

Gender Mainstreaming Through Woman Political Participation at Representative Council in Banten Province

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This research aims to observe gender mainstreaming by women representative council in Banten Province. To analyze the process of becoming, Gender mainstreaming Become Several important for reasons, first, the equity between the Human Development Index and the Gender Development Index, Banten Province indicates that human development is not always in line with gender-based development. Gender-based development is Often neglected because development is too focused on human development. Second, women are still stereotyped by gender Injustice. In the local context of Banten, the injustices experienced by women are legalized through social, cultural and religion institutions. Third, in the political realm, gender mainstreaming is not yet be maximized. This is because the affirmative policies for women are not in line with women awareness to be Involved in public affairs.

1. Introduction

Gender inequality in Indonesia is still a phenomenon that is encountered both in the lives of families, communities up state. Gender inequality as a result of gender inequality is reflected through the existence of a disparity in access and opportunities to acquire development resources between men and women in various fields that have an impact on participation and also controls each of the parties which resulted in the difference between the benefit of the results of development. Gender inequality seen through a data Gender Development Index (GDI), which has yet to reach 100%. Gender inequality in the field of development visible through a gap between the Human Development Index (HDI) with the IPG. HDI itself is an index that is used to view the progress of quality its trend of human life increases from year to year. This can be seen through the following table:

Table 1 Comparison of HDI,GDI and IDG on BPS

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
PM	66.53	67.09	67.70	68.31	68.90	69.55	70.18
PG	65.30	66.38	66.77	67.20	67.80	68.52	69.60
DG	61.80	62.27	63.13	64.27	66.10	68.20	69.20

Inequality between HDI, GDI and IDG indicates that the successful development of human resources even though each year has increased, but not fully followed by the success of gender development. Efforts are being made to eliminate gender inequality is one of them is with the Republic of Indonesia issued Presidential Instruction No. 9 Year 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. Gender Mainstreaming or often referred to as mainstreaming is a strategy that the Government sought to achieve gender equality by integrating the interests, aspirations and conditions of men and women in every stage of development management from planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. In PUG at least things are implied, the integration of the interests, aspirations and conditions of men and women in the development process, especially in the decision making process. Both the realization of gender equality means that men and women can equally enjoy the fruits of development.

Implementation of gender mainstreaming in development in Indonesia is a political move to minimize the issue of gender inequality, gender mainstreaming strategy relies on two approaches namely the First Government as an agent of change for development that can justice and gender equality. Secondly, the Government is involved into any PUG implementation process from planning, monitoring and evaluation.

In addition to the Presidential Instruction No. 9 of the implementing gender mainstreaming policies at both national and regional level, there are several laws issued by the government to support efforts in promoting Gender Equality. Legal products such as; Regulation of the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 6 of 2009 on the Implementation of Data Gender and Children, Ministry of Home Affairs Number 67 Year 2011 concerning Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 15 Year 2008 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions and the Joint Circular of Ministry state Development Planning, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Interior and the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 270/M.PPN/11/2012, Np.SE-33/MK.02/2012, No.050/ 4379 / A / SJ and No. In line with the Decree of the Minister of Interior No. 132 of 2003 on the General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Regional Development and Regulation Home Minister No. 67/2011 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of gender mainstreaming in the area, where in the Regulation instructed all units of Local Government under the coordination of the Agency Regional Development planning or the Agency for Gender Mainstreaming can integrate into the planning and budgeting. With the regulation is that

each region in each line both at the provincial and district / municipal needs and are required to have a Local regulations or Programs on Gender Responsive area.

One success indicator of the quality of life there is the concept of the Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment measurement (GEM) are both quality of life based on gender equality. The phenomenon of persistence of the practice of gender injustice be obstacles to achieve equitable development and gender equality, which should both women and men have the same access to and participation in various areas of development

In Banten, inequality itself is visible through Average School graduating. male students - older men (8.90 years) when compared with women (7.82 years) Education attained the majority of women are also just the average only up to junior high school (66.6%), while men finish up high school (91.4%). Wages in the field of employment for men are also more than women by a ratio of 0.83%. in political affirmative policy of 30% quota for women are not able to be met because in the DPRD, female members only reached 18.8%. It is certainly a challenge for the members of these few women in parliament should be able to represent the interests of women in the legislative process. It is important to look at gender mainstreaming in accordance presidential instruction No. 9 of 2000 through portraits of women's participation in parliament.

This research is important to do because it is gender inequality still be found clearly. Strong patriarchy culture and religious values makes no other woman only has a function as a companion men without ever be seen as independent subjects who have authority over her body. In the political view, for example, the representation of women in the DPRD only 17 of the total 85 members, or only 10.8%. 17 represent the number of females in Banten province, which reached 5,981,508 inhabitants. Representative challenges brought these women are how to bring the interests of women in parliament to struggling their agenda.

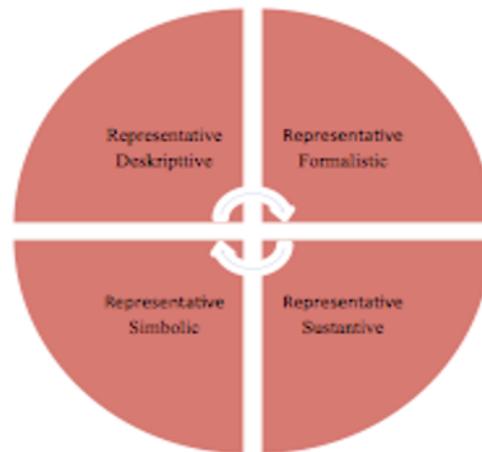
The mainstreaming gender into the idea that no longer simply stop at the national policy level, but scaled back into policy development in the area. However, it is constrained by the level of political participation is still low for women in Banten. In Banten gubernatorial election in 2017, for example, from 3,767,852 female voters list, only 2.50963 million inhabitants are voting or about 66.6%. Challenges of women in Banten even greater because in addition to a patriarchy culture that must be dismantled its construction; the strong religious values also narrow the participation of women in the political sphere. Kiai and the winner have a very important position in the political agenda in Banten {3}. This research is interesting to study because the researchers attempting to capture gender mainstreaming conducted by a representative number of very little amid siege partiarki cultural and religious values were very strong.

Specifically, the study aims to look at some things start to explain the gender disparity in Banten. The initial data is then used to describe the political participation that are run by women legislators in the DPRD. Political participation data is used to elaborate further the political participation of women in implementing gender mainstreaming in the DPRD

2. Materials and Methods

Representation is making the voice, opinions and perspective present in the public policy process. As a modern form of democracy, representation is important to do to realize democracy Schumpeter's minimalist style. Western-style democracy is interpreted as a competitive mechanism for selecting leaders through institutional procedures in reaching a political decision by giving power to the individual to make decisions in order to gain the popular vote. Representative democracy is considered as the main starting point for democracy deemed not to be able to walk even when all the people govern, because according to Schumpeter will of the people is something that is very ambiguous. Therefore, the representation becomes important.

The representation is related with the guarantee of the ownership rights of every citizen as a representative has an obligation to bring the interests of the citizens they represent. The main element that must be present in the representation is a representative (who represent), *the represented (represented)*, interests are represented and socio-political context or setting. This element is the main element that no one of them then the representation will not be able to run well. Representation is divided into four forms.



First, formalistic representation, understood in two dimensions, authority and accountability. Authority relating to any authorization granted by the constituents on the deputy, so that when a deputy to do something beyond his authority then they are deemed to no longer being run representation function. The second dimension is accountability describes the obligation of accountability of representatives to the constituency on the authority that has been given. This accountability involved by representatives does.

Second, descriptive representation, this representation requires representatives from the groups represented by (*standing for representative*). So it is regarded as the ideal representative is a representative that reflects the groups of people according to which it represents. Although it is sometimes representatives are not inherently do something for the benefit of the group they represent because they did not intend to act on behalf of the group. Third symbolic representation where the representative of a symbolic representing the group represented.

Fourthly, substantive representation. This form of representation is currently acting representative for (*act for*) in order to bring the interests of the represented to the realm of public policy. This representation refers to the quality of representation in which people are given the authority to represent the act in the person who is represented with full responsibility. This pattern moves parties represented, not just resemble or identified as in descriptive and symbolic representations.

This representation in the study is used to capture the gender mainstreaming in the policy making process in the legislative sphere. Gender mainstreaming appears because there is gender inequity. Injustice to women is reflected through the act of nominating women only because of their gender, such as marginalization, sub-coordination, stereotyping, violence and exploitation. Marginalization is a process of marginalization carried out by the community in order to hamper access to life. One form of marginalization is the closure of access to information and knowledge and limited space for democracy for women.

Stereotype is a labeling process in certain groups based on construction thinking based on life experience institutionalized for years. The effects of the labeling process are acts of subordination and discrimination. Labeling and stereotyping are the oppressive model in discrimination {4}. Subordination is the nomination of women only because of their gender who are considered not able to do certain jobs. This subordination will lead to discrimination, namely the limitation of opportunities and opportunities for women. Meanwhile women are also vulnerable to violence. Violence in women is perpetuated through cultural and structural factors. The cultural factor sees that the violence that befell women is due to the existence of values and norms that place men as parties who have full power over women so that legitimate men to act as arbitrarily as women. While structurally,

Violence is lasting because there are both formal and informal structures that perpetuate it. Gender mainstreaming is here to eliminate this imbalance. Because as a strategy to ensure gender equality, this principle offers a framework for understanding gender, namely a gender analysis framework in which the framework is based on awareness of possible differences in capacity, potential, aspirations, interests

and needs of men and women at each stage of the development process.

Political Participation

Political scientists, formulating concepts and theories of political participation are behind the conditions of political culture that develop in society. Political culture as a pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics in an internalized political system. Political culture provides regular subjective boundaries that underlie and give meaning to political actions.

Political culture in society consists of parochial culture, namely apathy towards government and feeling uninvolved, subject culture is the concern for politics but not balanced by participation in political processes, and participant culture in the form of individual active behavior and directly involved in the policy making process. Political culture as providing guidelines for effective political behavior control for individuals, as well as providing a systematic structure above. values and rational considerations that ensure the coherence of the performance of institutions and organizations. Basically political participation itself has the meaning as an activity of a person or group of people to participate actively in political life including choosing the leader of the country, and directly or indirectly influencing government policy, voting in elections, and others {2} .

Political participation activities can be explored from the following indicators:

1. Activities that can be observed, not just attitudes
2. It is the activity of individuals in the role of citizens, not a professional activity in the political field
3. Directed to influence government decision making both legal and illegal activities
4. Effective and failed activities categorized as political participation {3}

Initially political participation was limited to activities such as voting, political discussion, campaigns, forming and joining interest groups, and communicating with political officials. This is commonly referred to as conventional participation. In the late 20th century, the definition of political participation was expanded to include non-conventional participation activities including the submission of petitions, demonstrations, confrontations, mass protest movements, political violence on property, political violence in humans, guerrilla warfare, and revolution. Political participation is carried out as a symbolic reflection on the existence of the political system and on political events that have and will occur. Political participation provides an overview of the level of awareness of individual behavior in response to good socio-political symptoms caused by the application of government policies and consequences of the global situation.

The research method used in this research is descriptive qualitative method. This type of research will produce descriptive data about oral and written words and behaviors of the people in question. While the results of his research are descriptions of an internal phenomenon the context is different so the conclusions of each individual will differ depending on the point of view used. While the approach used is the phenomenology approach.

Especially hermeneutic phenomenology is the choice of methods that researchers use, because hermenutic phenomenology opens up space for writers to carry out interpretation research the problems studied. Hermeneutic phenomenology is used as a critical-reflective and interpretative analysis of the text.

Women in this study as a manifestation of political relations as a text to be interpreted, are not only interpreted as numbers, but further research is expected to reveal how women transcend power structure activities in the political reality of society so that they get equal opportunities in government politics.

The data collection technique used was in-depth interviews with key informants, namely members of the Banten Provincial DPRD, observations related to the representative ways women brought women's interests during the legislative process and recess period, and literature studies related to documents that were related to gender equality in Banten Province. Starting from policy documents that have been, are being or

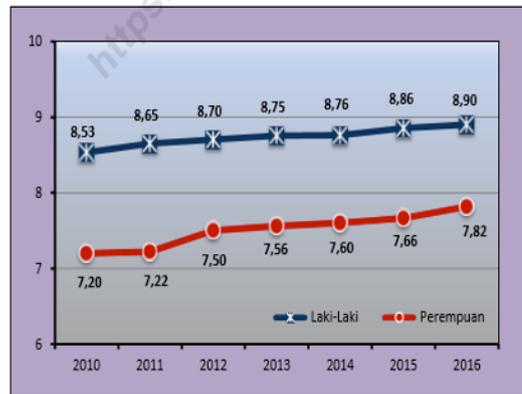
will be formulated and also libraries related to the concepts used.

3. Results and Discussions

The issues of Gender Inequality in Banten are still a problem in socio-political discourse in Indonesia. The discrimination and marginalization of women still often occurs in various fields: economic, social, cultural and political. Whereas when talking about gender equality, what should appear is a situation where men and women are in an equal position and have equal access in both the public and private spheres. Gender is not interpreted as a difference in terms of gender biologically, but is a difference in roles, functions, status and responsibilities in society.

Gender discrimination is a phenomenon, which is generally spread across the region, is no exception in Banten. Provincial formed since 2000, it still leaves the issue of gender inequality and marginalization of women. It can be seen from the Gender Development Index (GDI) in Banten Province. Based on data obtained from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) Banten Province in 2016, figures Average Length of School (RLS) between men and women still show the gender inequality. As can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 4.1 On average Old School (RLS) Source: BPS Bantam, 2016



Based on the above data indicate that the Banten province still has serious problems regarding gender equality. In the field of education these data confirm that the gender gap to occur within a relatively long time without any significant change. Although these data describe the increasing number Average Length of School (RLS), among both men and perempuan every year, but if we look in the eyes of gender equality, the data actually showed a gender imbalance, even this happens continuously every year. In 2016 showed the male RLS amounted to 8.90 while the female RLS by 7.82. That is, the gender inequality index in Banten in the field of education reached 1.08.

That is the state in this case the government is obliged to bring access to education for the widest possible with due regard to the principle of gender equality. Images in Banten gender equality in education confirm that the educational rights of citizens in Banten have not been fully met.

Gender disparity in education fields back emphasize that the existence of patrilineal culture work in the structure of society. Not only in the aspect of education, gender inequality in employment occurred in Banten. Gender equality requires the equal position and equal access of men and women in various fields, but in the field of employment, women are often discriminated against and positioned as subordinate to men. Companies often use the consideration of gender bias in recruiting workers. Gender stereotypes are constructed eg women workers should be attractive, willing to marry and give birth during the period of work.

In addition to these actions not only harm the spirit gender equality, but also human values (human rights) woman. Despite a ban on all forms of discrimination in employment, including gender discrimination is already contained in Law No. 13 of 2003 on Labor, but in practice it shows the

opposite.

Gender-based discrimination in employment that occurred in Banten can be seen from the system of wages (salaries) are not equal between men and women. In many perusahaan in Banten, the wages earned by women was lower than men without constituted by the reasons and considerations are obvious. Consider the following picture:

Figure 4.2 Average wages / salaries Net per month Full Banten, August 2010-2016

Source : BPS Banten, 2016

Periode	Upah (Rupiah)		Rasio Upah Perempuan Terhadap Laki-laki
	Laki-Laki	Perempuan	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Agustus 2010	1 789 034	1 370 610	0,77
Agustus 2011	1 922 067	1 465 094	0,76
Agustus 2012	2 068 546	1 631 239	0,79
Agustus 2013	2 537 784	2 060 932	0,81
Agustus 2014	2 533 041	2 104 649	0,83
Agustus 2015	2 675 104	2 264 734	0,85
Agustus 2016	3 755 778	3 111 622	0,83

In the picture above table shows a payroll system anantara unequal male and female. Unequal payroll system confirms that there is still a gender gap in the realm of employment, even this condition continues to occur each year as evidenced by the data in 2010 to 2016 women's wages are always in the second position under the male. Wage ratio of females to males increased every year.

This means that there is no significant change in the wage system, where women have always been a subject who experienced discrimination in the workplace. a married woman worker requires special treatment because they have to pass through pregnancy and childbirth as a natural natural (biological) that women can not be avoided. This erroneous stereotypes in the end while keeping the values of patriarchy. Unfortunately this patriarchy culture continues to be maintained because it can Discrimination was also evident when working women who are married and still lajing treated equally in terms of wages, while the male worker who is married and single reactors are treated differently.

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Turning to another issue, the gender disparity in Banten also extends to politics. Most of the public views politics is the domain of men that women are considered inappropriate for practical politics. As a result, women's representation has not been able to work optimally. In the realm of parliament (DPRD Banten), for example, although it has been applied *affirmative policy* for women through the quota policy of 30% representation of women in parliament, but this policy has not been fulfilled. Of the 85 seats in DPRD Banten, only 18 women MPs (supposed to be 21, the minimum standard of 30%). Of course this has implications for the lack of pro-gender policies products produced DPRD Banten. Yet mainstreaming gender is important as a precondition for non-attendance equality of rights of women and men. In the

realm of executive showed a slightly different pattern. The political leadership of women who served as head of the region in Banten province is quite a lot. From 8 districts / cities in the province of Banten, 4 (four regions) were led by a regent / mayor women. Consider the following table:

Table'4: Women Political Leaders in District /City in Banten Province

No	Kabupaten/Kota	Pemimpin Perempuan	Jabatan
1	Kabupaten Pandeglang	Irna Narulita	Bupati
2	Kabupaten Lebak	Iti Oktavia Jaya Baya	Bupati
3	Kabupaten Serang	Ratu Tatu Chasanah	Bupati
4	Kota Tangerang Selatan	Airin Rachmi Diany	Walikota

Source: Researcher, 2018

Based on the data presented in the table above explains that 50% of the number of districts / cities in Banten province is headed by a regent / mayor women. This means that the representation of women in political office in Banten is adequate. Nevertheless, the issue of gender inequality has not been a central issue in the regions they govern. This is because they do not focus fight for gender equality to then bring in a product that puts the political policy of gender mainstreaming. Four female political leaders in Banten not born crackled movement or ketertarikan on women's issues. In the election dispute, they do not depart from the populist leadership from the grassroots level.

Four political leader who served as regent / mayor in the province of Banten in following successful contestation of the election to finally become a political official women can not be separated from the power source (*resources*) owned by the family. Political office achieved a leadership relay or inherited from family. Irna Nurilita a bupati Pandeglang is the wife of Dimiyati is a former regent of Pandeglang two periods. Iti Ocativia Regent of Lebak Jaya Baya is the biological child of Jaya Baya who also served as a former regent of Lebak two periods. Similarly, Tatu Chasanah who served as regent Serang district is the younger brother of Atut Chosiyah, former governor of Banten, as well as Airin, a mayor of South Tangerang, still has a kinship with Atut Chosiyah. The linkage of women's political leadership,. That is the agenda of the struggle for gender equality is still far away.

Images gender gap in Banten as mentioned above cannot be separated from the social setting of Banten, which in turn restrict the movement of women to appear in public. Banten social settings are very close to the values of Islam. This is not only because the majority of the population Banten Islamic religion, but historically, Banten sultanate had experienced during the reign of the character of the religion (Islam).

Similarly, the government of Banten use Islamic slogans as regional identity, such as the Serang city Devoted, Tangerang City, "*berakhlakul Karimah*" (good personality) in Pandeglang, social setting Banten known have narrowed this Islamic movement of women. Islamic teachings that tend to promote the role and position of men in both the private and public sectors.

Consequently, women are increasingly marginalized. Condition this is often used by men to maintain their existence without the threat of domination of women. It can be seen from the exploitation of religion for political purposes. For example, create a social construction that women are prohibited from being a leader because it contradicts the teachings of Islam.

Women's Political Participation in the DPRD

Gender disparity in Banten requires policies that promote gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming policy will be successful with the support of the local executive and legislative authorities as an institution that makes and passed legislation in the form of regulations. Local legislative role is very strategic because this representative body has the principal function of the legislation. Therefore, the initiative of the DPRD Banten in presenting gender-based policy is needed. Moreover, the involvement and political participation of women in the realm of parliament is expected to encourage the creation of a gender mainstreaming policy from various aspects.

Barriers to women's political participation in the realm of parliament can be seen from the very beginning the unfulfilled quota of 30% female representation. Of the 85 legislators Banten, which became the only female board members amounted to 18 people, if presented only some 21%. This would prevent women in Parliament impediment in promoting women's issues. The number of women MPs were 18 people in Banten DPRD if look at the distribution of each district / town area of their election the pleasure and adventure gender gap will be felt. Consider the following table:

Table'5<Number legislators regency / city in Banten

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/City	Jenis Kelamin/Sex		
	Laki-Laki Male	Perempuan Female	Jumlah Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kabupaten/Regency			
1. Pandeglang	9	1	10
2. Lebak	8	1	9
3. Tangerang	20	1	21
4. Serang	6	5	11
Kota/City			
1. Tangerang	10	3	13
2. Cilegon	2	1	3
3. Serang	2	4	6
4. Tangerang Selatan	10	2	12
Banten	67	18	85

Source: <http://banten.bps.go.id> (Accessed on 01.01.2018)

The portrait of how hard the women in the realm of parliament Banten. Based on the distribution of districts / cities, women who managed to occupy seats in parliament Banten no more than 5 people in fact most of the area only has one female board members (Pandeglang, Lebak regency, Tangerang, and Cilegon).

This reality reinforces the lack of participation of women in the political sphere. Number of board members of this minority will certainly hamper the struggle for gender equality agenda in the area of the constituency concerned. The number of board members to 18 people in Banten DPRD have implications for the unequal ratio between men and women in terms of charging pospos council leaders and fittings in Banten DPRD.

For example, part of the board fittings Budget Agency (Banggar) from 30 the number of members Banggar, only 5 women MPs (17%). This condition will impede the political policy of product produced. Politics budget emphasis on gender mainstreaming should be hampered because of the lack of voices bringing his colleagues fighting council on women's issues. During this time of political budget designed by the DPRD Banten they generally have not touched the specifics concerning women problems. Political policy anggaran built are still general. This was disclosed by Nuraeni, Deputy Chairman of Parliament Banten:

"Politics budget does not dissect each one specifically. Supposedly in the budget policy should lead to the problem of women's data. Program for the development of women, poverty alleviation programs and other women, it did not happen. So the policy of our budget is still general. Not to discuss specific women. (Nuraeni, Deputy Chairman of Parliament Banten)".

From 21 the number of members Baperda, only 5 women MPs. The sum of this minority will certainly provide barriers that mean for women MPs to prepare plans for gender-based local regulations. In arranging the program of local legislation, for example, they are difficult to insert gender equality issues in the meeting Baperda because so dominant male board members, while not all male board members have an interest in women's issues. The important is the turn out of 18 women legislators Banten, not all have a sensitivity to gender equality issues. Most of them departs from the general issues that are not specific to touch on women's issues are more substantive.

First, the political process in the realm of the Party. Before the female board members occupy seats in parliament Banten, they need to be involved in the organization of the party, or at least sign up for one of the parties. It is as set out in the regulations on the election that candidate board members must belong to political party recommendations. The party leaders must have an understanding that legislative candidates who would they recommend to follow the electoral contestation in the legislative election was a cadre or prospective qualified and if the leadership of the powerful. This is important because one day when the cadre or there recommended candidate by the party won seats in parliament Banten,

In addition, the patriarchy culture can actually be found in the body of the party, where the cadres or female politicians are often not given the opportunity equally with men in following electoral contestation. This can be seen from the predominance of the management structure in males than in females. Female politicians are not placed in strategic structure. The party leaders do not prioritize how to empower women cadres. The orientation of the party is still stuck at winning electoral strategy. This is as revealed by Encop Sofia (Member of Parliament Banten faction Gerindra) as follows:

"I think this is not only happening in Gerindra not only, in general all of the parties did not think how to empower women. They (party leaders) only think how to win, and they are also not too think how to optimize the regeneration of an internal party. If the women of the early educated at the party certainly result will be good, but it is not. There are still a lot of homework (homework) does. So I think that gender equality propaganda must often be fought not over yet".

When a political party is not doing serious cadre against internal frightened female or female candidates on issues of gender equality, it becomes mustahail when female candidates managed to occupy DPRD Banten, they will have social sensitivity towards gender issues.

Second, the process of registration of candidates for the legislature. Problems and obstacles women legislators in memperjuangkan gender mainstreaming policies can be tracked from the process of registration of candidates for the legislature. From the observation of researchers and description of women MPs, in the process of registration of candidates the most obvious obstacle is at the stage of the struggle for the serial number of candidates through party approval. The sequence number of candidates has not only limited numbers and columns deratan names of candidates for the legislature. This sequence number has a political meaning that has a correlation to the political rights of women, especially women's political participation. The party leaders have enormous power in determining who the candidates are entitled to a number of first, second, third, and so on.

Defeating a potential cadres (chiefly women) in the internal party Such considerations confirms that there has been no commitment from the parties to seek qualified women candidates are considered to have strong leadership and has a specific issue to the struggle for gender pengarusutamaan. Female candidates often simply placed in the bottom of the sequence number so impressed not only act as a complement. For if the party did not put forward women candidates in numerical order, the party threatened Banten disqualified by the Election Commission. This is as expressed by Ade Yuliasih:

"The role of political parties in determining the qualified female candidates is very important. But the very fact that the role of political parties is lost in doing against women politicians. female politicians nominated as candidates cannot be separated from the party's concern that the electoral district will be crossed by the KPU. So actually just aborting the obligation, what is important is the name of the female candidates but not considering the quality of the female candidates themselves".

The third, The party of the political process at the stage of registration of candidates who do not consider the quality of female candidates first consideration of whether they have an interest in women's issues

and gender equality, then the resulting candidates-candidates are women who act as a general in their political participation. This can be tracked in the campaign process, in which the voter segmentation targeting women candidates in general without touching specifically to the realm of gender issues and women's empowerment. This is due to the existence of the necessity to claim the candidates to mobilize as much as possible and therefore contributes to the achievement of the vote in the hope that voters can deliver them to DPRD Banten. Whereas when women candidates only focus on the empowerment of women with female-specific segmentation, it is considered will not be maximized in mobilizing voters. Yet this is a misperception, women candidates with a focus on women's empowerment issues there is no guarantee that the relevant candidates decreased voter. Comparison of the number of voters between men and women can be said to balance. In the 2014 elections and then for example the ratio of the number of male voters and women was 50.80% versus 49.20%. This means that women's voices can be said of potential voters to mobilize women voters so that it can deliver the gain seats in parliament. This mistaken perception in the end make no female candidates are focus on women's issues in the campaign.

Fourth, the political process in the realm of parliament. Explanation has previously been disclosed that the majority of Banten Parliament has no role or being involved in gender equality issues through tracking of the political process in the party, the nomination, until the campaign period, with all the obstacles, women candidates have not positioned themselves as fighters or activator (~~actor~~) on women's issues. The majority is still focused on general issues. Implications of late are women in parliament Banten will find barriers in realizing gender policy. This will affect the extent of political participation of women in Parliament in relation to promote gender equality. The political participation of women legislators in relation Banten realize gender mainstreaming can be tracked in two things: the political participation of women in the legislative process (policy formulation) and the participation of women in political organization for women politicians (political caucus of women).

Women's political participation in Banten Parliament in the legislative process has not fully towards gender mainstreaming. Female Assembly Members has not been able to play an active and responsive in making the discourse of gender equality as an important and strategic issues to be discussed and debated in discussion forums and meetings in parliament. It can be seen from the low initiations female legislators to encourage other board members to participate in creating a pro-gender policies (interview with Encop Sopiah, legislators Banten). as revealed by one informant as follows:

"So far I see friends who have become board in this province, I think it is not yet fully have *concern* on women's issues. Meskipun there were 18 female members of parliament, only if then everything then has lost interest to allocate time to fight for women's issues I think it still has not. Because this is related to partiality." (Interview with Encop Sopiah, legislators Banten faction Gerindra).

Lack of participation Banten female legislators in gender mainstreaming can also be seen from the budget policies designed by members of the board. Gender-responsive budget policies are essential to promote the emergence of programs and activities that will be run by the government led to the creation of gender equality. That is, the program of gender equality is not only a discourse without any program or policy of the government, while the policies and programs need to be encouraged by the presence of gender-based budget politics.

Conditions worsened by the fact that the male board members do not have the sensitivity to issues of politics permpuan even consider gender-based budget is less important. This is as expressed by one of the members of Parliament Banten:

"Political of Banten parliamentary budget for granted, because it is considered too important yet still familiar wrote. Members of Parliament are also mostly fathers instead of women. And the key of budget politics in Parliament as the legislature, the executive if it's just running. Average budget planning it we are agreed as well, yes happens difficult also because his father bapak- more dominating. Politics budget does not dissect one by one specific (gender related). Kan should for example in the budget policy should lead to the problem of women's data, programs for development of women, women's poverty alleviation program, it did not happen, so policy is still the general budget. Not to discuss specific women". (Interview with Nuraeni, Banten DPRD members of the Democratic Party).

Patriarchy Parliament culture in Banten became one of the other challenges that cannot be avoided. From

several informant stated on certain cases, the male members of Parliament do not agree with their policy of gender-based politics with reason considered not so urgent. It can be seen from the minimal (if not non-existent) initiation of male legislators to membas women's issues in forums and meetings musyawah.

Meanwhile, Political participation of women in Parliament Banten in gender mainstreaming in addition to views of the political process that occurs in internal Parliament, can also be tracked on the extent of their involvement in the political organization of women MPs (Caucus Politicians Women's) influence on the creation of gender both in Parliament and in masyarakat. In this case, the political participation of women can be seen in the organizational wing of the party, KPP (Women's Political Caucus) and KKPPI (Indonesian Women's Political Caucus).

In general, political parties have a special wing of the party as the container moves women's political organization. For example in the United Development Party (PPP) memiliki WPP (Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan), the Democratic Party has PDRI (Female Demokrat Republic of Indonesia), Gerindra has PIRA (Female Indonesia Raya). Nevertheless, the existence of this wing of the party is not optimal in scoring political leaders and empowers women to society. One informant said that the presence of women's wing of the party is not effective, the women's movement is less optimal, and its activities have not been significant to women's issues. The presence of more women's wing of the party serves as a mobilization party before the election for voters (interview with Encop Sopiah, legislators Banten).

In reality, the purpose of the establishment of this KPP roles, responsibilities and functions (TOR), it still has not run optimally. Despite all the female legislators has been included in the KPP management, In addition the number of women MPs little in quantity is not supported by *political will* the equally important issue of gender equality, where the majority of women MPs not yet have a strong sense related issues so that very few women who do advocating, being vocal and critics of the importance of gender equality. It is, as revealed by one informant as follows:

"LTO-operation in the realm of parliament. How build regulation that is friendly to women, how the budget pro oversees gender politics and soon. Again, I feel that the LTO is not optimal because the amount of her lacks much so that in the process *lobby*- is also weak. In addition, if then all women have lost interest legislators to allocate time to fight for women's issues, I think they have not, because this is related to partiality. Because not everyone considers that women's issues are important. If I was not it considers that it is important that women need the strength." (Interview with Encop Sopiah, Member of Parliament Banten faction Gerindra)".

Not much different from the LTO, the political participation of women legislators in KKPPI (Political Women's Caucus of Indonesia) is deemed not significant in presenting gender mainstreaming agenda. If KPP a special container political participation work in parliament shutter, then KKPPI work in the realm of extra-parliamentary.

Political representation: Act for or Stand for?

Gender mainstreaming policies need to get a strong boost by the DPRD Banten as a representative body, which represents the interests of society in general. Engendering to elevate the position of women in marginalized men, but strive to create equal rights and access in various aspects (politics, economics, social, cultural) between men and women. This is important because democracy without gender equality becomes meaningless.

But the political reality that happened just showed anomalies. There is no guarantee that legislators do function representations of women in parliament stands above politics in the interests of women. This is as disclosed in the foregoing discussion that not all women legislators have *concern* and interest in women's issues. In most regards the issue of gender equality is not too important. And if you observe in real *sungguhnya* reality happens in society, the problem of the gender gap is still found in Banten.

The lack of sensitivity to gender issues have implications to political participation Banten run by local legislators to exercise their functions of representation. Where issues regarding gender equality are not significant to be discussed in the legislative process in Parliament. It cause low motivation Banten DPRD members to conduct advocacy and criticism of pro-gender policies and the weakness of the process

bargaining politics to legislators to persuade others (including the male board members) will bring the importance of gender mainstreaming. Not only in the realm of parliament, in organisasi political women ranging from women's wing of the party, KPP and KKPPI, political representation functions run by legislators Banten less a real contribution to the issue of women's empowerment.

Exposure explains that political Banten Parliament runs representation has just reached the level of symbolic representation. Symbolic representation as proposed by Pitkin (1967) is where the representative or representatives of a symbol or a symbol representing the group represented. In this case, members of Parliament Women acts as a representative of the people, especially women as equally as a woman., ie women legislators are supposed to represent women. Yet in reality, they do not perform the function of the representative in parliament to fight for the issues of women's empowerment. It can be seen from the lack of initiations of women legislators to control the budgets based on gender politics, weak lobbying to bring the agenda of policy formulation more pro gender in Banten. This confirms that the particulars representative function which is run by the local legislatures still bersfat deskripsif Banten (*Stand for*).

In fact, when referring to the theory Pitkin (1967), form the most ideal political representation no substantive representation representative. Where members of parliament representing women as bringing the public interest in this case women into the realm of public policy through the functions carried out by the legislature (*regulating, budgeting, controlling*) so it is not just based on the reason for the similarity between the represented and equally represented, namely women. That is, members of parliament are women Banten not *act for* based on the fight for gender equality issues are not reflected because the presence of gender pengarusutamaan policy. Despite existing ones that are considered pro-gender (Regulation keluaraga and Local Resilience Protection of Children and Women), but actually the regulations are not born of the initiation of the overall female legislators.

4. Conclusion

From all the view in this article, Gender mainstreaming in representative council in Banten Province show us that women still use to be the object of power. The formation of political agenda neither in the institution such as political party or the cultural institution stuck on the women as a central to gain the power, from the local election in Banten till the representative.

Our reflection was how to built the political agenda in Banten for gender mainstreaming. If we look backward, we must realize on differentiated policy as affirmative action (5). This means re-articulate of the gender agenda to bring equity and expanding public discourse for women agenda not only for the women in representative council but also for women in the whole context for inclusive movement (Young, 2000).

So in political agenda, gender mainstreaming must constructed in two stages. Substantive agenda where's inclusion for women on political party become substantive agenda and the second, cultural recognition for women become independent to decided and represent their selves to be a part of active citizen.

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