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Women and Politics: Movement and Militance of “EMak-Emak” and “Srikandi” in the General Election 2019

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Abstract

This article is a scientific account of the results of a study entitled Women and Politics: The Movement and Militance of “EMak-Emak” and “Srikandi” in the General Election 2019. The background of the research problem is assessed from the role of women still in the category of the domestic realm, and still leaves a negative assessment of women who carry out activities in the public sphere, including active participation in politics. This type of research used a qualitative research type, namely research procedures that produce descriptive data. Sources of data obtained are primary data and secondary data. The method of data collection was done through interviews and a thorough literature review. The data analysis technique used is a qualitative analysis technique which is then presented descriptively. As for the conceptual and theoretical framework that is in use is the theory used in answering it uses Michel Foucault's discourse theory and the theory of the movement of women. The results of the study concluded that the women's movement in Indonesia in the 2019 elections which were members of the "Emak-Emak" and the “Srikandi” Group had various reasons, namely as evidence of the identity of the women's political participation movement. The characteristics of the women's movement are generally coordinated with a clearly measurable agenda and steps. The impact of this movement changed the *mindset* of Indonesian society that women are not only in the reproductive but also shows that they are also capable of entering the productive sphere, including the political sphere.

Keywords: *Movement, Militance, Emak-Emak, Srikandi, General Election 2019*

Abstrak

Artikel ini merupakan akun ilmiah hasil kajian yang berjudul Perempuan dan Politik: Gerakan dan Militansi “Emak-Emak” dan “Srikandi” Pada Pemilu Presiden Tahun 2019. Latar belakang masalah penelitian dinilai dari peran perempuan masih dalam kategori ranah domestik, dan

masih menyisakan penilaian negatif terhadap perempuan yang melakukan aktivitas di ranah publik, termasuk partisipasi aktif dalam politik. Jenis penelitian ini menggunakan jenis penelitian kualitatif, yaitu prosedur penelitian yang menghasilkan data deskriptif. Sumber data yang diperoleh adalah data primer dan data sekunder. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara, dan melalui studi pustaka. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah teknik analisis kualitatif yang kemudian disajikan secara deskriptif. Adapun kerangka konseptual dan teoritis yang digunakan adalah teori yang digunakan dalam menjawabnya menggunakan teori wacana Michel Foucault, dan teori pergerakan perempuan. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa gerakan perempuan di Indonesia pada pemilu 2019 yang tergabung dalam Kelompok “Emak-Emak” dan “Srikandi” memiliki berbagai alasan, yaitu sebagai bukti identitas gerakan partisipasi politik perempuan. Ciri-ciri gerakan perempuan umumnya terkoordinasi dengan agenda dan langkah yang terukur dengan jelas. Dampak dari gerakan ini mengubah pola pikir masyarakat Indonesia bahwa perempuan tidak hanya di bidang reproduktif, tetapi juga menunjukkan bahwa mereka juga mampu memasuki ranah produktif, termasuk ranah politik.

Kata Kunci: *Gerakan, Militansi, Emak-Emak, Srikandi, Pemilu 2019*

INTRODUCTION

The development of Indonesian politics has experienced various study trends in line with changes in culture and has raised various issues that can be studied and analyzed. The presence of women in carrying out practical political activities is one of the issues that has become an important focus in changing gender mainstreaming. There is a general awareness that the differences between women and men are essentially the formation of society through *socio-cultural construction*, resulting in different roles and tasks. This difference causes women to always be left behind and neglected in their roles and contributions in family life, society, nation and state. So, there is a culture that battery-grade men identified with the *bourgeoisie*, and the woman as the *proletarian* (Pilcher, and Imelda, 2004: 56).

The debate for women to engage in practical politics and/or follow the dynamic has also developed in Islamic dialogue in positioning the equal partnership of men and women in two perspectives. A group with the view that Islam does not recognize the existence of political right for women. They argue that if a woman becomes a leader or holds office; it will have implications for disobedience to her husband. In addition, the absence of court rights and testimony in many laws makes it difficult for women to take office (Jais, 1998: 88; Fauzi, 2002: 41).

The women's movement during the 2019 election by building names such as “Emak-Emak” and “Srikandi” is one of the efforts to change this mindset and release reluctance to engage in politics after male domination in the 2014 election (Hardjaloka, 2012; Syafputri, 2014: 165), also dampen the issues that women also can participate actively in practical political activity, in addition to the process of democratization and the struggle for democracy is an important feature by developments in Indonesia politics into their portrait. The result of the study also shows that the importance of patriarchal democracy for women on the basis of the principle of equality, in all areas and levels of public life, especially in decision-making positions.

Based on the previous study of women's group wing movement that supports Jakowi-Ma'ruf Amin declared himself with the name of the mother of the nation and several other names such as Srikandi Indonesia, Super Jokowi (Women's Voice for Jokowi), cool, energetic, religious and nationalist women (Women COOL). In general support for Jakowi-Ma'ruf with four reasons

are: *First*, the increase in the basic health services, especially for women's reproductive health; *Second*, a free education system that ensures girls get an education and prevents child marriage. *Third*, more opportunities for economic empowerment programs for women and assistance for people with disabilities through the Family Hope Program. *Fourth*, agrarian reform that provides more benefits for indigenous women. Meanwhile, supporters of women Prabowo-Sandi consist of mothers who are members of MAKBUL, the Party of Mothers Supporting Prabowo Sandi (Pepes), the Blue Wednesday Movement (GRB), and Prabowo Women. In general, women's supporters are those who are active in community organizations and have strong social networks, effective in grassroots campaigns.

In examining the various roles of women during the general election in 2019, the movement carried out by pro-democracy women, both supporters of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Jakowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi formulated the following problem formulations 1) How was the movement of Indonesian women and the reasons that formed the occurrence of the Indonesian women's movement in the 2019 Election?; 2) What are the characteristics and targets of the women's movement in each pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2019 election?; 3) What is the impact of the women's movement in elections on the development of gender structures in future Indonesian leadership?

To answer this question uses Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, and the theory of the Women's movement. Michel Foucault's theory of discourse does not stand alone, but grows and develops in the context of power relations. A discourse can disappear and then reappear, or be suppressed and suppressed at one time and rise again at the next. A discourse can also be changed and adjusted because of the demands of power relations at the time the discourse is raised. the importance of the role of the subject, namely the issue of who makes the discourse is important. The discourse made by someone, who happens to be a public figure, is certainly different from the discourse made by ordinary people (Mujiburahman, 2008: 29).

In theory, the women's movement cannot be separated from the concept of the social movement itself and discourse. Porta and Diani define social movement as a social process that (1) involves conflictual relations with clear opposition, (2) connects people in an informal network, and (3) organizes the masses with a particular collective identity. In the construction of this research, three important variables are seen, namely conflictual relations, informal networks, and collective identity. Understanding of women's political movement as a social movement that aims to embody women's interests and encourage social transformation towards a gender perspective social order (*engendering society*). The women's movement was driven by the development of the idea of feminism which brought the discourse of gender equality in all aspects of life. Karl Marx defined critical theory as “*a self-clarification of the struggles of the age*” (Porta, 2008; Phrase, 2005, Hafidz, 2016). In the realm of Indonesia, there is a periodization map of the struggle of Indonesian women as shown in the following table:

Table 1. Periodization of Women's Movements and Specific characteristics

No	Period	Distinctive Description
1	Against Custom	Women struggle to attend schools outside the home and do their own creativity
2	Literate nationalism	Fighting for women's productive rights in terms of women's rights" became a policy of the colonial state
3	<i>Koncowingingking</i>	The return of women in the reproductive area and

		women becoming industrial tools
4	Literacy Democracy Against Military Authoritarianism	The development of the pro-democracy women's movement and the movement to restore women's rights
5	Women's Representation	Affirmative action movement for rights in the legislature and gender mainstreaming
6	Against neoliberalism	Gender mainstreaming in the issue of rights in the realm of production

Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2020

In particular, studies discussing the movement of women in Indonesia, especially general election 2019 elections could not be found because this research is an early post-election 2019 research. In general, there are several studies that examine women's movements on the political stage. Fadli (2017) in her study "Islam, Women and Politics: Arguments for Women's Involvement in Politics in Post-Reformation Indonesia" provides information about the real relationship between Islam, women and politics in the post-New Order era, especially how the involvement of the women's movement Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) in fighting for gender equality based on Islamic values. After the reform, the NU women's movement entered the political sphere to improve the social conditions of women who had long been marginalized

Hardjaloka (2012), in his research work published in a journal entitled Portrait of Women's Representation in the Face of Indonesian Politics with Regulatory and Implementation Perspectives, 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 are also Election Laws, Articles 7 and 8 of CEDAW and the Convention on Women's Political Rights, all of which say that women have the same political rights as men. However, the urgency of women's representation in politics is hampered due to negative stereotypes about women's abilities.

Purwanto (2006) in the Study of the Indonesian Women's Movement in the Shackles of Indonesian Historiography- *Androcentric* argues that the women's movement in Indonesia is still very limited. It is not only limited to the number of women who are interested in writing the history, but because Indonesian history is always written by male (historians) then produce stories that give the existence of this country like (only inhabited by) men. This male-centered historical story is called *androcentric* and we have considered the truth of human history, especially humans who inhabit a space called Indonesia.

In the Islamic perspective, the women's movement discussed by Ja'far (2001) invites to deepen the quality of women who are subordinated in the political arena, Rusnila (2015) in her work concludes that Islam recognizes the position of women and recognizes the humanity of women. Islam abolishes all forms of discrimination, places women in a noble place. The position of women in the view of Islam is not as practiced in society. Islamic teachings essentially give great attention and respect to women. Islam has succeeded in elevating the dignity of women. Women have a political role in upholding the word of Allah (Role of Da'wah).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research approach to build knowledge through understanding and discovery. A qualitative research approach is a research and understanding process based on

methods that investigate social phenomena and human problems. In this study the researcher makes a complex picture, examines words, reports in detail from the respondents' views and conducts studies in natural situations (Junaidi, 2009: 11).

This qualitative research uses a document study type, which is a study that focuses on the analysis or interpretation of written material based on its context. Sources of research data were extracted from various authoritative information accessed from the official website of women's groups from both camps (Jakowi-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo-Sandi). Some sites that will be studied are the Prabowo-Sandi National Winning Body (BPN) website ttirto.id; national.kompas.com, emak-emak party website; [www. Suarasurabaya.com](http://www.Suarasurabaya.com); www.tagar.id. Some data, both managed through e-media (compass, tribune, digital media), social media, WhatsApp groups, as well as from various national media information are also sources of data that cannot be ignored.

The research subjects were participants with the purposive sampling technique of participant selection. The participants of this study were taken from the views of several female figures in South Sumatra as the basis of this study. Such as female academics, head of the Women's Institute for Democracy, Center for Gender Studies; and the PUSPA Sriwijaya Forum. Conducted by unstructured interviews to explore assessments of various information that appears in the discourse of documentation/texts obtained from media messages, e-media, and authoritative social media news.

Data collection uses two techniques, namely documentation and interviews and is analyzed through the process of arranging the data sequence, organizing it into a pattern, category and unit of description so that themes can be found and answers to assumptions that appear in this study can be formulated as suggested by the data. Conducting unstructured observations and interviews that are deemed more feasible, on the grounds that the researcher already has a base in science that is relevant to the problem under study. Researchers can be an important instrument that conveys the meaning of political movements, the main research tool or 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 contextual problems and situations is found. In data analysis also use Triangulation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Reasons for the Indonesian Women's Movement in the 2019 General Election

The women's movement in Indonesia during general elections in 2019, named the "Emak-Emak" and the "Srikandi" groups which has various reasons that has been seen in the various views and assessments of respondents which are described as follows:

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 the mother and heroine as a form of attention to the agenda of women's rights is noticed. Including the issue of housewives, dates for reducing the price of board clothing and food which are then affordable for all families in Indonesia while supporting the moral movement of happy families with religious children.

Second, ending the Three Ends campaign (End violence against women and children, End Trafficking in Persons, End Economic Disparities for Women), as a step to voice disappointment with the low quota of women in the Legislature as a form of historical treatment

(slavery and oppression) causing women to not have the opportunity to have achieved their aspirations for generations. This means that there is an effort to strengthen the pattern of gender relations in politics. The movement to eradicate the domination of men and women is still the second human being.

Third, the reason that is no less important for the movement is to provide evidence that the role and gait of women in the social environment is also continuously taken into account, they can be at the forefront in inviting the public to choose legislative candidates (candidates) as well as presidential and vice-presidential candidates intelligently based on their assessment. Commitment to build the nation and prosper the Indonesian people with noble values in politics.

Table 2. Assessment of the Reasons for the Women’s Movement in the 2019 Election

No	Group	Description of Reason
1	Prospective	Strategy to voice the Three Ends campaign (End violence against women and children. End Trafficking in Persons. End Economic Inequality for Women)
2	Emotional	Voicing disappointment with the low quota of women in the Legislature is a manifestation of the existence of historical treatment (slavery and oppression) causing women to not have the same opportunity to achieve their aspirations for several generations.
3	Responsive	Reminding women of various problems that still continue to affect people's lives in Indonesia, such as the implementation of discrimination against women who are prohibited from going out at night, efforts to build gender equality
4	Hope	Being a part of support for the affordable food and clothing program for all families in Indonesia as well as supporting the moral movement of a happy family with religious children

Source: Compiled by the Authors, 2020

Respondents' answers on political and economic reasons to dismantle community misconceptions that value women's absolute responsibility for family resilience. This means that women who enter the realm of practical politics will shake the joints of family resilience. Another reason for the opening is that women can manage their time according to their proportions. Those with careers are able to do both home and work activities at the same time, let alone just a participatory movement so that their aspirations are noticed.

The analysis of this view can be seen from the Prabowo-Sandi concept which created the “Emak-Emak” program in August 2018 with consist more than 3000 members spread throughout the country targeting the groups that most affected by the women with lower middle income. They believe that even women who don't care about politics will demand change when this economic problem continues to be echoed.

Unlike the Prabowo-Sandi, Jokowi-Ma’ruf's women's partisan groups are diverse and sporadically organized. They seem to be bringing up various issues using a gender perspective, namely, first, improvement in basic health services, especially for reproductive health; second, a

free education system that ensures girls get an education and prevents child marriage; third, more opportunities for economic empowerment programs for women and assistance for people with disabilities through the Family Hope Program; fourth, agrarian reform that gives more benefits to indigenous women.”

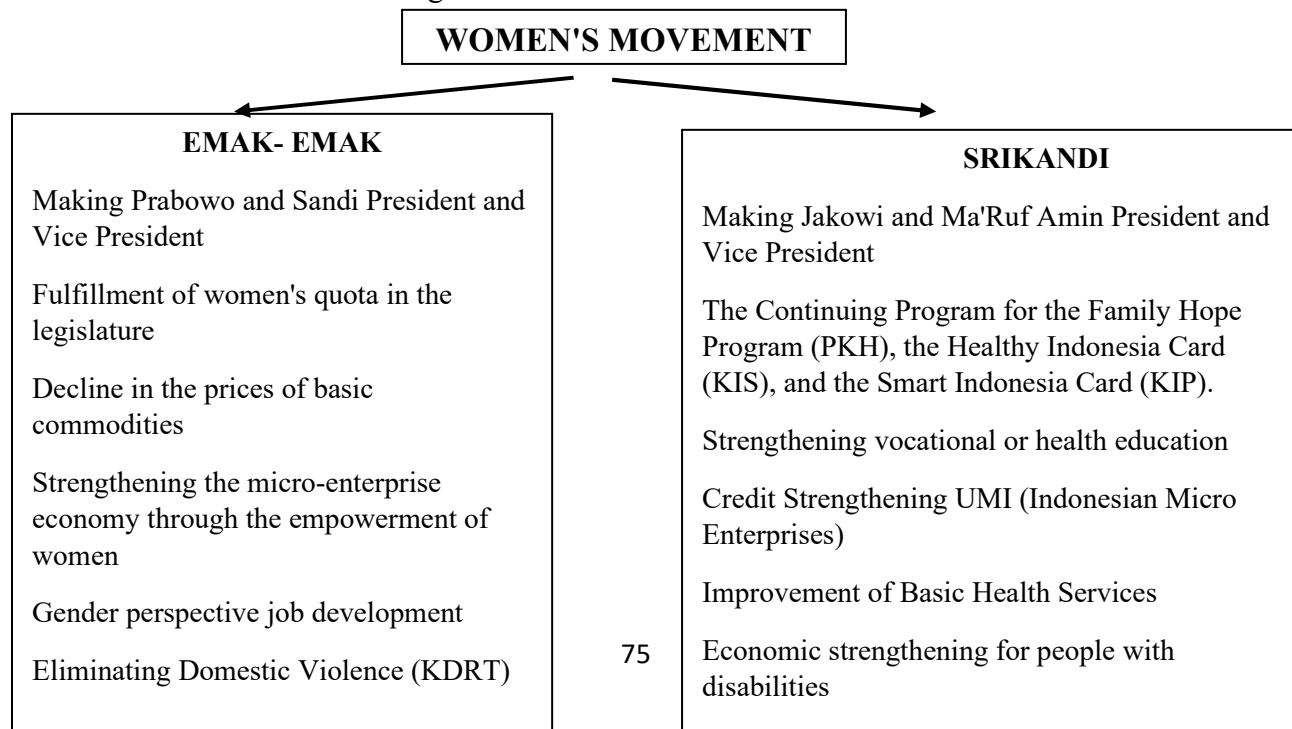
Another Jokowi-supporting female volunteer group focuses on economic issues. For example, Pertiwi, a women's volunteer group that helps access capital and home industries, claims to have helped more than 4 million poor women. In principle, women are the key to the success of the country and need encouragement so that they have an important position in the family and society. As mothers of the nation, women educate children, improve the mentality of the nation, maintain family morals, and move the family and community economy.

The female partisan group is a mirror of this phenomenon. They advocate for issues revolving around their role solely as mothers and housewives such as the price of basic commodities. The emergence of the role of women's partisan groups can be celebrated as an example of political involvement which is largely self-driven by Indonesian women. However, the issues they are fighting for are still trapped in the gender ideology proclaimed by the state in a patriarchal culture, which assumes that women's problems are identical to those of mothers.

Characteristics, and Targets Women's Movement in Each Candidates President and Vice President in the 2019 Election

The characteristics of the women's movement are generally coordinated with a clearly measurable agenda and steps. In addition, the characteristics of the women's movement on behalf of mothers and heroes when carrying out their respective activities according to their respective consciences and or the conscience of small groups in aspiration of regional women's wishes and based on the vision and mission of each group's goals. However, the results of interviews in the field also found activities outside the program that had been made, such as through issues through social media regarding the weakness of one of the presidential candidates, distributing various basic necessities at an inappropriate time and or distributing basic necessities on behalf of one of the presidential candidates. Furthermore, from the participant's point of view, assessing the targets to be achieved for the women's movement, the answers can be seen from the following picture:

Picture 1. Targets of the 2019 Election Women's Movement



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2020

From this perspective, it shows that pro-Jokowi women partisan groups have a variety of agendas, from health and education services to economic opportunities for women to work from home. Prabowo's mother program to overcome economic problems for women, and the Problem of Domestic Violence. The statement has the common desire of women in their movement, namely:

1. Decreasing the price of food and clothing. They believe that even women who don't care about politics will fail to ask for changes in the family economy;
2. Gender equality is legalized through laws and government regulations, including the debate around the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS);
3. Fulfillment of women's quotas in policy makers and in the legislative council. Meanwhile, others consider that there is no specific target, only 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 the mother's *Taklim* assemblies in various mosques. The "siege" strategy (around the village) is one of the steps to provide political learning for mothers, in addition to *online social media*.

Unlike the Prabowo-Sandi's women, Jokowi's women's partisan groups are diverse and sporadically organized. Like Women Cool, Energetic, Religious and Nationalists (Women KEREN) explicitly advocate for women's empowerment and gender-based issues. They argue that women should not be limited to household matters only. Another group of Women's Wing Bravo 5 gives 4 important reasons to join the ranks, namely:

1. Improvements in basic health services, especially for women's reproductive health, establishing JKN, the national health care system provides free delivery services including pre and postnatal consultations.
2. Free education system that ensures girls get an education and prevents child marriage.
3. More opportunities for economic empowerment programs for women and assistance for people with disabilities through the Family Hope Program.
4. Agrarian reform that gives more benefits to indigenous women. The group that also carried out the movement on the Jakowi and Amin path was Pertiwi who carried economic issues by campaigning for Mekar which helped access capital and home industries (Kartika, 2019).

Based on the analysis of data from the activity aspect to the problem of gender responsiveness as the main movement of the two candidates for women's participation based on a study of both camps where in the 1990s era, UNDP (*United Nations Development Program*) added a new indicator to measure the success of a country's development, if previously only measured by the growth of GDP (*Growth Domestic Product*) is now added to the HDI (*Human Development Index*) which one measure is the concept of gender equality (*gender equality*). The study explained that the factor of gender equality must always be included in evaluating the success of national development. The calculations used are GDI (*Gender Development Index*), which is equality between men and women in life expectancy, education,

and total income, and GEM (*Gender Empowerment Measure*), which measures equality of political participation (*Human Development Report*).

Based on the results of the data, it is known that the *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 General Elections, especially Article 65 of 2003, shows the success of gender equality measures. This success cannot be separated from the success in resolving the reality debate. Historical and continuing history of the low representation of Indonesian women at all levels of decision-making. Furthermore, with regard to political reforms that transition to a democratic political life, it has widened the opportunities for women and other sectors of society to express their views as well as formulate and voice their demands for greater gender awareness and sensitivity in government policies, legislation and regulations. Election politics. In connection with the 1997 economic crisis which sparked widespread demands for women's representation at all levels and in all aspects of political life. The crisis has worsened the living conditions of women, thus encouraging them to rise up to voice their needs, while at the same time defending their rights.

In their study of the Regulations Guaranteeing Women's Rights in Politics they interpreted in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 27 Paragraph (1), stating explicitly that all citizens have the same position in law and government. This means that every citizen, both male and female, have equal rights in all forms of life in society, including in political activities.

Forms of women's political participation are 1) women's voters 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 figures. In voting, women go to the polling station where they are registered as voters. This is where the difference between the voting system and previous elections lies, namely that each voter is actually registered as an individual who has the right to vote in the permanent voter list; 2) Candidate as a member of the legislature and every voter can freely choose the party as well as the candidate that is considered suitable for their expectations; 3) Become a Member of the General Election Commission; 4) become a member of the General Election Commission; 5) become a member of a political party; 6) Become a candidate pair succession team; 7) reinforce the movements they form and/or follow.

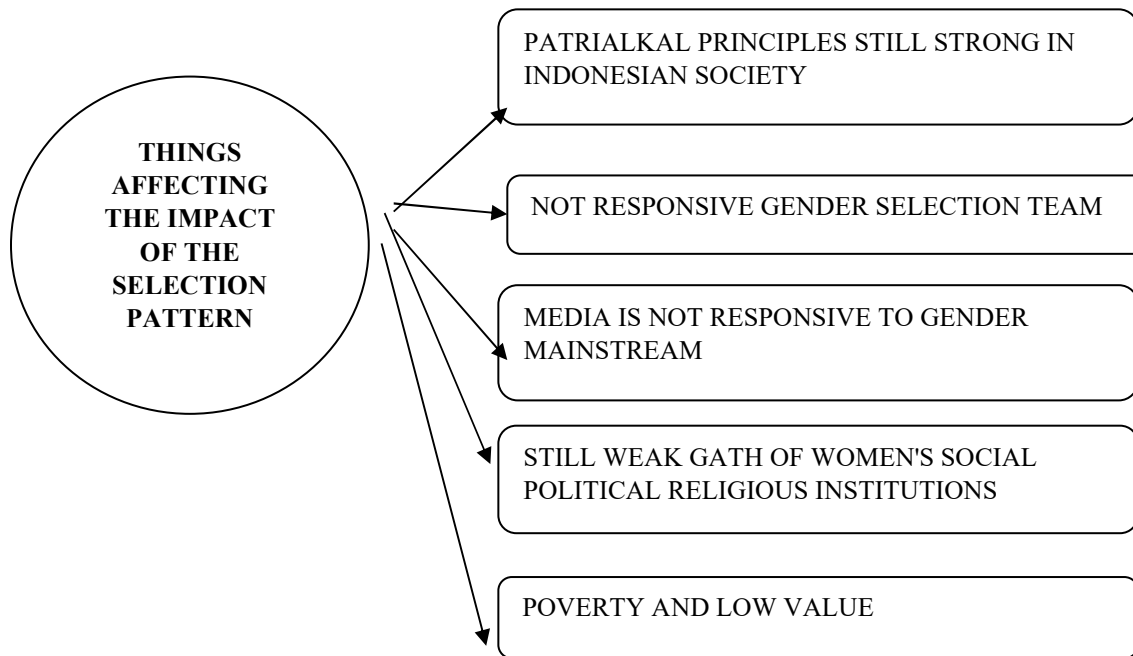
Impact Women's Movement in Elections on the Development of Gender Structures in Indonesia's Future Leaders

The results of the data review begin with factors that influence the pattern of selection between men and women as members of the legislature and the impacts that arise, among others.

1. Patriarchal principles are still firmly rooted in appropriate and or inappropriate attitudes, where the political arena is suitable for men, and it is inappropriate for women to become members of parliament;
2. The candidate selection team is carried out by a team that is all male where there is a view that awareness about gender equality and justice is still low, the impact of proportionality does not occur in party politics, so women do not get much support from political parties because the leadership structure is dominated by political parties of men.
3. The representation of women in parliament is not understood so that the media is not very responsive to their situation;

4. The network of women's socio-political organizations has not made any real contributions to the struggle for women's representation, in addition to the non-governmental organizations that have been formed yet to provide a comprehensive study of gender mainstreaming in all sectors of life;
5. Poverty and the low level of education of women give a tendency to engage in defense efforts or choose non-partisan roles with various considerations (Data Analysis, 2020).

Figure 2. Response to Gender Perspective Selection Patterns in the Area of Legislative Election



Source: Compiled by the Authors, 2020

The quota of legislative members from women due to the women's movement in the 2019 elections", the participants gave different assessments which were categorized into three descriptions of answers, namely (Data Analysis, 2020).

1. Agree with the statement, because women's activities in the movement voice the aspirations of women. This can be seen from the indicators of giving women space to have a dialogue with their aspirations. One example is the expression of a female legislative candidate 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 the marginalized; 2) overseeing the legislative process and making articles that can be detrimental to the realm of gender responsiveness, so that women are no longer marginalized.
2. 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 passed the DPR RI increased from 17.3% in the 2014 election to 20.4% in the 2019 election . On the other hand, not all women who qualify have a clear gender perspective, some even claim to be anti-feminist . The patriarchal nature of Indonesian political parties and the shift in society towards a more conservative direction, add to the obstacles in

advocating for more progressive gender policies. Because of this, the participants considered it not as simple as building indicators of the success of the women's movement by increasing the number of women's votes in the legislature.

3. Participants who answered did not have much meaning, because their movement was only to give their existence to one of the presidential candidate pairs, or to participate in the sympathizers of one of the candidates offered. Besides that, they considered that the women's movement was relatively fragile, actors and sympathizers increased in the women's movement, but their movement was less solid and had problems involving individuals and grassroots communities.

Furthermore, the participants' answers to the question "Can the participation of women through the media of each movement give attention to the agenda of the presidential candidate pair after being elected? It can be expressed in several views as described as follows: *First*, it can be a concern for the elected president and vice president and is evidenced by a consistent and increasing ministerial agenda on the quality of gender equality; *Second*, no one pays attention, because after the 2019 election, what women are fighting for is only a discourse, what exists is only to develop what already exists; *Third*. Assessment is not a matter of being considered or not being considered, in the assessment of women's participation in practical political movements it shows that women are already sensitive to the concept of gender responsiveness.

This statement shows that increasing the number of women on the political stage is an issue that is always a concern. As explained in the previous chapter that since 2002, the majority of political activists, female figures in political parties, academics and non-governmental organizations (SDM) have agreed on the need to increase women's political participation in Indonesia. This need is based on the value of the awareness that all political priorities and agendas must be constructed from the traditional political system. This means that women can appear to hold various public positions if they build new social and economic values that are in accordance with their interests.

Their presence in the realm of the two presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 2019 to emphasize 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 the wider community, as well as allocate the necessary resources. to improve the quality of human life.

In general, there are many NGOs such as the Women's Swara Empowerment Movement, the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI), the Women's Network and Politics (JPP), and Women's Solidarity (SP); all work hard to empower women. NGOs have extensive networks and their activities penetrate regional boundaries, both provincial and level one regions in Indonesia. However, the success of their participation is highly dependent on the willingness of political parties to recruit 'potential women' who come from outside their traditional base.

From the construction of the theory of Functionalism and the theory of narration, it is continuous with the impact of the women's political movement which is in line with the Indonesian State Policy Guidelines (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 existence of community participation in every stage of development is often associated with efforts to foster a sense of ownership ("sense of ownership" or "sense of belonging") to the facilities or infrastructure being built. This sense of ownership will in turn result in sustainable development (sustainability).

From this aspect, development in principle must provide justice and prosperity to all communities, to men and women, to the rich and the poor.

The impact of the movement in an additional study of 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 for the marginalized from suffering. This is emphasized in the Qur'an, that believers are commanded to fight to free the oppressed groups of society. The Prophet also taught gender equality and justice. During the *Jahiliyyah* period, women were treated with gender bias, such as: rape, men's mistresses, double burdens, violence against men's passions, and so on. After Islam came, men were equal to women. Some women at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions who worked.

Some have become history, such as Umm Satim bint Malhan who made up the bride, among others: Shafiyah bin Huyay, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad. Even the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, Zainab bint Jaesy, was also active in working up to the point of listening to animal skins, and as a result of her efforts, she gave charity. In addition, Siti Khatijah is also a business woman. Raithah, the wife of the Prophet's companion, Abdullah Ibn Mas'ud, was very active at work, because her husband and children at that time were unable to provide for the needs of family life. Even during the time of King Solomon, Queen Bilqis became the Queen of one universe. The basic principles of equality are described as follows: (1) Men and women are equal servants (Surah al-Hujurat 13), (2) Men and women are equal to caliphs (Surah al-Baqarah: 30), (3) Men and women both accept the primordial agreement (QS. al-A'râf: 172), (4) Adam and Eve are actors who are equally actively involved in cosmic drama (QS. al -A'raf: 22), and (5) Men and women are equally entitled to achieve achievements in their lives (Surah al-Nahl: 97). In relation to the issue of the relationship 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 regulations (Umar, 2001: 268).

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

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, it was concluded that the women's movement in Indonesia in the 2019 elections which were members of the "Emak-Emak" and the "Srikandi" Groups had various reasons, namely as proof of the identity of the women's political participation movement as a moral movement by pursuing women's representation in parliament, including attention to the agenda. women's rights, the issue of housewives dated. Another reason for the group's presence is to eradicate the *Three Ends* campaign (End violence against women and children. End Trafficking in Persons. End Economic Gap for Women.

The characteristics of the women's movement are generally coordinated with a clearly measurable agenda and steps. In addition, the characteristics of the women's movement on behalf of mothers and heroes when carrying out their respective activities according to their respective

consciences and or the conscience of small groups in aspiration of regional women's wishes and based on the vision and mission of each group's goals.

The impact of this movement changed the mindset of Indonesian society that women are not only in the reproductive, but also shows that they are also capable of entering the productive sphere, including in the political sphere. Besides, 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 regarding the duties and roles of women and men in social life, especially in the family. Men as leaders or heads of families have authority which includes control over economic resources, and a sexual division of labor within the family. This causes women to have less access to the public sector than men. Patriarchy is a term used to describe a social system in which men as a group control power over women.

SUGGESTIONS

The “Emak-Emak” and “Srikandi” political 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 need to be a starting point to increase the empowerment of women in all sectors of life and at the same time as part of the education of girls in the next generation.

The existence of a cultural clash 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, either by conveying political messages actively in various political systems, such as political parties, legislatures, organizations. community and others. As political communicators, not many women are involved in the organizational structure of political parties or become members of the legislature.

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