental to the realm of gender responsiveness, so that women are no longer marginalized.

Secondly, the assessment is only on one of the consequences, because the agenda of the women's movement as a wing movement does not have an important impact. when the vote counting process was completed, the number of women who qualified for the DPR RI increased from 17.3% in the 2014 elections to 20.4% in the 2019 elections. On the other hand, not all women who qualified explicitly had a gender perspective, some even declared themselves anti-feminist. The patriarchal nature of Indonesia's political parties and the shift towards a more conservative society add hurdles to advocating for more progressive gender policies (Dewi, 2015). Therefore, participants considered that it is not as simple as building an indicator of the success of the women's movement with an increase in women's votes in the legislature.

The three participants who answered did not have much meaning, because their movement was only to give their existence to one of the presidential candidates, or to participate-sympathize with one of the candidates offered. In addition, they considered that the women's movement was relatively fragile, the actors and sympathizers increased in the women's movement, but their movement was less solid and had problems in involving individuals and grassroots communities.

Furthermore, participants' answers to the question "Can the participation of women through their respective media movements give attention to the agenda of the presidential candidate pair after being elected? Divided into several views as described below: First, it can be a concern for the elected president and vice president and is evidenced by the consistent and increasing agenda of the ministry's agenda on the quality of gender equality; Second, No one pays attention, because after the 2019 election, what women are fighting for is only limited to discourse, there is only developing what already exists; Third. Assessment is not a matter of being noticed or not noticed, in the assessment of women's participation in practical political movements shows that women are already sensitive to the concept of gender responsiveness.

This statement shows that increasing the number of women in the political arena is an issue that has always been a concern. As explained in the previous chapter, since 2002, the majority of political activists, women leaders in political parties, academics and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have agreed on the need to increase women's political participation in Indonesia, based on the realization that all political priorities and agendas must be deconstructed from the traditional political system (Diprose et al., 2019). This means that women can emerge to hold various public positions if they build new social and economic values that suit their interests.

Their presence in the spheres of both presidential and vice presidential candidates in 2019 emphasizes that women's political representation also means increasing their effectiveness in influencing political decisions that will be able to guarantee the rights of women's groups and society at large, as well as allocate the various resources needed to improve the quality of human life.

In general, many NGOs such as the Swara Perempuan Empowerment Movement, the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI), the Women and Politics Network (JPP), and Solidaritas Perempuan (SP); all work hard to empower women. NGOs have extensive networks and their activities cross regional boundaries, both provincial and tier one regions in Indonesia. However, the success of their participation depends largely on the willingness of political parties to recruit 'potential women' from outside their traditional bases.

From the construction of Functionalism theory and nature theory, the impact of the women's political movement is in line with Indonesia's Guidelines for State Policy (GBHN). as explained that the GBHN emphasizes that the active participation of all levels of society in development must be more

widespread and equitable. The participation of the community in every stage of development is often associated with efforts to foster a sense of ownership or belonging to the facilities or infrastructure that are built. This sense of belonging will in turn result in sustainable development. From this aspect, development in principle must provide justice and prosperity to all people, to men and women, to the rich and the poor.

The impact of the movement in the study of additional research participants stated that one of the missions of Islam is the liberation of humans from various forms of anarchy and injustice. Islam places great emphasis on justice in all aspects of life, especially the weak and marginalized groups of society from suffering (Zaman, 2018). This is emphasized in the Qur'an, that believers are ordered to fight to free the weak and oppressed groups of society. The Prophet also taught gender equality and justice. During the jahiliyyah period women had received gender bias treatment such as: being raped, male mistresses, double burdens, male lust violence, and so on. After Islam came, men were in an equal position with women. Some women during the time of the Prophet and his companions worked.

Some became history such as Umm Satim bint Malhan who made up brides among others: Shafiyah bin Huyay, the wife of Prophet Muhammad. Even the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, Zainab bint Jahesy, was also actively working to listen to animal skins, and the results of her efforts she gave alms. In addition, Siti Khatijah was also a business woman. Raithah, the wife of the Prophet's friend, Abdullah Ibn Mas'ud, was very active in working, because her husband and children at that time, were unable to make ends meet. Even at the time of King Solomon, Queen Bilqis became already the Queen of the world. The basic principles of equality are described as follows: (1) Men and women are both servants (QS. al-Hujurat 13), (2) Men and women are both caliphs (QS. al-Baqarah: 30), (3) Men and women both accept the primordial covenant (QS. al-A'raf: 172), (4) Adam and Eve are actors who are equally actively involved in the cosmic drama (QS. al-A'raf: 22), and (5) Men and women are equally entitled to achieve achievements in their lives (QS. al-Nahl: 97). In relation to the issue of relations between men and women, the basic principles of the Qur'an actually show an egalitarian view. According to Asghar, the Qur'an was the first to give them (women) rights that they had never previously received in legal rules (Nasir, 2020).

Islam itself is not a patriarchal religion, which is a culture where men have a higher position than women. In this culture, there are clear differences in the duties and roles of women and men in society, especially in the family. Men as leaders or heads of households have authority which includes control over economic resources, and a sexual division of labor within the family. This results in women having less access to the public sector than men. Patriarchy is a term used to describe a social system where men as a group control power over women.

CONCLUSION

Women's movement in Indonesia in the 2019 elections, which is incorporated in the "emak-emak group" and the "Srikandi group," has various reasons. These reasons include proof of the identity of the women's political participation movement as a moral movement by pursuing women's representation in parliament and addressing the agenda of women's rights, including the issue of housewives. Another reason for the group's presence is to support the Three Ends campaign (End violence against women and children, End Human Trafficking, End Economic Disparity for Women). The characteristics of the women's movement are generally coordinated with a clear and measurable agenda and steps. Additionally, the characteristics of the women's movement on behalf of emak-emak and srikandi, when carrying out their respective activities, align with their consciences and the aspirations of regional women, based on the vision and mission goals of each group.

The impact of this movement changed the mindset of Indonesian society, demonstrating that women are not confined to the reproductive sphere but are also capable of entering the productive sphere, including the political arena. Furthermore, it proves that Islam itself is not a patriarchal religion, which is a culture where men have a higher position than women. In this culture, there are clear differences in the duties and roles of women and men in social life, especially within the family. Men, as leaders or heads of households, have authority, which includes control over economic resources and a sexual division of labor within the family. This results in women having less access to the public sector than men. Patriarchy is a term used to describe a social system where men, as a group, control power over women.

The emak emak and Srikandi movements in the 2019 elections are part of political participation. Various post-election assistance provided by the elected president and vice president of the Republic of Indonesia needs to be a starting point to increase women's empowerment in all sectors of life and at the same time as part of the education of girls in the next generation.

The existence of cultural clashes is not a stumbling block but is part of a strategy to build awareness for all in the future played by women through various channels both by conveying political messages by being active in various political systems, such as political parties, legislatures, community organizations and others. As political communicators, not many women are involved in the organizational structure of political parties or become members of the legislature. As a result, women are classified into women as politicians, women as professional communicators, and women as activists.

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