

Empowered women against corruption: A case study of Cadres Posyandu Rumpin Village in responding to money politic

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Abstract: As a part of vulnerable groups contributing to a greater number of voters than men, women are prone to be targeted as the objects of money politics during the 2019 General Election (Pemilu) and 2020 Regional Election (Pilkada). The degree of vulnerability adds up when the Criminal Code (KUHP) and laws on Regional Election (UU Pilkada) put punishment upon the perpetrator and recipient of money politics. This research, done on the female cadres of the Durian Integrated Health Service Post (*Posyandu*) in Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, West Java, showcases that women's empowerment in raising awareness and establishing relationships could calibrate the hegemony and the patriarchal structure in money politics. All the cadres in Durian Posyandu had experienced being the target of money politics. However, within the realization and relationship among women, money, goods, or public facilities from perpetrators of political parties or political allies could not affect women's political choices. Within the open-list proportional electoral system and extreme multiparty system which systematically promote money politics, the advancement of women's empowerment is necessary to shift money politics into ideological and visionary political transactions according to aspirations and policies to fulfill citizens' rights.

Keywords: Money Politics; Women's Empowerment; Corruption; Power; 2019 General Election; 2020 Regional Election

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Introduction

During the 2019 general election, 19-33% of the 192 million citizens on the final voter list (FVL) were exposed to money politics. This percentage is very high by international standards, and it placed Indonesia as the country with the third greatest ranking of money politics in the world (Muhtadi, 2019). An open-list proportional system with very large electoral districts produces an extreme multiparty system in parliament as one of the systemic causes of rampant money politics and corruption (Chang & Golden, 2007).

Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, is located in Bogor Regency, West Java Province and it is a region with the most population in Indonesia. Connected to Jakarta and Depok, Rumpin is a part of the electoral district of an open-list proportional electoral system that forms an extreme multiparty system (ENPP=6.7) of 55 seats in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Bogor Regency (opendata.kpu.go.id, 2022). Rumpin is one of nine sub-districts in the Electoral District 5 of the Bogor Regency DPRD. Ten seats were secured equally by nine parties. The even distribution of seats by many parties in parliament illustrated political fluidity because there was no ideological and platform distinction between one party and another. This political fluidity has made money politics a reliable way for candidates and political parties to obtain votes, especially from women voters.

Women are generally a part of society subordinated in the social structure as a second-class sex identity based on two hierarchical aspects (De Beauvoir, 1949, pp. 23-27), and the women in Rumpin are no exception. This is because women are physically subordinated to men as the superordinate gender (De Beauvoir, 1949, pp. 41-42). In addition, those who generally work as housewives are subordinated because they are not financially independent (De Beauvoir, 1949,

pp. 89–93). From the 2014's Rumpin District data, there were 3108 women out of 6681 population in Rumpin District. As many as 29% of them did not work or were housewives, while 45.8% were domestic workers.

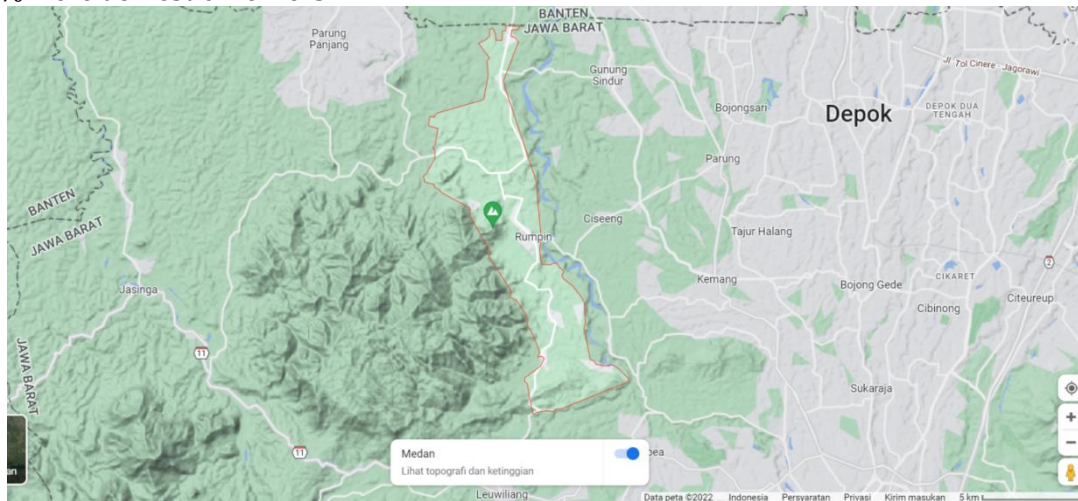


Figure 1. Topography of Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java

Women as a gender and sexual identity have been subordinately standardized as a second-class identity, thus creating injustice in the form of discrimination, marginalization, repression, and even violence (Arivia, 2006). In the context of general elections, women as a vulnerable group with a larger number of voters than men are viewed as a target of money politics (Bawaslu Sulteng, 2020). There are two forms of money politics; sometimes it is done by distributing money and sometimes by distributing necessities (Wahyu, 2012).

In the process of the transactions, women become legally vulnerable because Indonesia's general criminal rules and electoral regulations place money politics as a crime. Article 149 paragraphs (1) and (2) of the Criminal Code (KUHP) provide the same punishment against both the perpetrators and recipients of money politics. Then, specifically, Law 7/2017 concerning Elections and Law 1/2015 jo. UU 8/2015 jo. Law 10/2016 concerning regional elections, stipulates the offense of "promising or giving money or other materials to Election Campaign participants" as a crime. These three regulations absolutely place money politics as a criminal act.

When the source used to buy votes comes from the State Budget or Regional Government Budget, the transaction turns into political corruption. The relationship between the doer and target of money politics using the State and Regional Government Budget is covered in a whole new law outside the election law, one of which is Law 20/2001 concerning corruption. The position of women is vulnerable to becoming a part of political corruption if they are involved in allegations of misappropriation of the State Budget or Regional Government Budget through money politics (Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2015).

From the given background, it is important to know a more detailed phenomenon regarding women's empowerment in money politics in Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java. Feminism as a movement aims to realize women's empowerment in the form of raising awareness and building relationships between women. One form of women's empowerment is building relationships between women. Experiences of gender inequality, education, participation, and capacity building will increase women's awareness (Gutierrez & Lewis, 1994). In addition, building relationships promotes empowerment because it reduces the gap caused by patriarchal power in society (Emejulu, 2011).

To get an overview of the empowered women's groups, research was conducted on the female cadres in the Durian Integrated Health Service Post (Posyandu) in Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java. The Posyandu cadres are a form of women's activism with an influential role in society. They regularly interact with the community through family health services and outreaches/training as well as expanding the influence of mothers on their children as well as other family members. Posyandu cadres also have a historical attachment to the Family

Welfare Empowerment (PKK) structure as a part of state 'ibuisim', causing them to be seen as the perfect political tool during elections (Hyunanda et al., 2021).

Methods

This study employed a qualitative research method that focused on exploring and interpreting the behavior of individuals or groups toward social problems (Creswell, 2014). To get an overview of the empowered women's group, the research was conducted on the cadres in the Durian Integrated Health Service Post (Posyandu) in Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java.

The qualitative method itself has several characteristics suitable for this research. Among them were inductive analysis, the value of the research participants, and the team's reflectivity in conducting and writing the research. The method in this study did not deductively judge women as individual subjects in their experience of responding to and responding to money politics. An inductive analysis was done from the specific to the general discussion. Meanwhile, the valuable-ness of the research participants was indicated by the confirmation of an event through the participant's perception of the research problems.

In addition to qualitative research, this research also used the feminist legal method in analyzing laws and regulations, especially in answering questions related to the experiences and realities of women who had faced the law and examined the implications of acknowledging experiences in dealing with the law. The specificity of the feminist legal method consisted of three key methods, namely "asking the woman question", feminist practical reasoning, and consciousness-raising. With these three key methods, the feminist legal theory introduces five approaches, namely women's experience, the existence of implicit gender bias, double bind and dilemmas due to differences, reproduction of male domination models, and possible choices for women (Irianto, 2006).

The concepts, laws, and regulations regarding money politics and women's empowerment in feminism were then compared with the primary data obtained from the focus group discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews with respondents regarding their attitudes and reasons for responding to money politics. The research team explored and understood the issues that several individuals or groups of women ascribed as social or humanitarian by asking questions and conducting procedures, collecting specific data from participants, analyzing data inductively, and interpreting the data. From this primary data collection, a mapping of women's attitudes and reasons for responding to money politics was obtained. Furthermore, from this mapping, the forms of women's empowerment were analyzed.

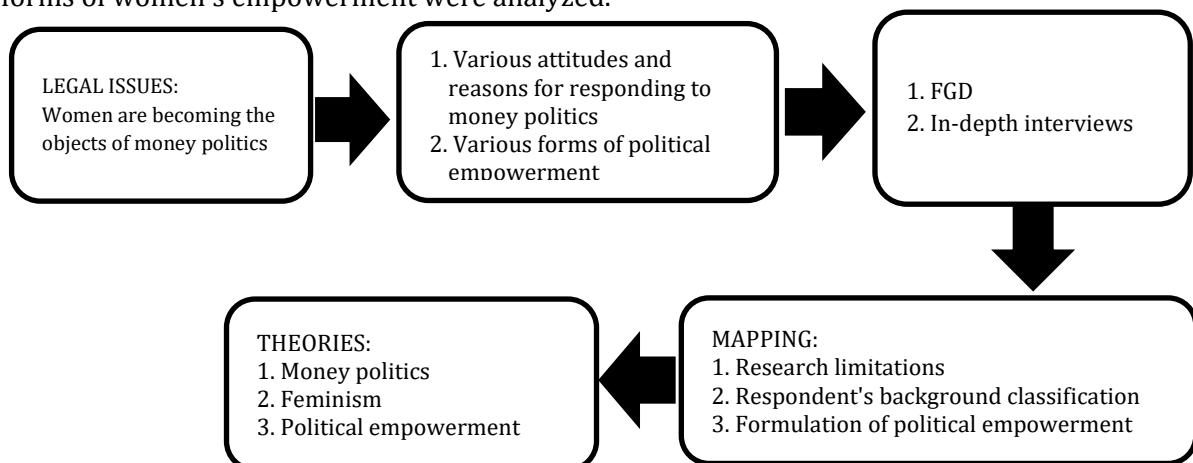


Figure 2. Thought Flow

Research Data

This research was conducted at the Durian Posyandu in Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java. The field research lasted for one day at the end of September 2022. Meanwhile, the report was written during November 2022.

The data of this research consisted of primary and secondary data. The primary data were obtained directly in the research location from a number of sources through FGDs and interviews. In addition, the secondary data were obtained from government agencies which were used to decide the research area and study the demographics and economic class of the population in the research location. Data from the Central Agency on Statistics (2020) show that West Java with 49,935,858 residents is the province with the largest population. Meanwhile, Bogor Regency with 6,088,233 residents is the district/city in West Java with the largest population. Then, spatial data in the form of a Topographical Map of Bogor Regency issued by the Geospatial Information Agency shows Rumpin District as an accessible area from either Jakarta or Depok.

The data of this research consisted of three forms of primary data. The first data were the background information of the female Posyandu cadres which contained the name, place, date of birth, education, occupation, income, husband's education, husband's occupation, husband's income, and number of children. The second data were the cadres' attitudes and reasons in responding to money politics and the third data was in the form of an in-depth explanation of the experience of one woman who rejected money politics and another who accepted money politics. The primary data of this study were obtained by the following techniques: Field observation; focus group discussion (FGD); in-depth interview; and documentation.

Theoretical Basis

Money Politics

Indonesian laws and regulations define money politics as the act of giving of money or goods by electoral candidates, campaign teams, or people with an interest in winning an election to prospective voters to influence them in how they cast their vote. This definition refers to a number of provisions in Indonesian laws.

The Indonesian Criminal Code (legalized by Law 1/1946) places money politics as a crime. This is stated in two paragraphs in Article 149 which reads:

- (1) Any person who on the occasion of an election held by virtue of a general regulation by gift or promises bribes somebody either not to exercise his franchise or to exercise it in a certain manner shall be punished by a maximum imprisonment of nine months or a maximum fine of three hundred Rupiahs.
- (2) The same punishment shall apply to the elector who by gift or promise allows himself to be bribed to exercise or not exercise his above-mentioned rights.

Then, Law 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections has many provisions on money politics as a crime which includes criminal sanctions and administrative sanctions. Some of them are as follows:

Article 278

- (2) During the Quiet Period as mentioned in Article 276, the organizers, participants, and/or teams of the presidential campaign are prohibited from promising or providing any gifts, presents, or incentives for a voter to: a. not use their right to vote; b. vote a particular presidential candidate ticket; c. vote a particular political party contesting in an election; d. vote a particular candidate for member of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, or Regency/City DPRD; and/or e. vote a particular candidate for member of the DPD.

Article 286

- (1) Presidential candidate tickets, legislative candidates of members of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD, campaign organizers, and/or campaign teams are prohibited from providing money or other gifts to influence choices made by EMBs and/or voters.
- (2) Presidential candidate tickets and/or legislative candidates of members of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD proven to have violated the provisions of paragraph (1) based on Bawaslu's recommendation shall be punished with the administrative punishment of being annulled from their candidacy by the KPU.

Article 523

- (1) An electoral campaign organizer, team, and/or participant who deliberately, directly or indirectly, promises or hands-over money or other gifts/incentives to another campaign participant as mentioned in Article 280 paragraph (1) letter j is criminally punishable with maximum imprisonment of 2 (two) years and a maximum fine of Rp 24,000,000.00 (twenty-four million rupiahs).
- (2) An electoral campaign organizer, team, and/or participant who deliberately, directly or indirectly, during the Quiet Period promises or hands over money or other gifts/incentives to another campaign participant as mentioned in Article 278 paragraph (2) is criminally punishable with maximum imprisonment of 4 (four) years and a maximum fine of Rp 48,000,000.00 (forty-eight million rupiahs).

A person who, on the Voting Day, deliberately promises to give a voter money, gifts, or another incentive to not vote or to vote a certain way is criminally punishable with maximum imprisonment of 3 (three) years and a maximum fine of Rp 36,000,000.00 (thirty-six million rupiahs). Money politics consists of three forms, namely money politics, club goods, and pork barrel (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2016).

Vote buying is the distribution of money with a certain value to prospective voters so that they cast their votes in favor of a particular candidate or political party as requested. This form of money politics is usually carried out during the general election stages, especially before election day. Vote buying is almost always done by electoral participants (political parties/candidates) or campaign teams. The terms “serangan fajar”, “serangan duha”, or “postpaid politics” are some of the terms used to refer to vote-buying.

Club goods are the distribution of goods with a certain value to prospective voters so that they cast their votes in favor of a particular candidate or political party as requested. In contrast, vote buying, which has a direct personal relationship between the distributor and the recipient, and club goods have a collective emotional dimension. The goods can be in the form of T-shirts for young voters, headscarves for women, sarongs for men, fertilizer for farm workers, and many others.

Pork barrel is a form of money politics done by providing public facilities to prospective voters to build a good public image of the perpetrator. Its objective is similar to other types of money politics, which is to secure the votes of the prospective voters benefiting from the money politics. This type of money politics can be realized through road provision, the construction of bridges, the construction of places of worship or schools, or other public facilities.

Conventionally, the three forms of money politics will turn into political corruption if accompanied by abuse occurring in political agencies, such as political parties, parliament, electoral institutions, government institutions, and others. Political corruption in a democratic system is the misuse of public resources to strengthen positions in the power of state institutions. The public resources mentioned can be in the forms of financial, authority, network, or mass power (Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2015).

Feminism

Feminism with all the different spectrums of ideas is a relational justice perspective. Feminism was born as a resistance against patriarchy which places men in a higher position than women (R. P. Tong, 2010). Patriarchal culture views women as weak human beings and standardizes their main tasks in the domestic sphere (Renai, 2004, p. 31).

Feminism pays attention to the concept construction of women’s and men’s identities by separating the notions of sex and gender. The embedded standardization of the meanings of sex and gender has created injustice for women in the form of violence, subordination, discrimination, marginalization, and repression (Arivia, 2006). In the broader context of forming relations, these five things are a consequence of power configured through structural privilege and oppression. This experience of power configuration is implemented through domination matrices that are structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal in structural domains, such as law and policy, educational institutions, and others (D’ignazio & Klein, 2020).

Meanwhile, the term gender concentrates more on sociocultural, psychological, and other non-biological aspects. For example, women are known to be gentle, beautiful, emotional, and

motherly, while men are considered strong, rational, manly, and powerful. Gender traits are interchangeable. This means that there are men who are emotional, gentle, and motherly and on the other hand, there are women who are strong, rational, and powerful (Nugroho, 2008).

The feminist perspective upholds emancipation formed in its four perspective characters; considering women's subjectivity, emphasizing relationships, placing women's identity within the scope of movement, organization, and collectivity, and spreading awareness of the policies that could affect women. With "the personal is political" as the motto, if injustice stops at the personal level, then feminism is not a perspective of human emancipation (Robet, 2010).

The diversity and complexity of women's experiences include their struggle and feminism has many paradigms to explain injustice and how to respond to it. In the first wave paradigm which is liberal, feminism explains the injustice at the public/state level. In the second-wave paradigm which is radical-structural in nature, feminism explains systemic injustice involving class hierarchies. Meanwhile, in the-third wave paradigm, feminism explains in an intersectional manner other issues and identities such as postmodern, environmental, racial, male feminist, LGBT, and others (Rosemarie Tong & Botts, 2018).

This research used postmodern feminism with three considerations. First, postmodern feminism tests the content of power which results in a rethinking of traditional gender identities. Second, postmodern feminism sees gender as a result of social construction, so its position depends on the situation. Third, postmodern feminism highlights women's identity which is neither single nor multidimensional, presenting gender differently every day (Levit & Verchick, 2016).

The tendency of patriarchal legal structures that isolate women's position makes their experiences and identities homogeneous. However, by relying on the characteristics of feminism like women's subjectivity and the anti-essentialism approach, women's experiences and identities are diverse and different from one another. This pluralism includes categories of class, occupation, social status, role in the family, religion, race, sexual orientation, and so on (Danardono, 2020).

Political Participation and Empowerment

Political participation refers to the activities through which citizens act individually, collectively, organized, spontaneously, peacefully/violently, and legally/illegally, to influence the laws and policies made by state/government administrators (Budiarjo, 2008, p. 368). The Oxford Dictionary defines political participation as activities done by the citizens ranging from the simplest in the form of consent, to legitimizing authority or legal restrictions such as paying taxes or doing political actions related to the right to vote and be elected. Participation comes from the Latin; *pars* which means part and *capere* which means taking a role in state political activities. When combined, the word means "taking part". In English, participate or participation means taking part or a role. Therefore, political participation means taking a role in the state's political activities.

Budiarjo,(2008) divides people's political participation into four groups: (1) Apathy, namely people who do not participate and withdraw from the political process; (2) Spectator, namely a person who has at least voted in an election; (3) Gladiators, namely those who are actively involved in the political process; (4) Unconventional critics/participants, namely individuals giving opinions to the government with the aim that the government of a country can be better.

Feminism as a movement aims to realize women's empowerment. One form of women's empowerment is building relationships between women. It promotes empowerment because it reduces the gap caused by patriarchal power in society. Feminism encourages women to share personal experiences that some others recognize including gender oppression. The differences in women's experiences between one person and another form a collection of experiences that produce new solutions and perspectives (Emejulu, 2011).

Before building relationships, feminism also places awareness-raising as a form of women's empowerment. In general, the experience of gender inequality is a major source of awareness-raising. Meanwhile, education, participation, and capacity building based on women's experiences are processes that enable women to achieve a relatively complete increase in awareness (Gutierrez & Lewis, 1994).

Results and Discussion

Posyandu Cadres' Attitudes and Reasons in Responding to Money Politics

Presentation of Respondent Data

Six female Posyandu cadres were the respondents of this study. They filled out a questionnaire and participated in a focus group discussion (FGD). In the FGD questionnaire, the authors mapped out two types of information. They were the background and personal information of the Posyandu cadres as the respondents which covered their education, income, husband, and specific information on the indications of money politics targeting themselves. The background information of the six respondents in this study was compiled by the authors as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. Respondents' Backgrounds

R	Age	Occupation	Income	Education	Husband's Occupation	Husband's Income	Husband's Education	Number of Children
1	33	Catering Business Owner	Rp. 1-2 million	High School	Entrepreneur	Rp. 1-2 million	High School	2
2	52	Village Functionary	Rp. <1 million	High School	Entrepreneur	Rp. >3 million	High School	4
3	29	Housewife	0	Middle School	Laborer	Rp. 1-2 million	Middle School	2
4	40	Housewife	0	High School	Laborer	Rp. <1 million	High School	3
5	41	Housewife	0	Middle School	Laborer	Rp. <1 million	Elementary School	2
6	34	Housewife	0	High School	Entrepreneur	Rp. 1-2 million	High School	2

From the occupational background, almost all female Durian Posyandu cadres in Rumpin Village were housewives. Meanwhile, one respondent owned a catering business, and one other worked as a village functionary.

Those who were housewives did not have a monthly income. However, all respondents chose the option of having an income of less than Rp. 1 million, rather than no income (Rp. 0). It was inferred that the less than Rp. 1 million option was chosen because these women received money from participating in various Posyandu activities or occasionally helping neighbors/relatives with household chores.

All female Durian Posyandu cadres in Rumpin Village had families consisting of their husbands and children. All respondents' husbands worked and generated income, with the lowest being less than Rp. 1 million and the highest being more than Rp. 3 million. Generally, the husbands were either entrepreneurs or laborers. From the employment data, there was an imbalance in the economic empowerment between the female Posyandu cadres who almost all did not have a job compared to their husbands who all had jobs.

From an educational background, almost all respondents had graduated from high school. This level of education illustrated the need for a certain level of knowledge and expertise to become Posyandu cadres. In contrast to the economic background, the educational background did not describe gender inequality. The female Posyandu cadres had a relatively equal education level with their husbands, who on average also graduated from high school. In fact, one of the cadres who graduated from middle school had a husband who only graduated from elementary school.

The head cadre of Durian Posyandu, Ms. Alfi explained that although education level was not a requirement to become a Posyandu cadre, women active in the Rumpin Posyandu generally graduated from high school. "Maybe because I used to be active in school, I got bored at home when there were no activities," stated Ms. Alfi (Rumpin, 25/9/2022).

One of the Durian Posyandu cadres who had been a Posyandu cadre many times, Ms. Dewi, said that Posyandu cadres in the previous periods were generally high school graduates. "Maybe because there is an assumption that they have to serve the community, high school graduates are needed," said Ms. Dewi (Rumpin, 25/9/2022).

In terms of the number of family members, all respondents answered that they had children. Most respondents had two children, one respondent had four children, and one respondent had three children.

From the background information, economic conditions could be a factor influencing women's vulnerability to money politics. Compared to men/husbands who were more economically empowered, women were more likely to face money politics. Thus, occupation and income could influence women's choices to behave in public, including in addressing money politics and determining their political choices in general elections.

The vulnerability of women to political traps also increases with legal vulnerability. The Criminal Code and the Regional Election Law place money politics as a crime for both the perpetrator and recipient of money politics. Even though Law 7/2017 on Elections used in the presidential and legislative elections do not criminalize recipients of money politics, women are still more vulnerable because they are part of the crime and are likely to be part of political corruption.

Female Posyandu Cadres' Attitudes in Responding to Money Politics

All of the female Durian Posyandu cadres in Rumpin Village admitted that they had been offered money to vote for particular electoral candidates. According to them, the money offered was IDR 50,000. Everyone was given money in different electoral contexts. Some experienced it only during the 2019 election, some only during the 2018 West Java regional election, and some during both.

From this experience, all respondents admitted to accepting the distributed money politics. All respondents also had the same reason for accepting the money. They stated that it was rude to refuse a gift. For the distribution of goods, almost all respondents admitted that they had been offered goods to vote for particular electoral candidates. Only two people had never experienced it. The types of goods given were necessities, prayer robes/headscarves, and souvenirs in the form of calendars and t-shirts.

All respondents admitted to accepting offered goods. The reason was the same. They thought that it was rude to refuse a gift. The discussed experience happened during the 2019 general election and the 2018 regional election. One of the respondents experienced being offered goods during both elections.

All respondents stated that money politics had never been directly practiced by electoral candidates. Politicians or legislative candidates had never directly distributed the forms of money politics to voters. Instead, they were distributed by the people from their political parties or campaign teams. This applied to all forms of money politics, whether money or goods. The person offering them was someone on behalf of the election candidates and never the candidates themselves.

According to Ms. Dewi, people from political parties or campaign teams approached Posyandu cadres because they were seen as having an influence over other community members. As community members active in Posyandu activities, Posyandu cadres were expected by the perpetrators of money politics to be able to spread words about the electoral candidates regarding the people who came to the Posyandu. Furthermore, as mothers in their respective families, Posyandu cadres were also to be able to influence their children or other family members to vote for a certain candidate.

However, money politics had no effect on these women's choices in the election. All respondents said that their final choice in the election was a personal matter. Therefore, even though all female Posyandu cadres accepted money and goods as forms of money politics, their choices remained uninfluenced. All of them reasoned that their choices were based on their conscience. They also added that in practicing money politics and expecting a vote from the recipient, there was no agreement that the recipient must have voted for the candidate as expected by the perpetrator.

All respondents considered that the money and goods offered by the candidate's team were of reasonable value. From their points of view as voters, respondents had to spend time listening to campaigns from the political parties or campaign teams. Money and goods can be things that could act as time compensation for the voter. Meanwhile, from the perpetrators' point of view, the gift

was seen as an expression of gratitude for listening to their campaigns from their political parties or campaign teams.

Respondents also understood that there was a fair value for the distributed money. Everyone believed that a reasonable value was offered by the candidate or their team, which was Rp. 50,000. There was one woman who stated that the fair value should have been Rp. 100,000. On the other hand, one person thought that any forms of money politics were wrongdoing.

Special Findings

This study has specific findings regarding the degree of women's empowerment in money politics. Respondent 1 and Respondent 2 had never been offered goods as a form of money politics. Throughout their lives, they received money in almost every election but never goods. Other women, especially Posyandu cadres, usually became the target of money politics through the distribution of necessities, clothes, headscarves, prayer equipment, or others.

The two respondents who had never experienced being distributed goods had relatively more empowered economic conditions. Respondent 1 was a Posyandu cadre owning a catering business with an income of one to two million rupiahs. Respondent 2 was a female Posyandu cadre who worked as a village functionary with an income of around one million rupiahs.

Respondent 1 and Respondent 2 were married to their working husbands. Respondent 1's husband was an entrepreneur with an income of Rp. 1-2 million per month, while Respondent 2's husband worked as an entrepreneur with an income of more than Rp. 3 million per month. The economic empowerment of these two respondents in interacting with the outside parties was also related to their husbands' occupations and income.

Other Posyandu cadres worked as housewives. For women in Rumpin Village, West Java in general, working as a housewife is not seen to possess a significant economic value. Since it does not directly generate cash, being a housewife does not give women much power, hence they are relatively powerless both domestically and in public. This is why women are vulnerable to being the target of money politics in the form of either money or goods.

The Empowerment of Female Posyandu Cadres

The Contextualization of the Agency of Female Posyandu Cadres on Feminist Discourse

Within the diversity of feminist thought, one thing consistently emphasized is the position, dynamics, and relational qualities of women or vulnerable groups by and toward their environment. This applies both in private and in public. In this part of the paper, the research team used postmodern feminism to explain the empowerment of the female Posyandu cadres.

The use of postmodern feminism in this writing was based on three reasons. First, postmodern feminism supports the idea of anti-singularity (R Tong, 2009). Second, postmodern feminism offers a causation-based test on power content (gender). Third, postmodern feminism embraces the diversity of women's experiences.

Postmodern feminism supports the idea of anti-singularity because it views non-ideal binary conditions such as gender identity as a complex idea. This idea is important to use in seeing the empowerment of female Posyandu cadres because of the diverse identities possessed by each respondent in this study. This diversity included being Posyandu cadres, housewives with children, workers in the formal or informal sector, a wife in a cis-heterosexual couple's household, members of the middle-class community, and participants in a political process, such as elections.

As an idea that offers a causation-based test on power content intertwined with gender identity, postmodern feminism influences the practice and agency quality of a subject in a bargaining position for the power charge. In money politics, the distribution of power lies within the giver and recipient of the money. With this research focusing on female Posyandu cadres, postmodern feminism helped to provide an overview of the indivisibility of women's identities and their roles in determining women's position in the practice of money politics.

Against the uniqueness and power formed, postmodern feminism helps to highlight the diversity of women Posyandu cadres' experiences when responding to money politics. Nonetheless, the research team realized that feminism as an idea carried its own drawbacks which led to criticism,

including postmodern feminism. For example, the emphasis on multiple perspectives brought by postmodern feminism was feared to reduce women's experience as a "narrative".

To address this criticism, the research team limited the use of a postmodern feminist lens to view certain matters. This section focuses on explaining the research objectives and discussing the forms of women's political empowerment from the attitudes and reasons of the female Posyandu cadres in Durian Posyandu, Rumpin Village, in responding to money politics.

Feminism's criticism of "agency" lies in the tendency of identity unification and coherence brought within in the idea of humanism, that "agency" makes a person "one". In the poststructuralist view, the concept of "agency" actually brings fragmentation or resolution, contradiction, and discontinuity; that an individual's experience of practicing agency promotes subjectivity through placing an individual at a certain point; choices made by the individual can be based on rational analysis, but desires can affect rationality; that story is a vessel for various experiences to be interpreted, told, or even "inhabited" (Davies, 1991). The derivative of the agency is authority. Davies (1991) explains:

"As individuals who speak we *may* be heard as having *authority*. Not authority in the sense of the one who claims and enforces knowledge, dictating to others what is "really" the case, but as a speaker who mobilises existing discourses in new ways, inverting, inventing, and breaking old patterns (Cixous & Kuhn, 1981, p. 51)."

In line with this idea, Davies (1991) explains the "agency" framework as follows: (1) certain individual's discursive sense of presence, e.g., having access to the positions of a subject where they have the right to speak and be heard; (2) discursive understanding of individuals as the creators of their own meaning and will, even if only to the extent that they draw on the discourse and accompanying moral commitments of the collective of which they are the members; (3) a sense of self as a person who can go beyond the meaning imparted in a single discourse, and forge something new through a combination of previously unrelated discourses, the invention of words and concepts that capture the shifts in consciousness beginning to occur, or imagining what could have happened.

Thus, an individual with an agency can be interpreted as someone who can use their authority through their ability to speak up. This is done not as a personal quality of individuals, but as a discursive position to which they can sometimes have access (Davies, 1991).

With reference to the findings in the previous section, the experience of the female cadres in Durian Posyandu in Rumpin Village could be mapped into several sections, namely economic empowerment, educational background, and the number of family members. This finding not only focused on the layered reality of women as individuals but also served as a center point for women's agency practices.

If we return to the "agency" framework presented by Davies which states that with "agency", individuals can create their own meaning and desires, although only insofar as the moral commitment that accompanies their collective origins. The attitudes of female Posyandu cadres with the same reason of not refusing money or goods as forms of money politics out of politeness indicated the agency of the female Posyandu cadres in creating their own meaning and desires which were still in their collective moral commitment. The interesting thing from this finding was the evidence that agency can be contradictory. For example, it was found that the attitudes of the Posyandu cadres toward money politics that they experienced were not directly in line with their final vote in the election. This is because according to them, their choice was a personal and conscience matter.

The ability of Posyandu cadres in separating the principles of "it's rude to refuse gifts" and "my choice is a personal/conscience matter" illustrated at least two things with the first one being the inclusion of female Posyandu cadres in the category of spectator political participation based on mapping Budiardjo (2008). As mentioned in the previous section, political participation is divided into four groups: apathetic, spectators, gladiators, and critics/unconventional participation.

A spectator participant is defined as a person who has at least voted in an election. Female Posyandu cadres who (still) accepted the distribution of money/goods as forms of money politics participated in elections even though they did not let the money/goods they received influence

the choice they ultimately made in the election. This “spectator” sentiment was also shown through the attitude of the Posyandu cadres who regarded money politics as compensation for their time as a voter and a form of gratitude for listening to the campaign conveyed by a candidate or their campaign team as the subject of money politics. Not only did this condition describe the Posyandu cadres as spectators, but it also showed the relationship pattern of the subject of money politics with the Posyandu cadres which will be discussed further in section IV.II.II of this paper.

Second, the empowerment of the Posyandu cadres in navigating their own subjectivity could not be separated from their position in certain conditions. Based on the specific findings in this research, the subjectivity of female Posyandu cadres could be based on their economic experience and position in society. There were indications that the female Posyandu cadres who were economically empowered and worked as a government functionary were not seen as targets for money politics, while those other than them were. This encouraged subjectivity toward the agency, which then continued as the authority choose each female Posyandu cadre with her various situations.

The research team realized that to some degree this agency and authority might become problematic. However, female Posyandu cadres carried and had the right to represent different political identities. Therefore, the participation of women and their agency was not a monolithic contestation. The Posyandu cadres thinking that money politics was normal but also standing up by the principle “my choice is a personal/conscience matter” showed that there was an understanding that needed to be corrected. However, the appreciation of the rights of individuals or citizens to make their political choices had been implemented by participating in elections.

The Relationship Pattern between Female Posyandu Cadres and Money Politics Perpetrators

In assessing the relationship of female Posyandu cadres with the subject of money politics, the research team used the matrix of domination proposed by Catherine D'Ignazio and Lauren F. Klein. Even though in their book, *Data Feminism*, D'Ignazio and Klein (2020) emphasizes the matrix of domination on the symptoms of controlling digital space by owners of greater authority (states and corporations), the research team considered that the matrix was relevant for this research because it contained content power within the practice of money politics involving female Posyandu cadres and the perpetrators.

Table 2. The Matrix of Domination in the Data Feminism Book

The four domains of the matrix of domination

Structural domain Organizes oppression: laws and policies.	Disciplinary domain Administers and manages oppression. Implements and enforces laws and policies.
Hegemonic domain Circulates oppressive ideas: culture and media.	Interpersonal domain Individual experiences of oppression.

Based on the Table 2, which was adapted by D'Ignazio and Klein from the concept introduced in the writings of Patricia Hill Collins (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020), *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, and the domain relevant with the topic of this research was structural and hegemonic. The structural domain was relevant to how the law opened a greater space for the vulnerability of women's position in the practice of money politics. The hegemonic domain was relevant to biases and assumptions about the position of women in a traditional, patriarchal society.

The structural domain can be traced through the framework of money politics into a crime based on the laws and regulations. As mentioned in the background of this research, money politics is a criminal offense mentioned in the Criminal Code. Even though there has been a shift in punishment (perpetrators and recipients of money politics) to only perpetrators, the vulnerability of women's position still needs to be taken into account because of their involvement in money politics schemes. This involvement is demonstrated by the experiences of the female cadres in Durian Posyandu, Rumpin Village. However, even though there is a shift in punishment, the understanding that laws and regulations are political products is critical. The question is: to what extent is the involvement of women as objects in money politics considered in making laws

and regulations in the structural domain? Referring to the experiences of the cadres in Durian Posyandu in Rumpin Village, the regulation of money politics that punish distributors of money still needed to consider the vulnerability of women's position as recipients.

In the hegemonic domain, the relationship between Posyandu cadres and the subject of money politics was shown by the way political party members or campaign teams chose their targets, which were women who did not have a significant position in society. This was shown by the practice of money politics targeting Posyandu cadres working as housewives instead of those who worked as entrepreneurs and village functionaries. In addition to proving how problematic the perceptions of electoral participants or organizers as perpetrators of money politics were regarding the position of women workers in the informal or domestic sector in society (easy to deceive, be exploited for their own choices, persuade to take sides, etc), it also confirmed the rights of groups with greater power against groups that did not have a high bargaining position. However, it was interesting how female Posyandu cadres claimed their agency and authority by separating the principles of 'not refusing gifts' and 'choice is a personal matter/conscience'.

Conclusion

All respondents consisting of the female Durian Posyandu cadres in Rumpin Village, Rumpin District, Bogor Regency, West Java, had experienced being the target of money politics in the form of money. They accepted the offer out of politeness, thinking that it would be rude to refuse the gift and because the money given was still of reasonable value, which was Rp. 50,000. This value was considered to make up for the respondents' time spent to listen to money politics perpetrators introducing a certain electoral candidate and expressing what they expected the cadres to do in the election.

Almost all respondents had experienced being the object of money politics in the form of goods (club goods), and all of them accepted them out of politeness. Two respondents working in public and possessing economic empowerment had no experience of being the target of money politics in the form of goods. All respondents also considered that money politics in this form was normal as long as the value was not more than IDR 50,000.

Some respondents had experienced being the target of money politics in the form of providing public facilities (pork barrels). Since the quality of the electoral candidates was considered not good and the construction of public facilities was a mere promise to realize after the candidates were elected, respondents did not accept/exploit this form of money politics. Some respondents said that money politics in the form of building roads, health/education facilities, and places of worship was better because it could be beneficial for many people.

From the Posyandu cadres' experiences, it can be concluded that women are in a structural domain because laws that punish money politics open a greater space for the vulnerability of women's positions. Women also exist in the hegemonic domain, where there is a subordination bias toward their position in a traditional, patriarchal society.

With a weak economic background, such an experience and explanation illustrated the empowerment of the female Durian Posyandu cadres in Rumpin Village in the form of raising awareness and establishing relationships. Respondents were aware of its importance and built a relationship to respond to money politics so their rights to vote were not violated. All respondents said that the right to vote in elections should not be influenced by money politics. The choice of which candidate to vote for should be determined by respondents and their own conscience. According to respondents, a party or candidate was chosen because of their quality, not with the help of money politics.

Suggestions and Recommendations

Women's position can be promoted to a more empowered one. The identity of each female Posyandu cadre can be more empowered by establishing relationships with a political agenda as well as training and education on politics. The empowerment to build this relationship can be made stronger by uniting the Posyandu cadres in multiple villages and sub-districts in one electoral constituency. The significant number of Posyandu cadres will be a consideration of the

electability of electoral candidates so that women's aspirations can form a public and civil political contract, causing the elected government to be more committed to serving and protecting the rights of female citizens. Strengthening women's empowerment will transform political transactions in the form of money politics into transactions of aspirations and policies regarding the rights of citizens, especially women.

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