

THE CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL SYMBOLISM OF INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL ACTION: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS IN THREE ISLAMIC BASED POLITICAL PARTIES IN GOWA DISTRICT

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Abstrak

Artikel ini merupakan hasil penelitian yang berfokus pada pembangunan simbol-simbol politik dalam mendorong aksi politik individu di Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Partai Amanat Nasional, dan Partai Kebangkitan Nasional di Distrik Gowa. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif, menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologis sosiologis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa simbolisme agama di tiga partai politik berbasis Islam di Gowa mendorong tindakan politik individu dalam dua cara, yaitu realitas objektif dan subyektif partai politik, dan realitas objektif dan subyektif individu terhadap lingkungan sosial mereka.

Kata kunci:

Konstruksi, Simbol, Politik

Abstract

This paper is the research result that focuses on the construction of political symbols in encouraging individual political action in the United Development Party, the National Mandate Party, and the National Awakening Party in Gowa District. This research is a qualitative research, using the sociological phenomenology approach. The results shows that religious symbolism in the three Islamic-based political parties in Gowa encourage individual political actions in two ways, namely; objective and subjective realities of political parties, and objective and subjective realities of individuals towards their social environment.

Keywords:

Construction, Symbol, Politics

A. PREFACE

1. Background

The study of women's participation in politics is still an important study from both feminists and other gender activists. Dryzek argues that the issue of women should be seen as an inclusive democracy, that is, in any will,

requested or not requested by anyone, or by a group of people who are unlucky whether for political, social, economic, gender, or any other reasons, the state must fulfill or facilitate it¹.

Dryzek's view is very crucial by looking at the issue of violence against women, both domestic and public. The phenomenon of domestic violence, for example, can no longer be considered a taboo topic to be discussed in accordance with the rampant cases of domestic violence both for women and children with no exception to men. The cause of the problems are very complex and varied. Almost every day the news about the existence of domestic violence is broadcast in various mass media and electronics. Domestic violence is no longer an individual and private issues but has become a global phenomenon, including in Makassar².

The reality of domestic violence also occurs in public activities. The phenomenon of women's limitations in politics is an important study when Law Number 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizers, Law Number 2 Year 2008 concerning Political Parties. Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning the Election of the DPR, DPD and DPRD (the National, Regional and District/Local House of Representative) is a binding regulation in the process of political administration in Indonesia³.

The existence of this regulation is an effort of the government in encouraging the role of women in politics, and as an elaboration of the Indonesian National Guidelines (GBHN) as a direction in the governing the state. The GBHN stated that the nature of development is that the active participation of all level of the society in the development must be more widespread and equitable. National development is carried out jointly by the community and the government. Communities are the main actors of development and the government is obliged to direct, guide and create a supportive atmosphere. Community activities and government activities support, help, and complement each other in a unified step towards achieving national development goals⁴.

The concept of development by involving the whole community is basically in accordance with the concept of development in Islam. Development in Islam must be seen as a multidimensional activity, namely the moral, spiritual and material

¹ Rupiarsih, *Gender and Politics* (Jogjakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2009), p. 3

² Siti Aisyah Kara, *Islam and Domestic Violence* (Makassar: Alauddin Press University 2012), p. 217

³ The Law Number 22 2007 concerning General Election, article 6 paragraph (5) The composition of General Elections Commission (KPU), The provincial and city election commission (KPU Provinsi dan KPU Daerah) pay attention to the women's representation at least 30 30% (thirty per hundred). The Law Number 2 2008 concerning Political Party, Chapter 2 Article 2 Paragraph (2) on the Establishment and Formation of Political Parties as referred in paragraph (1) Pendirian dan pembentukan Partai Politik sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) include 30 % (thirty percent) of women's representation. The Law Number 10 2008 concerning the election of House of Representative (DPR), Regional Representative Board (DPD), and Provincial House of Representation (DPRD), Chapter III Article 8 paragraph 1 (d) includes at least 30 % (thirty percent) of women's representation in organising of political parties in capital.

⁴ MPR Decree (TAP MPR) No. II/MPR/1998, p. 798

dimensions, as well as the optimization of the resources given by Allah SWT⁵. This shows that national development is directed at the development of individual as a complete human being as the nature of national development, as well as the involvement of all resources, especially human resources in achieving national development goals. Referring to this, each individual has the same rights and obligations as subjects in the development process, without the segregation of male and female identities.

It is reflected in GBHN that improving the quality of women's human resources, especially the self-development and their role in the community, nation, and state has not been fully supported by the socio-cultural setting and the quality of the women themselves⁶.

Politics and symbols become entities that cannot be separated from the standards and motives of diverse political interests. The world of symbols as depicted from the view of postmodernism as a world with the standards of creation of life and intimacy, and leads to the fulfillment of shared life, leads the social activity with a double standard⁷. That is, on one hand, the symbols are presented to create harmonization but on the other hand, personal conceptions (individual meanings) cannot be denied, as individuals may have a personal desire to refer to the existing symbols. If the reference of the symbol is power, then the individual action will lead to the conception of power.

Political symbolism or the use of symbols that have political nuances become phenomena that cannot be avoided in the political process. In the process of social relations, symbol objects have their own meaning that is presented to each individual. The meaning (conceptualized) presented by the symbol tends to lead individuals or groups to carry out a series of actions based on the purpose of the existence of the symbol presented. Each symbol communicates a concept, pattern or form that a symbol embodies. Apart from the collective meaning presented by each individual, in reality it also has an imagination of personal meaning which is a personal conception of the individuals themselves.

The phenomenon of women's political interests is currently a social reality, compared to when the compilation of political practice is not in accordance with the regulations, and also there was paradigm change regarding the affirmation policy from women's approval in terms of quantity to quality. This change of paradigm

⁵ The specification of development concept according to Islamic perspective according to Khursid Ahmad, namely: 1). The concept of Islamic development is comprehensive in which it includes moral, spiritual and material modifications. Development is therefore a value-oriented goal. Welfare includes salvation in the world and the hereafter. 2). Human is the focus of effort and development process 3). Development in Islam must be seen as multidimensional activity. 4). Development contains various quantitative and qualitative changes. 5). In the aspect of social life, Islam emphasizes on the optimisation the resources given by Allah and using them fairly, Islam teaches gratitude, justice, and opposing kufr and wrongdoings. See, Muhammad Syukri Salleh dkk, *Islamisasi Pembangunan* (Medan, UMSU PRESS, 2014), p.121

⁶ MPR Decree (TAP MPR) No. II/MPR/1998, p. 830

⁷ Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Dunia Yang Dilipat: Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan*, p. 191-192

referring to the modernist affirmation movement which fought for justice and gender equality, but in reality women's representation in politics was still very low. Numbers of researches showed that the low representation of women generally in the public sphere and specifically in political parties due to social construction factors. The impact of this social construction lead to marginalization of women⁸.

The low representation of women is not entirely – detrimental to women, but also the whole community. Women's concern for issues of welfare, education, health, anti-violence, and the environment, cannot bear fruit to become a policy as long as they are not directly involved in decision making process⁹. Life experiences and typically the nurturing behaviors of women that makes them have to pursue what they want by themselves, where men are in their respective positions who do not go through the process¹⁰. Special treatment of the existence of women in politics with the issued of the regulation of 30% women in each proposal of legislative candidates at the central and regional levels, in the end does not provide fresh air for women¹¹.

Referring to Bourdeu and Lash's view, politics in general and political parties in particular have two sides, as a material aspect (a means of channeling political desires) and on the other hand as a symbolic environment that has cultural values objects (objects of social construction). Politics and political parties can be seen from these two sides. As a material aspect, it can regulate through financial achievements, and on the other side as a symbolic environment that has cultural objects. The position of political parties as a means of channeling individual political desires places the party as a determinant of individual power position. The party has a subjective reality for political recruitment which includes; social, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. On the other hand the capital contains the value of a constructed cultural object¹².

The reality of symbolizing religion in political parties is directly in line with the meaning of religion and culture adopted by the local community especially in Gowa District. Religious and cultural rituals and symbols that surround them become

⁸ Research carried out included Heriani, a factor that led to low representation of women in politics, namely: 1). Socio-cultural values that prioritize men. 2). Division of work based on gender in traditional agrarian societies. 3). the image of women as meek people. 4) The teachings of religion are interpreted narrowly and partially. 5). Lack of political will from the government, and 6). Shortcomings in the quality of individual women and political cadre. See, Heriyani Agustina, *Keterwakilan Perempuan di Parlemen dalam Perspektif Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender*, in Gender dan Politics (Universitas Gadjah Mada: Yogyakarta,2008), p. 167

⁹ Novira Maharani Sukma, *Merubah Paradigma Partai Politik Mengenai Kebijakan Afirmasi Perempuan: dari Kuantitas Menjadi Kualitas* (National Seminar on Law Universitas Negeri Semarang Vol 4, No 3 (2018), p. 611-620

¹⁰ Novira Maharani Sukma, *Merubah Paradigma Partai Politik Mengenai Kebijakan Afirmasi Perempuan: dari Kuantitas Menjadi Kualitas* (National Seminar on Law Universitas Negeri Semarang Vol 4, No 3 (2018), p. 611-620

¹¹ Novira Maharani Sukma, *Merubah Paradigma Partai Politik Mengenai Kebijakan Afirmasi Perempuan: dari Kuantitas Menjadi Kualitas* (National Seminar on Law Universitas Negeri Semarang Vol 4, No 3 (2018), p. 611-620

¹² See, Explanation Piere Bourdeu about Capital in Novira Maharani Sukma, *Merubah Paradigma Partai Politik Mengenai Kebijakan Afirmasi Perempuan: dari Kuantitas Menjadi Kualitas*, p. 617

important agenda that continues to be maintained to this day. Religious human (homo religious) according to Mircea Eliade, is a type of human who lives in a sacred realm, full of religious values and can enjoy the sacredness that exists and appears in the universe. Experience and appreciation of the sacred or ultimate reality then influences, shapes and participates in determining the style and way of religious human's life¹³. Referring to Mircea's view, that individuals interpret the meaning of religious and cultural symbols because of the emotional and cultural ties that affect their perceptions of certain objects. The objective reality of Islamic-based political parties in Gowa, with the results of the construction of the social environment towards political symbolic meanings, is driving the political interest of individuals, especially among women.

2. Research Questions

The main problem in this research is, "the social construction of political symbolism on gender relations as a social reality in the United Development Party, the National Mandate Party, and the National Awakening Party in Gowa Regency", which is focused on; how in Gowa do the Islamic-based political parties reconstruct political symbols, and encourage individual political interests?

3. Aim and Objective

The findings of this study aim to analyze the role of Islamic based political parties in Gowa in reconstructing symbols and their implications for the subjective meaning of the party's internal individuals. It is expected to be useful for the development of science, especially Sociology and Political Communication Studies. The practical contribution is useful for the new paradigm related to gender relations in both political parties and the socio-political life of society in general.

4. Research Method

This research is a field research carried out in Gowa Regency, South Sulawesi, with a unit of analysis of Islamic-based political parties namely; United Development Party (PPP), National Mandate Party (PAN), and National Awakening Party (PKB). The data used was being analyzed by qualitative approach. The qualitative approach used in this study is directed towards the cultural object's type / theme based on the textual analysis of postmodernism, their meanings and the practices that surround them including various kinds of discourses and research from feminists and other sociologists. The approach used in this research, are the phenomenology sociology approach, and communication preaching. The data sources in this study were primary data obtained from Participant as observers, and interviews, while secondary data came from existing studies. The data obtained has been through the validity test process.

¹³ Sastrapratedja (ed.), *Manusia Multi Dimensional: Sebuah Renungan Filsafat*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1982, p.38.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Social Construction of Political Symbolism

The constructive philosophy is the foundation of the social construction developed including by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luhman. The basic understanding of the philosophy of constructivism is that human knowledge is the result of the construction or formation of man himself. Von Glasersfeld explained that it was not an imitation of reality that happened, but was a human creation that was compiled through experience, and this process continued¹⁴.

The origin of the social construction of the philosophy of constructivism begins with cognitive constructive ideas. In the school of philosophy, the idea of constructivism has emerged since Socrates discovered the soul in the human body, since Plato found reason and ideas. The idea was even more concrete again after Aristotle introduced terms, information, relations, individuals, substance, matter, and essence and so on. He said that, humans are social beings, every statement must be verified, that the key to knowledge is logic and the basis of knowledge is fact¹⁵.

The conception of political constructivism is inseparable from the basic understanding of constructivism itself. Rawls emphasizes that political constructivism can be observed in procedure description where rational subjects are subject to reasonable conditions, adopting principles to govern society. For example, in the principle of justice, it is finally accepted as reasonable even though on the one hand justice is subjective, but becomes something natural when justice is formed in a collective perspective or has been accepted and interpreted together. Constructivism views that everything that happens in the world is the result of social construction.

In the formation of a political basis or foundation, political rules are formed in the form of values, ideas, and norms. As a result of the process of absorption of knowledge from political experiences that continuously lead to subjective political conceptions. At this level the values, ideas, and norms that have been formed are accepted as something rational and reasonable in society.

Social construction theory (social construction) describes social processes through individual actions and interactions, where individuals create continuously a reality that is subjectively owned and experienced together. This theoretical building developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman as a theoretical and systematic study of the sociology of knowledge.

As the source of the development of social construction, namely the constructivist philosophy which emphasizes the advantages of individuals to form and create social reality based on subjective knowledge and experiences experienced. The term construction of social reality (social construction of reality) itself became famous since it was introduced by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman through his

¹⁴ Suparno, *Filsafat Konstruktivisme dalam Pendidikan* (Kanisius: Yogyakarta, 1997), p.18

¹⁵ Burhan Bungin, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial* (Airlangga University Press: Jakarta, 2008), p. 13

book *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge*¹⁶.

Berger believes that reality is not scientifically formed nor is it something revealed by God. Conversely, reality is formed or constructed based on the meaning of an object. With this kind of understanding, reality has a dual / plural face because on the one hand everyone can have different constructs of reality. As in the philosophy of constructivism, differences in construction for each individual are based on certain knowledge, experience, preferences, education, and social or social environments.

Two terms in Berger's sociology of knowledge are reality and knowledge. Berger and Luckmann began to explain social reality by separating understanding of reality and knowledge. Reality is defined as a quality contained in realities that are recognized as possessing being that is not dependent on our own will. While knowledge is defined as the certainty that realities are real and have specific characteristics¹⁷.

According to Berger and Luckmann, there are two main objects of reality relating to knowledge, namely subjective reality and objective reality. Subjective reality is individual knowledge. In addition, subjective reality is the construction of definitions of reality that are owned by individuals and constructed through processes of internalization. The subjective reality of each individual is the basis for engaging in the process of externalization, or the process of social interaction with other individuals in a social structure. It is through this externalization process that individuals collectively are able to objectify and bring about a construction of new objective reality¹⁸.

The social construction theory in Berger's idea assumes that religion as part of culture is a human construction. This means that there is a dialectical process when looking at the relationship between society and religion that religion is an objective entity because it exists outside of human consciousness, thus religion experiences an objectivation process, such as when religion is written in the text or becomes a value, norm, rule and so on. That kind of text or norm then undergoes an internalization process into the individual, cause by the fact that religion has been interpreted by the community to be their life guide/moral compass. Religion also undergoes an externalization process because it becomes a reference to norms and values that function to guide and control community actions¹⁹.

In explaining the construction process, Berger divides society as objective reality and a subjective reality. As an objective reality, society seems to be outside of human consciousness and face to face with it. Whereas as a subjective reality,

¹⁶ Burhan Bungin, *Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media, 2008), p.203

¹⁷ Peter L. Berger & Thomas Lukhman, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1190), p. 1

¹⁸ Margaret M. Polomo, *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2010), p. 301

¹⁹ Peter L. Berger & Thomas Lukhmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan*, p. 33-36.

individual within the society is an inseparable part. In other words, individual is a building block of the society and the society is individual. Social reality or reality is dual and not singular, namely subjective and objective reality.

2. Political Parties as a Symbolic Environment

Symbols come from the Greek word *symboion* from *symballo* (drawing conclusions means giving an impression). Symbols or symbols as a means or mediation to make and convey a message, compile the epistemological system and beliefs held²⁰. As for the history of thought, the term symbol has two very different meanings in religious thought and practice, symbols can be regarded as visible images of transcendent reality, in a system of logical and scientific thought²¹.

Berger and Luhman explain the social construction of symbols as social reality, by dividing into 3 (three) social realities, as follows;

- a. Objective social reality, is a complexity of the definition of reality (including ideology and beliefs) social symptoms, such as actions and behaviors that occur in everyday life and often faced by individuals as facts.
- b. Symbolic Social Reality, which is the expression of symbolic forms of objective reality, which is generally known to the public in the form of works of art, fiction and news in the media.
- c. Subjective Social Reality, is a social reality in individuals, which is owned by individuals and constructed through the process of internalization. Subjective reality that is owned by each individual is the basis for involving themselves in the process of externalization or the process of social interaction with other individuals in a social structure.

Politics and symbols become entities that cannot be separated from the standards and motives of diverse political interests. The world of symbols as depicted from the view of postmodernism as a world with the standards of creation of life and *kekariban* (intimacy), and leads to the fulfillment of shared life, leads to every social activity on a double standard²². That is, on one hand symbols are presented to create harmonization but on the other hand personal conceptions (individual meanings) cannot be denied as individuals who have a personal desire to refer to existing symbols. If the reference of the symbol is power, then the individual action will lead to the conception of power.

The concept of symbolism refers to the use of symbols as a means of conveying messages, aspirations, and desires. The world of symbols is inseparable from the era where the distribution of human desires is not explicitly stated, but the message is displayed in a different or unreal manifestation to give a certain meaning to an object

²⁰ Sujono Soekamto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2001), p. 187

²¹ Loren Bagus, *Kamus Filsafat*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pusaka Utama, 2005), p. 1007

²² Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Dunia Yang Dilipat: Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan*, p. 191-192

or message itself. In other words, there is a nuance way in order to achieve a certain goal attached to the symbol used.

Political symbolism or the use of symbols that have political nuances become phenomena that cannot be avoided in the political process. In the process of social relations, symbol objects have their own meaning that is presented to each individual. The meaning (conceptualized) presented by the symbol tends to lead individuals or groups to carry out a series of actions based on the purpose of the existence of the symbol presented. Each symbol communicates a concept, pattern or form that a symbol embodies. Apart from the collective meaning presented by each individual, in reality it also has an imagination of personal meaning which is a personal conception of the individual concerned.

3. Gender Issues in Politics

Politics that are constructed as an arena for obtaining power become a problem when placed on the conception of male and female relations. By synchronizing with Foucault's view, the existence of gender relations in politics will appear when power is no longer seen as something that is integrated, coherent, and centralized, but according to Foucault in the form of "dispersed constellation of unequal relationship" or the wide-spread of constellation of unequal relations. When the meaning of a symbol is no longer seen as a definite but a battle area, thus the dominant meaning is not stated as the only possible one, and subjectivity is constantly rebuilt based on a discursive shift in which human beings construct and deconstruct meaning by considering the short and long term advantages losses.

Power as a battlefield as stated by Foucault shows that individuals must play an active role as subjects by using all their potential and capital. If the concept of "subject" is placed in the political realm, various literatures showed that in the political reality in Indonesia women placed as objects not as subjects.

Gender equality, or equality between men and women, refers to equality of rights, responsibilities, opportunities, treatments, and judgments for men and women: in work, in the relationship between work and life. Gender equality means that all people of all ages and genders must have equal opportunities to succeed in life. This means that all human beings must have equal access and control over resources and benefits, in other words, so that everyone can benefit and participate in development. Gender equality is the condition of women and men enjoying equal status and having equal opportunities to realize fully human rights and their potential for development in all aspect of life²³.

Inequality in gender equality is in line with Simone De Beauvoir's view which placing free human beings as the subject, for Jean Paul Sartre only by being the subject then humans will still exist, and for Descartes being a subject human is able to

²³ Herien Puspitawati, *Gender dan Keluarga : Konsep dan Realita di Indonesia*, (Bogor: PT. IPB Press. 2012), p. 5. See also Aisyah, *Rekonstruksi Kesetaraan Gender Berbasis Masalah; Analisis terhadap Hukum Nikah Siri di Indonesia*, Disertation (Makassar, Pascasarjana UIN Alauddin, 2007),p, 33-35

think. If we look closely at those views, locating humans as thinking subjects in discussing issues relating to gender relations in the realm of power becomes the key point. Descartes' view that human subjects are human beings who think, giving rise to ambiguous interpretations.

Susan Bordo looks at the definition of humanity in the view of Descartes which still developing the concept of objectivity which actually has a valued code of "masculinity". Humans as subjects are rational beings and free from emotional life²⁴. The views of Descartes and Sartre that humans as subjects are not talking about women's position. In *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir depart from the assumption that being a woman can be seen from a concrete rather than abstract situation. By answering "I am a woman" instead of "I think", then "I am a woman" for women always has implications for what is defined by people or society biologically, not refers to the facts of women's thinking. Beauvoir states explicitly, "women are made, not born", women are formed not born. Having said that, both masculinity and femininity traits are not permanent, or can change depending on the situation or condition²⁵.

The marginalization of women in the political sphere is not realized by women themselves. This can be observed from the efforts that continue to be made by the government which are affirmative action through regulations or legislation and groups of women activists. The internalized social construction becomes the justification and general agreement of the community that women have a place only in the domestic area.

This is in line with Bourdieu's view of doxa, that the view of the ruler which is seen as the view of the whole society. Doxa shows how the ruler can pursue, maintain, and develop his power by playing with symbols that successfully enter the mastered mind.

The power of symbols (symbolic dominance) according to Pierre Bourdieu in *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, is oppression by using symbols. This oppression is not felt as oppression, but as something that normally needs to be done, that the oppression has been approved by the oppressed party itself and is considered as a natural thing. If this continues, then the symbol will be a panopticon sensor or power that is still felt by those who are controlled even though the authorities no longer exercise real power control.

To run away from unequal relation, the individual must master what Bourdieu calls "social field" and "arena". The social field refers to the whole conception of the social world. This concept views social reality as a space where there are arenas that are interrelated but have their own forms. Arena is an autonomous social world and works with its own laws. Every individual who will enter the arena must know and understand the "rules of the game". Bourdieu emphasized that in every arena there is

²⁴ Gadis Arivia, *Filsafat, Hasrat, Seks dan Simone de Beauvior*, Makalah Seri Kuliah Umum, 2010, <http://cdn.salihara.org/media>, accessed on 24th of June 2017.

²⁵ Gadis Arivia, *Filsafat, Hasrat, Seks dan Simone de Beauvior*, accessed on 24th of June 2017.

a struggle in order to fight for domination, therefore capital is needed. Social capital is links and networks of relationships which are useful resources in the process of political activity.

The current Indonesian political phenomenon shows that gender issues are the momentum of the birth of political feminism in the gender political movement. Women in politics or political feminism is a movement that aim to make women's issues that were previously neglected (health, education, economic empowerment, political involvement) becomes current highest priority and a political "selling issue". In some party programs including Islamic parties, empowering women becomes an important part of the discussion of the long-term programs. However, these programs are not accompanied by adequate political education. As a result, when women both inside the party or entering as a legislative member, women cannot do much.

The struggle for the movement to eradicate gender discrimination in the social and political aspects that are continuously encouraged (affirmative action) is inseparable from the experience of women who are conceived in an unfavorable position. The affirmative action movement that began with the women's struggle movement aroused awareness of individuals (women), the importance of making a change in the perspective on the existence of gender roles in the public sphere.

The rise of the women's movement in the political sphere is inversely proportional to people's views which are strongly constructed. The awakening of women's awareness to get away from the misinterpretation of gender role in the public domain, is not only influenced by external awareness (subjectively) as an actor / actor in a subordinate position. On the other side, external factors (objective) also contribute to political dynamics based on intersubjective meaning between individuals. Individuals with adequate levels of knowledge and experience will strengthen their conscious and confidence, even though the obstacles caused by the symbolization of politics are still strongly constructed in society. In this process the pro-contra dynamics become determinants that influence the relations process between individuals in the group.

C. RESEARCH RESULTS

1. The Construction of Political Symbolism of Islamic Based Political Party

The essence built on the United Development Party, the National Mandate Party and the National Awakening Party is a political party that carries Islamic values that are defined in party identity. Party identity is contained in the party's articles of association (AD / ART) which is internally binding. The identity of the party is designed within the symbolization of visual design (symbol) and non-visual design (ideology, vision, and commitment to gender). In addition, there are other affective factors that contribute to political parties in society, namely the existence of political party elites.

In general the conditioning of visual object design political symbolization in Islamic based political parties, as follows:

Table 1
Conditioning symbols on visual objects in Islamic-based political parties²⁶

Number	Visual object symbol	Visual display	Symbolic meaning
1	Line Design	Round	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a symbol of dynamic rotation as new enthusiasm and hope, openness, and firmness - strong determination and continuous struggle
		Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The line of party struggle that places worldly and religious orientation, material and spiritual, as well as physics and mental. - Equality, order and harmony - commitment to maintain national unity and diversity in the context of NKRI
		Shield Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - symbolizes the party's ideology - symbolizes Indonesia's independence day, - an inseparable unitary of party paradigm
2	Color	Green	- inner and outer prosperity
		White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - holiness, sincerity, and truth - Sincerity, truth, justice and new spirit.
		Blue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - serenity peaceful in life. - firm, consistent, confident, and full of optimism
		Golden Yellow	Heyday
3	Image	Kabah	Muslims unifier
		Garuda	Courage in behave and act
		Sun	The source of light and the source of life as a reflection of pluralism
		Rice and cotton	Sufficient of food, or food demand for all levels of society and adequate clothing and shelter needs and other secondary needs for all levels of society.

²⁶ Reiza D. Dienaputra, *Transformasi Visual Lambang-Lambang Partai Politik Islam (1955 – 2004)*, p. 99. See also, Article of Association (*Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga*) United Development Party, National Mandate Party, and National Awakening Party.

In addition to the appearance of visual designs, symbols are also used in non-visuals which include the vision, mission, and ideology described in the Party's Articles of Association and by-laws, as in the following table;

Table 2
The United Development Party, the National Mandate Party and the National Awakening Party Parties' Vision ²⁷

No	Political Parties	Vision	Main Focus Vision
1	United Development Party	The manifestation of a community that is devoted to Allah SWT and an Indonesia that is just, prosperous, wealthy, ethical, democratic, upholds the rule of law, respects human rights, and upholds human dignity and social justice based on Islamic value.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Just 2. Wealthy, prosperity 3. Democratic 4. Law enforcement 5. Human rights 6. Islamic values
2	National Mandate Party	The manifestation of PAN as the leading political party in creating a just and prosperous civil society, good and clean government in a democratic and sovereign Indonesia, and blessed by Allah SWT, God Almighty.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Just 2. Prosperity 3. Good government 4. Democratic 5. Islamic values
3	National Awakening Party	The realization of a society that is guaranteed the human rights which embodies the values of honesty, truth, sincerity and openness based on conscience (<i>as-shidgu</i>), trustworthy, loyal and keep its promise and able to solve social problems (<i>al-amanah wa al-wafa-u bi al-ahdli</i>), behave and act fairly in all situations (<i>al-'adalah</i>), helping each other in good deeds (<i>al-ta'awun</i>) and consistently implementing the agreed provision (<i>al-syuro</i>) which places democracy as the main pillar and equal position of every citizen before the law (<i>al-musawa</i>).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Human rights 2. Honesty, Truth 3. Transparency 4. Reliable, loyal, trustworthy 5. Fair 6. Democracy 7. Able to solve the problem 8. Equality and law enforcement

²⁷ Article of Association (AD/ART) United Development Party, National Mandate Party, National Awakening Party.

The table above shows that the substance of the party's vision tend to be similar, carrying the concept of justice, democracy, prosperity, enforcement of legal supremacy, based on Islamic values, and upholding the human rights.

The United Development Party is one of the Islamic political parties that has been able to sit its members in the Gowa House of Representative (DPRD) for 3 (three) times over the elections in 1999, 2004 and 2009 with significant votes. During the 2014-2019 period, the United Development Party succeeded in placing 6 (six) people represented in the Gowa Regional House of Representative as the most largest votes Islamic-based political party compared to other Islamic based political parties²⁸.

The United Development Party as the oldest Islamic based political party in Indonesia specifically and explicitly listed in its the Articles of Association and By-Laws (AD / ART) that the party must included women in the party. The executive members of Gowa United Development Party branch for the period 2010-2015, from 21 party managers there were 15(fifteen) men and 6 (six) women or 28.6% female representation in the party, with the management structure consists of the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, the Secretary and Deputy Secretary, and Treasurer and Deputy Treasurer. The positions of the Deputy Chairperson, Deputy Secretary in charge of womanhood, and Deputy Treasurer in the structure of the United Development Party for the 2010-2015 period were women²⁹.

Having different ideology from the United Development Party, another Islam-based party namely the National Mandate Party and the National Awakening Party even though both parties are considered by the community to be affiliated with the religious social organization Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama, they are both having Pancasila as their ideology. The National Mandate Party is even though it is nationalist in nature, but in achieving the goals of the party it makes the direction and purpose of the party "Political Morals Based on Religion that Brings Mercy for all creation".

The National Mandate Party in Gowa consistently has representation in the Gowa Provincial House of Representative which were, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014 with a significant voice, and as the only one an Islamic-based political party which is capable of placing women members in the Gowa Provincial House of Representatives. Based on the results of observations conducted by researchers, there are two sources of giving the meaning of Islamic based political parties' symbols in Gowa, namely;

²⁸ Secretariat of the Regional House of Representative (DPRD) of Gowa.

²⁹ Decree Number 010 / SK / U / X / 2016 concerning Personnel Structure of Daily Leaders, Leaders of Sharia Assembly, Leadership of Advisory Assembly and Chief of Expert Assembly of DPC PPP, Gowa Regency Period of 2016-2021

1. The objective and subjective reality of political parties

The subjective reality of the party is a pattern of planting symbolic meanings carried out by the party through party political identity instruments, namely the Articles of Association and By-Laws (AD / ART). Instrument ini merupakan realitas subyektif partai tertuang dalam AD/ART sebagai pedoman pengelolaan partai, dan menjadi acuan dalam penyusunan dan pelaksanaan platform partai yang bersifat mengikat internal partai dari tingkat pusat sampai cabang. This instrument is a subjective reality of the party included in the articles of association (AD / ART) as a guideline for party management, and becomes a reference in the preparation and implementation of party platforms that are binding on internal parties from the central level to the branches. In addition to objective reality, political parties have the opportunity to present subjective reality as a result of party objectivity with society. This can be seen in party policies, objectivity takes place when the interaction process happen in meetings or gathering in the discussion of party development.

2. The objective and subjective reality of individuals with their social environment

Through community involvement in party activities, the symbolic meaning of political parties is objectified and internalized in individuals. Individuals who are part of the internal party have an initial externalization of political parties. In addition to the results of objectivity with the social environment (family, friendship, education), the individual party absorbs the symbolic meaning of a party that contains Islamic values through its activities. When an individual is in the internal party, he will face a party identity instrument that is binding. The objective process then develops in a limited relationship, where intra and inter individuals will experience debate, negotiation, cooperation, the role of each gender identity and the results of the process internalized as individual subjective reality.

In line with the motivation of individual political actions, Islamic based political parties use political strategies in gaining public sympathy in order to achieve party goals. The competition among large Islam-based political parties with similar programs, causing the Islamic-based political parties in Gowa to develop a political image that is able to present itself as a different political party, through party vision and mission, ideology, visual design, work program, and the character of the party elite. Party commitment to the existence of women in political parties can be observed in the party's Articles of Association / Bylaws, which are implemented in party work programs.

Islamic based political parties use symbols where symbolic meaning is objectivated and internalized in society with high religious emotions. The existence of political parties as a means or media for channeling power desire plays a major role in reconstructing symbols through visual and non-visual designs. The aspect of conditioning symbol of visual objects include symbols that are used on party symbols or images that have subjective meaning from religious meaning, culture or community habits.

The United Development Party (PPP) views Islam as a way of life, in which Islam is believed to be a comprehensive teaching encompassing world affairs and the hereafter, which means Islam as a way of life including political life as a formal teaching based on the teachings and laws of God. In the political context, the PPP seeks to interpret Islam as a unifying force and accepts religious groups in promoting national development. PPP is positioning religion more concretely in work programs to get rid of party exclusivity as a closed party from other religions. In the political reality of the United Development Party, the religious ideology has become a barrier between Muslims and non-Muslims, even though in reality the the programs party carried out are programs without a religious label. Religion as a moral and implemented in people's lives can be seen from the National Awakening Party. The symbolic meaning of religion as outlined in the ideology indicated its influences towards individual political desires. Such an ideological appeal is strong to the informant due to the influence of the family and his friendship with some of his party members. The process of socialization aimed at planting meaning towards an object (politics) directed the informant not to drift from the corridor that has been implanted by his family. The informant's family did not directly point out that this party should be chosen, but the planting of initial values in the family and the results of his friendship indirectly influenced his political choices. The same thing applied to the informant 4, who made the party motto as the attractor of his political desire.

The existence of religion as indicated by the informant indicated that the symbolic meaning behind the political symbols presented by the political party was interpreted as both a way to a better life. Outpouring and infusion of informants and in the full party of the power of symbols presented in the party. The informant saw that his party was currently a political party that was consistent with Islamic ideology.

The National Awakening Party (PKB) places Islamic teachings from two aspects namely, formal teachings through the application of worship, and ethical teachings which are described in the form of enthusiasm. PKB makes religious symbolism an ethical basis, not as a party principle as the United Development Party (PPP). In the political aspect, PKB interpreted Islamic ethics as "resurrection" and "nationality" and set out in party names. For PKB, Islamic commitment is not only for Muslims, but for the entire nation. PKB understands Islam as a symbol that is capable of being a factor to integrate people. The thing that should be observed from this party is that there is a tendency to separate religion and politics, where the position of religion is formally outside the political locus because it only places religion as an ethical basis and does not include in the state structure.

The National Mandate Party (PAN) does not specifically use religious symbols both on platforms and party symbols. Political symbols are not very visible in this political party, other than the use of the name "National Mandate" party, where the word "mandate" is an Islamic doctrine objectified in the national context. PAN sees

religion as substantive matter in politics or as a basis for party ethics. Like PKB, religion is outside or separate from politics. The struggle of the National Mandate Party out of exclusivity tends to succeed with the support of rational party partisans, despite the fact that supporters of PAN at the regional level are still dominated by Muslims in general and Muhammadiyah in particular.

The efforts of religion-based political parties to get out of the party's exclusivity with certain labeling is not fully done by extreme means or the elimination of religious symbols in party identity. The use of symbols in both visual and jargon display is maintained with special messages that are positioned at the level of representation of followers of Muhammadiyah and Nahdhiyin organizations, although in reality these two parties are not fully consist of Muhammadiyah or Nahdhiyin people.

Religious authority in Islamic based parties does not become an absolute authority. God's conception contained in the Articles of Association / Bylaws of the Party still uses God Almighty, juxtaposed with the conception of God Almighty to accommodate support from other parties. Apart from the United Development Party which explicitly bases the party's struggle in accordance with Islamic Values. Nevertheless, this party also does not break away from the recognition of the conception of brotherhood with other parties through the implementation of party work programs.

The Law on Political Parties is one of the factors that attract political euphoria among women. This regulation fascinates women who previously felt the struggle of women in politics as a very heavy struggle. On the other hand, political parties consider it as an opportunity for the party to get women's support thus it then rationalizes in the Party's Articles of Association and By-Laws. The statements of informants 6 and 7 with an adequate educational background and the experience of the social organizations they have, seeing the existence of political regulations provide opportunities for women motivating themselves to be involved in party activities.

The organizational experienced by informants generally influences their views on the political world. As member of women's organizations stucture, political desires are implemented in activities that relate to the struggle for women's rights. Informants see that political regulation provides opportunities for individual involvement, especially in politics. This opportunity is also used by the party as a lure for women's groups in gaining votes. The discourse of gender symbolism in the context of equality, representation, and gender justice is a separate content in party AD / ART which include in the formation of women's areas and work programs involving women's groups. As the informant's statement, the interest towards their party was not only because the factor of the Islam-based party, but the opportunities provided by the State to take part in politics were quite wide open. The choice for

their party at present is because the party is closer to the family environment and they have an emotional connection relates to the organization they joined.

The discourse of equality, justice, gender representation becomes a central discourse in the struggle of women's movements in politics. The presence of Law of Political Party Act which provides 30% chance of women's representation in politics is a discourse which deliberately arranged in order to create an image of State interference in involving women in politics, although in reality Indonesia's political system still relies on the majority votes where the system is actually against women. Foucault termed a discourse that was deliberately created to give birth to new knowledge as much as the presence of such regulations otherwise is aimed to create a new image of knowledge that politics is pro women.

Political parties and their founding figures are two entities that cannot be separated. The symbolic meaning presented by visual political parties in this condition does not directly invest in individual political desires, even though the National Mandate Party and the National Awakening Party do not let go their founding figure. The individual's admiration towards the political figures which exposed through the mass media is actually an attraction for them to join the parties where the figures becomes parts.

The existence of political symbols in Islamic based political parties in Gowa, especially in the United Development Party, the National Awakening Party, and the National Mandate Party, appeared in visual and nonvisual forms. The power of symbols in the form of ideology and jargon with the use of religious symbols is in fact not fully invest individuals in order to participate in the party, there are other factors that influence their involvement. It is at this level that Pierre Bourdeu calls the power of symbols capable to charm someone to present a new reality to an object.

Individual interest in political parties is inseparable from the subjective rational meaning of individuals towards the meaning of objective rationality presented by political parties as an investment of political support. The objective rational meaning presented by political parties as the parties which in their political activities is inseparable from the essence of justice, honesty, rahmatan lil alamin, equality, and other symbolic meanings, for some individuals (respondents) still have the charm to influence them to involve themselves in the political party. The existence of religious figures with the "fashion" of religious symbols becomes value added that the political parties they represent are religious / religious parties that are proven by the presence of popular religious figures.

D. CONCLUSION

1. The United Development Party uses Islamic identity in party ideology and becomes a strength for the party in gaining public sympathy. The National Awakening Party and the National Mandate Party appear as an open

- religion-based party with readiness to accept nationalist elements in the party.
2. Vision and mission in the view of postmodernism is a collective agreement in order to accommodate set of society's collective goals. The collective goals which are not far from the target to create a society that just, prosperous, equality, respects the human rights, which are the direction and objectives of party through multi interpretation. The United Development Party, the National Awakening Party, and the National Mandate Party appear as political parties with spiritual visions and missions.
 3. The symbolization of visual design in Islamic based political parties as the background of research is a symbolic environmental image. Signs, images, and icons in the form of images, shapes, colors, which are used is identified a symbol of Islamic activities. Both ideology, vision, mission, jargon, and visual design bring charm to the individual.
 4. Political symbols constructed in political parties through moments of dialectic externalization, objectivity, and internalization of individuals, and become driving factors for individual political party internal actions, namely; vision, ideology, commitment to the role of women, and the character of the party elites.

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