

# Representasi Substantif Perempuan Anggota DPRD Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur Periode 2014-2019 (Studi Kasus Lahirnya Perda Responsif Gender Tahun 2016) = Women's Substantive Representation in East Nusa Tenggara Regional Legislative Body during the 2014-2019 Period (Case Study on the Formulation of Three Gender-Responsive Policies in 2016)

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## Abstrak

Keberhasilan enam perempuan anggota DPRD Provinsi NTT hasil pemilu 2014 dalam mendorong lahirnya peraturan daerah (perda) responsif gender merupakan fenomena penting bagi representasi politik perempuan di wilayah kuatnya budaya patriarki. Maka dengan alat analisa representasi substantif dari Hanna Pitkin, dan modal sosial dari Robert Putnam, penelitian ini mengambil kasus enam perempuan dalam menjalankan aktivitas perwakilan, mulai dari pra pemilu, menjadi kandidat, kemudian terpilih, hingga terlibat dalam penyusunan tiga perda responsif gender pada tahun 2016.

Penelitian ini menggunakan teori representasi substantif "acting for" dari Hanna Pitkin dan teori modal sosial dari Robert Putnam. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan teknik wawancara mendalam terhadap enam perempuan anggota DPRD Provinsi NTT periode 2014-2019.

Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan budaya patriarki – dalam bentuk latar belakang dan dukungan laki-laki (suami, ayah) yang merupakan tokoh masyarakat, tokoh adat, politisi, dan kepala daerah – berkontribusi pada pencalonan di partai dan keterpilihan enam perempuan tersebut. Modal sosial kandidat perempuan berupa hubungan kekerabatan dengan elite laki-laki, dalam kasus NTT, ternyata menghasilkan keterpilihan perempuan yang tertinggi di DPRD NTT (naik 100 persen dibanding pada pemilu 2009). Sementara itu, profesi, rekam jejak, dan pengalaman jejaring enam anggota perempuan yang telah memiliki kedekatan dengan isu perempuan sebelum mereka terpilih, berkontribusi pada dua hal: perspektif gender yang solid, dan aktivitas mewakili kepentingan perempuan dalam penyusunan perda responsif gender (Perda Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak, Perda Lingkungan Hidup, dan Perda Tenaga Kerja Indonesia).

Implikasi teoritis dari teori Hanna Pitkin tentang representasi substantif "acting for" dapat dilakukan oleh enam perempuan ini dengan perspektif gender yang diperolehnya dari pengalaman jejaring dan rekam jejak. Sedangkan dari teori modal sosial Robert Putnam menunjukkan proses masuk dan keberhasilan enam perempuan ini dalam kontestasi politik dipengaruhi oleh budaya patriarki melalui nama besar laki-laki (suami, ayah) yang memiliki pengaruh dalam masyarakat dan komunikasi mereka yang bersifat daily politics.

.....The election of six female representatives in East Nusa Tenggara's regional legislative body in the 2014 elections have propelled the birth of gender-responsive regional policies. This marks a monumental moment in women's political representation, specifically in geographical areas that are deeply-rooted in patriarchy. This study follows these women's activities, starting from before the election, during the candidacy, when they were elected, and their involvement in the formulation of three gender-responsive policies in 2016 through the lenses of Hanna Pitkin's substantive representative analysis tool and Robert Putnam's social capital theory.

This study uses Hanna Pitkin's "acting for" substantive representation and Robert Putnam's social capital theory. The method used in this research is qualitative in nature and involves an in-depth interview with the six women who were incumbent during the 2014-2019 period.

The principal findings of this study reveals that having originated from a culture that is patriarchal, support from men (husbands and fathers) who are public and cultural figures, as well as politicians is a contributing factor towards the candidacy and election of these women. Social capital, which comes in the form of these women's connection with male elites have also resulted in their election (a 100 percent increase compared to the previous 2009 election). Meanwhile, the profession, track record, and networking experience of these six women before the election are closely related to women's issues and contributed towards a solidified perspective on gender and an active participation in fighting for gender-responsive policies that would cater the interests of women. (Local Regulation on Mother and Child Health, Local Regulation on the Environment, and Local Regulation on Indonesian Migrant Workers).

The theoretical implication of Hanna Pitkin's theory on "acting for" substantive representation is that these women were enabled to act for their constituents because of their perspective on gender that was obtained through their track record and networking experience. On the other hand, Robert Putnam's social capital theory shows that the entry process and the success of these women in political contestation is affected by the patriarchal culture, namely the fame of men (their fathers and/or husbands) that had influence amongst the people and their 'daily politics' communication style.