New Paradigm in Strengthening Women’s Political Capacity in Public Policy Processing

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Abstract: The low role of women politicians in the making process of a public policy is one of the major themes that always appears in the discourse regarding repositioning the role of women in political development. This problem arises especially when comparing it dichotomically with the existence of women in a quantitative context that is on average proportional to half the national and regional population. This research is a qualitative research, using a case study that is intended to explore in-depth explanations and conduct an analysis about the role of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament in the 2014-2019 period in formulating public policy. The data needed in this study are of two types, namely primary data and secondary data. To obtain both types of data, this study uses three techniques, namely interviews, observation and documentaries. The unit of analysis of this study is the individual. From the results of the study, researchers found that the role of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament were not maximal in formulating public policies. Then through the Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Gorontalo women leaders consisting of academics, politicians, women activists, youth organizations and student organizations formulate a paradigm or model that is considered to be able to maximize the role of women in parliament. The paradigm or model or concept referred to is compiled in the form of recommendations that will be given to each political party and Regency/City DPRD and Provincial DPRD in Gorontalo Province and may be used as a reference in strengthening the capacity of women politicians in Gorontalo in particular and Indonesia in general. The recommendation is the provision of political education, the need for a Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and Gender Budget Statement (GBS), there must be regulation and characterization.

Keywords: new paradigm, strengthening capacity, women politicians, public policy

Introduction
Throughout 2001, debates on the role of women’s politics and representation have increased and dominated the political agenda, in part due to the high spirit of civil society activist organizations who have been vocal in raising this issue. One of the most important issues they called for was the application of a 30% quota for women in the electoral process and the political role of women in parliament (Bylesjo in Conference, 2002, P. 3). This era of political reform since 1999 has been marked by one of the more persistent
political-conscious women to increase women’s representation in the people’s representative institutions, both the DPR and DPRD, and other institutions that reflect women’s representation in politics (KPP RI, 2003, P. 8).

The efforts to institutionalize politics through empowering and giving space to women’s roles in politics show the government’s political will that is appreciative of the development of gender mainstreaming in the vortex of national politics (Utami, 2001, P. 7). By providing guarantees for women’s involvement in the legislative body, women can play a role and influence decision making that will specifically be able to increase the dignity of women themselves, both in the social, cultural, economic, political and legal fields. By becoming part of the main determinants of public policy, both at the national and local levels, women who play a role in legislative politics are expected to be more optimally able to produce policies that are pro-women. Because of the importance of the strategic position of the role of women in legislative political activities, the government's response which ultimately set a 30% quota for women in the legislative body can be considered a meaningful public policy measure.

Through this political decision all life activities can be determined, this makes political policy very meaningful for women’s empowerment. However, it turns out that the granting of women’s legal rights to be involved in politics and the process of formulating such public policies will not necessarily encourage the development of many women’s roles in them. It cannot be separated from the tradition of political politics in the New Order era, where women’s empowerment programs were marked by silence and co-optation by dominant organizations such as the Dharma Wanita and PKK, not a few women who preferred to be influenced by policies that perpetuate the domestication of women. As a result, when political taps are opened for women, through a 30% quota in the legislative body, there is a slow increase in the role of women in decision making. In the current context, the lack of political education for women makes women politicians in parliament are more passive. Machya explained (2009, P. 196) the passivity of women legislative members due to their lack of understanding of what agenda should be the priority scale that must be fought for in the Council.

Women politicians have not been very much involved in the formulation of policies in the parliament, women politicians only become participants when the formulation of policies regarding women is reached and they become connoisseurs when the policies are passed. One of the big themes that always appears in the discourse about repositioning the role of women in nation-building and politics is the low role of women politicians in the making process of a policy. This problem arises if we try to compare it dichotomically with the existence of women in a quantitative context that is on average proportional to almost half the regional and national population.

This makes this research important to do, considering that most people think that women politicians generally sit in parliament as ornaments or complement
to the 30% quota. Whereas women representatives who sit in legislative institutions carry important missions to fight for the interests of women.

Rosawati (2014) for example in her writing, the performance of women legislative members in the Banyumas DPRD in the 2009-2014 period wrote that the role of women in making and decision-making in the DPRD was still relatively limited in utilizing the right of their initiative to formulate a draft local regulation, so the lack of response by women DPRD members made the problem of women in Banyumas Regency is still not resolved.

Similar to the results of the study of Sarah Nuraini Siregar (2012, P. 68) who examined Aceh’s women’s uprising in politics: The study of women’s representation in local parliaments revealed that female DPRD members were considered to be less accommodating to the aspirations and interests of Acehnese women. In terms of quality, the performance of these women DPRD members has not yet played a role when overseeing women’s issues in every policy formulation on the council.

While Tahir (2019) in his research on women’s political participation, wrote that there are obstacles that make women politicians in parliament less involved. These obstacles are caused by patriarchal culture, nepotism and Islamic religious issues. Sundari (2016) in her writings women in parliament struggle amid doubts, explaining that One of the core cause of the ineffectiveness is the domination of patriarchal value and norms over women in which stands that men are better handling political issues rather than women. This domination of patriarchal values can be traced back to political parties through their commitment in giving or not giving proper and right political education and equal opportunity to both men and women to fill in the seat of political arena which is still disadvantage to women.

Similarly, Tahir and Sundari, Spark, C., Cox, J., & Corbett, J. (2019), also revealed that structural barriers, whether economic, cultural or religious, that inhibit women’s participation in the public sphere. Little attention is paid to women who defy these barriers to win election in contexts that are hostile to their presence.

The problem of the low role of women politicians in voicing and fighting for women’s interests was also written by Machya Astuti Dewi (2009) in her writings on portraits of women legislative members in DIY: between mission and personal capacity in gender and politics.

The form of the political role of women in parliament in a process of public policy formulation is in a series of interdependent stages. The series of decisions and actions according to Dunn (In Winarno, 2014, P. 35), are the stages of the process of formulating public policies consisting of problem formulation, agenda formulation, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation and policy assessment.

There are four stages that will be used as indicators in this study to see the role of women politicians in parliament, in formulating public policies. First, the formulation of the problem. At this stage women politicians must be able to recognize and define public problems
well because public policies are basically made to solve existing problems in society. Second, the agenda setting, in which women politicians at this stage choose the issues that will be included in the policy agenda by taking into account certain conditions, such as whether the problem has a major impact on society and requires immediate treatment. Third is the formulation of policies. At this stage after women politicians and other policy makers agree to put the issue on the policy agenda, the next step is to make a solution to the problem. Here the policy makers including women politicians will be faced with various alternative policy choices taken to solve the problem. Fourth endorsement or adoption of policies. After one of the many alternative policies has been decided to be taken as a way to solve the policy problem, the last step taken by women politicians and policy makers in forming the policy is to legalize the chosen policy so that it has binding legal force.

In addition to seeing the role of women politicians in formulating public policy, this research also seeks to provide a new paradigm for strengthening the capacity of women politicians in the process of formulating public policy as a solution to problems in intent.

**Method**

This research is a qualitative research, using a case study that is intended to explore in-depth explanations and conduct an analysis of the role of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament in the 2014-2019 period, in formulating public policy.

This type of research is used because descriptive analysis is a study to find facts with the right interpretation, accurately describe the properties of several phenomena, groups or individuals, determine the frequency of occurrence of a situation. The analysis is done based on data collected after the research takes place.

While the case study is used because it has advantages for the conditions, if the substance of the research question is what, how or why and is directed at a series of roles of women politicians in the policy formulation process in the Gorontalo District Parliament. The research method of this type of case study was chosen by researchers because the problem of the role of women politicians in the process of policy formulation is also a problem which until now still has an impact on Indonesian politics, especially in Gorontalo Province.

The data needed in this study are of two types, namely primary data and secondary data. To obtain both types of data, this study uses three techniques, namely interviews, observation and documentaries. The unit of analysis of this study is the individual.

**Results and Discussion**

The views of women have experienced much progress along with the development of a conducive socio-cultural climate. Today more and more women are playing a role in determining the direction and movement of national development. Either it is women who have begun to play a role in the public sector as executives or engaged in politics.

The composition of DPRD members according to sex in a region can reflect
how much the principle of democracy has been applied in that area.

Supposedly, with a composition of the population that is more female than male, the composition of female DPRD members should be balanced with male members.

However, this hope does not always come true. The number of members of the Gorontalo District DPRD is currently dominated by men, with only 6 out of 35 members in the 2009-2014 period, and in the 2014-2019 period the composition of female members has increased with the current number of 8 out of 35 DPRD members. Judging from the composition of legislative members in the DPRD, the percentage of women who are members of the legislative body is still much lower than men.

Regarding the political role of women in this research, it refers to behavior related to the activities, activities and actions of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament in formulating a public policy.

The role of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament both in the commission and in a special committee (pansus) is quite diverse. Women politicians who hold structural / strategic positions are indeed sufficient based on the qualifications / abilities that women politicians themselves already have. In the Gorontalo District Parliament in the 2014-2019 period there were 8 female politicians, 1 of whom was the chair of the faction, Mrs. Ningsih Nurkamiden. With the representation of women who are one of the leaders in the DPRD, it is hoped that pro-women policies will be born. Meier, K. J., & Funk, K. D. (2017). In Women and public administration in a comparative perspective: The case of representation in Brazilian local governments system. *Administration & Society*, say that women elected leaders increase the probability that women will be appointed to head public agencies, and through these agency heads they indirectly affect representation in other administrative positions. In addition, women elected officials and public administrators are also associated with the adoption of more women-friendly policies.

From the results of interviews with members of the Gorontalo District Parliament, Mr. Irman, Mr. Mansur Makalawo and Mr. Mohamad Lagadja it was learned that 8 female politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD were very active in voicing their aspirations in meetings, both in commission meetings and the special committee meeting. However, this statement could not be proven because when the researcher asked for the special committee meeting material or minutes of the minutes at the meeting, the part of the trial of the Gorontalo District Parliament was not able to show the event materials or minutes of records on the grounds that the minutes of the meeting did not stand by in the courtroom during the session. Even the recordings obtained by researchers from the public relations division of Gorontalo District DPRD do not prove the active involvement of women politicians.

A different matter was conveyed by the chairperson of Gorontalo District Parliament, Mr. Sahmid Hemu, explaining that women politicians still lack their role in the formulation of public policies.
There are several reasons that according to the chairman of Gorontalo District DPRD why that happened, first; women politicians lack understanding of what agenda is being discussed, second; social background and third is that most factions represent vocal and reliable DPRD members to bring the interests of the community and parties in special committee meetings, so that the participation of women politicians is less objectively valued because sometimes the party represented in the special committee is not a female politician. Nevertheless, there are 1 to 2 women politicians who can be counted as capable of carrying out their duties as representatives of the people. It is unfortunate that the description of the role of women that is sufficiently taken into account in the parliament only exists in a handful of women in the Gorontalo District Parliament.

The insensitivity of women politicians to the problems faced by the people indeed a backfire. Because understanding of this is very important, and should be the basic capital for women in strategic positions in this country. Even more it needed for women in the DPRD by making the DPRD as a place to fight for specific agendas of women in the DPRD, because no one understands women better than women themselves. Warti (2016) in her dissertation on the Performance of Women Legislative Members in Carrying Out the Legislative Process (Study in Malang City Council 2009-2014) explained that it was hoped that women’s awareness of the importance of their presence in politics and women’s willingness to plunge into politics especially as legislative members were increasingly increased because the ideas and thoughts of women as policy makers were very important. Women as an absolute potential to be included in the development process. The key words are ability, willingness, and opportunity.

Regardless of the background or motivation of DPRD members, especially women DPRD members to enter the political world, they should continue to hold on to their conscience as the holders of the people’s trust, so that the representation of the people with a negative self-image can be negated. Since the beginning of women involved in politics until now, the self-image of people’s representatives (especially female politicians) has been portrayed as someone who likes to ignore the people, do not care about poverty, the new rich. Representatives are also considered to be shameless, like corruption, like to travel abroad, make false promises and person who cannot be trusted. More than that, for women DPRD members, various kinds of literature say that DPRD members are still just ornaments and complement for the quota. This was later denied by Ms. Sefri, she felt that women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD were very active in formulating public policies, and what was included in various literature describing that women politicians only as a complement did not occur in the Gorontalo District DPRD.

Women representatives who should be in parliament are not women who are merely women. Women expected are ideologically women, namely women who have intellectual and emotional abilities and are willing and able to fight for women’s agendas. This is important so that women politicians do not accept
judges. In line with the causal role theory (Usman, 2004, P. 70), this theory assumes that people in social life always try to perform the role as desired by others.

That is, as a consequence of their status as women in the legislature, these women should play a role, which by Keesing in (Harlon, 1984) is defined as a pattern of behavior that is considered appropriate for someone in taking action in accordance with their social capacity within a certain framework. In order for women politicians in parliament not to accept negative stereotypes from the community, women should not only need to be involved in politics, they need to be seen to be doing political work. (O’Neill, D., Savigny, H., & Cann, V., 2016)

A. Women’s Politicians in the Formulation of Public Policy

In looking at the role of women politicians in the formulation of public policies, the researchers looked at 5 regional regulations (perda), namely regulations on the protection of women and children from victims of violence, regulations on industrial development plans, regulations on APBD determination, regulations on the tax applied to swallows nest business and regulations on management of regional property. This research refers to the behavior of women politicians related to women's political activities, activities and actions in the DPRD. Furthermore, the context of the role of women politicians in the DPRD who want to be seen in this study includes: first; the role of women politicians in the formulation of the problem, second; the role of women politicians in preparing the policy agenda, third; the role of women politicians in policy formulation, fourth; the role of women politicians in policy making.

1. Role of Women Politicians in Problem Formulation

Recognizing and formulating problems is the most fundamental step in policy formulation. To be able to formulate policies properly, public problems must be identified and well defined. A problem will become a public problem if there are people or groups who move towards action to overcome the problem.

There are several important characteristics that need to be considered in analyzing a policy problem, namely:

a. Potential to be serious in the sense that a problem may not have developed seriously enough at the moment, but in the long run it will become very serious.

b. Serious where a situation can be raised as a matter of policy if the situation is above the threshold of tolerance to be ignored.

c. Concerning the interests of the wider community.

d. There is an opportunity to improve.

Departing from the theory above, women politicians who have a fairly good perspective on women's issues and problems, especially those that are specific in Gorontalo District, Ms. Ningsih Nurkamiden explained about the role of women politicians in the DPRD involved in the formulation of the problem of violence against women and children in Gorontalo. He explained, that this regulation was a district regulation initiative by Gorontalo District
Parliament. This regulation was made based on the anxiety of politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD related to cases of violence against women and children. Although he could not explain how many cases of violence occurred in Gorontalo District. However, in the formulation of other regional regulations, female politicians did not participate. This was stated by the chairperson of Gorontalo District Parliament, that not all women politicians were actively involved in the stages of formulating public policies.

From the picture above it can be seen that the ability of women politicians to not convey the interests of women is not yet equal. This then needs to be considered by women politicians and supporting political parties so that in the future they can maximize their capability to go to the DPRD. Because if this continues to happen, it is very possible that the direction of development policy in Gorontalo District will not be in the perspective of women.

The results of research on the aspirations of women politicians in the DPRD on women's political empowerment conducted by Republika Research and Development in collaboration with The Asia Foundation made in 1996 revealed unsatisfactory results. This research clearly reveals how weak the perspectives of women from women parliamentarians are, and that conditions actually marginalize their interests, so this aspect needs to be emphasized (Mulia & Farida, 2005, P. 124-125). However, there was a slight increase in the politicians of the Gorontalo Regency DPRD, namely that they were silent, which did not mean they did not care, instead they were very concerned, as expressed by Ms. Olla, that the female politicians were not maximal yet in voicing proposals at each meeting not because they did not care, even politicians women are very concerned about public policy-making. For example, by giving a suggestion outside the meeting forum to colleagues.

2. The Role of Women Politicians in the Policy Agenda

Not all public issues will be included in the policy agenda. The problems that go to the DPRD are then studied by each of the relevant commissions and then discussed in the prolegenda meeting (the regional legislative program) in the DPRD's annual agenda. Issues that are deemed appropriate to proceed will be further studied and included in the policy agenda, and those deemed inappropriate will not be followed up on. The Regional Government Regulation initiative is no exception. Both the draft local government initiative and the DPRD initiative are treated equally. Feasible as an issue included in the policy agenda seen from:

a. Consideration of time, in the sense of urgency or not a problem to be included in the policy agenda.

b. The impact of the problem that is troubling all the elements, so this problem is a priority.

Public issues that have entered the policy agenda will be discussed by policy makers, in this case the legislative body of the Gorontalo District DPRD and the executive of the Gorontalo District Government.

Agenda that is feasible and contains a variety of things that are considered important, get priority from the owner of the agenda. Therefore, the policy agenda
can be said to be a process in which the agenda owner arranges various things and activities on a priority scale based on the interests of the agenda owner. The role of women politicians in the policy agenda is their role in preparing the policy agenda.

3. The role of women politicians in the formulation of policies

Basically, not all women politicians in the special committee have a role in giving suggestions or suggestions as suggested. However, with positions that are only ordinary members, some of them do have a considerable role in giving suggestions or suggestions.

As stated by women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD namely Selfi, Olla, Ningsih, Susan, and Jasmin, the women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD were active in every stage of public policy formulation.

However, this cannot be proven because there is no show material from each special committee for the formulation of regulations in the Gorontalo District Parliament, including the five regulations that are used as benchmarks. For this reason researchers also did not describe who proposed what at each stage of public policy formulation in this case the local regulation.

On the other hand, talking about the political role of women in parliament, in political sociology this is closely related to the concept of political participation. According to Michael Rush and Philip Althof (Mutia, 2014), political participation is the involvement of individuals up to various levels in the political system. The following hierarchy of forms of political participation:

a. Participation in voting
b. Participation in informal political discussions
c. Occupying political or administrative positions
d. Look for political or administrative positions
e. Become an active member in a semi-political organization
f. Become a passive member in a semi-political organization
g. Become an active member in a political organization
h. Become a passive member in a political organization
i. Participation in general meetings, demonstrations and so on

Acting as a member of parliament in the hierarchy of political participation is the highest level, namely occupying political or administrative positions. A more specific form of political participation related to the political role of women in this research is also in the form of attendance, giving suggestions and suggestions, asking questions at faction / commission / plenary meetings, holding positions / positions in parliament, lobbying and others.

4. The Role of Women Politicians in Determining Policies

After the politicians included in the special committee completed the formulation of the Perda, the final step in the formulation of the policy is to determine the completed policy so that it has binding legal force. The policy taken is basically a compromise of various interest groups involved in the special committee for the formulation of a law.

The draft regulation that was drafted by the special committee was
then finalized and perfected and later adopted as a regional regulation with the support of the legislative majority. Once approved, the perda is immediately knocked as a sign that the perda is stipulated and valid to be used as a legal protection.

At this stage women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD provided many inputs, especially in the regulation on the protection of women and children victims of violence. This Perda is a local regulation by the Gorontalo District Parliament. Ms. Susan as a woman politician in the Gorontalo District Parliament explained that women politicians were involved in the determination of local regulations.

B. New Paradigm for Strengthening the Capacity of Women Politicians

From the results of the study, researchers found that women politicians in Gorontalo District Parliament were not maximal in formulating public policies. The results of the study are related to the role or participation of women politicians in the formulation of public policies in the Gorontalo District DPRD as described above, if described in a chart it will be seen as follows:

Table 1: Percentage of Participation

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of women's political participation in public policy formulation</th>
<th>To participate</th>
<th>Do not participate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formulation of the problem</td>
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<td>Agenda Setting</td>
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<td>Policy Formulation</td>
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<td>Determination of Policy</td>
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Departing from the facts related to the role of women politicians in the formulation of public policy in Gorontalo District, the researchers through Focussed Group Discussion (FGD), Gorontalo women leaders consisting of academics, politicians, women activists, youth organizations and student organizations formulate a paradigm or a model that is considered to be able to maximize the role of women in parliament. The paradigm or model or concept referred to is compiled in the form of recommendations that will be given to each political party and Regency / City DPRD and Provincial DPRD in Gorontalo Province and may be used as a reference in strengthening the capacity of women politicians in Gorontalo in particular and Indonesia in general. The recommendations are:

1. **Political Education**

   Political education is an effort to maintain an ongoing system as well as efforts to preserve political value systems (political, cultural, ideological, belief patterns) as a process of activating dynamic elements that exist in human beings, namely attitudes, behaviors, systems of thinking, views, inductive elements and instinctive elements directed at a particular object (preservation conditions) so that certain objects can be approached (Anggara, 2013). In political education, there are 3 elements that must be carried out, namely political parties, observers of women and legislative institutions/DPRD Regency / City and Province.

   a. Political parties:

      Political parties are obliged to provide mandatory debriefing for all party cadres. The provision of political education is carried out by political parties at least 3 times in each period. Namely the initial stage of education when new party cadres join with political parties. The second stage is approaching the election of legislative members, this education is coupled with briefing to each legislative candidate. And the last stage is carried out after the election. This stage was followed specifically by party cadres who succeeded in occupying the position on the legislative institution.

      Political education so far has indeed existed in every party, but it has not run optimally yet. If this program had run optimally, there would be no politicians who did not understand their duties in the DPRD.

      In the initial and second stages, political parties provide organizational understanding, instill loyalty to the organization, strengthen dedication, open insight into thinking that is based on party ideology, foster dynamics and creativity in organizational development, improve the quality of organizational management, form organizational human resources that have conceptual abilities, educate how to think systematically and strategically, educate to have the ability to analyze political events and how to anticipate them, educate futuristic thinking and public speaking. While in the last stage further political education is strategic and conceptual.

   b. Female Observer:

      Women observers, in this case formal and informal institutions of women, work together with political parties to conduct political education for party cadres (Indriyany, Hikmawan, &
Mayrudin, 2019). Making political parties as partners in educating party cadres, especially those who have become members of parliament.

The same thing was said by Evans, E. (2016) in his writing Diversity Matters: Intersectionality and Women’s Representation in the USA and UK. Parliamentary Affairs that Women’s organisations can help address some specific challenges faced by different groups of women during the political recruitment process.

c. DPRD:

After the DPRD member is appointed, the DPRD is obliged to carry out political education in the form of:

a. Technical guidance related to the roles and functions of the DPR / DPRD
b. Training in reading and making APBD
c. Special training of women politicians

2. The need for a Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and Gender Budget Statement (GBS).

3. Regulation: There is a need for regulations governing the obligation to attend political education for all cadres. If regulations on this matter are made there will be no reason for party cadres not to follow the efforts of political education that will be carried out by political parties or legislative institution.

4. DPRD leaders and political parties must commit to escorting women politicians. In the sense that DPRD leaders and political parties are obliged to provide capacity building and provide the widest possible opportunity for women politicians to develop themselves.

5. Promulgation of figures: Political parties are entitled to accept figures who are presented by women's organizations, youth, and students as consideration for determining candidates for DPR / DPRD members from women.

Conclusion

This study intends to examine more deeply the problems of women politicians in the Gorontalo District Parliament in Gorontalo Province in the formulation of public policies and seek to provide a new paradigm for strengthening the capacity of women politicians in the process of formulating public policies as a solution to the problems in intent.

In looking at the role of women politicians in the formulation of public policies, the researchers looked at 5 regional regulations (perda), namely regulations on the protection of women and children from victims of violence, regulations on industrial development plans, regulations on APBD determination, regulations on the tax applied to swallows nest business and regulations on management of regional property. This research refers to the behavior of women politicians related to women's political activities, activities and actions in the DPRD. Furthermore, the context of the role of women politicians in the DPRD who want to be seen in this study includes: first; the role of women politicians in the formulation of the problem. From the results of the research above, it is seen that the ability of women politicians to spread the interests of women is not equal yet. This is what
needs to be considered by women politicians and supporting political parties so that in the future they can maximize their capability to go to the DPRD. Because if this continues to happen, it is very possible that the direction of development policy in Gorontalo District will not be in the perspective of women. Second; the role of women politicians in preparing the policy agenda. Public issues that have entered the policy agenda will be discussed by policy makers, in this case the legislative body of the Gorontalo District DPRD and the executive of the Gorontalo District Government. Agenda that is feasible and contains a variety of things that are considered important, get priority from the owner of the agenda. Therefore, the policy agenda can be said to be the process by which the agenda owner arranges various things and activities on a priority scale based on the interests of the agenda owner.

The role of women politicians in the policy agenda is their role in preparing the policy agenda. Third; the role of women politicians in policy formulation / formulation.

Basically, not all women politicians in the special committee have a role in giving suggestions or suggestions as suggested. However, with positions that are only members, some of them do have a considerable role in giving suggestions or suggestions. As stated by women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD namely Selfi, Olla, Ningsih, Susan, and Jasmin, the women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD were active in each stage of public policy formulation. However, this cannot be proven because there is no show material from each special committee for the formulation of regulations in the Gorontalo District DPRD, including the five regulations that were used as benchmarks. For this reason researchers also did not describe who proposed what at each stage of public policy formulation in this case the local regulation. Fourth; the role of women politicians in policy making. At this stage women politicians in the Gorontalo District DPRD provided many inputs, especially in the regulation on the protection of women and children victims of violence. This Perda is a local regulation by the Gorontalo District Parliament. Ms. Susan as a woman politician in the Gorontalo District DPRD explained that women politicians were actively involved in the determination of local regulations.

In this study, researchers do not only look at the role of women politicians in formulating public policy. More than that, researchers try to formulate a new concept in strengthening the capacity of women politicians. From the results of the study, researchers found that women politicians in Gorontalo District Parliament were not maximized in formulating public policies. Then through Focussed Group Discussion (FGD), Gorontalo women leaders consisting of academics, politicians, women activists, youth organizations and student organizations formulate a paradigm or model that is considered to be able to maximize the role of women in parliament. The paradigm or model or concept referred to is compiled in the form of recommendations that will be given to each political party and Regency.
City DPRD and Provincial DPRD in Gorontalo Province and may be used as a reference in strengthening the capacity of women politicians in Gorontalo in particular and Indonesia in general. The recommendations are:

1. Political Education: In political education there are 3 elements that must be carried out, namely political parties, observers of women and legislative institutions / DPRD Regencies / Cities and Provinces.
   a. Political Parties: Political parties are obliged to provide debriefing that is mandatory for all party cadres. The provision of political education is carried out by political parties at least 3 times in each period. Namely the initial stage of education when new party cadres join with political parties. The second stage is approaching the election of legislative members, this education is coupled with briefing to each legislative candidate. And the last stage is carried out after the election. This stage was followed specifically by party cadres who succeeded in occupying the legislative institution.
   b. Women observers: Women observers, in this case formal and informal institutions of women, work together with political parties to conduct political education for party cadres. Making political parties as partners in educating party cadres, especially those who have become members of parliament.
   c. DPRD: After DPRD members are appointed, DPRD is obliged to carry out political education in the form of:
      a) Technical guidance related to the roles and functions of the DPR / DPRD
      b) Training in reading and making APBD
      c) Special training of women politicians

2. The need for a Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) and Gender Budget Statement (GBS).

3. Regulation: There is a need for regulations governing the obligation to attend political education for all cadres.

4. DPRD leaders and political parties must commit to escorting women politicians.

5. Promulgation of figures: Political parties are entitled to accept figures who are presented by women’s organizations, youth, and students as consideration for determining candidates for DPR / DPRD members from women.

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