Descriptive Representation of Women in Indonesian Politics

by Titin Purwaningsih

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ASEAN INTEGRATION

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

ASEAN INTEGRATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

ASEAN AND THE POWER OF CULTURAL CAPITAL AS AN ENGAGEMENT MODE[1*]

Respected and honorable guess,
MSU IIT Chancellor,
And the all the Co-host University Chancellor,
Executive Committee and Founder of APSPA
Board of Expert of APSPA
All the participants

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.,
Magandang hapon, kapayapaan at kaligayahan para sa lahat ng sa iyo.

If we want to reach is how this condition can live within the scope of a regional organization has certainly not solely focusing on ASEAN to that organization. Nevertheless, it is more focused on how people living in the member states of ASEAN organizations. Our meeting here initially are the actualization of theoretical frame of culture, even though the domain actually originated from the findings of the authentic. However, an ongoing process through the absorption of scientific and lengthy discussions so that it becomes a popular systemic conceptual things. However, in fact cultural theory was not the actual context regardless of the study that is more of a cultural portrait of the everyday human social activity.

The character of human life in Southeast Asia is the most complex in the world. Here live many ethnic mix of the world before they form a nation state (Lockard, 2009: 5-33). Indonesia as the largest country's from the side of population and area have diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Philippines, Malaysia has things similarly too. Also with Singapore and Thailand. And still many others. The difference and diversity that actually called as social capital. That it is by studying culture during this time only seen as a reality. If according to the behavior and characteristics of the cultural theory of the anti-establishment this approach must enable itself to revamp that social capital in the form of the difference became starting point to create new approaches. For example, by supporting innovation in depth research about the use of one language in the region as social glue. We have realized that the language is sometimes just a game. Thus, instead of the intended does not support a minority language should have English as a medium to communicate in Southeast Asia started to reduced and was featured in the new language of the region, alternatively for example Bahasa Melayu or Bahasa Indonesia. Because of the sensitive maybe, it may referred to as Bahasa ASEAN only, as a form of social glue that is able to recognize the cultural symbols that pent-up, while still celebrating the differences that exist in it by giving the space of continuous cultural dialogue.

Focusing on that as trust system will not be achieved by itself, requires a process to continuously build trust. To regenerate confidence in every community groups at least need these basic things, namely; since the beginning of the relationship of each person in the ASEAN member states entails the guarantee that they fully accepted, including a sense of security to put forward opinions and contribute to the activities. Required an atmosphere of mutual respect for the growing acceptance within the group, so that the group would grow into a strong community. In the development of the social bonds of a community, know each other well is the beginning of the growth of the community, the trust will not grow to a new person with so only, need to prove in the attitude and behavior of each in quite a long time.

Attitudes and behavior based on the universal values that are believed to be valid values in all places in the world such as honest, fair, fidelity, mutual protection among fellow all the citizens of the community. If one of the people doing the cheating, then the trust of the person is automatically going to wear off.

Everyone who is associated in one community in order to solve problems together, need information about; the life, experience, ideas, the value of each individual. The problem issues that considered important in their lives. To foster trust, the exchange of information among citizens must give information that is honest

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and open. The information provided will not be meaningful if the relationships had not constituted a concern. Every citizen who is associated in the community would use to solve problems and get involved in their surroundings when there is concern among them. If citizens have the ability and willingness of sharing, mutual care, then the individual interests will yield to the interests of community groups.

Further purposes are to determine common goals. Every member not to be interested in and provide the necessary commitment if not involved in the formulation of objectives. The decision making process will determine the commitment of citizens or member in the implementation of joint problem solving.

At an early stage in determining the objectives to be achieved by all members, ensuring there will be responsible to drive all activities to achieve the purpose, for it required one or group of leaders. Within the organization, group, or community residents, the role of attitudes and behavior of the leaders was dominant to growing confidence in its members. The behavior of leaders, who are honest, fair, caring and protecting its members, will foster the trust of all elements of the community. After the goal was set, there should be planning to implement decisions already made. It is important to understand what the needs felt by the members to solve the problem. For that there needs to be the involvement of citizens in the process of identifying issues (needs) they will be the basis of planning. Requirements specified by the leader without involving citizens, often do not respond to problems that actually exist so that it can eliminate the trust of citizens to the good intentions of its leaders. In addition, this happens at all levels on the pillars of the ASEAN cooperation.

In a 2011 headline in the *Jakarta Post* dated 18 November, wrote an opinion entitled "*Insight: ASEAN and Global Power Shift.*" Excerpts from its opinion is written like this, "now, in late 2011, we are close to securing the most crucial stage yet of our regional relationship—the ASEAN Community. It is not about trying to create some tropical facsimile of the European Union. We are not thinking about a single currency or open borders or a central bank. Instead, we are forming a more consolidated ASEAN, a stronger union based on three pillars—mutual security, an integrated economy and sociocultural ties."

To name just a few and is considering to build that has been built up over many years in the field of political and security cooperation, ASEAN leaders agreed to establish the APSC (ASEAN Political-Security Community). APSC aims to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another with a fairly democratic and harmonious. Members in this community promises to rely only on the peace process in the resolution of inter-regional differences and regard their security as fundamentally linked to one another and bound by geographic location, common vision and purpose.

AEC (ASEAN Economic Community) areas of cooperation include human resource development and capacity building, recognition of professional qualifications, consultation on macroeconomic and financial policies, trade financing measures, improved infrastructure and communications connectivity, development of electronic transactions through e-ASEAN. Integrating industries across the region to promote the source area, and increase the involvement of the private sector to build the AEC. In short, the AEC will turn ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labor, and the free flow of capital.

ASCC (ASEAN Sosio-Cultural Community) have a purpose in manifesting ASEAN community-oriented people and social responsibility with a view to achieve solidarity and unity among the people and the member states of ASEAN. Trying to forge a common identity and build a society that caring and sharing are inclusive and where well-being, livelihoods and well-being of the people improved. ASCC focused on the maintenance of human resources, culture and nature for sustainable development in ASEAN harmonized and people-oriented.

Discussing how to revamp the ASEAN as a state oriented (organization) to people oriented action, we deserve focus on existing community in the sphere of ASEAN because they often overlooked in almost all activities of the organization. Although the of age this organization more than 40 years, but in fact we still often hear questions is that ASEAN as an organization actually exist at community level? Therefore, we have to realize the fact that ASEAN unpopular among societies.

We also necessitate realizing together that there is an entity that is important for ASEAN was not simply discussed regional organization among nations, but rather to the fine points that are relevant in the lives of

social and cultural interaction. Which both is relevance of it binds social action wherever people are, as has been revealed by O'Leary (2007), Harrison and Huntington (2000) and Hall (1997). The facts are serious and important for us to discuss how to brush up on ASEAN so popular among the people especially to younger generation for example. This is vital because they are the young who will be the successor and heir to the ASEAN. The more so if the higher social mobility and the ASEAN community is actually running. The more so if the higher social mobility and the ASEAN community is actually running. Then the organization should begin to approach people oriented. In this stage the role of governments, business groups, NGO's, and society, intellectual from university must participate seriously.

When viewed from point of view of security, ASEAN is still in the form of community and nature in the early stages. The history of conflict as well as various cultures and societies in Southeast Asia even since before formation of the country, have caused motion acceleration of ASEAN cooperation is very slow. Conflict with different nature also led to the principle of non-interference is very fundamental in ASEAN. However, as it or not this principle also leads to ASEAN is still there and not lost as compared to what is happening in the Gulf countries for example.

However it seems to date it seems socialization on various principles of ASEAN included the development of a sense of "*togetherness*" is still limited among diplomats, bureaucrats and mere international observers, not to go into the realm of public or community. Herein lies the challenge for ASEAN is currently and will come, that change base cooperation from state oriented to people oriented.

Most observers contend that ASEAN has not fully become "full fledge security community." Recent developments, however, the existence of ASEAN identity along with the rising and the role of ASEAN in regional conflicts that do not muffle can be removed pointed out that ASEAN is already showing signs of the success of the security community at a limited rate. A lot of attention in spite of the analysts regarding the security community is a matter of political instability that can lead to the occurrence of violence on a large scale in a country. Scientists and observers generally more focused on peaceful relations between states, while violence or conflict that occurs within a country tends to ignored.

Forgetting the existence of domestic violence because of the security community led to the society and the state to be equally insecure. Violence within a country can also cause the departure of persons and displaced as well as other violence in the region gave rise to cross border, and in the end can stimulate the onset of conflict with neighboring countries. Seen from domestic security criteria are not only focused on security of a country but also security of its citizens from violence, whether committed by states or by non-state actors, then the claim that ASEAN is already approaching the realization of pluralistic security community will still need to fight until the times of the future.

In fact, in the ASEAN environment, there are different problems, and if the visits are available mechanisms to solve it, we already have a treaty of amity in cooperation. If we look at recommendations, which the treaty may grant found not to be use in solving the bilateral territorial dispute. It means we still need intermediary institutions in their own right. At the other hand, if we keep relying on a treaty, keep in mind that there are currently 12 others associated with the deal it so it is not only a treaty applies for ASEAN member countries only.

Furthermore, we believe that a community should contain the actual dimensions of the moral attitudes of humanity based on its strength in personal interests and realize the synergy of their differences, as well as overcoming the divisions and conflicts between elements of the community in question.

Thus, we believe that quality of process of community development in Southeast Asia is not only dependent on the scope and depth of the cooperation efforts between the State and Government at the regional, but also on moral purpose that directs and maintains these processes. Moral purposes must be a power that unites, overcoming geographical barriers, cultural differences, economic disparity, and the difference of social and political ideology. It should be able to overcome the asymmetry in the region, among the powerful and the weak, the large and small, rich and poor, who benefited and who is harmed. It had to embody all the most essential purpose where each member of the community can be asserted and attempt to fulfill them.

The formation of regional identity and mutual understanding is a long-term struggle with regard to the education of children and young people, as well as the public, the transformation of life as well as eliminate

the attitude mutual suspicion and blamed each other. An effort to increase public engagement and relevance of ASEAN for the community is not easy. We need real representation of the steps in the realization of regional identity among other with innovation models and approaches in hanging out based on social wealth as the main capital.

In this context, it was time for ASEAN to consider the paradigm change and decision-making mechanism of the state leading the society paradigm. In which the state directs people to conform to the political attitudes and behavior, a foreign society leading the state, where the public can play a role for the member's direction for the preparation and implementation of foreign politics so that the role and the level of community involvement will be larger and significant. This will encourage the creation of a more participatory decision-making mechanism so that the relevance of ASEAN mean for people's lives. In order to guarantee peace and stability. ASEAN needs to bring together community and enhanced their consciousness as one of the ASEAN family groups, although this is certainly not easy.

ASEAN could not forget interconnections among the three pillars (economic, social security and culture) which became a major foundation of the ASEAN community. Core elements of each society must not collide with each other, and all must be formulated in accordance with the reality of the global environment that exists now. Strategy and work program in the field of comprehensive security community needs to support by the implementation in the field by creating human security in ASEAN countries. To that end, the necessary fundamental attitude of the government has an obligation to play the role of prosperities and its community through improved human security, in addition to safeguarding the sovereignty of the country.

Thus, comprehensive security is a necessary condition in order to realize the goal of a nation state, which is the realization of a society that is unprotected and prosperous. Nevertheless, it is worth being think is how to manage people's lives not only of the national security aspects alone but had started to increase to the management of public security in the regional landscape.

ASEAN economic community is how to build the required commitment is not only binding on the head of government and the ministers concerned, but should also include economic actors in particular and society in general in the process of economic integration. Institutional support in the form of an appropriate regional units function urgently needed to ensure the passage of an economic program on the schedule that has been agreed upon works. It is important to remember also that this need not lead to "obesity" of the ASEAN bureaucracy.

As far as this topic placed in the community program concerning the social culture is democracy, human rights, and gender. There have been many programs for young people, but more important is the follow-up of the program. The government should be the main facilitator in order to foster awareness of the public to participate in building of ASEAN community.

Talking about the government readiness of ASEAN countries, we must look at the differences between them and their respective governments are more interested in a particular field. For example, the Philippines are more attracted to social-culture pillars, Indonesia on the security pillar, and Singapore in the economic pillar, appropriate priorities and interests of each country. In general when viewed one by one, especially in the political-security community pillar Indonesia still need a clearer vision of what they want to accomplish. Furthermore, Indonesia for example, speaks of the need to raise the issue of political security to a higher level. To build a sense of mutual trust, we need to go a step further from the stage of building trust to solving our common will.

Finally that was my opening speech for your kinds attention thank you very much and by this time to all of you happy conferences and all the best, and *may tagumpay laging maging sa amin ang lahat, amiinn…*

Dr. Azhari A. Samudra

Professor in Fiscal Policy Science Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia for Universitas Krisnadwipayana.
President of Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs
www.apspa.org

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DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN INDONESIAN POLITICS

Dr. Titin Purwaningsih, S.IP., M.Si[1]

Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

The 30 % quota of women in parliament still has not been reached in the last three elections. This study discusses about women's representation both in parliament and regional leaders direct elections, by providing answers to two questions. *First,* how is descriptive representation applied in the case of women's representation in both parliament and regional leaders and *second,* what factors affect women's representation in politics.

This is a descriptive research study which based on data and in-depth interviews gathered during the writing process. Using qualitative analysis, the study found that there has been an increase of women's representation in parliament and regional leaders. However, the increase has not helped reached the 30% quota. It is varied from one region to the others. The study found that the lower the level of parliament, the lower percentage of women's representation.

The study also found that women's under representation is influenced by several factors. First is due to a low supply of women in political recruitment and a weak regeneration function of political parties. Second, the electability of women candidates is considerably lower than men. *Third;* in the region with relatively high women's representation, the women elected mostly come from the incumbents, kinship networks and from the elite economy. As result, lack of funding and political capital have become obstacles for women to be elected to political positions. *Fourth,* based on the fact that most women elected to political positions are the wives/daugthers/sisters of incumbents, it shows that women candidates still rely on men.

Based on these findings, there is still a great challenge to increase women's representation. This paper argues that to help increase women's representaion, political parties have to improve women empowerment through women political regeneration. It also argues that the government needs to design a fair electoral system that opens up more opportunities for women in general to be elected to political positions.

Key words: women representation, parliament, political partics, local direct election.

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[1] Titin Purwaningsih is a lecturer in Governmental Studies of Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta. She has a Ph.D of Political Science, University of Indonesia.

Introduction

The issue of women's representation in politics in Indonesia has gained much attention, especially since the reform era. The government has introduced three policies to increase women's representation in politics, namely, a quota policy of 30% women in parliament which was introduced in 2004; an open-list proportional-representation electoral system since 2009; and a local direct elections.

In many countries, a quota policy has succesfully increased women's representation in parliament (Norris, 2004). A proportional-representation electoral system is also seen as more beneficial for women canditates as compared to district system (Norris, 2004; Matland, 2002). A local direct election and open-list proportional representation which highlights the role of an individual figure, also plays a crucial role in increasing the number of women elected to political positions, such as a local leader or members of parliament. (Duverger 1955, Norris 1955, Schwind-Bayer 2010).

However, despite the argument that says a quota policy can increase women's representation, in Indonesia case, it does not authomatically increase the number of women's representation in parliament. The data showed that the number of women in parliament in 2004 elections which amounted to 11.82% is fewer than in the new order era which reached 13%. It has been argued that the reasons behind it are mainly due to the existing political challenges, social and economic issues, and ideological and psychological factors (IDEA International, 2002). To encourage women's participation in parliament, the government introduced Law No. 10/2008 which, among others, rules that a political party has to meet 30% women quota in the positions at the national party organization. Nevertheless, the 30% quota of women's representation in parliament has not been reached yet.

However, several regions has succesfully reached the 30% quota, such as Regional Parliament (DPRD) of North Sulawesi Province with 31 %, Minahasa Regency with 42.8 %, Barito Selatan Regency with 40 % , Depok Municipal in West Java Province with 40 % (Puskapol UI, 2014), and Sleman Regency with 34 %.

Not only in parliament, the number of women taking political positions in many regions has also increased through regional leaders direct elections. Based on LSI data, until 2007, in a total of 296 elections, there were 69 women candidates, of which 19 of them were candidates for regional leaders (1 governor candidate and 18 regents/mayors) and 50 of them were candidates of vice regional leaders (1 vice governor and 49 vice regents/mayors). Out of those 69 candidates, one was elected as governor, 5 as regents/mayors and 10 were elected as vice regents/mayors (LSI Network, 2007).

Although the increasing number of women's representation in legislative and executive position is a heartening step, challenges still remain. The quality of women candidate is still lacking. Consequently, the increasing number of women's representation has not significantly generated benefits for women interests. The public attitude in voting for women candidates is mostly influenced by individual popularity and the kinship networks of the candidates, and not by their quality. Based on the study by Puskapol UI, around 36% of women in parliament of 2014 election, those who have close conneciton with political elites.

Based on the short discussion above, this paper aims to further discuss descriptive representation of women in politics both in parliament and in executive positions and the factors that affect the representation.

Theoretical Framework

Referring to Pitkin and Tornquist's (2009) concept of political representation, there are several types of representation; a substantive representation, a symbolic representation, and a descriptive representation. A susbtantive representation is a type of representation in which the actions taken by the representative is conducted on behalf or for the interests of the represented. A symbolic representation is a representative that represents the symbolic identity of the represented, such as ethnicity and culture. A descriptive representation is a political representation in which the representative resembles the overall conditions of the those being represented.

Based on a descriptive representation approach, In Indonesia case where

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almost half of the population are women, ideally, women representation in parliament should stand at around 50%. The 30% women quota is an approach to achieve the descriptive representation for women. Women's representation in parliament should be seen not only as a representation of women but also a representation of their interests (Phillips:1995; Lovenduski : 1997).

In various studies in many countries showed that a quota policy has succesfully increased women's representation in politics. There are also several approaches, aside from a quota policy, that have helped increase opportunity for women to be elected to political position, namely a proportional election system and multy party and open list system (Norris: 2004). Parliament seats assigned for candidates from the regional elections area can also help increase women's electability .

This paper also uses the political recruitment approach by Norris (1995) in analysing women's represenation and the factors that affect the representation. Accroding to Norris, women's under-represenation in politics is affected by factors of supply and demand. Based on supply factor, women's under representation is influenced by the lack of interests of women in politics. On the demand factor, it was affected by the commitment of the parties to recruit women candidates.

Research Methods

This paper uses a qualitative research method to understand, explain and describe the trend of women's representation in regional parliament and in regional/vice regional leaders elections. The data was gathered using documentation and in-depth interviews with parties' officials and women candidates. A descriptive analytical approach using a concept of descriptive representation was applied in analysing women's representation in politics, both in regional parliament and regional leaders. The data was analysed using an inductive approach.

Result and Discussion

The discussion on the descriptive representation of women will be divided into two parts, first part will discuss women's representation in the House of Representatives (Legislative) and the second part will discuss women in regional leaders direct elections

Women's Representation in the House of Representative (Legislative) in Indonesia

A 30% quota policy of women's representation in parliament aims at breaking the structural challenges of women's representation in politics, especially in taking political position in parliament. The policy along with efforts to empower women has minimized cultural challenges faced by women in politics. Yet, whilst public supports towards women as legislative candidates continues to increase, the number of women's representation in parliament still fluctuates from time to time.

Table 1 : The comparison of numbers of women in legislatures between 2004, 2009 and 2014 elections

NO		2004 Election			2009 Election			2014 Election		
		Total	Women	%	Total	Women	%	Total	Women	%
1	DPR	550	65	11.82	560	103	18.39	560	97	17.32
2	DPD	128	26	20.31	132	33	25.00	132	35	26.52
3	DPRD Provinsi	na	Na	10.7	2,005	321	16.01	2,114	335	15.85
4	DPRD Kabupaten /Kota	na	Na	6	15,758	1.857	11.78	14,766	2,406	14.20

Source: taken from several sources

Table 1 shows that in 2009 elections, there had been an increase of the number of women in parliament, from 11.82% to 18.39%. However, the number decreased in 2014 with only 17,32 %. Women's representation in the Senate (DPD) in 2009 election also increased significantly. The increase also occured in the Regional Parliament (DPRD) in 2009 election. However, the number decreased in 2014 election. Among the four people's representative assemblies (DPR RI, DPD RI, DPRD in Provincial level and DPRD in Regency/Municipal), women's representation in DPD (senate) is the largest (26.52%). In the last three elections, Regional Parliament in regency/municipal gained the lowest percentage

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of women's representation. This shows that a higher level of parliament will likely to have more women's representation as compared to the lower ones.

The persisting fact of women's under representation shows that a quota policy alone is not sufficient to encourage the number of the representation. The quota policy has to be complemented by efforts of political recruitment by political parties. In doing so, political parties faces two main challenges; internal and external challenges. It is argued that internal factor that causes the low number of women in regional parliament is the lack of commitment among political parties to recruit female cadres and to groom them to become qualified political figures. The external factor is reflected by the lack of interest of qualified women to join political parties. The stereotype of politics as men's world and as a dirty dan manipulative affects why women do not want to be involved in political parties. As a result, political parties find it difficult to recruit women candidates for regional elections and to meet the 30% quota, especially in small and isolated regions.

Despite the difficulty to meet the 30% quota at a national level, there are several regions in Indonesia that have succefully met the quota. At a provincial level, among 33 regional parliaments, there is 1 province, North Sulawesi (3,03%), that has succesfully achieved 31 % of women's representation (14 out of 45 members). At a regency/municipal level, among 403 regencies/municipals, there are 20 regional parliaments (4,96%) that have more than 30% of women's representative. The highest percentage was recorded in DPRD Kabupaten Minahasa with 42,86 % (15 out of 35 members), DPRD Kabupaten Barito Selatan with 40 % (10 out of 25 members) dan Depok-regency with 40 % (20 out of 50 members).

However, the number of regions that succesfully achieved the quote is relatively small; only 3,03% for provincial level and 4,96% for regency/municipals. It means that the challenges still remain. While the parties have some difficulties in finding women candidate to take parliament membersip, the electability of women candidate is also relatively lower as opposed to the men candidates. In 2014 election, for example, the total number of candidates were 6,619 people, with 4,152 of them were men (63%) and 2,467 (37%) were female.

Based on those numbers, men candidates' electability was around 11,25%, much higher than the women candidates at around 3.93%.

The regions where women's representation are relatively high are those that have women candidates who are popular, have a strong connection with certain public figure, come from a higher economic class, or have a background as an actress or actors. In North Sulawesi for example, 5 out of 14 elected members (35,71 %) come from a political family.

Taking a look at a national level, the background of women's representative in parliament is varied (Table 2). The majority come from political kinship (35 members/36%), and only 22% come from political cadres. The large number of a non-political cadre elected to parliament (78%) is a reflection of political parties' weakness in grooming their cadres. According to Almond and Verba's argument on candidates quality (1989), political background or political activism will define a good and qualified candidate. The quality is also influenced by the lenght of experience in politics and the level of organizational position at the party. From table 2, we can see that only 39% of women in parliament have a background of experiences in political organization and in political activism.

Tabel 2.:Electability base of Women in Parliament in 2014 election

No	Profile category	Number	Percentage
1.	Elite political kinship	35	36 %
2.	Parties cadre	21	22%
3.	High economic position	18	19%
4.	Activims in NGOs	8	8%
5.	Members of DPD/DPRD	9	9%
6.	Celebrities/public figures	6	6%
		97	100%

Source: Analisis Puskapol UI, 2014

In Indonesian Senate (DPD RI), 9 out of 33 provinces (27,27%) have a 50% women representatives (more than 2 members out of total 4). They are Riau province, Jambi, Sumatera Selatan, Bengkulu, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Kalimantan Barat, Sulawesi Utara, Gorontalo and Maluku. However, there are 11 provinces (33%) that do not have women representatives, namely Aceh, Lampung, Bangka Belitung, Kepulauan Riau, Bali, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Kalimantan Timur, Sulawesi Selatan, Sulawesi Barat, Papua dan Papua barat. Seven out of 35

members (20%) of women representatives in DPD come from particular political families.

The number of women's representation in parliament is mostly influenced by 'supply' and demand factors in the recruitment process. This is based on Norris and Lovenduski's (1995) argument that the two causal factors affect the electability of women's representation. Supply is related to the 'internal factor' of the women candidates and demand is related to the party. The supply looks at learning and calculation factors on women candidates. Women candidates from political family are imposed to politics since their childhood that encourage them to join in politics. They are more knowledgeable in various issues in politics. Women who are imposed to politics since their early childhood tend to have more interest and passion in politics. This experience will influence their attitude in politics in in turns, their cognition, affection and political behaviour will make them a good candidate to be recruited by parties.

There is also calculation factor where a candidate, who come from political family, has more human capital and a brand name known among the public. The brand name factor plays an important role on why there is a large number of parliament members whose come from political family.

Demand is related to the process of political recruitment by political parties through *screening* and *selection method*. In the screening process, the skill of the candidates become an important factor. In the assessment process, aside from skills, track record and prospects are also required. Nevertheles, these factors are most of the time not sufficient for a person to be recruited. The relationship between the candidates and the recruiter will grant them a bigger opportunity to be recruited in politics.

The purpose of recruitment process is for the party to win the election. In this regard, electoral capital and electoral liquidity are also important in recruitment process. A candidate from a political family tend to possess more electoral capital and liquidity. Political parties have a limited option to recruit women candidates. When the recruit women candidates, they only do it mainly for the sake of meeting the 30% quota and recruit the candidates from political party,

parties' leaders and other popular figures. Electability due to popularity triumps over capabiliy of candidates.

Based on the writer's research in South Sulawesi, there is a growing number of members of political families that gain political position. The writer found that aside from quota policy that plays a role in this trend, an open and proportional election system and the new breed of political parties influence the motivation for political family members to join politic. The writer also found that in the recuritment process, established political parties tend to have a more qualified candidates than the newer parties. In Golkar Party for example, although olygarchic political kinship has a strong foothold in the recruitment process, a merit system is also considered. In the new parties, the recruitment process tend to be more pragmatic in the effort to win the election (pragmatic political kinship) and it involves a transactional relation between the party and the political family (transactional political kinship).

Pragmatic political kinship and transactional political kinship tend to neglect the quality of candidates. The candidates mostly have a popular brand name but lack of sufficient political experience, in social organization or political parties. Their candidacy in politic is based on the request of the party. In an interview with the writer, an elected female candidates said that 'the reason behind my candidacy is because the party asked me to. I did not have any experience in politic. I learn about politics as soon as I elected as a member of regional parliament".

The condition mentioned above strengthens the argument that women electability in election is mostly due to their popularity but not their quality. This means that in politics, women still depend on their male counterparts.

Aside from political kinship, economic factor also contributes to women electability in parliament. In the proprotional-election system, a candidate needs to prepare a large sum of money to be able to gain large supports. A relatively unknown figure will even need a larger sum of money. In Sleman regency, economic factor becomes an essential factor for a candidate's electability. A candidate who have big capital (money) tend to gain more votes due to the practice of money politics. As a result, a more qualified candidate lost to the ones

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with large capital. Unfortunately, the ones with large capital do not event understand the functions of politics and representative assembly to play their role in parliament. A member of regional parliament in Sleman said that "out of 17 women in the parliament (34%) only one or two who have been actively involve in the law making process, the rest are just quiet".

The condition explained above shows that while descriptive representation is already in place, substantive representation is yet reflected in women's role in the parliament. Women engagement in politics has not yet represented the interest of women.

Women in Regional Leader Direct Elections in Indonesia

A regional leaders direct election is an essential factor in local democracy. In Indonesia, the practice was introduced in 2005. A regional leader direct election is considered more competitive than the election for local parliament members. This is because out of certain numbers of candidates, only one pair of leaders will get elected. A direct election Pilkada offers opportunities for women candidates to be elected as regional leaders.

Table 3. The Number of Women Elected in Regional Leaders Direct Elctions

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010
Number of direct local election	213	83	38	151	208
Total number of women elected	12	6	3	2	27
-Governor	0	1	0	0	0
-Deputy Governor	0	0	0	1	0
-District head/mayor	3	3	1	1	9
-Deputy district head/deputy mayor	9	2	2	0	18
% women candidates of number local election	5.63	7.23	7.89	1.3	12.98

Sumber: LSI Network, CETRO and other sources

The large number of women candidates in regional elections does not necessarily indicate the strengthening of women empowerment. In fact, it is a reflection of a strong political kinship as most of them come from the incumbents family.

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The following table (table 4) shows that from 19 women elected as regional leaders, only 5 of them (26,32 %) do not have any relations with incumbents, and 14 of them (73,68 %) come from incumbents family. The table shows that women candidates successfully gained a large number of supports in regional elections. From 19 regional leaders mentioned in the table, 8 of them (42.11%) got a majority votes of more than 50%.

Table 4. Description of Elected Women Candidates in Direct Election of Regional Leader

No	District	Relation with Incumbent	Supporting Party	Vote	Other Information
1	Kediri	First wife of incumbent: -Haryanti (Regent)	-PDIP, Golkar, PPP, Hanura	54.58 %	-Haryanti is a doctor
2	Indramayu	The wife of incumbent -Anna Sophanah-Supendi (Regent)	Golkar and PKB	60.78 %	-Anna Sophanah is a district legislator (DPRD) from Golkar Party in Indramayu
3	Kendal	The wife of incumbent -Hj Widya Kandi Susanti (Regent)	PDIP, PKB, PKPI, Gerindra, and 8 others political parties	43 %	-Widya KS is a doctor and a legislator in DPRD FPDIP Kendal
4	Bantul	The wife of incumbent -Sri Suryawidati (Regent)	PAN, Golkar, PKPB	67.8 %	-active in several organisation since her husband took office
5	Kutai Kartanega ra	The daughter of the incumbent -Rita Widyasari (Regent)	Golkar, Democratic Party, Hanura, Gerindra	55.45 %	Rita is a Head of District Parliament of Kutai from Golkar Party
6	Tabanan	The daughter of incumbent -Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti (Regent)	PDIP	48.5 %	-Member of District Parliament from PDIP
7	Tangerang Selatan	The sisters in law of Banten's Governor: -Airin Rachmy Diany (Mayor)	9 parties (PD, PKS, Golkar, PDIP,PAN,PDS, PKB,PKPI, PPDI	53.34%	Airin is a notary
8	Minahasa Selatan	The daughter of incumbent -Christiany Paruntu-Sonny Tandayu (Regent)	Golkar, Democratic Party and PDIP	57 %	Christiany is a businesswoman
9	Kota Surabaya	No Relation with incumbent -Tri Rismaharini (Mayor)	PDIP	38.26 %	Tri Rismaharani is a bureaucrat, dan Bambang DH is a incumbent mayor
10	Kota Cimahi	The wife of incumbent: Aty Suharty Tochija-Sudiarto (Mayor)	PPP, Golkar, PKB and PBB	41.32 %	na
11	Kab. Sambas	No relation with incumbent -Juliarti Dhuhardi Alwi (Regent)		37.45%	Juliarti is a doctor and bureaucrat. Juliarti was Deputy Regent Before.

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12	Kota Bekasi	No relation with incumbent -Neneng Hasanah Yasin (Mayor)	Golkar, Democratic Party and PAN	41.06 %	Neneng is a member of provincial parliament (DPRD Provinsi) of West Java, also Head of Golkar office in Bekasi Municipal
13	Kota Luwu Utara	Indah Putri Indiani (Deputy Regent)	PBB, PNBK, PBR, PPRN and PDIP	52.49 %	Indah Putri is a academician
14	Kab. Tegal	Siti Masita Suparno (Regent)	Golkar,	45.02 %	Siti Mashita is a bussiness woman
15	Kota Karawang	Wife of local parliament members (DPRD) Cecillia Nurrachmadiana (Deputy Mayor)	Democrat, PKS, Gerindra and PBB	37.77 %	Cecilia is a doctor. She was a member of local parliament of Karawang Municipal before.
16	Kota Banda Aceh	Granddaughter of previous mayor -Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal (Mayor)	PPP, Democratic Party and SIRA	43.33 %	Illiza was a member of parliament (DPRD) Banda Aceh Municipal and a Head of PPP office at Banda Aceh.
17	Kab. Tana Toraja	The wife of incumbent -Adelheid Sosang (Deputi Regent)	Gerindra	30.07 %	Sisang was a bureaucrat.
18.	Kab. Wonosari	The wife of DPRD member: -Siti Badingah (Deputy Regent)	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	36.03 %	Badingah is a wife of local parliament member.
19	Kab. Brebes	The sisters of incumbent -Idza Priyanti (Regent)	PDIP	51.85 %	Idza ia a bussiness woman.

Sources: Analyzed from several newspapers.

There are several important points behind women's electability in regional elections. First, political kinship plays an important role behind women's candidacy in regional elections. Political kinship is a practice where political power/leadership is likely to be bequeathed among family members, relatives and extended families. This practice is part of the incumbent's efforts to lengthen their power through his/her families. This happens when the incumbents themselves could not run for the position due to the limitation of the period of leadership. This practice srengthens the argument that desentralization has brought political power to the hands of the elites and not to the general local community. Schumpeter in his argument stated that in democracy the competing elites control politics.

From 19 elected regional leaders as shown in the table, 14 of them (73,68 %) come from incumbent's family and 5 of them (26,32 %) do not have any connection with any political family. Fourteen of the elected leaders, 8 of them

are the wives of the incumbents (42,11 %), 3 of them are the children of the 3 incumbent (15,79%) and 2 of them are the sisters of incumbents (10,53 %), and 1 of them is the granddaughter of a known local politician (5,26 %). These show that the electability of women candidates is affected by the 'big names' behind them.

It should be noted, however, that on the positive side, the success of women candidates in politics is a reflection that the people are more open toward women in politics. This is a positive sign as women in politics was considered a taboo. The votes gained by women candidates also show that there is a good opportunity for women to join political leadership. However, people vote for women candidates based on the popularity of their parents/husbands/family members. This attitude is arguably influenced by the culture of nepotism and a strong patron-client relations based politics.

Second, women candidates are supported by big political parties (one single party or a coalition), a phenomenon of mutualism between parties and candidates. On the one hand, parties need popular candidates to gain vote and on the other, candidates need the party as a vehicle to compete at the elections. This type of relationship is mostly due to the weakness of the party itself in grooming their political cadres. Hence, their tendency to recruit popular figures. Eight out of 19 women elected as regional leaders, 5 of them are previosly members of regional parliament when their spouses were in power and 3 of them are a doctor, a notarist and a housewife.

Women's electability in regional election mostly influenced by kinship political system and political pragmatism. Looking at the profile of the women who succesfully elected as local leaders, most of them had been involved in many social and political organization as early as when their fathers/spouses were in power. The fathers/husbands's political power opens up an opportunity for the daughters/wives to enter politics. The reason behind this common phenomenon is due to the fact that political parties tend to be elitist and olygarchic. Mitchell argues that olygarchy exists due to a low capacity of mass politics, a lack of experience, lack of education, an apathy and sense of inferiority (Held, 2006). When these conditions occur, women from elite political circles have more

opportunity to join politics. There is a tendency that family members, including women, can easily 'inherit' leadership position in political parties organization. Hence, political kinship also occurs in political party organization.

The background of women elected as regional leaders/vice regional leaders is varied. However, in practice, there is no prominent difference between regional leaders who have political family background and those who don't. For example, the Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini, who does not have any relation with political family, is known for her good track record. As a female mayor, she was awarded 'Mayor of the Month' in February 2014 and received 'Socrated Award' in future city category from the European Business Assembly (EBA) in April 2014. She was also featured as an inspirational woman in Forbes Maganize (Radar Surabaya; Jawa Pos Group). The Regent of Kutai Kartanegara, Rita Widyasari, whose father is the incumbent in the previous period, is nationally recognized as the best regional leader in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The paper has discussed that several approaches, such as a 30 % women quota policy in parliament as well as in parties' organizational structure and a proportional and open-list election system as well as regional direct elections have opened up a greater opportunity for women candidates to be elected to political position. However, the paper also agued that in the last three elections, a 30% women quota has not been successfully achieved. Among 4 Indonesia's representative institutions, the largest women's representation was found in Indonesian senate (DPD) with 26.52% representation. The lower the institution, the represenation is even lower. In Indonesia's regional parliaments, the lowest women's represenation is recorded at 14,2 % in the last 2014 election.

The paper also argued that there are several factors surround women's representation. First, the supply factor in which women still have a limited interests in politics and most of them still perceive politics as men's world. While on the one hand, a proportional election system offers a greater opportunity for women candidates with its ability ancourage new parties, on the other, it also creates an election system that relies too much on the candidates' political capital

and funding capability. Consequently women with lack of funding will face greater challenges to compete in the candidacy. With those challenges, in reality, elite political families and high economic class dominate the competition with regard to women candidacy. As shown in the paper, around 55% of member of parliament come from political kinship and the rich families. Some of them come from political cadres who have experiences in politics but others are more pragmatic in taking the ooportunity to gain political power.

Second, on demand factor, political parties face some challenges to recruit women candidates due to low supply of potential women candidates and also due to the parties' lack of commitment in empowering women through their parties' official regeneration. As a result, political parties tend to be less selective in recruiting women candidates and tend to be pragmatic by selecting popular figure and those who have political families background.

Third, in local regional elections, from 19 regional leaders/vice regional leaders, 73,68 % of them come from political families and some other 'replaced' their spouses's position as regional leaders. This condition means that women electability as regional leaders depend on men.

However, taking a look at the track record of women regional leaders, the paper found that there is no significant difference between those who come from political family and those who don't. This is mainly due to the fact that 50% of them have political experiences from previous activities in political parties or as member of parliament.

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