

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

Editorial

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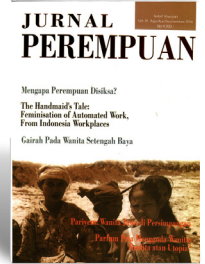
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Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

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Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

The political reform in 1998 has brought a change to Indonesia's political situation, from an authoritarian system to democracy, from a centralized to a decentralized government, and from military supremacy to civilian supremacy. This change also had implications for the socio-political movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement.

The Indonesian women's movement was actively involved and became an important part of the fight for reformation. Furthermore, the women's movement introduced a new political culture based on the ethics of care in the midst of masculine political culture. This can be seen in the actions and strategies taken by the women's movement in the face of the May 1998 riots and social conflicts using the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup) in various regions.

During the era of reformation, the Indonesian women's movement also offered new discourses, which broke the separation between the private and the public. This discourse was embodied in policies that favor women, such as the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence in 2004. The Indonesian women's movement has also incorporated women's issues into the political agenda. This can be seen in the birth of a 30 percent quota policy for women's representation in the Election Law and Political Party Law since 2002. At policy level, a number of pro-women laws have been ratified even though the implementation in many instances is still somewhat lacking.

In short, after 20 years of reformation, the women's movement and feminist discourse continues to develop. The development of the women's movement is evident in the emergence of various organizations established to voice and defend women's interests in various issues, such as diversity of gender identity, disability, indigenous women, women migrant workers, domestic workers, and much more.

However, twenty years after the reformation, the fundamental issues that women have fought for long ago have not been fully resolved yet. Until now, women still face fundamental problems such as maternal mortality, child marriage, human trafficking, and the wage gap. The issue of violence and discrimination based on gender still continues, such as rape and sexual abuse, as well as persecution of LGBT.

The struggle of the women's movement is not over simply because there has been an emergence of various regulations and policies that accommodate gender inequality. The reformation also provided space for the emergence of religious-based conservatism and puritanism, which exercise control and restrictions on women. The state increasingly facilitates the tendency of violence and discrimination against women through regional regulations that discriminate against women and marginalized groups.

Faced with this situation, the women's movement continues to look for ways and discourse to push the political agenda of women in the public sphere, starting from the national level to the grassroots. Women's collective action is one method of the women's movement that aims to bring demands in the public sphere while still carrying on women's gender identity. The women's movement does not stop at women's issues, but also penetrates wider public problems, environmental sustainability and social justice. The articles in this edition of *Jurnal Perempuan* show the efforts of women's movements and feminist discourses to keep fighting in various domains and issues, starting from the basic movement at the grassroots level to advocacy movements at policy level, from a small scope at village level to national scale.

All collective actions involving collective actors and gender discourse emphasize that women's movements have an impact and push for important social change—not only for families, but also communities, governments and society at large. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Abstracts Sheet

Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti (Public Administration Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bengkulu, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 1-11, 1 table, 2 image, 15 ref.

This article analyzes the meaning of the anti-gold mining group oral story from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. This documentation is important to record the dynamics of the history of local women's movements in the post-reformation era Indonesia in 1998. This study uses a postcolonial feminist ethnographic approach. The female anti-gold mine forces identify as a subaltern movement, whose struggle goes beyond practicality rejecting the gold mining corporation operations. Their speeches about the movement show that the direction of their resistance leads to food independence and sovereignty from extractive business aggression. To maintain their space of life, the women's forces were only connected by words of experience and knowledge of *adat* and tradition. Postcolonial feminist ethnography explains the dis/interconnectivity between the interests of the state, political economic power, local-national-global. The construction of this anti-mining women's discourse shows the strength of women as agents in caring for natural resources.

Keywords: Central Sumba women's movement, food sovereignty, postcolonial feminist ethnography, subaltern, women's agency

Anne Lockley¹, Lies Marcoes¹, Kharisma Nugroho¹ & Abby Gina² (¹Migunani, Yogyakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 13-24, 7 table, 1 image, 6 ref.

Women's groups in Indonesia have used women's collective actions since the early 20th century. The collective action of women in this study is defined as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Eight case studies of women's collective actions discussed in this study reveal a variety of backgrounds, motives and agencies in those collective actions. This variety exists due to the different and specific conditions and needs of each of the women's groups. The object of the study in this research were eight collective actions, namely: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrants Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. The data of the research was collected through document reviews, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research finds that the involvement of women in collective actions stems from gender inequality that they experience in their daily lives. Through the collective actions, the women were empowered to strengthen their access to social services and legal protection. This research also finds there was a growing understanding about the concept of gender inequality among the women who were involved in the collective actions.

Keywords: women's collective action, empowerment, gender inequality, participation

Akhmad Misbakhul Hasan¹, Betta Anugrah¹ & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi² (¹Seknas FITRA, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 25-38, 2 table, 6 graph, 16 ref.

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 concerning on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has an impact on the planning and implementation of public policy in Indonesia. Public policy becomes an important arena for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice. One of the government's commitments in this matter can be seen through Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB). This study analyses gender-responsive budgeting in social protection programs in Indonesia, with case studies in three locations, namely Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok Regency, and Padang City. Data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews and literature studies, including the Indonesian Budget and Regional Government Budget documents. This study conducted GRB analysis in three regions with three categories of budget expenditure analysis, namely specifically identified gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive specific budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disability. However, it can be seen that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still centralized in services that are identical to women's affairs, and not yet mainstreamed in all of the budget allocation.

Keywords: Gender-Responsive Budget, Social Protection Program, Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District, Padang City, Budget Analysis

Adivya Perdana and Delia Wildianti (PUSKAPOL LP2SP FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 39-47, 1 table, 21 ref.

This article raises the important question of the achievements of women political movements after 20 years of reformasi in Indonesia. This article intends to elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement, which has stagnated, and the offer of a strategy that needs to be discussed to attract young women to politics. There are three main issues that are important concerns in the women's political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Second, there is a space of political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women's organizations. Third, in electoral competitions, one of the important issues that still need to be explored further is the effort to win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved. Connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be immediately overcome.

Keywords: gender and politics, elections, women's political representation

Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno¹, Samsidar² & Bella Sandiata³
(¹KOMNAS Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Forum Pengada Layanan, Indonesia; ³Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 49-62, 2 table, 5 graph, 8 ref.

The increasing number of violence against women every year raises question about the effectiveness of intergrated service programs for the women victims of violence. The government established the Integrated Service Center for Empowerment of Women and Children (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak/ P2TP2A) in 2002, supported by National Commission on Violence against Women (KOMNAS Perempuan), in the effort to provide protection and empowerment of women victims of violence. However, the increasingly diverse forms of violence against women have resulted in complex needs of the victims. The question arises whether the function and performance role of P2TP2A has fully answered the needs of victims or not. This article focuses on assessments conducted by KOMNAS Perempuan and Forum Pengada Layanan (Service Provision Forum/FPL) in 16 provinces to re-examine the role of P2TP2A's functions and performance in meeting the needs of victims. Based on the findings of the assessment, there are still shortcomings in the system and performance of P2TP2A in taking care of victims' needs, such as lack of awareness as service providers, coordination problems among institutions and limited budget. This assessment uses in-depth interviews and document studies, by including the lessons from the P2TP2A Surakarta city, Bandung district and Central Java Province.

Keywords: P2TP2A, victims, integrated service, violence against women

Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Indonesia)

Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 63-71, 18 ref.

This research proves the importance of the role of women in the agricultural sector in Central Java through a case study of the Peasants Union Society movement Qaryah Thayyibah, in Salatiga, Central Java. This research uses qualitative methods, with data collection techniques through literature studies, observations, FGDs and in-depth interviews. The analysis technique uses categorization, interpretation and conclusions from the results of data collection. This research shows that women have a key role in the development of the agricultural sector. Therefore SPPQT's programs for empowering female farmers include: (1) women's political education, (2) involvement of women in the Production Assembly and Peasants' Association, (3) Women's involvement in the Village Development Council (Team 11). The findings also show obstacles to community resistance for the third point. This can be overcome again by SPPQT's vision, gender equality needs to be seen as a solution to improve the agricultural sector.

Keywords: the role of women, farmer groups, marginalization

Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 73-82, 10 ref.

This article discusses the novelty of the women's movement in encouraging women's political representation and advocating for the elimination of domestic violence. Data is obtained through interviews with actors involved in the women's movement, especially actors from civil society organizations. The results of the study show that the women's movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election becomes a sign of the inclusion of women in the political agenda. While the women's movement in the advocacy for Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence dismantles private and public dichotomies that are detrimental to women in the context of domestic violence. This study also shows that women's movements need strong concepts, adaptive strategies and synergies with various elements to be able to push the women's agenda and encourage change.

Keywords: women's movement, women's political representation, affirmative action, Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article raises the important question of the achievements of women political movements after 20 years of reformasi in Indonesia. This article intends to elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement, which has stagnated, and the offer of a strategy that needs to be discussed to attract young women to politics. There are three main issues that are important concerns in the women's political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Second, there is a space of political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women's organizations. Third, in electoral competitions, one of the important issues that still need to be explored further is the effort to win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved. Connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be immediately overcome.

Keywords: gender and politics, elections, women's political representation

Introduction

Twenty years of reformation resulted in many significant changes in governance and political institutions as well as the development of social movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement. Before the reformation, important issues related to gender were not widely discussed. The main issue in the New Order era was the issue of economic and social empowerment for women's groups at the grassroots level. In that era, formal political talks and changes in power were prohibited and not worth talking about except when the actors who talked about them were prepared to face the fatal risks that came with the Suharto regime. After the collapse of the New Order, the issue of formal politics and the improvement of political institutions turned into serious conversations among civil society activists, such as the revision of electoral laws and political parties. In the period 2000-2002, when the amendments to the 1945 Constitution were being carried out, what was discussed was electoral change and the idea of affirmative action for women's representation in the DPR RI.

The 1999-2004 period is a critical and important momentum for changes in political institutions in Indonesia, including the issue of women's representation. This period was marked by the enthusiasm of civil society groups in various sectors to compete in influencing the

process of forming new or revising the old laws. Even by the end of 1998, women's NGO activists from various sectors of the issues they were involved in agreed on the formation of the Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI). This KPI was one of the spearheads in interacting with DPR members and the government to pass pro-gender policies. Meanwhile, DPR politicians and the military seemed to stutter in response to this political openness. The public and the media are always waiting for political issues and debates, such as those presented in political discussion rooms at that time. The issue of women's representation became one of the things just discussed in 2002. At that time, one of the MPR RI's decisions was to urge the 30 percent accommodation of women's representation in various existing political institutions. To realize this, in the discussion of revisions to the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties in the same year, the issue of women's representation was included in the discussion.

After the quota of women's representation has been successfully pinned on the Election Law and the Political Party Law and implemented by political parties in each election that followed (2004 until now), what happened next? The results of the 2014 election, for example, showed that there still aren't 30 percent of women in each level of representative institutions (DPR, DPRD and

DPD). Not many women have been able to be elected as regional heads, either at the provincial or district/city level. There are not many women who are able to hold the highest leadership of political parties in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the women's movement has succeeded in pushing many changes to the law and initiating new policies that are more pro-women, such as the Domestic Violence Law, Citizenship Law, or government regulations that have a gender perspective.

So, what are the achievements of the political women's movement after 20 years of reform? And what is the strategy to achieve the 30 percent representation of women in the future? There are so many political and social changes that have taken place caused by one of the roles of the women's movement that is very active in influencing the formal political realm. Unfortunately, one of the main objectives of encouraging the presence of 30 percent representation of women in DPR institutions or other formal political institutions remains homework for the women's movement. The presence of women as legislative candidates indeed has fulfilled the 30 percent requirement, but the main problem is that their electability is still far below that number.

There are some who argue that one of the serious problems still faced by the political women's movement is the cultural problem in the community, namely that women's participation in formal political institutions has not been fully accepted. Other parties also feel that men in political parties do not provide extensive space and opportunities for women to be able to compete freely in elections. Limited funds and access to networks are two issues that are usually faced by women when they want to win election competitions. In this issue, the activists of the political movements of women outside and within political parties feel that there is a need to have the right idea or strategy to support women who want to compete in elections.

Although women's political movements have become somewhat stagnant and currently do not experience a progressive movement to achieve their goals, there is a positive growth in the younger generation regarding their interest in politics. This article will elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement stagnating and offering strategies that need to be discussed to attract young women to politics. The contribution of this article certainly becomes very important for the reflection of women's political movements to look back on the future and improve for women in the formal political realm.

To answer the questions above, this article uses process tracing (Collier 2011) in order to get a comprehensive picture of the achievements and challenges faced by the political women's movement in the past 20 years. In addition, this article also seeks to find pieces from various literature and observations made by the author through intensive interactions with activist movements and female politicians to find answers to these questions. This article also looks for these answers by looking at various causal aspects that need to be considered in a series of political and electoral events involving female actors.

This article consists of five parts, namely the first, an introduction that elaborates on the achievements of the post-reform women's political movement that have become important in women's studies and politics in Indonesia today. The second part talks more about important periods in the interaction of women in the post-reform political arena based on previous studies. The third part focuses on the obstacles and challenges the movement faces so that the desired results are still below expectations. The fourth section offers a new strategy that needs to be considered by activists of the political women's movement, namely that it is time to consider the group of millennial young women as important agents in this movement. Finally, this article offers conclusions that can be used as input for many parties in continuing the women's representation movement.

Women and Post-Reformation Politics

We defined three important periods in describing the women's movement in formal politics, namely the 1999-2004 period, the 2004-2009 period, and finally the 2009 period until now. Studies that discuss women and politics after the reformation in Indonesia are quite numerous and sufficient. In the narrative that tells of the activeness of the women's movement at the end of the New Order period, Robinson (2009) shows how Suara Ibu Peduli (SIP) brought demands to the government about the high price of milk and basic necessities that affected their families. In addition, the presence of KPI as a cross-sectoral organization of women's organizations and issues was also discussed by Robinson. In addition, a significant reference in encouraging the argument of women's representation in the discussion of the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties in 2002-2003 was the result of an international conference initiated by CETRO and IDEA (Soetjipto 2002). This book actually became ammunition for women activists to express a comprehensive view of the need for women's quota in parliament.

In addition, various studies that recorded and explained in detail about the discussion of gender quota in the discussion of the Election Law and Political Parties were carried out well and systematically by Ani Soetjipto (2004) and Wahidah Siregar (2008). During the 1999-2004 period, most political scientists who recorded women's activities in the national political arena considered that the space for openness could be used well even though the challenges to influencing the New Order status quo group and men who were less heavily reformed were carried out.

However, a welcome development was the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. This happened in the context of increasing the position, role and quality of women, as well as efforts to realize gender equality and justice in family life, community, nation and state. At that time, one of the keys to the success of women's political movement advocacy was the accommodation of articles on the appeal of representation of women in the list of legislative candidates as much as 30 percent in the 2004 legislative elections. Since then, the space for advocating women's issues was opened to be done freely.

Meanwhile, in the 2004-2009 period, studies that relevant and also portrayed the struggles of women's groups in changing policies on gender quotas were discussed by Sri Budi Eko Wardani (2009), Ani Soetjipto (2011; 2012), and also the Puskapol UI team (2007; 2010). In this period, one of the prominent issues discussed was the presentation of facts and data that the low representation of women obtained from the 2004 and 1999 elections was mainly due to the weak support of political party elites in placing women in strategic serial numbers. Therefore, the policy offer brought by the women's movement and politics is how to put women in a safe position and make sure they have a great opportunity to be elected as a member of the board. For this reason, the choice of zipper or alternating sequential number (1:3) is an option that is always echoed as an advocacy material for this group. In fact, in the debate in 2008, DPR politicians agreed on two important things related to this gender quota: first, political parties were no longer asked but obliged in placing 30 percent of women's representation as legislative candidates in each electoral district and at all levels elections (national, provincial and district / city). Second, because of the low electability of women in previous elections, politicians in the DPR agreed to the existence of a zipper mechanism in order to facilitate the electability of female candidates in this election. Unfortunately, as stated by Wardani (2009),

the zipper concept that allowed women to win more seats has been foiled by the results of the Constitutional Court's decision. The Constitutional Court's decision was quite surprising to the women's movement because the closed list proportional system established by the House of Representatives and made it easier for them to build effective strategies was changed with an open list system. This system no longer paid attention to the serial number, but applied the most votes for each candidate in each electoral district. In this era, there was a contradiction. On one hand, the design of the struggle that was very well directed by women activists in political parties and NGOs was successfully adopted into the Election Law. But on the other hand, there was a gap in the form of a Constitutional Court decision, which actually disrupted the strategy that had been neatly designed by female candidates to facilitate their victory in the 2009 Election.

The third period, 2009-2018, shows that the implementation of women's representation faces a diverse dilemma based on developing studies. There are at least two study groups in this period. First, studies that address structural limitations and cultural barriers faced by female candidates in Indonesia in realizing the affirmations (Hillman 2018; Perdana 2014). In the study of this category, the emphasis was on the experiences of the legislative candidates and the responses they faced in the challenging legislative election competition. Relatively similar discussions and challenges that do not change much also occur in the Local Leaders Election (Pilkada) arena (Dewi 2015; 2018). Dewi even (2015) emphasized an important conclusion, namely that the heads of women's regions in Java were women who had significant strength and influence on voters because of their family support that clearly helped them win. Second, studies that see intensive interactions between political movements carried out by women activists from NGOs and political parties (Perdana 2017). Perdana shows that there are serious problems faced by women's political movements lately so that the expected election results are not satisfactory. The interactions and relations that have been built between NGO groups and political parties actually run relatively well. Unfortunately, because the character of NGOs and political parties in Indonesia also have different needs and interests, civil society support to women activists in the party or even vice versa isn't optimal in the successful advocacy of women's representation. Studies in this category have actually begun to shift, not always seeing serious debates and problems that continue to flare up in the nomination and electability of women in each election. The thing that should be observed is how the women candidates

can succeed or not succeed in the election contestation and how the role of women in the DPR can push the pro-gender agenda in the discussion of laws and policies.

Obstacles and Challenges of the Post-Reformation Women's Political Movement

The study that recorded the events of the women's political movement over the past 20 years confirmed that women's awareness in politics had been well-developed. However, it is not easy to realize the dream of 30 percent representation of women in parliament when there are still so many obstacles and challenges faced by women themselves. The women's movement in terms of fighting for women's representation compared to other movements that also have clear political goals such as environmental or human rights groups show many interesting records. For example, the women's movement looks much more solid in the elaboration of issues because it involves the similarity of gender identity, which facilitates their movement in developing advocacy and action strategies. Although the political choices of women activists are different, there is a very similar view in expressing arguments and opinions about women, children or families. Meanwhile, even from the opposition group, it seems that not many actors feel they have to contradict women's groups because the political interests of these actors are relatively low. Gender issues are still fully considered by male political elites as an issue and problem for women themselves. Therefore, they feel they do not need to give full attention to that.

As a social movement, civil society groups and political parties working together to encourage women's representation also experience pressure from the environment in which they interact. Civil society groups in Indonesia have a distinctive, fragmented form that works in diverse issues and sectors and has the ability to influence policies (Perdana 2015). Because of the fragmented character of civil society groups, the women's movement also faces relatively similar problems, namely the diverse types of groups and spaces of women's groups in the social and development movement. This is indeed caused by the historical continuity that occurred during the New Order. Many civil society groups, including women's groups, work in the sectors of economic empowerment, community empowerment and service to vulnerable groups. In these issues, the actual debate and discussion about politics does not disturb the ruling regime. Meanwhile, the government feels comfortable working together to help in completing their programs.

Their interaction with the government is not easy (Perdana 2017). During the New Order period, most civil society groups preferred not to take opposition actions in dealing with the state, but were cooperative and willing to cooperate. Even if their views differed from the state, these groups also understood the risks they faced. Therefore, at the beginning of the Reformation, it was not easy for civil society groups working on the issue of political institutions or human rights reforms to invite other groups to work together and encourage change. Resistance or fear during the New Order era still haunted interactions with the state. At the same time, some civil society groups also felt that they did not fully believe that the state could accommodate all their aspirations. But the interaction between women's civil society groups and the government in the reform of legislation and other government policies had already changed a lot at that time. The government also became more open in accepting any input and comments from civil society groups. Politicians in the DPR and DPRD were also easily responding to public demands. Civil society groups didn't feel uneasy anymore in lobbying politics to legislative or executive institutions. Even the female NGO actors were able to argue and differ in arguments in matters of technical and substantive nature with the government and the DPR (Perdana 2017). As a result, some examples of more pro-gender laws were easily discussed and ratified by the DPR, such as the Migrant Workers Protection Act, the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, the Citizenship Law, and so on.

However, the women's movement still faces obstacles and challenges in pushing the gender responsive policy agenda in parliament. For example, the Draft Law on the Amendment to Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, the Bill on the Protection of Domestic Workers (RUU PPRT) and the Bill on Justice and Gender Equality (RUU KKG), which are not priorities of the 2018 National Legislative Program, even though all three included a strategic bill to realize gender equality in Indonesia. The Bill on Gender Justice and Equality in particular is the government's commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals, namely target 5.1, to end all forms of discrimination against women, which could be achieved if there is an increase in gender responsive policies and supports women's empowerment (Indicator 5.1.1) – including the discussion of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (PKS Bill), which is currently massively encouraged by the women's movement and civil society but cannot yet be resolved by the people's representatives in parliament. The seriousness and commitment of women representatives

in parliament is the key to achieving a gender responsive policy agenda in the midst of a patriarchal culture that is still inherent in the discussion of laws in the DPR.

Meanwhile, institutionally it must be recognized that political parties in Indonesia are still weak, which is characterized by the dominance of party leaders in every decision taken. This character cannot be separated from the dominance of authoritarian government in the New Order era, which made it difficult for political parties to develop. Therefore, during the reformation era, the rise of the role and central position of political parties encouraged changes in the pattern of interaction in policy making in the legislature. If during the Soeharto era, the council members found it difficult to disagree with the government, then the politicians of the DPR and DPRD were open more easily in conveying their views including criticism of the government. Unfortunately, in terms of making important decisions in the legislature, these politicians still depend on the figure and role of their respective party leaders. In addition, the problems in serious party institutions are related to the views and political position conveyed in formal forums for policy making. Because at this time there is a tendency for political parties to prioritize the personalization aspects of party leaders rather than programs, therefore it is easy to shake the party's political views on issues discussed in the DPR. In this context, in fact, most of our political parties do not have positions that are easily traceable in all existing legal discussions. For women's civil society groups, the character of political parties

and their politicians is not easy to understand. One side can benefit the gender interest advocacy agenda when the party leaders do not fully understand the debate so that all input from civil society can be fulfilled. A relevant example is the discussion of the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence. But on the other hand, if there are things that are related to the electoral interests of the party or politicians, then gender issues become very complicated and difficult to agree on, like the issue of a zipper in nominating women in the electoral district. This means that political party groups, including female politicians, have a different character than civil society groups. Politicians certainly have to consider the interests of the party and its constituents. Meanwhile, NGO activists do not need to pay attention to electoral issues, but only the public or community interests.

The issue of women's representation in the legislature also has problems that are no less complicated. One of them is certainly the nomination and also the victory of female candidates. In our interactions with women candidates in the upcoming 2019 Election, the main issue is about how to ensure that they as women candidates can win seats. Placement of 30 percent quota in each electoral district and each party is not a serious issue because all parties are able to do so. A serious problem now is how to win female candidates in a tight election competition. It is illustrated in the following table how the number of women nominated by each party has exceeded 30 percent, but the level of electability from 2004 to 2014 has never reached a minimum of 30 percent.

Table 1 Percentage of Female Candidates and Elected Women in the 2004-2019 Election

Political Party	Elections						
	2004		2009		2014		2019
	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates
PDIP	28,3%	12 (11%)	222 (35,41%)	17 (18%)	200 (35,71%)	21 (19,3%)	215 (37,39%)
Golkar	28,3%	18 (14%)	194 (30,27%)	18 (18%)	202 (36,07%)	16 (17,6%)	218 (37,91%)
Gerindra	-	-	116 (29,29%)	4 (19%)	203 (35,45%)	11 (15%)	213 (37,04%)
Demokrat	27%	6 (10,52%)	221 (32,94%)	35 (24%)	205 (36,61%)	13 (21,3%)	228 (39,72%)
PAN	35%	7 (13,46%)	177 (29,70%)	7 (15%)	207 (36,96%)	9 (18,4%)	218 (37,91%)
PKB	37,6%	7 (13,46%)	134 (33,67%)	7 (25%)	210 (37,63%)	10 (21,3%)	220 (38,26%)
PKS	40,3%	3 (6,6%)	212 (36,61%)	5 (13%)	191 (38,82%)	1 (2,5%)	212 (39,41%)

Elections							
Political Party	2004		2009		2014		2019
	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates	Elected women	Female candidates
PPP	22,3%	3 (5,17%)	127 (26,91%)	5 (13%)	214 (39,05%)	10 (25,6%)	230 (41,29%)
Nasdem	-	-	-	-	226 (40,43%)	4 (11,4%)	220 (38,26%)
Hanura	-	-	186 (30,67%)	4 (22%)	203 (36,38%)	2 (12,5%)	233 (41,68%)

Source: data obtained from the General Election Commission

From the results of a joint study with the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), female candidates who have no network strength and adequate financial support will find it difficult to win seats. Meanwhile their competitors are mainly male competitors who are also financially strong and have an extensive social and political networks. Therefore, women activists who have these weaknesses can be ensured that it is not easy to win every election competition. For this reason, it is easy to understand that during the past 2014 and 2009 elections, some of the elected female DPR members came from the category of candidates who had connections to dynasties and political families or popular figures with large funds.

We have a similar picture when we look at the structural barriers in the executive; in the 2018 Regional Election, there were only 31 women out of a total of 342 elected as head and deputy regional heads (9.06 percent). This number tends to be stagnant when compared to previous regional elections. In the 2017 elections, only 5.90 percent of women won while in the 2015 elections, there were only 8.7 percent of women who won. This data confirms the imbalance of women’s participation in simultaneous regional elections held in three waves in 2015, 2017 and 2018. The recapitulation of the results of the three-wave regional elections only gave birth to a total of 92 female heads and deputy regional heads (8.49 percent). They are spread across 91 regions (4 provinces, 69 districts, and 18 cities) from 542 regions that held regional elections. Specifically, for the 2018 regional election, the background of 31 elected women was dominated by those who had a kinship network (17 out of 31 or 54.84 percent), party recruits (15 out of 31 or 48.39 percent), ex-members and legislators (13 out of 31 or 41.94 percent), and incumbents (9 out of 31 or 29.03 percent). These four things consistently dominate

the background of the elected female heads and deputy regional from one election to the next. This shows the narrow recruitment base of political parties. The party does not carry out a serious program in adequately fostering female recruits. This trend occurs because the party has no inclusive and open member recruitment mechanism. Finally, the party only accepts women with high electability.

From the description of the problem above, there are at least three main issues, which are important concerns in the women’s political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Women’s NGO groups tend to be fragmented in the various sectors and issues they are involved in. Although there is a KPI (Indonesian Women’s Coalition), which accommodates groups of women activists, it does not necessarily change the character of the movement and direction of the women’s groups. The same thing happened in the realm of political parties. Women’s groups in political parties are also in the same space, namely the Women in Politics Caucus (KPPI) or the Women’s Parliamentary Caucus of the Republic of Indonesia (KPPRI), which consists of various political parties. Second, there is space for political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women’s organizations. There are women DPR members who come from NGO groups and continue to ask for support for their movements and activities in the DPR. There is also a women’s movement that continues to provide input and comments on government gender mainstreaming policies. For this reason, communication and information exchange between actors can easily occur. Third, in the electoral competition in the election, one of the important issues that still needs to be explored further is the effort to

win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved and also the presence of women in the DPR and executives can be far more meaningful for the entire community.

Building Political Connections with the Millennial Generation

Perdana's dissertation (2017) stated that clarifying the building of connectivity between women's civil society groups and political parties needs to be taken seriously and done systematically. Why is this important and interesting to note? There are several fundamental arguments, namely: first, as mentioned above, that the victory of women in elections is largely determined by the political and social networks of the candidates. Although it must be admitted that the network in question is of course also a serious problem for male candidates, the female candidates still have not been able to maximize their potential in networking. We found in various trainings that we carried out that female candidates still had difficulty determining the potential support that could be obtained in each community group in their electoral districts and how to approach these groups – although these female candidates are able to well identify their support groups. Second, because most mass organizations and NGOs express a nonpartisan political attitude in election contestation, political support for legislative candidates is actually not easy to obtain. Even though the voters actually still rely on their choice in the voting booth to the leaders in the mass organizations or community groups they follow. This means that social ties between mass organizations and voters are actually quite strong and capable of being a driving force in the contestation of candidates in each election, but unfortunately it has not been maximized when nonpartisan attitudes and positions become a separate issue. The thing that usually happens is that political parties only claim support, but basically it is difficult to prove how big the number of supporters is in real terms because of the problem of nonpartisan issues.

If so, what does this mean for female candidates? To produce the target number of women's representation as mandated by law, there needs to be a strategic building that must be carried out by each political party. Political parties can carry out regeneration and political recruitment processes that must side with women's representation. As in the elections in India in 2009, the commitment of the two large political parties of the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party was

evident in the alignments and encouragement of female candidates to be able to obtain these seats for women (Spary 2014). However, Verge and de la Fuente (2014) also recalled that the fulfillment of women's quota is not only done in a formal way through political parties when there are still challenges and obstacles in it. One of the strategic ones is of course the informal path that facilitates this quota.

Therefore, the issue of nominating women in each election should not be a big problem that always repeats and becomes a complaint of male elites in each party when the regeneration and recruitment strategies are carried out well. To fill and place women in each electoral district is not a serious problem when the party fully believes that each member and its management in the electoral district is able to win and maximize voter support in the electoral districts not imported from other regions. Moreover, facing the 2019 elections and so on, political parties must of course have thought about regeneration and new leadership patterns by providing broad opportunities for the generation of millennials.

The current millennial generation actually has sufficient political enthusiasm. This can be seen in their conversations and real actions on various existing social media platforms. But unfortunately, their attitude and position remain too passive. They follow and understand the various social and political events that exist because of the many types of news that enter their timelines and media feeds. Unfortunately, their passive position is evident from the response of those who are not so enthusiastic in discussing political choices and their partiality to certain candidates when the election participants have not been able to attract them. Meanwhile, some of them are also active and interacting with various social issues in various social or student organizations they follow. This is a serious potential that can be taken into consideration for political parties in the regeneration and recruitment of new members.

To turn these young women into potential candidates will certainly not happen overnight, but it can be done systematically in a regeneration process in political parties. The first step, of course, is that political parties can recruit prospective candidates or their members through various methods, both open and closed. But what's interesting is to ensure that these candidates have enough mature organizational experience to interact with other people or plan activities. At present, various youth and student organizations certainly have networks with political parties, despite their informal nature with personal networks. Therefore, such networks need to

be maximized as an important part of recruiting young women in each party.

After that, the candidates are given basic training that is usually carried out by each party, so of course the next step is to provide opportunities for these young female politicians to interact directly in the political arena, in two places, namely the executive or the legislature. In the executive domain, these young women can work in a circle within the regional heads with their functions as expert staff or party workers who are intentionally placed to facilitate the interaction of regional heads with their party managers. Meanwhile, in the legislative realm, these young women can become experts or staff on board members, factions or commissions. Why should they be placed in administrative and technical work in the legislative and executive institutions? The answer is that this is part of a preparation for them to be able to understand the real tasks as regional heads or legislative members.

The second step is certainly more challenging, namely getting involved and entering as part of the winning team for the candidates or candidates in the regional election. As part of the success team, of course these young women will interact fully with the voters and know how to win the hearts of the voters as they actually saw with the candidates. The task is certainly not only to design a campaign, but they can also support a witness team that must be mature and seriously. This experience is also an important part of understanding complexity in winning seats in the legislature and executive in real terms.

Based on this, it is only natural that young women can be given the opportunity to fight in the next election competition, not in the next one or only two years after being recruited. This is the third step that is needed so that they have enough room to understand whether the work in question is indeed fully in accordance with their conscience and interests. After that, we feel confident that the female candidates who will compete in the election will look more ready to win seats when the network readiness is sufficient. Therefore, we feel that this is the form of a systematic pattern with careful preparation to bring forth potential women candidates in each political party.

The connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future, when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be on the agenda. This proposal can actually be seen from two sides. The first side, this is beneficial for the party in preparing its membership in the future when the downward

trend of party members and management decreases. For this reason, strategic needs for the sustainability and future of the party can be discussed seriously from now on, not before the election. The second side, this is important for women in the party in order to build solidity on the issue and similarity of views within the party. It is at this point that women in political parties can expand their opportunities to promote issues of gender mainstreaming in various party policies or factions in the DPR. In addition, women in political parties can provide broad opportunities for their colleagues to achieve higher and more strategic positions in the party – meaning that this issue can be an intermediary for women's political movements in the party to slowly and systematically encourage many changes in the internal workings of political parties.

Conclusion

This article discusses one interesting phenomenon, namely the achievements of the women's political movement after 20 years of reformation. There have been so many changes in political institutions after the reformation, but the core struggle of the women's movement turned out to be not easy to achieve, namely 30 percent of women's representation in parliament. Most of the actors of the women's political movement recognize that the fundamental problem lies in the structural and cultural aspects of the movement. Structural factors put forward the many obstacles faced by women activists in political parties who did not get adequate space for their role in the party. One of them is the still dominant leadership of the male elite in the party. Meanwhile, cultural factors dominate the understanding of male elites in the party that women's space is not in the formal political realm.

However, this article does not fully address these two factors. Instead, this article looks at the different side, namely that the achievements of the women's political movement are already good when the legislation has a gender perspective. This means that women's civil society groups have been able to encourage pro-gender policies even though the number of women in parliament is still inadequate. Furthermore, this article invites readers to explore that the achievement of the number of women's representation can be carried out systematically by inviting and encouraging millennial youth in formal political circles. Why is this important to be raised as an issue? One of the complaints and challenges in raising the achievement of this number is no longer in the process of nominating women, but

rather how to get the women candidates to win the seat. In order to achieve this, we feel that there must be a concrete and systematic design to connect the political movement of women with the potential cadres of political parties, namely young women activists. With the various steps and strategies implemented, this article builds optimism that first, political parties certainly need regeneration of their cadres and administrators. To get quality and quality female recruits, of course there must be special treatment so that these women can be trusted to become candidates in the upcoming elections. Second, political parties need to seriously consider the process of recruiting women from the start so that they can take electoral benefits in each electoral district. Thus, the nominating process is not always repeated in a vicious circle when there is distrust of female candidates to win elections and women are placed not as a priority in the serial number. Therefore, we believe that the main issue in women's representation is how political parties take this issue seriously in the interests of women (as candidates and also as voters). For this reason, we also feel that it is time for political parties to view women's issues as one of the important issues in their institutions, and not just as an issue that can be easily brushed aside.

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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To discuss ideas for contributions, please contact the Chief Editor: Anita Dhewy via anitadhewy@jurnalperempuan.com. Research papers should be between 5000-10000 words. Please make sure to include in your submission pack an **abstract outlining the title, purpose, methodology and main findings**. It is worth considering that, as your paper will be located and read online, the quality of your abstract will determine whether readers go on to access your full paper. We recommend you place particular focus on the impact of your research on further research, practice or society. What does your paper contribute? In addition, please provide up to **six descriptive keywords**.

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