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# Indonesian Women's Political Representation: Affirmative Action Policy of Political Parties for the Upcoming 2019 Election

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Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) is a government-affiliated think-tank under the Prime Minister's Office of South Korea. It has contributed to realizing gender equality, improving women's social participation and welfare, and advancing family life and state through comprehensive research on women's policies.

# Foreword

Gender equality and empowerment of women is one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) implemented by the international community. With an increasing emphasis on the role of gender in development assistance, South Korea has been expanding its efforts to support gender equality and women's empowerment in its development assistance.

Since 2011, the Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) has been leading a multi-year ODA research project entitled *Strengthening Gender Equality Policy Infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Region*. This research project aims to establish a social and political infrastructure for gender-equal policy in the Asia-Pacific region.

As an important pillar of this ODA research project, KWDI has conducted a joint research project on local women's policies with our partner countries, Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar and Vietnam. This project aims to build research basis for policymaking in the respective countries and to strengthen research capacity of the partner institutes. For Indonesia in 2016, KWDI joined its efforts with Women Research Institute (WRI), an Indonesian research institute with expertise on women's political participation, to pursue a joint research entitled "Indonesian Women's Political Representation: Affirmative Action Policy of Political Parties for the Upcoming 2019 Election." This study aims to assess the current status of women's political participation in Indonesian political parties and explore ways to promote women's political participation in light of the upcoming election in 2019.

It is expected that this joint research will provide much needed evidence to policymakers and academics in Indonesia. In addition, this research aims to serve as a useful guide to the aid communities, development practitioners and scholars who seek to foster their knowledge on gender and development in the context of Indonesia.

I would like to express our gratitude to Women Research Institute for their commitment and endeavor for this joint research.

**Myung-Sun Lee**, Ph.D.

President

Korean Women's Development Institute

# Abstract

The lack of significant progress in women's political representation in the parliament, particularly DPR-RI, despite affirmative actions and policies, both at the state level and the internal level of political parties, calls for a study that re-evaluates the current political situation. This study aims to identify issues surrounding women's representation in the parliament, specifically focusing on political parties from the perspectives of their women members, MPs, and political activists. It draws its analysis from case studies on two parties that gained the most and least number of women MPs in the 2014 Election respectively, supplemented by analyses on other parties. This research finds that the role of political parties is central in ensuring the electability of their women MP candidates, and enhancing the quality of their women MPs. This study is concluded with a number of recommendations for the improvement of the political system and all parties in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Political party, electoral system, affirmative action, legislative election, women MPs*



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# I . Introduction

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## 1.1. Background

Since Indonesia's first general election in 1955 until the last one in 2014, women have always been represented in the People's Representative Council and the People's Consultative Assembly (DPR and MPR) levels, albeit with different percentages. The representation of women in legislative institutions was incited by the first Indonesian Women Congress in 1928 which was a historical moment for women in establishing their political presence and participation. The congress served to establish various women's organisations in Indonesia, which strengthened women's political participation in the public sphere.

In the first few elections, women candidates were mostly the leaders or members of women's organisations with affiliations to political parties. In the 1955 election, there were 17 female MPs in DPR (6.3%), including 4 from Gerwani and 5 from Muslimat NU. The number fluctuated during the New Order era, with its highest at 13% in 1987 and the lowest at 6.3% in 1977. During the 1999-2004 election in the Reformation era, the percentage of women representation was 9%, the lowest since the 1987 election. However, this number increased by 2% in the next period, and reached a significant number of 18.03% or 103 women parliamentarians in the 2009-2014 election. The 2009 Election also saw a success in the increase of the number of women elected in the provincial and municipal legislatures (DPRD), as much as 16% in Provincial DPRD and 12% in the Regional DPRD (Noor, 2015: 169).

Unfortunately, the representation of women MPs declined by 0.71% in the 2014 election, becoming 17.32% or 97 seats in DPR. There are also 6 provinces with no women representatives in the parliament, i.e. Aceh, Bangka Belitung, Bali, South Kalimantan, Gorontalo, and West Papua. The political party with the absolute highest number of women representatives is PDI-P or the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (22%), while PKS or the Prosperous Justice Party has the lowest number of women MPs (1%).

Until today, there has been no significant progress in advocating for a specific gender equality regulation in the format of reserved seats for women in the Indonesian parliament. However, since the 30% quota affirmative action only regulates the candidacy, there is a strong evidence that without stronger affirmative actions and regulations at the state level, as well as the internal level of political parties, women could only reach a political representation of 17% in the national parliament, a far cry from the goal of securing at least 30% of the seats.

In carrying out the literature review and analysis of this research, a number of other researches on the affirmative action and case studies of women's representation in the parliament were also taken as references. Lena Wangnerud's article, *Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representations* (2009), traces the importance of women representatives in terms of descriptive and substantive representation and concludes that women MPs do contribute towards the advancement of women's interests. In *Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies - Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List*, Kim (2014) analyses women's representation in the South Korean parliament based on the gender quota system by outlining the advantages of the system, as well as the criticisms to it. A joint research by Korean Women's Development Institute and UI Center for Political Studies (2014) focuses on voters' behaviour and political perception on women candidates in the legislative election. It finds that most voters view the issue of women's representation very normatively; pointing out at individual performances as the cause for low rate of female MPs, instead of it being the result of a structural political system within the political party and the state.

Furthermore, Anggraini, Pratama and Rahmawati (2015) trace the development of women's representation in the parliament since 1999 to 2014, analysing both electoral and non-electoral factors. It finds that parties justify their lack of women representatives due to the lack of women cadres, and

provides several recommendations to ensure a better electoral system and support the gender quota. Examining the 2009 Election in Indonesia, Andriana et al (2012) explores problems surrounding women's political participation that result in women's low political participation. This research points at political parties' gender-insensitive nature and lack of political will as factors that influence the low participation of women, in addition to personal factors such as insufficient financial ability. However, there is still no research that comprehensively discusses the link of women's representation rate at the legislative level with parties' internal policies and practices.

This research thus aims to study the issue of women's political representation at the national parliament by identifying the challenges and opportunities for women members of political parties in their political parties. What are the policies and regulations, both in general (at the national and regional levels) and in particular (within the political party) that should be changed or taken to push women's political representation at the national parliament? The research compares the political party that has the highest numbers of women at the national parliament, i.e. PDI-P, with the political party that has the least number of women members at the national parliament, i.e. PKS.

The selection of the objects of research is based on the absolute total number, and not the percentage, of women's representatives per party, in order to make a comparison based on the quantity (i.e. the largest and smallest numbers) of women MPs. As such, in the analysis of the research, the number of seats that PDI-P gained as the winning party is also taken into account as one of the factors that supported its high number of women MPs. Furthermore, as this research argues that the political parties' nature has a significant role in determining the outcome of the candidacy and electability of its women legislative candidates, the factors of parties' ideology, internal policy, and support system for women members (e.g. political trainings, financial and logistic support, organisational system, and women's wing) also provide the basis in choosing and



juxtaposing the objects of research. In defining the factors that supported or hindered female candidates in the election process, this research also investigates a number of other elements, including the political system and policies related to the legislative elections as well as the backgrounds of the women MPs (e.g. family background, academic achievements, political connections, and wealth).

## **1.2. Research question**

This research questions why the percentage of women representation in the 2014 Indonesian General Election decreased to 17% from the target of 30% despite the adoption and the revision of General Election Law that enforces a quota system for women.

## **1.3. Hypothesis**

This research argues that the cause for such a low representation of women in the 2014 General Election lies in the nature and policies of political parties in Indonesia.

## **1.4. Objectives of research**

1. To identify issues related to women's representation in legislative institutions from the perspectives of women MPs in political parties.
2. To identify the gaps and issues faced by political parties in relation to the affirmative action policy and related regulations to support and strengthen women's representation in the parliament.
3. To suggest policy recommendations for political parties on the affirmative action to increase women's representation.

## 1.5. Methodology

### 1.5.1. Desk review

The desk review is carried out to collect data related to available political parties' policies and regulation on affirmative action, related researches and policies on affirmative action in Indonesia, numbers of women members in political parties and women MPs in the National Parliament.

### 1.5.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) are intended to help WRI identify the issues faced by the political parties' women cadres and women MPs, both external factors (i.e. electoral system and voters) and internal factors within the parties. In addition, the FGDs also aim to identify the actions they need to take related to affirmative action policy in their respective political parties. The FGD was carried out twice in July 2016.

The total participants of the FGD was 35 participants, consisting of 11 PDI-P members as the party with the highest number of women MPs in the national parliament, 3 PKS members as the party with the least women MPs, and 21 members of 20 members of MPI (Maju Perempuan Indonesia / Indonesian Women Forwards), a network consisting of former and current women MPs and political activists. Overall, the participants of the FGD are former and current MPs, MP candidates who failed to gain seats, academics, and women activists in the political sector. This composition is designed to gain a clear and comprehensive illustration of the issues faced by these women from various perspectives.

### 1.5.3 In-depth interview

The in-depth interview aims to study a number of variables, i.e. personal

backgrounds, affirmative action within the political party, issues faced by women in the parliament, and policy recommendations. The interview is carried out in two stages, from June to July, with 32 interviewees consisting of: 10 women MPs (both former and current) from PDI-P, 10 women MPs (both former and current) from PKS, and 12 women members (former and current MPs and candidates) from other parties. The inclusion of interviewees from other parties is considered necessary in order to understand whether the experiences faced by PDI-P and PKS are representative of the general situation or only a condition specific to those parties.

## **II. Women's Representation and Political Party**

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## 2.1. The concept of representation and affirmative action

As a study that pioneered debates on women's representation, Hana Pitkin's *The Concept of Representation* (1967) is a useful basis in defining and describing the concept of representation, as well as discussing the importance of affirmative action. In her book, Pitkin categorises representation into 4 types, namely: (1) *formalistic representation*, a form of representation which receives its authority from an institutional arrangement; (2) *descriptive representation*, where the representatives are a representation of a certain group, either based on gender, religion, race, or ethnicity; (3) *symbolic representation*, which is based on how the constituents perceive the representatives based on emotional ties or closeness; (4) *substantive representation*, where the representative acts to represent the interests of his/her constituency (Pitkins, 1967: 11-12).

Pitkin explained this concept in the context of politics, which is a continuous process of compromise and bargains, where the ideal political life is very closely related to the commitment on values, empirical-based decisions, and actions to achieve objectives and interests (Pitkins, 1967: 212). However, to realise this ideal political life, Pitkin argues that the most relevant form of representation is substantive representation, because the other forms of representation are based on "arbitrary", less relevant aspects. Pitkin's emphasis on substantive representation opened a room for debate when considered from the point of view that who the representative is as important as what they represent and how they represent the constituents.

Pitkin's argument did not address the marginalisation of disprivileged or minority groups based on race, gender, religion, or ethnicity. When the aspects of who the representatives are and what they represent are separated, the former is often overlooked, causing a demand to pay greater attention to the political involvement of these marginalised groups. In other words, "the politics of

ideas” that Pitkin prioritised is challenged by “the politics of presence”.

One of the main initiators of the concept is Anne Philips, in her book *The Politics of Presence* (1995). Philips argued that in the era of today, when the issue of identity is becoming more important on the one hand but also more problematic on the other, an influential issue currently arising is what Charles Taylor calls as “the politics of recognition”. A general and political acknowledgement that the identity, culture, and way of life of a particular group is of an equal value to other groups, both socially and legally, is now considered as a reasonable demand by every group. However, a recognition alone is not enough, because this recognition must come hand-in-hand with a more inclusive and progressive policy direction (Philips, 1995: 40).

Arguments supporting the importance of enhancing women's representation through the affirmative action in legislative bodies are basically based on 4 (four) justifications, namely that successful women politicians can become role models for other women; principles of justice must be upheld for both men and women; that women's interests can only be represented and voiced adequately by women themselves; and that women's political participation and presence will enhance the quality of political life (Philips, 1995: 62). These factors are the basis of this research, because women's political participation is an integral part in the process of democracy, and women's political representation is urgently needed to advocate for women-related issues in the policy sector.

## 2.2. Gender quota system in the Indonesian law

Since the ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1958, Indonesia has become one of the countries committed to ensure the fulfillment of women's political rights by way of their participation in politics. This commitment was accommodated 45 years afterwards through the

affirmative policy in Law No. 12 of 2003 on the General Election (General Election Law) which includes the minimum quota of 30% for women's representation in the legislative candidacy. The Law is a marking point in the struggle to implement the affirmative action, as a national-level regulation is one of the main references in measuring the state's commitment and consistency to support women's active participation in the public sphere. It is thus imperative to observe the development of national-level policies and regulations on affirmative action to enhance women's participation in the Election, particularly in the 2004, 2009, and 2014 Elections.

### 2.2.1. 2004 General Election

During the 2004 General Election, there were still very few laws which explicitly regulate the implementation of the affirmative action. Law No. 31 of 2002 on Political Parties (Political Party Law) Article 7 paragraph (e) merely states that the principle of "gender equality and equity" must be considered, but it does not specifically regulate how the principle should or could be adopted. However, the regulation for the 30% quota for women was initiated during this Election, as observable in Law No. 12 of 2003 on General Election (General Election Law) which regulates that nominating MP candidates for DPR-RI and Regional DPR (Provincial DPRD and District/Municipal DPRD), political parties must consider a minimum of 30% women per constituency, as stated in Article 65:

"Each Political Party, Participant of the General Election, can nominate candidates for DPR, Provincial DPRD and District/Municipal DPRD legislative members for each Constituency, while considering a minimum of 30% of women's representation."



However, it should be noted that, by using the word “considering”, it tends to be more of a recommendation, embodying less of an obligatory connotation. In addition, the General Election Law does not specify the consequences for the parties should they fail to fulfil the number of women’s representation, thus failing to have a binding legal power. Moreover, the Election Organising Body (BPP) did not take the necessary actions to ensure and ‘force’ parties to implement the affirmative policy.

### 2.2.2. 2009 Election

In the 2009 Election, national-level policies on the affirmative action have improved, both in quantity and quality. For instance, Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties (Political Party Law) Article 2 states that a minimum of 30% women’s representation must be included in the executive board of the party’s national headquarters as a requirement to establish a political party. Article 20 states that the formation of the executive board of political parties at the provincial and district/city levels must “consider” women’s representation by at least 30% as regulated by the party’s Constitution. In addition to serving as a requirement to establish a party, Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election Article 8 paragraph (d) and Article 15 also regulate that the inclusion of a minimum of 30% women’s representation in the political party’s national board is one of the requirements for parties to register as a participant of the Election. Consequently, parties that fail to fulfill 30% women in their board will not be barred from running in the Election.

Furthermore, Law No. 10 of 2008 on the General Election of DPR, DPD, and DPRD Members (General Election Law) also states that the ballot list of DPR-RI, Provincial DPRD, and District/Municipal DPRD candidates is obliged to include a minimum of 30% women’s representation. The General Election Law Article 55 also enacts that in assigning the candidates’ electoral numbers there should be at least one female candidate in every three candidates

nominated by the party. This is carried out to anticipate the party's tendency to place women at bigger numbers, thus lessening the chances for women MP candidates to be elected. According to a survey conducted by Puskapol UI, small electoral numbers still have a higher advantage even in the open-list proportional electoral system as many undecided voters have the psychological tendency to choose candidates who are first in the list.

Furthermore, Article 57 regulates that the General Election Commission (KPU) conducts verification to all political parties to ensure the fulfillment of the gender quota at the national, provincial, and district/municipal levels. If the ballot list is considered failed to achieve 30% women's representation, according to Article 58, KPU is obliged to allow the party in question to alter the ballot list within a certain period of time. Furthermore, in Articles 61 and 66, KPU is responsible to publish the percentage of women's representation in the Temporary Candidate List (DCS) and Final Candidate List (DCT) of each party in the media (both the national print press and the national electronic media). Law No. 22 of 2007 on General Election (General Election Law) has also regulated that as an organising commission of Election, KPU and Bawaslu (Election Supervisory Board) must also "consider" a minimum of 30% women's representation in their committee.

### 2.2.3. 2014 General Election

In response to the 2014 General Election, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Children Protection (KP-PA) initiated a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with KPU which regulates the effort to enhance women's political participation in the 2014 General Election in order to accelerate gender mainstreaming. MoU No. 14/MPP-PA/07/2012 regulates the increase of women's participation in politics during the Election of DPRD, DPD, and DPRD Members; Election of President and Vice President; and the Election of Governors, Head of Districts, and Mayors in pushing for the acceleration of

gender mainstreaming in politics. This MoU is applicable for three years and its objective is to synergy women's political participation during the Election, both at the regulation and implementation levels. In order to realise a gender-responsive Election, the MoU regulates the implementation of various efforts, for instance policies which push for improvements in women's representation and the implementation of women's political participation trainings.

In response to the MoU, the laws and regulations related to the General Election, for instance Law No. 8 of 2012 on the Election of DPR, DPD, and DPRD Members, are advocated to be adjusted with the organising mechanism in order for it to adhere to gender mainstreaming principles. Regulations related to the affirmative action enacted during the 2009 Election were maintained; for instance, in relation to the designation of electoral numbers to ensure that women MP candidates are not placed at low numbers (the zipper system) as regulated in Article 56, as well as the publication of women's total representation in the DCS and DCT of each political party in the mass media, as regulated in Articles 62 and 67. In addition, Article 15 of the General Election Law also stipulates that political parties must demonstrate a minimum of 30% women's representation in the party's national executive board.

In addition, there are also a number of additions to the law which supports the increase of women's representation, for instance in Article 215 it is regulated that in the case that there are two or more candidates that have fulfilled regulations with the same number of votes, the decision of elected candidate will be made based on the same amount of votes received in the constituency while considering women's representation. The General Commission Election Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 of 2013 as revised by PKPU No. 13 of 2013 and PKPU No. 8 of 2013, and the possibility for parties to nominate other women candidates with the same electoral number and area as replacements of the resignation of women candidates. Following the General

Election, KPU is also responsible to prepare gender-aggregated data on women's political participation in the Elections of DPR, DPD, and DPRD Members, President/Vice President, Governor, Head of District, and Mayor, as stipulated in Article 4 MoU No. 14/MPP-PA/07/2012.

However, the implementation still finds a number of flaws. For instance, there is still a leeway in the verifying process of the political parties' requirements regarding the implementation of the 30% gender quota. Even though Law No. 2 of 2008 Article 20 regulates that a minimum of 30% women's representation in the executive board at the provincial and municipal/district levels, yet in practice, KPU issued a new regulation. This regulation stipulates that parties unable to fulfill the requirement of 30% women's representation in the provincial and municipal/district levels are not subjected to sanctions but instead are allowed to submit a letter explaining to the public the reasons why they were unable to fulfil the requirement and the obstacles they faced.

In addition, regulations on women's representation in the Election commission as regulated in Law No. 15 of 2011 stipulates that the composition of membership of various Election organising committees, namely KPU (from the national to the district/municipal levels), Bawaslu (National, Provincial, and District/Municipal Election Supervisory Board), and PPK (Sub-district Level Election Committee) must consider a minimum of 30% women's representation. Although the 30% quota gender has been included as a form of affirmative action, the usage of the word "consider" fails to include an obligatory meaning and does not include any consequence if not implemented. In addition, the membership formulation of KPU's selection team established by the President only states must "consider women's representation" without specifying the percentage or number.

## 2.3. Women's representation in Indonesian political parties

The quota system, apart from a form of direct effort of increasing the number of women in the parliament, is also a supporting factor of the principle of representation applied in Indonesia (Wasthi, 2016: n.p). According to the International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES), there are a number of factors which influence the realisation of women's representation, namely the election system, the role of political parties, and the affirmative action. However, there are still many major challenges that women experience in politics. Various researches find that the factor of political parties is one of the biggest obstacles in fulfilling the 30% target of women's representation. These challenges occur due to the internal regulation and culture of the political parties where women use as their political medium.

### 2.3.1. The role of political party

According to Gabriel A. Almond and James Coleman in *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (1960), the ideal function of a political party is to participate in the government and contribute towards the process of political decision-making. In running its organisation, this role becomes the political party's strategic function. Therefore, in order to optimise its strategic function, the political party needs quality and competent human resources, including women, to participate in the political decision-making sector. As stated by UNDP (2012), the political party is an important institution in influencing women's political participation.

Furthermore, political party as a pillar of democracy also serves a pedagogical role in the recruiting process and political dissemination. Such roles need to be continuously enhanced by providing women the opportunity to learn politics by placing women in a strategic position and responsibility (Fanindita,

2010). Political recruitment has an important function for political system because it is through this process that legislative representatives are elected to run the political system.

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) research, political parties strongly influence their MPs' priority in the parliament, while holding a central role in promoting gender equality and equity. As the parties' decision will influence the national policies, if the parties already have sufficient or positive representation of women, there will be a bigger awareness of women's interests and political participation, which is expected to impact and improve women's conditions. Increasing the number of women in political parties in Indonesia is still a challenge, and this can be traced back to the parties' regeneration system. In running its organisation, a political party needs to carry out a systematic regeneration, not only in the effort to rejuvenate the party, but also to prepare its members as legislative candidates. In Indonesia, this system of regeneration is commonly referred to as "cadreship" with the objective to recruit and train party members as "cadres".

Therefore, if a party fails to fulfil the 30% quota, one should review their recruitment and cadreship processes to see whether they have paid serious attention to improve the quantity and quality of women. Ultimately, women's representation will be highly independent on the political will of the party to carry out capacity building, training, and political dissemination to enhance women's quality and confidence (Amiruddin, 2016).

### 2.3.2. Political parties' strategy in accommodating women cadres

Political parties' legal basis in carrying out political activities is based on external regulations (implemented nationally and mandated through the Political Party Law and General Election Law) and internal regulations (Party

Constitution - Constitution and By-laws, Decrees, and other internal policies). These party regulations are formulated based on an interpretation and implementation of external (state) laws and regulations as well as the values and ideologies of the party. This is in alignment with the affirmative policy stipulated by Law No. 2/2008 on Political Parties which obliges 30% representation of women in the parties' establishment and executive boards. This regulation is responded by each party with its own mechanisms; subsequently, women's political representation is outlined by how parties construe and implement the affirmative policy.

Parties' strategies in involving women can be observed from its constitution and effective regulations on the implementation of affirmative policies, especially in terms of processes of recruitment, cadreship, and decision-making mechanisms, where such factors are influential on women's candidacy and electability as MPs (Puskapol UI, n.d.). The political parties' - its leaders and in its capacity as an institution - commitment is demonstrated from binding regulations and a political system in the party which provides women the access and opportunity to participate.

The level of commitment of the parties is a factor that needs to be taken into account, as it relates to such regulations which can provide a legal certainty in enabling women's access to the party. Top-level regulations, or ones that are acknowledged structurally and functionally in the party, will have a greater mandatory effect to implement the affirmative policy. The lower the level of regulations that regulate the affirmative action, the weaker such regulations will result in a systematic, permanent implementation of women's representation. According to UNDP, the opportunity to push for women's participation in the political party can be realised through several aspects, for instance the party's legal framework and effective internal policies. The party's efforts to enhance women's participation are illustrated from the board and decision-making structure.

### 2.3.3. Women's participation in political parties

The lack of participation and the poor representation of women are not merely an issue specifically for women; instead, they are a part of Indonesia's problems as a young democracy that is still in search of an ideal form of democracy (Jamil, 2014: n.p). This is observable from the parties' and people's tendency to doubt women's preparation to participate actively in politics by getting involved in political parties and legislative candidacy. The number of quality women cadres in political cadres tends to be unsatisfactory, due to the inadequate recruitment and cadreship systems. Until today, women's existence in politics is still considered superficial, despite the fact that the improvement of women's political representation is imperative to realise social justice (Hukum Online, 2008: n.p).

Subsequently, the quality and quantity of women in the parliament are greatly influenced by the role of political parties. The parties' internal regulations and political commitment are central in affording equal opportunities for women members to sit along with men in strategic positions and ranks. In order to positively influence the rate of women's representation in the parliament, a number of improvements within the party are needed, for instance a better institutional system within the party, a clear organizational structure with more transparent regulations, a more progressive party ideology, and a more aggressive gender activism.

Women's representation in political parties must be realised by way of presence and participation in deciding political directions and policies. It is expected that women's political participation can contribute towards increasing the Gender Development Index (GDI), especially considering that one of the indicators of GDI is women's political representation. By including women in politics, it is hoped that they can contribute more towards the prevention and problem-solving of issues related to women's disadvantaged situations, such as the discrimination to women in legal practices, the workforce, and social life.



According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) research, women's presence in the parliament has a major impact in the policies produced, because women are commonly found to be more sensitive to social issues in society. Thus, the policies that are produced will be different if only men were involved in the drafting of such policies. It is also believed that no other group can voice out and articulate women's interests and needs better than women themselves (Fanindita, 2010).

#### 2.4. Gender distribution in the parliament for 2014–2019 period

Based on the data from Political Statistics 2014, the percentage of women's representation in DPR-RI for 2014-2019 is 17.32% from a total of 560 MPs. PDI-P is the fraction with the most number of women MPs, namely 21 MP, while PKS only has 1 (one) woman MP, which makes it the party with the least women MPs. Meanwhile, PPP achieved the highest percentage of women's representation with 25.64% from its total of 39 MPs.

〈Table II –1〉 Gender Distribution in DPR RI for the 2014–2019 Period

| No. | Political Party | Number of Seats | Sex   |       |     |       |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
|     |                 |                 | Women | %     | Men | %     |
| 1.  | PDI Perjuangan  | 109             | 21    | 19.27 | 88  | 80.73 |
| 2.  | Golkar          | 91              | 16    | 17.58 | 75  | 82.42 |
| 3.  | Demokrat        | 61              | 13    | 21.31 | 48  | 78.69 |
| 4.  | Gerindra        | 73              | 11    | 15.07 | 62  | 84.93 |
| 5.  | PPP             | 39              | 10    | 25.64 | 29  | 74.36 |
| 6.  | PKB             | 47              | 10    | 21.28 | 37  | 78.72 |
| 7.  | PAN             | 49              | 9     | 18.37 | 40  | 81.63 |

| No.   | Political Party | Number of Seats | Sex   |       |     |       |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
|       |                 |                 | Women | %     | Men | %     |
| 8.    | Nasdem          | 35              | 4     | 11.43 | 31  | 88.57 |
| 9.    | Hanura          | 16              | 2     | 12.50 | 14  | 87.50 |
| 10.   | PKS             | 40              | 1     | 2.50  | 39  | 97.50 |
| Total |                 | 560             | 97    | 17.32 | 463 | 82.68 |

Source: Statistics Indonesia

From 97 women in the parliament, 18 of them are concentrated in Commission IX, which focuses on health and labour. On the other hand, in Commission II on State Secretariat, Domestic Affairs and General Election, there are only 4 women from the total number of MPs in that commission. The significant percentage of women in Commission IX (36.73%) is consistent with IPU's research that women tend to be more focused on gender equity and equality issues, social and community issues, family matters, education, healthcare, and foreign affairs.

However, based on their positions, women rarely hold key positions in their committees. For instance, only 3 women are vice chairs of their committees - the highest position held by women - namely in Committee I: Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communication and Information Technology, and Intelligence; Committee IV: Agriculture, Food, Maritime, and Forestry, and Committee IX: Health and Labour. There are still no women who sit as the chair of their committees. Meanwhile in other strategic supporting bodies, such as the Budget Committee or the Legislative Committee, no women sit as either the chair or the vice chair. In the Budget Committee, there is only 13 women from 80 members, while the Legislative Committee has 12 women from 78 members. The lack of women at strategic positions in DPR-RI is one of the consequences of having no laws or regulations which enforces the inclusion of women in decision-making positions.



### III. PKS, PDI-P, and Other Parties

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### 3.1. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

#### 3.1.1 Internal regulations and policies of PKS

In general, Indonesian political parties have implemented the affirmative action in their internal party policies. However, this is carried out differently. Some implement it through written policies such as Party constitutions and by-laws, top-level decrees, internal memos or circular letters; while some carry it out through Party programmes which are not written as legal regulations. This depends on the Party's interpretation and stance on Law No. 2/2008 on Political Party (Political Party Law).

In order to fulfil the administrative requirements of the general election, political parties that participated in the election have managed to meet the minimum 30% of women candidates in the ballot list. To fulfil the quota, parties implement various different mechanisms based on a consensual basis in the implementation of the affirmative policy. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which only gained 1% women MPs in DPR-RI in the 2014 Election, chose to not implement the affirmative policy in the form of Party constitution. Instead, since the 2004 Election, PKS have established a programme to fulfill the quota called *Jaring Mutiara* (Selecting Connectors of the People's Hearts and Aspirations) which is part of their Legislative Candidates' Selection and Nomination programme. This mechanism succeeded to contribute towards the increase of PKS women's candidacy in the legislative election.

However, the low rate of PKS women's representation in DPR-RI is in contrast with the number of PKS women's participation during the candidacy (Women Research Institute: 2010: n.p). Below is a table which elaborates the development of PKS women's representation during candidacy, post-election, as well as the Party's candidacy policy:

〈Table III–1〉 Development of the Representation of PKS's Women (2004–2014 Elections)

| Election      | Legislative Candidacy Policy   | % of Women's Representation |                |
|---------------|--|-----------------------------|----------------|
|               |  | % of Women Candidates       | % of Women MPs |
| 2004 Election | Jaring Mutiara programme Internal Election   | 40.7%                       | 0%             |
| 2009 Election | 2009 Jaring Mutiara programme Internal Election Decision for PKS Legislatif Candidates | 37.17%                      | 5.3%           |
| 2014 Election | 2014 Jaring Mutiara programme  | 38.8%                       | 1%             |

It can be seen from the table that in the 2004, 2009, and 2014 Election, PKS has reached a relatively high percentage of women's candidacy (more than 30%). However, only a small portion managed to gain seats in the parliament, with none at all during the 2004 election. In order to understand the root of the issue, it is thus essential to understand more about the Party's philosophy and how the women cadres themselves perceive the affirmative policy.

#### ***PKS's basic philosophy and development platform***

As an Islamic party, PKS is a *dawah* (Islamic preaching) party based on a religious ideology. As part of its vision, PKS aims to realise a fair, prosperous, and dignified civil society—the hopes of the people, the nation, and the state. The direction of development in Indonesia that they envision is the creation of society with a way of life based on the values of tawhid (the concept of monotheism in Islam). Furthermore, it should consist of egalitarian families as the basis of the internalisation and ideologisation of values of righteousness and faith, where men and women are united in a proportional, complementing relationship in order to realise the “mandate” of human creation according to Islam.

In relation to the issue of gender equality and equity, PKS also has its own perception, which is part of their basic philosophy and party vision:

The issue of gender is oftentimes presented in a contradictive situation. In fact, the positions of women and men are not meant to be contradicted, because both social components play equally important roles. Inter-sex partnership should be implemented in the family environment between husband and wife as well as the children (both boys and girl), so that the family becomes a miniature of a social system that values the differences of each role. In a larger context, the partnership is also promoted in the public sector through a fair distribution of roles based on each one's competence. (PKS's Party Vision)

In addition, the Party has a particular development platform agenda in the social and cultural context for Indonesian women. The platform pays attention to the role of women not only in the public sector but also the capacity strengthening of domestic roles. This is also elaborated in PKS's ideology on women's roles and responsibilities, one of which is to be men's life partners who should work together in harmony and reciprocal support. This ideological framework is then embodied in the concept of family resilience:

Under the frame of piety, to realise the role of Indonesian women who are prosperous, intelligent, empowered and cultured by strengthening their roles in the domestic and public sectors. (PKS's Development Policy Platform for Social and Culture)

Consequently, this view impacts how the Party construes the affirmative policy, which they believe must be ensured to maintain women's and men's position in the public sector to remain proportional and do not threaten the substance of family unity:

The affirmative policy which affords a greater opportunity to women must be appreciated, but it should remain in the corridor of a professional and proportional fulfillment of duties. We must avoid an excessive affirmation that may lead to new problems in the



form of social tensions, threatening the sustainability of the family or harmony among the people. (PKS's Development Policy Platform for Social and Culture)

PKS is committed to be more actively involved in solving women's issues, especially since 54% of their voters are women. Therefore, PKS aims to make a more effective system in executive, legislative, and judicative bodies in order to work better in fulfilling women's empowerment.

One of PKS's strategies in achieving Indonesian women's empowerment is by pushing women to play an active role and contribute through positive ideas, works, and innovations for the advancement of the nation, able to be take a critical stance on disadvantageous public policies that threaten the nation's way of life, improve women's roles in decision-making agencies, and guarantees to voice out the aspirations and interests of women and family.

PKS is certain that it is only by enhancing the quality of human resources a dignified and reputable nation can be realised. Women are half of the population, so according to PKS's philosophy, there is no excuse for a citizen to not support every effort to empower women as a whole: spiritually and physically, in the world and afterlife.

#### ***Affirmative action according to PKS women***

From the internal Party, the perceptions of PKS's women cadres on the affirmative policy are still quite varied. Some consider that affirmative action as interpreted in the form of quantity is not their main concern; rather than affirmation, it is more important to focus on the quality of MP candidates. In addition, some believe that the people's interests regarding legislative members are on their performance and not their quantity, as a focus on quantity creates the issue of money politics for MP candidates, which fails to politically educate the people.

The most important issue, they believe, is the stage of candidacy: ensuring

the quality of the men and women who are nominated as MP candidates, not the quota system which may create pragmatic behaviour in nominating women candidates to fulfill the 30% quota. In other words, women's representation is seen to be confined to the 30% quota system, which they do not consider ideal as it creates a coercion to "provide" women candidates. Furthermore, it is argued that women MPs in the parliament do not guarantee a support for policies which fight for women's interests and needs.

On the other hand, there are also other opinions from PKS women who state that the affirmative policy is already adequate as a starting point of women's representation in politics. However, it is still not enough to support women's representation because the affirmative action is limited to the candidacy stage, and the current electoral system does not guarantee women's capacity enhancement as MP candidates. The significance of capacity building must be initiated in the form of mandate within the political party. The effectiveness of the affirmative policy is defined from the Party's internal policies and how the Party prepares quality, potential women cadres.

In the context of women's political representation, PKS actually already fulfills the 30% quota of women as MP candidates. Various measures to enhance women's capacity as cadres and legislative candidates have been put in place; for instance, by providing special trainings on political education, campaigning strategies, and the Party's values. However, this is still seen inadequate to support women during their candidacy and campaigning process.

### **3.1.2. The implementation of affirmative policy in PKS**

#### **3.1.2.1. Women's wing, recruitment, and cadreship of PKS women**

The values of PKS, which promotes the realisation of family resilience, becomes one of the main points that attracts PKS women to join the Party.

Their interest stems from PKS's ideology that places women as part of the family, creating a joint *dawah* movement to enhance family resilience. A number of women are recruited by way of personal invitations, emotional ties or connections, networks and organisations, and the Party's social or community programmes that involved them.

The recruitment is carried out by the Party in several ways. For instance, by grooming potential cadres from academic institutions (university students), scouting potential citizens involved in the Party's social and community programmes, and approaching those recommended by the Party's elites. PKS's women cadres generally have good quality academic and activism backgrounds, both before and after joining politics. This is a result of PKS's recruitment and selection processes of carefully selected and mapped targets.

Holding a minimum of bachelor degrees, women cadres assigned as part of the executive board or nominated as legislative candidates are in general academically supported and capable in their political careers. The women recruited are already equipped with basic organisation skills and competence which can be accounted for during the Party's political cadreship process.

Apart from their educational background, it is also imperative to understand their objective and motivation of entering politics. Through politics, PKS's women aim to effect greater benefit and impact for the people on a larger scale. Politics is considered as a medium to "do good" and a tool to impact change through policy-making siding with the people's best interests. By being politicians, PKS' women are directly carrying out the mission of a devoted Muslim to be a leader; although in practice, politics is seen as a form of service with far greater responsibilities compared to their previous duties or works.

After going through a recruitment process, PKS's women are prepared to be cadres and board members that adhere to the Party's vision and mission. This is done by assigning cadres the responsibility as programme officers, gradual

positions in the structural board, and MP candidates. This is in alignment with the role of political parties as a pillar of democracy with educational, recruitment, and political dissemination functions. This role needs to be enhanced by providing opportunities for women to learn politics by placing women in strategic positions and responsibilities. In this case, PKS already has a system to carry out the recruitment and cadreship processes, as contained in Article 10 of PKS's Constitution and By-laws:

“The recruitment and cadreship of each member is carried out through the following system and mechanism: (a) Every person who voluntarily registers and expresses his/her agreement to the Party's Constitution and By-laws is appointed and determined as a Supporting Member; (b) Every Supporting Member who steadfastly join activities and trainings organised by the Party is appointed and determined as a Trained Member, (c) Every Trained Member who steadfastly join trainings and cadreship organised by the Party is appointed and determined as a Core Member.”

A clear organisational structure and a systematic cadreship process are some of PKS's selling points in recruiting Party members. From this process, both men and women are educated, trained, and shaped intensively under strict monitoring in the effort to shape quality Party members. Ideally, parties need additional strategies in terms of the affirmative action, such as by establishing a specific department on women's affairs which focuses on improving women's participation in the structure of organisation, as well as guaranteeing that women are present and involved in the parties' decision-making process. Therefore, the quantity of women in the Party and the attention on women's affairs can be enhanced in terms of potential and quality.

#### ***Department of women's affairs and family resilience***

The Party feels a need of an additional strategy which is realised by establishing a specific department on women's affairs that focuses on improving

women's participation in the organisational structure and ensuring that women are present and involved in the Party's decision-making. This way, their women cadres' potential and quality can be enhanced whilst increasing its number.

PKS itself does not have its own women's wing or organisation. However, it has a specific department with the responsibility to carry out capacity training for women, which is the department on women's affairs and family resilience. The role of other parties' women's wings is carried out by the department, which specifically focuses on the two aforementioned areas. This department is adequately strategic in carrying out 3 points, namely approaching the people through social works and maintaining constituents through programmes such as post of justice for women, economic and SMEs (small and medium enterprises) empowerment for the people, and family education; cadreship to improve women's political participation by recommending the MP candidates to the Party's board based on an internal selection (with scoring indicators including educational background and track record in the Party and the community), and communicating people's aspiration to current women MPs.

One of the commendable practices of the women's affairs and family resilience department in overseeing women's candidacy is by carrying out an assessment to map out issues in various constituencies. The initial information is gained by approaching people through social works. This system relatively benefits women in doing campaign strategies and approaches that attracts the people's sympathy as it assists in providing programmes that suit the people's needs and problems.

### **3.1.2.2. The mechanism of fulfilling the 30% quota of women's representation in PKS**

The mechanism that PKS carries out to ensure the number of MP candidates fulfil the quota is two-fold: (1) The *Jaring Mutiara* programme which is through a structural cadreship system, training, and community involvement; and

(2) Internal General Election. The *Jaring Mutiara* Programme aims to:

- a) Scout, select, and nominate MP candidate nominees and MP candidates through a fair, transparent, popular, comprehensive, and sympathetic method; and
- b) Get quality MP candidates by highlighting the Party's vision and mission to gain a larger social support to ensure the Party's victory at the election.

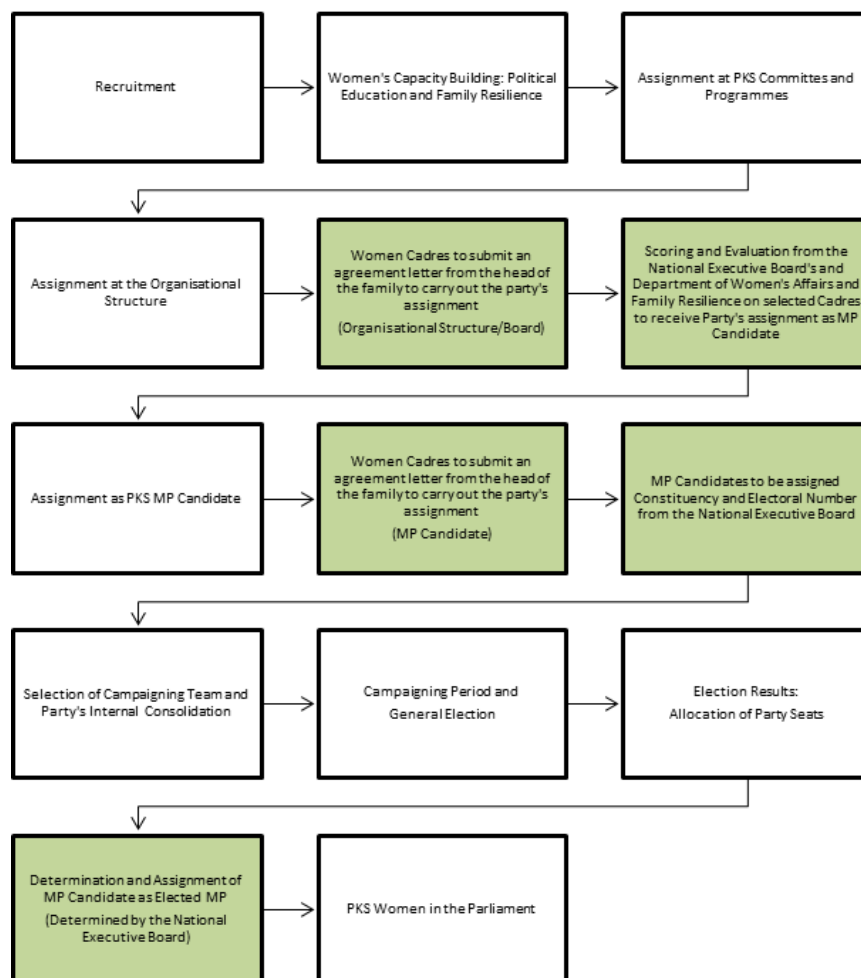
The selection process uses a one-way system of assignment and decision-making from the Party's high-ranking officials to women cadres. The decision-making process is not made known to the cadres themselves, and women cadres do not receive an explanation as to why they are selected or assigned a particular responsibility. Thus, every woman cadre is used to fulfill the assignment as part of their responsibility and commitment to the Party.

Following the selection process is the Internal General Election. Its function is to select Party board members and legislative candidates for the election. The mechanism of the Internal Election basically provides an opportunity for women's electability, but without regulations on affirmative policy at the Party's internal constitution, during the Election process, there is no rule stipulating the quota for women's representation or simply that women must be included. The decision is returned back to the Party's cadres, whether or not they would like to recommend a man or a woman as Party leaders or MP candidates for the General Election.

Both mechanisms will result in a recommendation of women cadres as board candidates and MP candidates. If the number of women recommended from the internal general election is too few, the *Jaring Mutiara* programme will recommend additional names. It is thus of no surprise that the total of PKS women's representation in the legislative candidacy exceeds the 30% quota, although there is still no internal policy regulating the implementation of

affirmative policy. Furthermore, in order to fulfil the 30% quota, it is imperative that the Party also has quality human resources. This realization is subsequently embodied in the recruitment and cadreship processes of PKS women.

Below is the process of nominating PKS women cadres as MP candidates until selected as MPs in the Parliament:



[Figure III-1] Diagram of Party Assignment Process for PKS Women

This diagram illustrates the process that women undergo during the Party's assignment as MP candidates until the final determination and assignment as MPs. There are 4 determining processes, namely:

1. Women cadres are required to submit an agreement letter from the head of the family to carry out the Party's assignment in the structural board and MP candidacy.

In order to be involved actively in the Party's decision-making processes, women cadres must hold important positions in the organisational structure. During this process, PKS' women cadres need to have a written permission from the head of the family, i.e. their husbands or fathers. Therefore, although the Party has already afforded the chance and opportunity for women to be involved actively in the organisational structure, the control of the decision to carry out the Party's appointment is not necessarily made privately by women, but is returned to the family's decision mechanism.

The family head's permission is also a specific requirement for women who are assigned as MP candidates. Women need their husbands' approval to carry out the assignment with the assistance of the family's facilities. If the husband or family does not give their approval, the Party will abide to such decisions.

This mechanism is implemented because the Party's main principle is the stability of family resilience. Women and men involved in the Party must ensure that their family resilience is maintained and well-kept. However, in this context, the differentiation between men and women regarding the need of permission to perform the Party's appointment should be noted. This difference is due to how women can be involved and actively participate in the Party.



## 2. Scoring and evaluation from the national executive board's and department of women's affairs and family resilience on selected cadres to receive the Party's assignment as MP candidate

This evaluation will determine women's opportunity in political representation during the candidacy process. The scoring and evaluation are based on certain criteria, such as level of education, individual capacity and performance in previous Party appointments, family resilience/situation (i.e. no current internal family issues and candidate is considered capable of handling both political activities and carrying out her domestic role as a wife and mother), and financial situation (evaluated from the income and profession of both the cadre and her husband).

## 3. MP Candidates to be assigned constituency and electoral number from the national executive board

The constituency and electoral number are two aspects that determine PKS women cadres' struggle in the campaigning process and general election. The constituency and electoral numbers are decided by the national executive board through a Party internal meeting.

## 4. Determination and assignment of MP candidate as elected MP

The decision of appointing women MP candidates as elected MP is made by the national board members based on the number of votes and Party seats gained. In this case, the Party's leaders' authority influences women's appointment as MPs.

### 3.1.3. Challenges in increasing women's representation in PKS

#### 3.1.3.1. The party's challenges in fulfilling the 30% quota

The representation of women in PKS can be observed from the structure of organisation and programme officers for social community projects in various sectors. PKS women who receive the appointment as Party board members at the structural organisation are afforded the same opportunities with men to sit on various important positions in the Party. This is because cadres' quality and competence are the Party leaders' main consideration in assigning appointments. Therefore, the selection for such appointments does not implement a quota system for women; because women that meet the quality standards automatically have the opportunity to be chosen.

However, currently women sitting in the Party's organizational structure do not hold strategic positions. Only a number of women are serving as heads of departments in the National and Regional Executive Boards. Apart from that, women are placed as department members, secretary, or treasurer. The consideration of such appointment is claimed to be based on the individual's quality and competence. This leads one to question, does this mean that the Party's women are less qualified or less capable to serve in strategic positions?

Political recruitment is an important function for the political system because it is through this process that the people running the political system are determined. The Party's women should be able to be included in the political recruitment scheme in strategic positions; yet in this case, PKS does not accommodate the affirmative policy in the process of political recruitment. Women's written representation is only one of the requirements included in PKS's Constitution and Bylaws Article 28 Paragraph 2:

“The recruitment of political positions for MP candidates for the People’s Representative Council (DPR) and Regional People’s Representative Council (DPRD) is carried out through a recruiting and selection process, considering: (a) Membership structure; (b) Capability and professionalism; (c) Women’s representation.”

In addition, the Party’s spirit in enhancing family resilience may serve as a challenge for PKS’s women to participate in the political party. Women, who are considered as an integral part of the family, must consider and balance their political activities in relation to their obligations as a wife and mother to maintain their family’s sustainability and harmony; effectively causing a limitation in their political movement and flexibility.

This situation is further perpetuated by the Party’s activities that are often not women-friendly. For instance, internal Party coordinating meetings are sometimes scheduled in the evening, overlooking women’s limited flexibility of time or space as part of the family. This will influence women’s participation in the Party’s decision-making process.

PKS pays a great attention to family resilience, making it one of the aspects that the Party considers in assigning posts or responsibilities to its women cadres. The affirmative policy is considered quite ideal, under the assumption that the quality of the human resources is capable enough to fill the position. Women are expected to have good quality and competence with an optimal supporting system, which in this case is their internal family resilience.

The general belief among PKS’s women is that women’s political representation is not only accomplished by being an MP candidate or an MP, but also by working as part of the family and fighting for the Party’s vision in their own sectors or according to their own competence. For instance, participating in the economic empowerment sector by developing the people’s SMEs, in the religious sector by preaching in Islamic study groups, and in the political sector through the candidacy process. As one interviewee stated,

“Politics is not the sole way for PKS’s women to contribute. We also contribute through other means that are suitable to our interest.”

As such, PKS’s women believe that their contribution can be realised through various strategic actions. This triggers the stigma that politics is a difficult and challenging sector, possibly causing many women to lose interests in contributing in politics.

It is observable that women still experience various major challenges in politics. For instance, in assuming their roles and contributing in politics, women are often hindered due to their status as women. Furthermore, the control of whether or not women are active in politics is also not fully controlled by themselves. This is demonstrated by the distinctive requirements applied for the women PKS assigns to be board members or MP candidates.

***Special requirements for PKS’s women’s appointments***

PKS obliges several special requirements for women upon receiving the Party’s assignment. A woman nominated as an MP candidate must submit a written permission from her husband, which expresses the husband’s permission to have their family’s facilities and resources used by the wife for campaigning purposes. The husband’s agreement letter must be included to signify that the husband, as the head of the family, has decided and agreed to accept his wife’s nomination; thus ensuring the family’s resilience.

Meanwhile, the men appointed by the Party are only given an information letter which formally states that the person(s) in question are assigned as MP candidates and their family are requested to give their support. This different treatment is applied due to the Party’s views that men are the head of the family, and thus the main decision-maker. Thus, as part of the family, women must have their husbands’ agreement to ensure an optimal supporting system.

In addition, another requirement regulates if a married couple is both assigned

as MPs, there should be an internal family agreement or decision to decide who will take the assignment on. The considerations should be based on the electability potential, ability, and accountability between both. It is, however, influenced by the gender roles between the man and the woman, where the man holds a larger power than the woman in decision-making.

***The challenges for PKS's women in the legislative candidacy process***

There are a number of challenges faced by PKS's women during the legislative candidacy process, for instance:

**a) Self-branding and campaigning strategies**

In the effort to build their branding and image in society, PKS's women face several challenges such as answering questions from their constituents regarding several programmes and problems; facilitating constituents to receive clear and realistic information from each MP candidate; and preparing and summarising the visions and missions of their work programmes better. In addition, MP candidates with no supporter basis or public recognition will consequently need to adjust their campaigning strategies and funding as well.

The campaign staffs of each MP candidate contribute towards the MP's successful election by providing recommendations and working strategically in building the MP's branding. Their role is central to create strategic, creative campaigning techniques to strengthen their approach to the constituents. It is commonly acknowledged that women candidates tend to have more communicative and interesting approaches. On the other hand, sometimes women are either unable or unwilling to promote themselves. This is unfortunate, as PKS's women are often involved in the Party's social activities, but are not documented or publicized well.

#### **b) Funding**

The challenge that PKS women candidates mainly face is the issue of funding because practical politics is proven to be expensive and requires ample of funds. In many cases, women MP candidates from PKS face major challenges due to the lack of funding.

In overcoming this issue, PKS has yet to provide a uniform mechanism between one area and another. For instance, some women candidates receive funding support, yet others receive none. The source of the funding support usually comes from individual infaq (voluntary donation) from other cadres or funding allocation from the Party. As it is mostly difficult for women candidates to fundraise for their campaigns; consequently, women candidates are forced to independently formulate campaigning strategies that are cost-efficient.

#### **c) Party' s electability**

The Party's electability among the people is the main obstacle in attracting the public's trust and sympathy for MP candidates. During the 2014 Election, PKS received a major backlash due to several corruption cases which involved the Party's elites, leading to the Party's decline of popularity and the public's distrust.

#### **d) The electoral system**

The proportional open electoral system is perceived as a major challenge for women as it resulted in the high political cost during the campaigning period. Commonly more advantaged in terms of funding, male candidates are more difficult to compete with. In addition, the 2014 Election is perceived as a greatly challenging, time- and effort-consuming campaign, requiring top-notch strategies to gain and maintain the public's trust in the Party. The practice of money politics demonstrate that Indonesia's democracy is still far from

substantial and more inclining towards artificial. The current Electoral system still leads to and fosters people's pragmatism. Therefore, a political education becomes more urgent than ever to anticipate the electoral system which will be implemented in the future.

#### **e) Competing with men MP candidates**

During the campaign and nominating processes, oftentimes women are limited in their room of movement and financial capacity compared to men, who are more advantaged and thus able to run a more impactful and powerful campaign. It should be noted that the Party's internal structure does not have a strategy in determining the potential constituency for each candidate. Such assignment is based on the regional board's policy and commitment to support the candidates' victory. On the other hand, it is PKS's women cadres who have always been at the forefront and actively maintained constituents. Yet during campaigning and nominating periods, male candidates also entered women cadres' targeted areas, such as Islamic study groups, integrated health posts, and women groups which are not part of their targets.

#### **f) Assignment of constituency and electoral number**

The process of determining PKS's MP candidates' electoral numbers is decided by the national board, where each decision is accepted as part of the Party's assignment and thus the individual's responsibility. The numbering is carried out based on women MP candidates' professionalism and capacity, but there is no specific mechanism in assigning the electoral number for women. The culture ingrained in PKS is to accept the Party's decision as a mandate which needs to be carried out, or at least considered to carry out.

PKS also has the tendency to place its women candidates in bigger electoral numbers. This results in the low rate of PKS women's electability in the

Election. The illustration of PKS's situation thus demonstrates that electoral number still has a large impact in the Election, even despite the fact that its system is based on the most votes. PKS with its relatively high number of women candidates should logically be able to contribute an equally high number of women's representatives, but in reality it is the opposite.

#### ***LIFE STORY***

##### *PKS Women Selected as MP: Between the Party's Mandate and the Family's Support*

Being a PKS cadre is a form of self-actualisation to continue social activities with the hope of reaching a larger scope of work and impact to society. The informant, who is now 47 years old, entered the Party's cadre membership during the initial establishment of the Party (in 1998). She has undergone through an extensive cadreship process; having been appointed in the organisational structure from the district members to the national ones. The woman, who holds a Master's degree in Applicable Psychology, has experienced and observed first-hand how challenging the cadreship process in PKS is.

The Party's evaluation of her, leading to multiple posts, she considers as a form of trust that needs to be considered and fulfilled. Although the Party has never actually informed her of the reasons behind why she is appointed such responsibilities, she believes that the decision is based on self-capability and capacity. This can also be carried out by self-reflecting on her contributions until now in the Party as an executive member, actively involved in the process of Party's decision-making process and appointed to multilevel posts.

After following the process of training and cadreship from the Party, she is finally given the responsibility as a legislative MP candidate in the 2004, 2009, and 2014 Elections. The Party's mandates in all 3 elections have always been welcomed with support by the family.

"The decision to nominate myself as an MP candidate is because I was given the mandate by the Party. I consulted my husband and family, and all praises to God, they supported it. So, I decided to take the responsibility and fulfil it the best I could."

After the Party is approved to participate in the Election, the subsequent process is the assignment of constituencies and electoral numbers. The process is carried out in the



Party's internal system, and is informed through one-way decrees and assignments. Luckily, she was placed in a constituency which has been her focus area of work until that day.

The result of the Election brought this woman, who has three children, to sit as an MP at DPR-RI for 2 periods, namely 2009–2014 and 2014–2019. Her success being elected as an MP for the National Parliament is a result of her hard work during campaigning, as well as the Party's disposition, which allowed and determined her in that position.

Throughout the candidacy process, this woman MP did not experience significant funding issues because she was supported by the campaign staff and strategic campaign strategies. The total amount that she had to spend in the 2014 Election was IDR 600 million, as she admitted, "For campaign expenses, I spent around IDR 600 million; that (low rate) was also because of our strategic campaigning strategies." One of her strategies was being open and transparent about her personal information, such as her origins, place of birth, and personal contacts. This succeeded to attract the people who have the tendency of voting for a candidate based on such information. In addition, a cultural approach by using the local dialect and approaching the key figure in the community was also the key to her campaign process.

Having experienced 3 periods of Election, she acknowledged that the 2014 Election is the one which was the most challenging and demanded the time, energy, and strategy to gain and maintain the public's trust towards the Party. However, the constituents' trust in the her, who is also a member of the Party's executive board for the 2015–2020 period, is one of the supporting factors in her re-election. Another factor is the Party, which determines her as a PKS MP based on an evaluation of her previous work as an MP and part of the National Executive Board.

### 3.1.4. The role of PKS in supporting women MPs

Women need to be involved and participate in politics because gender equality and equity in politics are a mandate based on the constitution and laws, in addition to the expectation that women need to work towards advancing their interests because of the differences between the interests of men and women. By joining politics, women will be able to make a change. This will also impact the political culture among women because they will give birth to

inspirational figures or role models for other women (Prastowo, 2016: n.p).

Women MPs from PKS face challenges such as obstacles in the process of negotiation and communication because the groups that fight for women's interests are very limited, causing limited concern on the issue and are often paid little attention to parliament forums. In addition, not all women MPs (from the already limited number of women MPs) fight for women's interests and issues. Especially since there are a number of MPs with less than satisfactory capacity to influence women's electability as MPs in the parliament forums as well as in society. In order to be able to speak up at the parliament forums or in public, every MP (both men and women) must understand the issue well and convey their aspirations with good rhetoric, to enable the information they delivered to be understood well by the forum. However, women's main support is still hindered by the limit of their public sphere and time if they must follow the trend of dissemination and discussions in the parliament.

In order to reach a consistent quality and substance among its MPs, PKS provides support by helping in understanding the issue by conducting studies and other necessary forums according to the women MPs' needs. In addition, the Party also provides an expert team, which is quite limited in number, depending on the necessity and abilities of the Party's board.

The form of communication which the Party carries out with their women MPs is usually through fraction meetings; while in order to monitor and evaluate their MPs' performance, they have particular mechanisms such as media reports, individual websites, social media, and organisational discipline reports submitted to the Party. In addition, the department of women's affairs and family resilience also communicates directly with the women MPs to discuss the fight for women's needs and interests.

## 3.2. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)

### 3.2.1. Internal regulations and policies of PDI-P

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) was formed through the forced merger of five non-Islamic political parties under the New Order Regime in Indonesia. The Party's ideology is based on Pancasila (The Five Principles) which encompasses nationalism, humanity, democracy, social justice, and belief in the one and only God (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, 2016).

Since its formation, PDI-P has always been headed by Megawati Soekarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno. Megawati promotes pluralism, ultra-nationalism, anti-colonial spirit, egalitarianism and pro poor-people spirit emphasised by Sukarno during his presidency.

With this background, PDI-P has been vocal in supporting pluralism and rejecting policies that lead to the imposition of Islamic law as the state ideology even though the Party's greatest support comes from Java which is a predominantly Muslim island (Ibid.). Unsurprisingly, PDI-P's greatest support comes from Sukarno-loyalists, non-Muslim voters, voters from minority groups, secular and not-at-all religious Muslims, as well as voters with low economic and educational background (Mietzner, 2012: 518).

Mietzner (2012: 513) concurs that leadership in PDI-P is centred around Megawati Soekarnoputri. All decisions in the party are highly dependent on Megawati's final words. Megawati also holds the exclusive rights to choose the Party's main board members who are mostly the descendants of Sukarno and Sukarno-loyalists who have personal relationship with Megawati. This leadership style has consequences on women's electability as the Party's main board members and female parliamentary candidates.

PDI-P is among the Indonesian parties that were able to increase the representation of women in the parliament during the 2014 General Election.

PDI-P increased women's representation by one percent in the 2014 General Election. PDI-P also has the biggest number of women MPs in the 2014 parliament. Behind this achievement are PDI-P's internal efforts in implementing the mandate of affirmative action.

In the 2004 Election, PDI-P issued a Decree Letter on the Regulation of Scouting, Selecting, and Determining Legislative Candidates for Municipal/District DPRD, Provincial DPRD, and DPR-RI which regulates the 30% quota of women's representative at the candidacy. However, this effort was not fruitful as PDI-P were unable to bring its women MP candidates to sit at the national parliament. The main challenge which became an obstacle was the low electoral numbers assigned for many women candidates that they found disadvantageous.

This effort was further continued during the 2009 General Election in which the same decree was issued to mandate 30% representation of women in the structure of the Party. Through issuing a special instruction from PDI-P's National Executive Board, PDI-P instructs all of its Regional and District Executive Boards to proactively recruit and list potential female cadres and external female parliamentary candidates to run for the election. Consequently, the Party managed to meet the minimum 30% of women candidates in the ballot list. In fact, PDI-P has 35.19% of women candidates and succeeded to send 21.5% of them to the parliament. At that time, the implementation of zipper system for women benefitted women as they were given smaller electoral numbers.

As for the 2014 General Election, PDI-P issued another decree to foster the representation of women. This time, PDI-P's Decree No.061/TAP/DPP/III/2013 on the Selection and Nomination of the Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and City/District DPRD in the 2014 Election regulated that the nomination of parliamentary candidates in all levels, including at the city/district level, must meet the minimum of 30% women candidates.

For the next General Election in 2019, PDI-P through its 2015-2019 Statutes and Bylaws outlined the implementation of affirmative action in these four points:

1. The provision of a system that supports the representation of women in the Party's structure at the Central Representative Council (DPP), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and the Branch Representative Council (DPC). This is regulated in Chapter V Article 60 Paragraph 1 and 2 which state:

“(1) The structure and composition of the Party's DPP must consider the 30% representation of women. (2) The structure and composition of the Party's DPD and DPC must consider the 30% representation of women.”

2. The assurance of women's access to political and public positions regulated in Chapter IV Article 20 Paragraph 3 which states:

“The placement of Party members in political and public positions is determined through a selection process which considers a minimum of 30% women's representation.”

3. The provision of equal opportunities for women and men to benefit from the political processes at PDI-P through its political education and cadreship as regulated in Chapter IV Article 2 Paragraph 2 which states:

“Everyone can register themselves as members of the Party as long as they meet the Party's requirements.”

4. The appointment of head of health, women and children department to support the realisation of women and children's rights. Included in these rights is women's political rights which is advanced through the mapping of women cadres and capacity building for women cadres.

### 3.2.2. The implementation of affirmative policy in PDI-P

#### 3.2.2.1. Women's wing, recruitment, and cadreship of PDI-P women

In terms of recruitment and cadreship, PDI-P has been early in realising the importance of early cadreship for women since the start of affirmative action discussion in 2004. PDI-P is the first party to oblige all of its DPP, DPD, and DPC to meet the minimum 30% women representation in their structure. Although, some of the previously reviewed decrees mandate that the minimum 30% of women representation is applicable to the DPC level (city/district), respondents of these research who are DPP and DPD-level party officials mentioned that this policy is implemented up the branch level with severe sanctions if not implemented.

“This (affirmative action) is a concern for the Party, especially for the head of the Party (Megawati Soekarnoputri) who will not issue the decree to ratify the structure if it does not meet the minimum 30% women representation.”

This firm internal policy encourages efforts to increase the number of women cadres in the Party. Apart from the formal efforts such as the provision of sanctions, the Party's board members in all levels also implement informal approaches by, for example, encouraging a balanced composition in of women and men during the Party's events. As an example, in DPD PDI-P Central Java, an informal activity was cancelled because the number of women enrolled was too small and did not meet the 30% minimum requirement. As a result, men cadres are ‘motivated’ to invite their female family members, friends, and colleagues to join the Party's events. On these occasions, early women cadreship is done by the Party.

In the recruitment process, especially at the local level, the focus is mainly on increasing the number of women cadres. The Party's board members do not

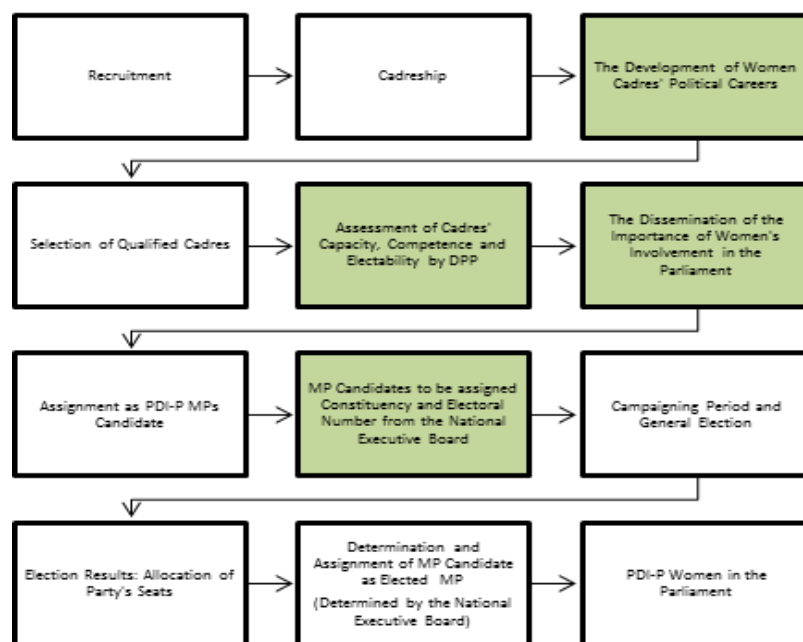
deny that the increase of the number of women cadres is not necessarily followed by the increase of women cadres' capacity. Unlike the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) who has a systematic and segmented recruitment scheme to recruit women cadres from universities, PDI-P opens itself to all women from a variety of educational backgrounds, including to those with low educational background. Consequently, the remaining task for PDI-P is to increase the political capacity of its cadres through efforts such as involving women cadres as committee members during the Party's events, involving women cadres in solving problems related to the Party, and assigning women to strategic positions and responsibilities.

It should be noted that, like PKS, PDI-P does not have its own women's wing, thus all cadreship and capacity building efforts are carried out within the Party's internal and departmental structure. The common roles of women's wings in matters, such as recruitment and cadreship, are carried out by the department of women's affairs or the department of cadreship and recruitment. Structurally, the effort to increase women cadres' political capacity is also administered through cadreship trainings: Basic Training, Intermediate Training and Main Cadreship. Apart from these trainings, women cadres of the Party also receive a specific training for women. Besides covering general materials such as the Party's ideology, this training covers issues that are specific for women: women's roles and positions in the Party, the role of women in politics, deconstruction of women's roles in the society, and gender-responsive policies. However, this specific training is only opened to selected few women cadres who are selected by the DPP to join the training. These selected few women cadres are then intensively monitored up to a year after the completion of the training. Women cadres who receive this training are of the ones nominated to run as PDI-P women parliamentary candidates. This training illustrates the substantive effort of the Party to assist women cadres understanding and voicing out women's needs.

### 3.2.2.2. The mechanism of fulfilling the 30% quota of women's representation in PDI-P

As has been previously discussed, the selection process of the Party's parliamentary candidates is opened to both women and men cadres. The process starts when women cadres are recruited until they are assigned seats in the parliament as PDI-P's representatives.

Below is the process of nominating PDI-P women cadres as MP candidates until selected as MPs in the Parliament:



[Figure III-2] Diagram of Party Assignment Process for PDI-P Women



This diagram illustrates the process that women undergo during the Party's assignment as MP candidates until the final determination and assignment as MPs. There are 4 determining processes, namely:

#### 1. The Development of Women Cadres' Political Career

The development of women cadres' political career is guaranteed by the Party's internal regulations which make 30% women representation mandatory in the Party's structure at all levels. However, the results of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) involving PDI-P women cadres by Women Research Institute revealed that even though women cadres are part of the structures, oftentimes they are not assigned strategic positions. Most of women cadres are only active at the departmental levels and not at the main structures. Nationally, there are only four women out of 26 members of the National Executive Board (DPP).

Furthermore, the dominance of men in the Party makes it harder for women cadres to actively involve themselves in events that are related to the Party and its constituents. Inevitably, women cadres whose positions are not as strategic as men and whose network to constituents is not as vast as that of men's, receive lower scoring results when compared to their male counterparts.

#### 2. Assessment of Cadres' capacity, competence, and electability by the DPP

Even though the document outlining the assessment criteria is not made available to public, the informants of this research mentioned that the assessment is generally based on the assessment of: cadres' capacity, competence, educational background, track record of activities as the Party's cadres, networks, and financial capacity.

With this assessment system that does not discriminate women and men, principally, the Party provides equal opportunities to both men and women.

Many of the respondents claimed that women cadres are actually benefitted by this assessment as they are given priority even when they score lower than

their male counterparts since the Party's needs to meet the 30% women candidacy.

On the other hand, the fact that oftentimes women receive lower score compared to man indicates that the effort of the Party to increase its women cadres' capacity is still far from done.

### 3. The dissemination of the importance of women's involvement in the parliament

This process is conducted by PDI-P through its special training for women. This training is provided for selected women cadres who are deemed to be capable of running for election. They are trained on issues concerning women's roles in the Party and in the society at large. At this training, women cadres receive materials on gender-sensitive policies.

### 4. Assignment of constituency and electoral number from the national executive board

The assignment of constituency and electoral number is done entirely by the national executive board. The criteria that are used during this crucial process are also not made available to public. This process determines PDI-P women cadres struggle in the campaigning process and general election as there is a tendency of assigning bigger electoral numbers to women, resulting in difficulties for women to win.

## 3.2.3. Challenges in increasing women's representation in PDI-P

### 3.2.3.1. The party's challenges in fulfilling the 30% quota

Although PDI-P has conducted early recruitment and cadreship for women, it is still not an easy task for the Party to meet the 30% women candidacy. Even when there are a big number of women cadres in the organisational structure,

it is still a challenge to find women cadres with political capacity to run for election. The result of WRI's FGDs with PDI-P women cadres and MPs indicated that the Party's support to increase its women cadres' political capacity has not been optimal which results in difficulties to find eligible candidates to perform political tasks such as running for parliamentary election. Also, women cadres who are deemed as qualified to be nominated often refused to run for the election, mainly due to foreseeing financial difficulties during the campaign.

"For the past election, (we) recruited active women cadres. However, not all of them are willing to be nominated because of many considerations, one of which is insufficient funding to fulfil financial requests from the constituent."

"Women cadres are almost in all organisational structures of the Party, but they are often women cadres with weak economic capacity."

Women cadres' weak economic capacity often prevents them to be considered as an asset by the Party. This is related to the fact that given the low level of state subsidies for political parties, PDI-P - like most other parties - has been forced to 'trade' its nominations for seats to those with financial capacity even when they are not affiliated with the party (Mietzner, 2012: 254). In the 2014 Election for example, only 40% of those who won local executive elections as PDI-P's nominees were its cadres (Ibid.). The rest of the winners were constituted of bureaucrats and successful entrepreneurs with financial resources to fund their campaign as well as contribute to PDI-P's treasury. The findings of the Indonesian Parliament Forum (FORMAPPI) indicate the same trend during the 2014 Election as it shows that among the 109 elected MPs from PDI-P, 29 of them are not cadres (Anatomi Caleg DPR RI Terpilih pada Pemilu, 2014).

Financial difficulties faced by women cadres, as well as the Party, have posed

serious challenges for the Party to nominate women parliamentary candidates from within its internal structure. PDI-P needs to put forward alternative strategies to meet the 30% minimum women candidacy. In practice, the Party puts into actions in three recruitment strategies with the aim to meet the minimum quota and solve its financial difficulties while ensuring that the Party's ideology is not at stake. The nomination strategies implemented are:

1. The appointment of PDI-P loyalists

PDI-P appoints its cadres who show high political loyalty to the Party. In this, cadres' family history as Sukarno's supporters as well as their active involvement in the Party is taken into account by Megawati as the head of the party who performs this nomination through the National Executive Board. This is observable from the nomination of women cadres who are in the organisational structure at the DPP. Their strategic positions at the DPP confirm that these elected women cadres have consistently showed their loyalty to the Party. Megawati through the national executive board also appoints the descendants of Sukarno to run for the parliamentary election.

2. External nomination

External nomination is performed through the recruitment of women with professional and activism background. Many of PDI-P's women parliamentary candidates are activists and professionals in the field of law, medicine, religious activism, youth activism, and community empowerment. These women are deemed as qualified and promising due to the fact that they have well-established networks with their fellow professionals and constituents.

3. Nomination by PDI-P's leader and elites

Exercising their authority, the leader and elites of the Party nominate

individuals outside of the Party based on the Party's needs and interests. The decision is entirely based on their assessment and is enacted by the national executive board. In this nomination, recruitment criteria are not made available for the public, including for the party cadres who sit in the organisational structure at the provincial and regional levels.

However, the implementation of these strategies, especially the strategy to nominate 'outsiders', is not without drawbacks and risks. Among the risks is the possibility that the non-cadre individuals will easily switch between political parties as they are not bounded by loyalties to PDI-P. Furthermore, these strategies also carry the risk of nepotism within the party. To mitigate this risk, the Party regulates that only a maximum of two individuals from one family can run for parliamentary election. Also, if a husband and a wife decide to run for parliamentary election, they are not allowed to run at the same level.

### **3.2.3.2. The challenges for PDI-P women in the legislative candidacy process**

Apart from the internal challenges for the Party to meet the 30% quota, PDI-P's women also face a number of challenges which include:

#### **a. Funding**

The issue of funding was a dominant issue faced by women during the 2014 Election. Women parliamentary candidates interviewed for the purpose of this research claimed that the open proportional election system resulted in the high political cost during the campaigning period. For those who have run more than once for the parliamentary election, the 2014 Election was deemed as the costliest, time-and-energy consuming election. Many informants of this research asserted that the 2014 Election was also transactional and favoured those with financial resources.

The majority voting system under the proportional open election system was deemed flawed by our informants as it triggered the practice of money politics. As an illustration, one of our informants who has run four times for parliament stated that the cost of her campaign in 2014 was twenty times more than the cost she spent on her previous last election in 2009. This was due to the incident that her constituents, which she has maintained for years, were ‘bought’ by another candidate. Accordingly, the lead of her campaigning team suggested that she allocated more funding to win her constituents back.

PDI-P has yet to provide a mechanism of funding support for its women candidates. The only support of funding for these women usually comes from individual donation from other cadres or elites of the Party based on personal relationship; as a consequence, women candidates are often forced to independently finance their campaign by, for example, selling family’s assets.

#### **b. Assignment of constituency and electoral number**

The assignment of constituency and electoral number for women is one of the most defining factors in women’s electability. Similar with the criteria used to nominate parliamentary candidates, the criteria that defines women candidates’ assignment of constituency and electoral number are not announced publicly and is decided by the national executive board. Albeit not being informed of the exact criteria, generally, this research informants mentioned that the assignment is based on candidates’ track record in the organisational structure, electability, capacity, and financial capacity.

Reflecting on the previous elections, PDI-P’s women candidates were often assigned bigger electoral number and constituencies wherein PDI-P’s electability is low. The fact that women candidates are disadvantaged at this stage is mainly due the low score that they receive compared to that of men’s who gain higher score by holding strategic positions in the organisational structure of the Party. This is also perturbed by the fact that some elites of the Party bring

external candidates who demand promising constituency and electoral number. There is no formal mechanism to challenge the national executive board's decision on electoral constituency and number. The possibility to negotiate electoral constituency and number is only available to those with personal connection with the Party's elites. As an example, one informant who was not a cadre was able to negotiate her constituency as she was close with the Party's elites.

### **c. Gender-based discrimination**

Many of these research informants claimed to have experienced harassments during their campaign. They are often attacked with personal issues such as adultery and broken marriage. One of our informants was a victim of a porn cartoon depicting her committing sexual activities with a man who was not her husband to accuse her of adultery.

Negative stigmas from the public also hinder women candidates to campaign as intensively and active as their male counterparts. To illustrate, men candidates can have meetings with constituents late at night while women candidates who do the same thing will be stigmatised as 'corrupted' women. Consequently, when a man candidate can have 7 meetings, a woman candidate can only have 5 meetings within the same period of time.

### **3.2.4. The role of PDI-P in supporting women MPs**

One of the reasons affirmative action is put into place is the belief that having women MPs will be able to make a change and voice out their needs. The same spirit is believed by PDI-P's leader, Megawati, who during a special session dedicated for women elected MPs, stated that "if not us (women), who else would talk about our problems?". In line with this, all women MPs from PDI-P are assigned to advance women's interests. Among women's issues that

concern PDI-P's women MPs are.

PDI-P implements a monitoring and evaluation system for all of its MPs in the form of regular reporting to faction and PDI-P's central board and secretariat. The evaluation is conducted entirely by the central board who issues sanctions for those with poor performance. In addition to formal sanction such as removal from faction, those with poor performance also receive verbal sanctions from the leader of the party, often during party's formal forums.

#### ***LIFE STORY***

##### ***Sukarno-Loyalist Elected as the Member of the Parliament***

Her parents introduced her to politics since she was a little girl. Even though her parents were civil servants, they were at the same time members of Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), the oldest party in Indonesia which was founded by Sukarno. When she was in elementary school, her father introduced her to Sukarno and his ideology through stories and family's book collections.

She started to be an active member of PDI Pro-Meg when an internal conflict occurred within the body of PDI. Her decision was motivated by her belief that "Bung Karno (Sukarno) is within (PDI-P) even though he is not physically present". She started at the branch representative council before becoming an MP in her district. Following that, she was active at PDI-P's regional representative council in her province wherein she later won a seat at the provincial parliament.

In 2010, along with a few chosen women cadres, she received special training for women at the national level. Through this training, she was equipped with PDI-P agenda concerning women's needs and interests. As one of the training's participants, she was observed for a year upon the completion of the training.

In the last 2014 Election, she ran for a seat in the parliament, representing her constituency wherein she had been an MP for three period of times. In her constituency, PDI-P's electability is high. However, this advantage did not make her immune to the financial challenges resulted from the implementation of the proportional open election system. Money politics was rampant and people's pragmatism made the condition far from being ideal. She was forced to allocate more budgets to win her constituents back by funding proposals sent by representatives of her constituents.



Facing this challenge, she almost gave up as there was no funding support from the party and she had spent all of her allocated budget. It was her husband who kept her going by funding her campaign by selling the family's assets. When she was finally elected, she claimed to spend almost three times her initial budget.

### 3.3. Political parties in general

#### 3.3.1. Affirmative action of other political parties: internal regulation and implementation

In relation to the focus of this research, which is to understand women's political representation from the perspectives of political parties, Women Research Institute also conducted a study on the other 8 political parties apart from PDI-P and PKS with MPs in the national and provincial legislative bodies, such as Golkar Party, Hanura Party, Nasdem Party, Gerindra Party, Democratic Party, PAN, PKB, and PPP. The aspects that become the focus of attention are the parties' internal regulations regarding the affirmative action, women's positions and forms of representation in their Party, and issues related to women MP candidacy. Through a brief illustration of each point from every Party, including main commendable points or best practices, it is expected to become a comparative illustration to enrich the analyses that have been carried out on the two parties that are the main focus of the research, i.e. PKS and PDI-P.

〈Table III-2〉 Parties' Best Practices and Policies

| No. | Political Party | Best Policies or Practices  |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| 1   | Golkar          | The 'one gate policy' implemented by the women's wing, which aims to improve the quality and quantity of women cadres from various autonomous bodies in the legislative candidacy.                      |
| 2   | Gerindra        | 35.29% of women in the executive board, sitting in strategic positions in the Party's board, including in the National Executive Board, Advisory Board and Expert Board.                                |
| 3   | Hanura          | Provides funding support for legislative candidates, have two women's organisations, and places women in leadership positions in conflict areas.  |
| 4   | PAN             | Ensuring women's active participation and contribution through a distribution of roles between the Party's Women Empowerment Body and women's wing.   |
| 5   | Nasdem          | Has a specific chapter which regulates women's representation in the Party's Constitution and Bylaws, no obligation for donations or salary deductions for its members.                                 |
| 6   | Democratic      | Has a considerable number of women members at the national, regional, district and village levels, provides special trainings for women MPs through the Department of Women's Empowerment.              |
| 7   | PKB             | Has 6 articles in its Constitution which explicitly regulate women's representation in the executive board and congress, from the national to the district levels.                                      |
| 8   | PPP             | Regulates a minimum of 30% women in its Daily Executive Board at the National, Regional, District, Sub-district, and Village levels; prioritises the electoral number 1 to quality women MP candidates. |

#### A. Golkar party (Partai Golongan Karya or Party of the Functional Groups)

##### *Party's Internal Policy*

A review of Golkar's Constitution finds that Article 9 regulates that the organisational structure of the executive board should "consider gender equality", yet in its Constitution and Bylaws there is still no regulation that the executive board has to include a minimum of 30% of women's representation as regulated by the Political Party Law. In the internal Party, the policy to include women as part of the committee chairs in national-level Congress or

Assembly can only be included in the code of conduct; to include it in the regulation is too difficult.

### ***Implementation of the affirmative action***

In practice, Golkar currently has fulfilled the quota of women's representation in the board, but only 20% (9 of 45) women sit in important positions. There are not many women sitting in top leadership positions and decision-making forums. Consequently, the policies that women have fought for failed to be ratified because the leaders are not gender-sensitive or the few women in leadership positions are unwilling to speak up.

However, Golkar has been relatively successful in increasing the number of women's representation in the board. This is demonstrated by their reaching more than 30% women's representation (32.6%), in the plenary and daily executive board. This is an advancement compared to Golkar's national executive board in 2004 that failed to fulfil the quota. The control carried out by the General Elections Commission (KPU) to oversee the implementation of the affirmative policy, and the consequences for parties failing to adhere to the Political Party Law and General Election Law are considered quite effective to support the number of women's representation in the executive board.

### ***Women's wing***

Golkar has a women's wing called the Association of Golkar Party's Women (KPPG). KPPG holds an important role in the process of recruiting and cadering women members, since they routinely hold a number of trainings for women cadres. For women MP candidates, KPPG also provides training on formulating campaigning strategies, mapping, and dissemination, apart from the training and general survey conducted by the Party for all legislative candidates, to enable them understand the issues in society.

In order to enhance the quality and quantity of Golkar's women candidates,

KPPG implements a “one gate policy” which aims to place women members according to their competence. In terms of mechanism, KPPG collects the names and resumes of all women members from *Hasta Karya* (the referring term to Golkar’s eight mass organisations), conducts a selection, and asks the women cadres’ willingness to become MP candidates and their preferred constituency. Thus, KPPG functions as the only institution which nominates and places women in the board and legislative candidacy.

However, the implementation of this policy still meets several challenges, mostly coming from the Party’s internal structure. According to an informant from Golkar, there are some difficulties in uniting all the women activists in Golkar that come from various backgrounds, groups, and organizations. In addition, each organization also claims its authority to conduct the decision-making on nominating women members as MP candidates. Despite such difficulties, this policy is a commendable start for Golkar to shape and produce quality women cadres that will improve their opportunities to add more women MPs in the parliament.

#### **B. Gerindra Party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya or Great Indonesia Movement Party)**

##### ***Party’s internal policy***

In a review on Gerindra Party’s Constitution and Bylaws (AD/ART), it is discovered that there is still no written regulation in the Constitution, the technical instruction or implementing instruction which obliges women’s representation. However, there is a provision in the Bylaws that the National, Regional, District and Village Executive Boards must “consider” a minimum of 30% women’s representation (although in the case of village committee, the exact percentage is not explicitly stated).

### ***Implementation of the affirmative action***

Gerindra's implementation of the affirmative action in its internal board is relatively successful. In the 2014 Election, Gerindra reached a total of 35.29% in the Party's executive board. In addition, a number of women also sit in strategic positions, such as Vice General Chair, Chair of Regional Executive Board, and Chair of District Executive Board. Various women leaders (some of which have family ties to the General Chair) also have influential roles in the National Executive Board, Advisory Board, and Expert Board.

In nominating MP candidates for the 2014 Election, Gerindra has actually achieved more than 30% women in each constituency; the problem thus lies not in the candidacy but the level of electability. According to one informant, there is still a lack of strong support to facilitate or push for women's representation. Subsequently many well-qualified women did not succeed to be nominated as an MP. One of the major issues faced by women cadres or MPs is the issue of funding. Although Gerindra provides campaign support in the form of Party attributes (e.g. Party banners, T-shirts, etc.) which MP candidates find quite helpful, the political costs and campaigning fees that they must privately spend are also very extensive.

### ***Women's wing***

In regards to the preparation for the women's legislative candidacy, Gerindra has a women's wing called PIRA (Perempuan Indonesia Raya or Great Indonesian Women) which receives routine programme funding and is also funded by the Party's endowment fund. PIRA also routinely provides monthly political training for its women cadres. In addition, in terms of the selection process of its MP candidates, there is no different treatment or consideration for its men and women members. Both are selected based on the three main criteria, which are resumes (track record and achievements), potential supporter basis, and financial capacity.

### C. Hanura Party (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat or People's Conscience Party)

#### *Party's internal policy*

The Constitution of Hanura Party states that the national-level board is obliged to “include” a minimum of 30% women's representation, while the executive board at the provincial, municipal/district, sub-district, village, and neighbourhood levels must “consider” at least 30% women's representation. In addition, it is also stated that “women and youths are provided with the same opportunity to actively contribute towards the development of the nation”. There is no other article that specifically mentions women or their representation in its Bylaws.

#### *Implementation of the affirmative action*

In practice, Hanura accommodates almost 40% women in its daily executive board. Interestingly, Hanura tends to place women in top leadership positions in conflict areas, such as Maluku, Aceh, and Central Sulawesi, where all the chairpersons of the Regional Executive Boards are women. This decision is based on the consideration that women's approach in “difficult” or “tough” conflict-prone areas are commonly more effective compared to men's, leading to a higher chance of Party victory. This is demonstrated from Hanura's rate of seats in the regional parliament which is relatively high (above 50%).

In terms of legislative candidacy, due to the open-list proportional system in Indonesia, everyone is allowed to register as an MP candidate. These candidates will subsequently follow a selection held by the legislative candidacy selection team in the National, Provincial, and Regional Executive Boards, which have also “scouted” women cadres to be nominated as MP candidates. Several considerations of the selection team in evaluating and selecting women MP candidates include the cadres' administrative requirements as regulated by the law, satisfactory and extensive track record and performance (not instant

cadres), adequate organizational experiences, and good financial capabilities (from personal savings, or husband's and family's funding support).

On the other hand, Hanura also provides funding assistance in the form of attributes, cash, or witness funding support. Their consideration in providing assistance is determined by the Party's Election Victory Body, which distributes the funding assistance through the Regional Executive Board or to the MP candidates themselves. During the 2014 Election, the funding assistance was given out to MP candidates who are considered potential with good track records, and it would be the candidates' own responsibility to manage the funds.

In the 2014 Election, Hanura did not experience significant difficulties in appointing 30% women in the ballot list of DPR-RI MP candidates. Almost 37% women MP candidates were also strategically positioned in number 1 or 2. In the National Parliament, Hanura has also placed women MPs with satisfying achievements in strategic positions in the Faction. In addition, requests from women MPs to be appointed in certain Committees are also taken into consideration by the Party. However, the issue is the rate of electability of women MP candidates—Hanura only succeeded to bring 2 women MPs in the National Parliament). In addition, another difficulty is also faced in fulfilling the quota for women MP candidates at the Provincial and Municipal Parliaments (DPRD). This is due to the patriarchal culture which is still strongly faced in rural areas, where the majority still believe that politics is not women's sphere.

### ***Women's wing***

In the Party's internal structure, Hanura has two women's wings, namely Perempuan Hanura (Hanura's Women) and Srikandi Hanura. The difference between both organisations in general is the age of its target members; members of Perempuan Hanura should be minimum 17 years old without a maximum limit, so a majority of its members are senior members. On the other hand,

Srikandi Hanura's members should be between 17-40 years of age. According to an informant, Srikandi's members consist of many young and attractive women, which has been effective in attracting and recruiting women members. However, both organisations focus on cadreship albeit having different programmes.

For instance, Srikandi has a community empowerment programme which focus on three sectors: education, health, and economy (SMEs). In addition, Srikandi often holds routine discussions on politics, nation-building, and other seminars. Srikandi also provides trainings for MP candidates on campaigning strategies, campaign communication skills, oration, debates, etc. In organising this training, Srikandi collaborates with external women's organisations.

#### **D. PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional or the National Mandate Party)**

##### ***Party's internal policy***

At the policy level, PAN has regulated the affirmative policy in the form of women's representation, both at the Party's executive board and at the legislatures. In PAN's most current Constitution and Bylaws, updated in the 2015 Congress, Article 45 paragraph 3 (d) has included the obligation to include a minimum of 30% women's representation in the daily executive board at all levels. In addition, PAN also has an additional regulation that in determining positions at the legislative level (Parliament seats), the minimum of 30% women's representation must also be considered.

##### ***Implementation of the affirmative action***

Despite the firm regulation at the internal level regulating women's representation in the Party's boards, in fact, only the National Executive Board and other areas have reached the 30% threshold. Other regions, such as East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) which is a more rural area, still find the quota difficult to fulfil. In terms of the legislative candidacy, PAN has actually placed a



considerable number of women as number 1 on the ballot list. The numbering criteria is commonly based on three main components, which are educational background, positions in the Party's board, and track record (how long cadres have served in the Party's board).

### ***Women's wing***

In managing its women cadres' roles, PAN organises a distribution of roles between the Women's Empowerment Body and PAN's women's wings. PAN's women's organisations such as PUAN (National Mandate Women) and PIA (Association of PAN Members' Wives) are responsible for organising social community programmes, while the Women's Empowerment Body is more focused on political education, namely cadre recruitment, registration, and so on. PAN cadres, both men and women, generally undergo three levels of trainings: basic, intermediate, and main. However, there is still no special training given to women, and these trainings have yet to include the element of gender mainstreaming. In addition, generally participants of trainings mainly consist of male participants. This becomes a challenge as the main objective of this cadre training is to find potential MP candidates.

## **E. Nasdem Party (Partai Nasional Demokrat or the Democratic National Party)**

### ***Party's internal policy***

In the Party's Constitution, there is a specific chapter that specifically regulates women's representation (Chapter X Article 20), which states that Party's National Executive Board is obliged to include a minimum of 30% women's representation, while the Provincial, Regional, District and Sub-district Executive Boards must fulfil 30% women's representation. In other words, there is a written obligation that the National Board must involve more than 30% women, while the other boards must at least reach 30%. The effectiveness of

this regulation is demonstrated in the 2014 Election, where Nasdem reached 32% women in the National Executive Board. The quota is fulfilled in the internal level (particularly Party's wings) and the Party's board.

***Implementation of the affirmative action***

Nasdem's selection system for MP candidates is similar with other parties; a selection team called Team Nine determines the electoral number of each MP candidate according to their capability and electability, based on an administration selection (resume evaluation), interview, and survey. The potential candidates' financial situation is also evaluated in this stage of selection. The principle of gender equity in the electoral number is adequately reflected, especially with the zipper system affirmative system which ensures that women are placed in smaller electoral numbers. This is important because if the numbering mechanism is handed directly to the Party, there is no guarantee that the Party will side with gender equality. Subsequently, MP candidates are given a general debriefing before and after the candidacy, to equip them with the information on issues such as budget, legislation, and public control.

One of Nasdem's most beneficial policies for women is that members are not subjected to compulsory donations or salary deduction for the Party. Donations made to the Party are voluntary, based on their commitment to the Party. This makes it easier for women who are more prone to funding issues. On the other hand, Nasdem tends to not view women as their main priority, under the reason that they have few women members with the adequate capacity and capability, accountability, and financial power to support their work in the Party and politics.

While the first two aspects could be answered with consistent, extensive training, the issue of money is still an important one to take into account with the current open-list system, where the practice of money politics is considered

common by the people. Although Nasdem also assists the MP candidates' campaign in the form of campaign attributes, such assistance is usually insignificant in number thus requiring MP candidates to spend up to billions of rupiahs to cover their campaign expenses.

In addition, another issue from the open-list system proportional system is internal competition (between MP candidates from the same Party). For instance, black campaigns carried out by fellow MP candidates within the same Party were experienced by the interviewee. This is followed up by the Party by ruling out a warning and afterwards a sanction to the wrongdoer reported by document.

### ***Women's wing***

Nasdem's support to its women cadres is also demonstrated through its women's wing. Garnita (Garda Wanita or Women's Guard) Malahayati, Nasdem's women's organisation, is given the opportunity as a medium of self-development and actualisation to educate and recruit women cadres. Nasdem both provides the facilities and budget to fund all of Garnita's operational expenses. Nasdem also has a "school for cadres" system and capacity building programmes for all cadres, though the trainings are more general and is addressed to both men and women members. According to an interviewee, the debate in Nasdem is no longer on the issue of one's gender but of one's individual capacity. Therefore, anyone with the capacity, both men and women, can excel in the Party and have the opportunity nominate themselves as legislative candidates.

## **F. Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat)**

### ***Party's internal policy***

In Democratic Party's 2015 Constitution and Bylaws (AD/ART), there is still no article which explicitly regulates women's representation in the Party's

board. As such, the implementation of affirmative policies at the internal level is mainly due to the existence of national-level laws as well as KPU's Regulation on selection requirements. This should be noted as a point to improve in future amendments of the Party's AD/ART, particularly prior to the 2019 Election.

***Implementation of the affirmative action***

Although the Party initially did not manage to fulfil the 30% quota in the beginning, in KPU's verification welcoming the 2014 Election as part of the implementation of the Political Party Law, women's percentage in the National Executive Board ultimately reached 31%. In addition, a number of strategic positions in the Board, such as Vice Chair, Deputy Secretary General, General Treasurer, and Vice Treasurer are currently held by men.

In addition, one of the Party's opportunity is that many of its Party cadres are women (notably in the regional and village levels). This is one of the supporting factors in the legislative candidacy; hence the 30% quota for women in the legislative candidacy is achieved not only in DPR but also in the Municipal and Provincial DPRD. Both must fulfil the external requirements as stipulated by KPU and internal requirements, such as individual capacity, participation in Party trainings, adequate supporter basis, educational background, and level of activeness in the Party. On the other hand, there is an additional factor of the selection team's and General Chair's discretion, which is not communicated to the potential MP candidates.

In the process of numbering, Team 9 which is the selection team will consult the General Chair on the results of the cadres' evaluation. The General Chair will usually agree to the Team's decision, except in cases decided at the discretion of the Chair and General Secretary. The MP candidates' selection result and considerations behind assigning electoral numbers are not specifically communicated to the cadres and MP candidates, so they are only informed of

the outcome. Although it is said that there is no differences between men and women, there is still a challenge for potential women MP candidates to gain higher electoral number, especially number 1. Laws and regulations on the quota and zipper system are considered quite successful to push the Party to include women and assign women higher electoral numbers.

### ***Women's wing***

The Democratic Party has a women's wing named "*Perempuan Demokrat Republik Indonesia*" (PDRI) or the Democratic Women of Republic of Indonesia. PDRI was initiated as a society organisation established on 21 April 2005, which later developed as one of the Democratic Party's wings. According to the official website of Democratic Party, PDRI has branches in 28 provinces in Indonesia, and is thus an effective medium in recruiting cadres, as PDRI cadres are automatically Party cadres as well. In addition to the implementation of social community programmes in economic, social, health, and education sectors, PDRI also places a special concern on women's political representation.

This is reflected in a statement released by the General Head of PDRI National Headquarters who requested PDRI's branches in the regions to scout and recruit quality women as a preparation for the upcoming legislative election (Samalanga, 2016). A number of PDRI cadres have also been successfully elected as legislative members and appointed to lead in executive institutions (government) in the regional level.

To build the capacity of women MP candidates, Democratic Party through its Women's Empowerment Department held a "School for MP Candidates" and "School for Witnesses", and published a book entitled "How to Campaign" to better understand the regional strategies, laws, political system, campaign strategies, and even public speaking skills. In addition, there are also general trainings for cadres and MPs. However, the trainings are still very general and not specifically about a certain issue, including gender mainstreaming.

## G. PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa or National Awakening Party)

### *Party's internal policy*

Compared to other parties, PKB's Bylaws (ART) state and regulate women's representation very extensively. In Article 23 of its Bylaws, it is stated that the Party's executive board at all levels is "obliged" to accommodate a minimum of 30% women. In addition, it is also explicitly mentioned that women's representation must be included in the Provincial and District Executive Boards' representatives for the National Assembly or Muktamar (Article 39), District Executive Board's representatives for the Regional Assembly (Article 48), Sub-District Executive Boards' representatives for the District Assembly (Article 57), Village Executive Boards' representatives for the Sub-district Assembly (Article 66), and Sub-village Executive Boards' representatives for the Village Assembly (Article 73).

### *Implementation of the affirmative action*

The implementation of affirmative action is carried out through various ways, including the fulfillment of 30% women's representation, both at the Party's internal board and at the legislative candidacy; the implementation of a gender perspective in decision-making processes; and the inclusion of women in facilitating teams or expert teams. According to WRI's informant, PKB did not experience difficulties in fulfilling the quota of women's representation. In fact, around 38% of PKB's board members are women; exceeding the 30% threshold. This is made possible as PKB is benefitted by the vast amount of mass supporters of Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation it is associated with, Nadhlatul Ulama (NU). Due to its close association, NU contributes a large number of its members who are interested in politics to join PKB's membership. Cadres of NU's autonomous bodies, for instance Fatayat and Muslimat NU, generally have gone through a cadreship process in their previous organisations, making it easier for PKB to recruit them as board

members. However, women cadres who become board members still receive trainings by PKB's women's wing on materials ranging from the Party's constitution to women and politics.

### ***Women's wing***

PKB's support for women is demonstrated by providing women a medium for their movement through the autonomous body *Perempuan Bangsa* (PB) or Women of the Nation, which aims to support the cadreship of women's leadership in politics and the achievement of the Party's vision and missions.

PB has two main focuses, namely community empowerment and cadreship. Its formal cadreship process is still integrated with PKB's general mechanism, but the informal cadreship is carried out continuously by recruiting people as event committees, inviting people in informal gatherings, etc. However, PB is currently designing a scheme in which cadreship can be conducted independently from PKB, whilst simultaneously supporting the Party's cadreship process, particularly in recruiting women members.

Apart from cadreship, PB also holds a significant role in women's capacity building, not only for cadres but also extending to board members, legislative candidates, and MPs. One of the programmes that PB is organising to be held in 2017 is the School of Leadership which aims to improve the quality of PKB women members, especially in the face of the Legislative Election in 2019. In the programme, participants will receive trainings on subjects from politics and skill management to election victory strategy. In addition, PB also has an important role in monitoring the performance and quality of its women MPs.

Every month they regularly carry out a thematic discussion on various topics (for instance health, national insurance system, and malnutrition) held for MPs, expert staff, autonomous bodies, and external invitees; all expenses are the MPs' responsibility. Such discussions are expected to update and enhance the MPs' knowledge on current issues within the country.

## H. PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or the United Development Party)

### *Party's internal policy*

In PPP's Constitution and Bylaws, it is mentioned that the Party's Daily Executive Board is obliged to include at least 30 per cent women from the total number of board members. In addition, the 30% minimum regulation also applies for board members of all levels, namely Regional Executive Board, District Executive Board, Sub-district Executive Board, and Village Executive Board. This regulation is relatively more comprehensive compared to other parties which only stipulate 30% representation in the structural board. This intervention is quite effective to increase women's representation in the board, as proven from this period's board which exceeded the minimum quota, compared to the previous period where women only amounted to 27% in the board.

### *Implementation of the affirmative action*

The affirmative policy is also carried out in nominating MP candidates. PPP's support for women's representation is demonstrated by prioritising the fulfillment of 30% quota for women, prioritising the best women candidates for number 1 in the ballot list, and giving strategic positions for women (either in the Party's board or Parliament-level committee and faction). For instance, from 77 constituencies, women were assigned the highest electoral number (number 1) in 22 constituencies. These strategies succeeded to enhance PPP's women MPs in DPR-RI twofold, from 5 MPs in 2009 to 10 MPs in 2014. Furthermore, women also sit in various key decision-making positions, such as the Vice General Chair and Chair of Faction. This is achieved through a joint commitment from multiple stakeholders, particularly women themselves, who have supported each other structurally in the effort to place women in strategic positions in the board, committee, and faction.



The decision in the selection of MP candidates is carried out specifically by the General Election Desk (consisting of the General Chair, Secretary General, Vice Chair, and representative of the Women's Empowerment Department). The requirement to nominate oneself as MP is relatively similar to other parties, namely level of electability, individual capacity, and financial situation.

Although there is no specific requirement for men and women, the financial factor is also a major challenge for women. As a result, many women who are qualified in terms of electability and capacity are hindered from nominating themselves as MP. The closed-list proportional system actually benefits women more because then PPP's target of women's representation would be easily met, as many women are assigned number 1 in the ballot list. However, with the open-list system, only half of it is achieved.

### *Women's wing*

PPP's cadreship system itself is quite open to the recruitment of women members and MP candidates. PPP's women's wing, WPP (Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan or United Development's Women), is responsible for formal cadreship activities until the regional level. The recruitment of women cadres tends to be conservative in nature, in terms of being not particularly colossal or open, mostly still depending on connections (networks or family ties). Despite of the lack of innovative recruitment strategies, the number of women cadres in PPP always increase and there is always a continuous cadreship. On the other hand, the vast number of women members sometimes is not parallel with the level of women's activeness. This is because many women still prefer to focus on other external activities. In addition, there is still no capacity development programme which is especially targeted for women's legislative candidates since 2004. Currently, the cadreship and preparation for women MP candidates are organised based on constituency and targeted at both men and women. Overall, the training and cadreship system for women members remains one of the most

important stages after the recruitment process.

### 3.3.2. Challenges in increasing women's representation in general

#### 3.3.2.1. Internal party

Despite the extensive internal policies and practices issued and taken by the political parties, the achievement of women's representation is still far from ideal. Actually, a number of parties experienced an improvement in their number of elected women MPs compared to the 2009 Election, such as PDI-P (5 seats), Gerindra (7 seats), PAN (2 seats), PKB (3 seats), and PPP (5 seats). Meanwhile, Golkar, Democratic, Hanura, and PKS experienced a decline as many as 2 seats for Golkar, Hanura, and PKS respectively, and 22 seats for Democratic Party. In analysing this decline, it should also be taken into account that a few parties, namely Golkar, Hanura, and Democratic Party, lost a significant number of seats in general. In fact, the Democratic Party experienced more than a two-fold loss of seats in the national parliament. As such, the decrease of number in women's representation from those parties is also influenced by that fact.

〈Table III-3〉 Number of Elected Women between 2009 and 2014

| No | Political Parties | 2009 Election |            | 2014 Election |             | Development of Women's Seats |
|----|-------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------|
|    |                   | Total Seats   | Women MPs  | Total Seats   | Women MPs   |                              |
| 1  | PDIP              | 94            | 17 (18.1%) | 109           | 21(19.27%)  | Up 5 seats                   |
| 2  | Golkar            | 106           | 18 (16.9%) | 91            | 16(17.58%)  | Down 2 seats                 |
| 3  | Gerindra          | 26            | 4 (15.4)   | 73            | 11 (15.07%) | Up 7 seats                   |
| 4  | Democratic        | 149           | 35 (23.5%) | 61            | 13 (21.31%) | Down 22 seats                |
| 5  | PAN               | 46            | 7 (15%)    | 49            | 9 (18.37%)  | Up 2 seats                   |

| No | Political Parties | 2009 Election |           | 2014 Election |             | Development of Women's Seats |
|----|-------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------|
|    |                   | Total Seats   | Women MPs | Total Seats   | Women MPs   |                              |
| 6  | PKB               | 28            | 7 (25%)   | 47            | 10 (21.28%) | Up 3 seats                   |
| 7  | PKS               | 57            | 3 (5.3%)  | 40            | 1 (2.50%)   | Down 2 seats                 |
| 8  | PPP               | 38            | 5 (13.2%) | 39            | 10 (25.64%) | Up 5 seats                   |
| 9  | Nasdem            | –             | –         | 35            | 4 (11.43%)  | –                            |
| 10 | Hanura            | 17            | 4 (25%)   | 16            | 2 (12.50%)  | Down 2 seats                 |

Source: “Strengthening Women’s Political Representation” Presentation, Seminar on Election Law Codification, by Sri Budi Eko Wardani from the Centre of Political Studies, Department of Political Science, FISIP UI

However, there are also a number of internal factors that influence the representation of women in DPR-RI is still far from meeting the expectation. Although all the parties managed to fulfil the 30% quota in the board, but in several parties, only a very few number of well-qualified women sit in strategic leadership positions in the Party. In one of the parties, this caused a number of policies in support of women that were drafted at the department level unable to be ratified when taken to the top decision-making level. This results in the lack of policies and/or actions that support women, both in increasing its representation in the board and legislative candidacy, and in building the capacity of its women members. For instance, not all parties hold specific training programmes for its women members, and there are fewer parties that organise gender trainings for all of their Party members. The result of this lack of support from the Party’s high-ranking officials is the decline or stagnancy of the electability rate of its women MP candidates.

In addition, WRI’s interviewees from several parties mentioned the Party’s top leaders’ power in ruling out their discretion. In other words, the decisions taken by the legislative candidacy selection team, for instance, can be changed based on the Party’s leaders’ discretion. This may serve as an opportunity, if

the Party's top officials are gender-sensitive and support women's representation. However, this kind of culture may also be a disadvantage for women if the Party leaders are not gender-conscious and do not perceive women as a main priority in the Party. The influence and power afforded to the Party leaders also encourages the 'political dynasty' phenomenon. Through political dynasty practices, quality women who do not have a close relationship or familial ties with the Party's top officials will face bigger challenges in advancing their positions. It could thus be observed that the politics of space and the politics of connection still play a major role in supporting the political careers of Party members, including women members.

In several other cases, the discretion of Party leaders also plays a role in the recruitment of non-cadre women to be nominated in the legislative candidacy. For instance, one of the interviewees, who was formerly an academic and activist, had the opportunity to enter politics by participating in the legislative candidacy due to the Party leader's discretion to open 20-25% slots in the legislative candidacy for non-cadres and professionals. However, this step may also potentially result in a blunder if the non-cadres nominated as legislative candidates are considered by the public to have inadequate capacity and experiences. Such judgement results in the derogatory term of "instant cadres" that is commonly used to refer to MP candidates who did not undergo a cadreship process in the Party prior to the election. Furthermore, such cadres usually have no previous experiences in politics and/or come from the entertainment industry, thus already owning a higher popularity among the public. A recruitment process based on the closeness with or discretion of the Party leaders, if not followed up with intensive and continuous cadreship and capacity-building programmes may potentially hinder the efforts of women cadres in improving the quality and electability of women MPs and MP candidates.

### 3.3.2.2. The political system in Indonesia

#### *The electoral system*

The open-list proportional system, an election based on the largest number of votes, which has been implemented since 2009 to replace the closed-list proportional system based on the electoral number, is one of the biggest challenges for MP candidates, especially women candidates. Sometimes people still lack the understanding of choosing MPs based on quality, thus the current open-list system opens a wide opportunity for money politics. Such practices are considered common, and even expected, by the people and MPs themselves. In the 2014 Election, there were many “consultants” that offered their services to MP candidates to map the allocation of votes among the people in order to “buy votes” in a more systematic and structured manner.

This phenomenon of money politics specifically disadvantages women MP candidates who are normally not the main breadwinner in the family, thus needing more funding support from their husbands, or at least their husbands' permission to use their money for campaign purposes. The obligation to prepare millions or even billions of rupiahs for the campaign also burdens women MP candidates that are single parents. Several informants stated that in campaigning they have gone all-out to visit their constituents and secure votes, but still did not manage to gain seats in the parliament. Moreover, only few parties provide financial assistance to its women MP candidates. Mainly, the assistance given is in the form of Party equipment, such as Party flags and T-shirts, which does little to help them. Due to the massive budget that needs to be allocated for the campaign, many qualified women are not afforded with the opportunity to participate in the legislative candidacy, or re-nominate themselves following a previous failure.

According to a 2016 research by Puskapol UI, University of Indonesia's Centre for Political Studies, a majority of the elected DPR-RI members during the 2014-2019 period are incumbent members (43.2%) or come from the

business sector (29%). As much as 84% of the total incumbent members are men. Furthermore, almost all of the DPR-RI members who were previously business people or entrepreneurs are men (91.4%). That survey indicates that the MP candidates with greater chances of being elected with the current election system are those who had previously served in DPR-RI and have substantial financial capital; most of whom are men. Without an adequate campaign support and financial aid from their parties, women MP candidates with no or little financial capacity and/or are running for the first time have smaller chances of being elected in the legislative election.

In addition, the political system also creates a high competition between MP candidates, not only inter-Parties but also among MP candidates from the same party. This leads to black campaigns, both from men and women MP candidates, which intend to discredit the candidates' image. The assignments of constituencies which are constantly changed (i.e. different from the candidates' first constituency) or different from the candidates' origins are also a considerable challenge.

The open-list electoral system also tends to be more beneficial for MP candidates who are community leaders or figures, celebrities, or come from a certain "political dynasty" because they are more advantaged in terms of social capital or popularity. This tends to hinder MP candidates coming from backgrounds such as academics, employees, civil servants, and to an extent activists, who do not have the political capital and popularity as high as their competitors.

#### *Affirmative policy*

The affirmative policy in the form of a 30% quota for women in the legislative candidacy was responded with both pros and cons by the women MPs themselves, but they generally agree that it is imperative to increase the quantity and enhance the quality of women in the parliament, and that the quota

policy should only be an initial intervention to achieve that. Several cons are due to the ineffectiveness of the quota system to provide protection for women in the open-list proportional system. Moreover, the quota policy is sometimes implemented by the Party by merely placing women in the ballot list to fulfil the quota, without considering their quality or without a serious commitment to enhance the capacity of those women cadres. The Party's lack of preparedness ultimately impacts the quality of their women MPs and how they are perceived by their fellow MPs and constituents.

A notion that came up in the discussions and interviews is the implementation of an affirmative policy in the form of reserved seats. In this system, the quota is not implemented for the candidacy, but in a guarantee of 30% reserved seats for women in the parliament. This can be followed with a sanction for parties that fail to fulfil it, or incentives for parties that succeed. However, the fight to realize a reserved seats system is a long and difficult one without a better gender awareness and a stronger political will from all elements, including political parties and legislators.

### ***Women in the Parliament***

For MPs that succeeded to overcome the aforementioned challenges and gain seats in the parliament, they still face a number of challenges to enhance women's quantity and quality of women in the legislative body, both externally and internally. The external challenges include:

- Building solidarity and synchronising the vision and mission with women MPs, including aligning the perception of affirmative actions;
- The lack of continuous skill-upgrading for women MPs after being elected into the office;
- The acceptance, or lack thereof, of their male counterparts who in some cases give the impression of belittling or disregarding women MPs' roles;

- The tension in communicating and conveying opinions to the elites in the faction;
- The ‘seniority’ culture in determining MPs’ committees or positions;
- The lack of awareness on gender from the men MPs.

On the other hand, there are also internal challenges faced by women MPs, such as political abilities and confidence. Women MPs who do not come from a political background, for instance the professional world, tend to need more time to adapt with politics and their work as MPs. This influences their confidence in conveying their opinions in the forum, or in negotiating with men MPs, including more senior or experienced MPs. As a result, sometimes women MPs are perceived to not have adequate capacity because they tend to be quiet in big forums.

This leads to external challenges, such as the stigma that is associated with women MPs that are used against them and discredit them. Women MPs are oftentimes stereotyped as not vocal or do not have the adequate competence to enter politics and serve as people’s representatives. Such stigma is what strengthens patriarchy among the people, who often consider politics as not part of women’s domain. It is such stereotypes and beliefs that challenge the recruitment of quality women MP candidates in the region, especially in the rural areas, and transpire in the people’s votes during election, where they tend to vote for men MP candidates.





## IV. Conclusion and Recommendation

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## 4.1. Conclusion

This research has analysed and illustrated the number of factors that are assumed to be the reasons behind the decline in women's representation in the parliamentary level in the 2014 Election. In doing so, it draws from literature reviews on the laws and regulations concerning the Election and Political Parties, whilst analysing the internal regulations and implementations of the affirmative policy in each political party. This research concludes that there are two types of challenges faced by the women cadres and MP candidates. The first challenge comes from the internal party itself, for instance, Party's ideology, the lack of women in key decision-making positions, and the lack of priority on improving the capacity and quantity of women cadres. The second challenge in increasing women's representation is the external factors, such as the open proportional electoral system in the Legislative Election which generally hindered women candidates, the massive practices of money politics and patriarchal beliefs in society, the lack of commitment from the election commissioning institutions, and the current affirmative policy that is considered not strong and firm enough in boosting the electability of minimum 30% women in the parliament.

A number of conclusions could also be drawn from the analyses of the two main objects of research, PDI-P and PKS. In the case of PDI-P, as the Party with the largest women's representation, it has abundant women cadres to fulfill the gender quota. However, there are still rooms for improvement, as this commendable achievement is not followed up with a systematic internal process that comprehensively supports women, especially in terms of enhancing their political skills or assisting their financial issues. There are many women but most of them are at the department level, as it is still difficult for women to achieve a position in the level of executive board. As a result, many of their women cadres are unable to upgrade their capacity and develop their political

careers to their maximum potential, leading to the lack of suitable MP candidates. To fulfil the quota in the candidacy, the Party would then recruit non-cadres as candidates or appoint any woman member willing to run for the candidacy without proper preparation, resulting in a relatively low rate of electability of women MPs.

On the other hand, PKS's consistent fulfillment of the gender quota since the 2004 Election until the 2014 Election is not mirrored in the number of seats gained by its women MP candidates. PKS's philosophy serves as a platform for the role of its women members; that women's roles must be balanced between the public and domestic spheres. As such, the concept of family resilience is dominant in the consideration of women's representation in politics, and serves as a pre-requirement in controlling decision-making. Women's access seems to be unlimited; while in practice it is restrained within the boundaries of family resilience. In addition, the widely different opinions on the concept of affirmative action is also a challenge in championing women candidates. It should also be noted that PKS has no women's wing. However, the role of women's empowerment and cadreship is still carried out through the department of women's affairs and family resilience. This, along with its recruitment system, enables potential opportunities and access to its current and potential women members.

Drawing from all the aforementioned issues that have been identified, both at the Party and the State levels, in this part a number of recommendations are provided for the political parties as objects of the study (PDI-P, PKS, and other parties), as well as legislators, in order to formulate and implement affirmative policies and actions that could be more effective in supporting the increase in and enhancement of women's representation. The recommendations are categorised into 3 parts, i.e. specific recommendations for PDI-P, specific recommendations for PKS, and general recommendations. Despite the best efforts to ensure a thorough analysis that encompasses all elements

comprehensively, this research would benefit from further research on the role of the State in supporting women's representation. This may include topics such as the prospect of using the state budget to improve women's quality in political parties, or the roles of Election commissioning bodies, which in this case are KPU and Bawaslu, in supporting the increase of women's representation in the national and regional legislatures. This can be a reference and starting point for other studies in the future, as the role of the State is central in ensuring the organisation and implementation of a specifically gender-sensitive Election, thus realising a better political participation of Indonesian women.

## **4.2. Recommendation for PKS's internal affirmative policy**

### **1. Initiating programmes to increase PKS women cadres' interest in politics**

One of the interventions which can be carried out to increase women's representation in PKS is by initiating a programme or system to support women to be more assertive and proactive in showing their capacities and publicising it to the public (i.e. fellow cadres, board members, and the people in general).

### **2. Creating a women-friendly culture in the Party**

This women-friendly culture could be realised by strengthening the mechanism of capacity building of women cadres, information transparency, equal requirements and opportunities in the Party's assignment process, and the guidance mechanism for women cadres and MP candidates.

### **4.3. Recommendation for PDI-P's internal affirmative policy**

1. Continue its efforts to increase not only the quantity of female cadres but also their capacity so that PDI-P can in itself fulfil the 30% quota required by the law. This can be done through: engaging females cadres in party's events, expanding female cadres' network to constituents, and internally assigning strategic positions to female cadres.
2. Provide a systematic financial aids for female parliamentary candidates who face financial difficulties to join the election process. This could be done by, for example, implementing a cross-subsidy mechanism from fellow party members. Also, the aid could be taken from the election subsidy provided by the government.
3. Implementing a mentoring system specifically tailored for female cadres to increase their capacity in developing networks and setting political strategies.

### **4.4. General recommendations**

1. All political parties need to prepare themselves from the beginning to generate more quality women MP candidates. Parties should map out their potential cadres from the start instead of waiting to until the very last minute before the legislative election.
2. Well-qualified women must be given strategic top-leadership positions in the parties' daily executive boards. It is imperative to conduct intervention

starting from the parties' internal structures. In addition, parties should also have the political will and commitment to place women MPs in strategic positions, either in the Committee, Faction, or Supporting Bodies, so that they could be more actively involved in the formulation and decision-making process of legislations that support women's interests.

3. There needs to be a revitalisation of the parties' internal policies (i.e. Constituencies and Bylaws, Technical Instructions, or Implementing Instructions) to respond better towards the affirmative policy.
4. Parties need to provide distinctive cadreship, special guidance, as well as routine upgrading and capacity buildings for women cadres and MP candidates, to ensure that women candidates, including those who just joined the Party or recently entered politics, are well-equipped and prepared for their campaigns and office terms.
5. The trainings given to cadres and MP candidates, both men and women, should include gender trainings so that they could better understand the importance and urgency of women's representation, not only for women themselves, but also for every party including political parties.
6. To overcome the issue of financial obstacles that women commonly face, there needs to be a funding assistance mechanism for MP candidates (especially women) during their campaigning periods. The funding aid should not only be in the form of attributes but also assistance for election witness fees and financial assistance (cash).
7. Parties should provide guidance and demonstrate support for women candidates that experience electoral fraud or vote rigging issues in the



Election process.

8. In terms of the electoral system, there should be a review on the current electoral system which is based on the open-list proportional system.
9. In terms of funding, the State should put a limit, through a written regulation, on campaign expenses for all MP candidates. In addition, a budget from the State to assist the funding of political parties should also be considered.
10. All women MPs should work harder together to advocate for more pro-gender policies, particularly in the context of the Legislative Election's political and electoral systems.

## Abbreviations

Anggaran Dasar (AD): Constitution

Anggaran Rumah Tangga: Bylaws

Demokrat: Democratic Party

DPR/DPR-RI: People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia)

DPDR: People's Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah)

Gerindra: Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya)

Golkar: Party of the Functional Groups (Golongan Karya)

Hanura: People's Conscience Party (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat)

HMI: Muslim Students' Associations (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam)

IPB: Bogor Agriculture Institute (Institut Pertanian Bogor)

KPAI: Indonesian Child Protection Commission (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia)

KPPI: Indonesian Women's Parliamentary Caucus (Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Indonesia)

KPU: General Elections Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum)

MP: Member of Parliament

Nasdem: National Democratic Party (Partai Nasional Demokrat)

PAN: National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional)

PDI-P: Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan)

Perludem: Association for Elections and Democracy (Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi)

PKB: National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa)

PKS: Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera)

PP Muslimat: National Board of "Muslimat Nadhlatul Ulama" (a religious social organisation)

PPP: United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan)



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