

Women and Democracy

Editorial

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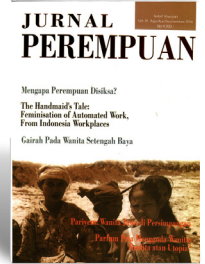
The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

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This JP edition is published by Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan with the support from the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (MAMPU). MAMPU program is a joint initiative between the government of Australia and the government of Indonesia that aim to improve access of poor women in Indonesia to public services and other government programs in order to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. Opinion in the articles solely belong to each of the authors and do not represent the views of the government of Indonesia and the government of Australia.

Women and Democracy

The 1998 post reformation democratization process in Indonesia has opened up access for women to participate in politics and policy-making processes. The numbers of women sitting in the legislative body, especially in the House of Representative (DPR) have increased from 9% in the 1999 general election into 17% in the 2014 general election. Nevertheless, the percentage is still below the set 30% quotas; a minimum percentage that is expected to create change of direction to the political policy.

Women's movements in electoral democracy still experience various challenges. Women parliament members (MPs) also face political challenges from the political institutions due to the electoral system and internal policies of the existing political parties. Inside DPR, the voices of women legislators were kept under the control of political fraction and masculine politics. Public pressure from women's movement outside parliament still have important meaning to support and to guard women's political agenda in the parliament.

Indonesian post 1998 democracy has grown into a high political cost of electoral democracy. This is demonstrated by the high cost for establishing a political party and the expensive cost of legislative candidacy and political campaign. Thus, political parties are filled and controlled by those who have power and money to fund the high cost electoral politics. Party's coalition has been built as a pave way for parties' leaders or parties' administrators to gain power and positions (either as minister, governor, regent, or mayor) who could be used as cash machine for the next election. Shared ideology, values, or political vision are not used as the basis for setting up a coalition. This fluid, opportunistic, and vulnerable kind of coalition has created difficulty for voters in demanding for accountability from each of the parties or their leaders. In this context, the electoral politics is controlled particular power that is known as oligarchy.

Consequently, the feature of the current DPR is filled by people who have economic elites' backgrounds (business tycoons) and have connections with the political elites. Government institutions and policies under this situation

are prone to the oligarch's interests. Political corruptions have spread and thus became a predominant problem in Indonesia. General election was supposed to offer diverse options among the competing ideas. Instead, the options have decreased, differences among political parties become blurred, and voters cannot demand accountability from politicians upon their actions.

Explaining democracy only as a process that taking place inside the parliament would reduce its meaning. Democracy is not only about election, it encompasses freedom of expression, opinion, association, and protection to minorities, and also to include social and economic aspects, not just politics. Some people have argued that democratization in Indonesia is facing a deadlock. The phenomenon can be seen in the application of the Electronic Information and Transaction Law (UU ITE). UU ITE has trapped Baiq Nuril, a woman survivor of sexual violence who was charged guilty and punished instead of being given protection.

Indonesia democracy tend to be Jakarta and Java centered, therefore local aspirations are often overlooked. Meanwhile, the challenges and the fight for democracy also happen at local level. At regional level we can many cases where communities fight for their social rights have been prone to criminalization, such as Kendeng women in Centarl Java, Eva Bande – an activist in Central Sulawesi. Regional autonomy as the output of Reformasi, has been celebrated only for its direct voting. It has not been recognized in term of its benefits for people's welfare, protection and promotion of human rights, right to development, and promotion of women's rights.

Articles published in the current *Jurnal Perempuan* edition show the need to intervene political party as the electoral democracy's institution in order to realize democracy that is just and respect gender equality. On the other hand, the challenges that are faced by women's movement will be more complex, particularly because of the emerging women conservative candidates who reject feminist agenda. For that reason, increasing critical consciousness and at the same time developing collective power for feminist's agenda are important in the process of consolidating democracy. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Anna Margret (Cakra Wikara Indonesia & Political Sciences Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia)

Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 83-93, 20 ref

This article explores the complexity of the relationship between democracy and feminism in both theory and practice. For a long time, feminist theorists have put forward criticism of democratic studies, which emphasize the importance of transforming political institutions and addressing the measure of the goodness of democracy that is considered to be generally accepted. As a result, the voice and interests of women are considered merely complementary and not a priority. Feminist agendas—marked by the formulation of interests aimed at challenging patriarchy in a variety of manifestations—are increasingly scarce in the work of fighting for democracy in Indonesia, especially in the participation of women's electoral politics. While non-electoral participation is more indicative of the presence of a feminist agenda, the challenge lies in the lack of linkages with electoral politics. The achievements of democracy over the past 20 years show the lack of contribution of democracy to the struggle that the women's movement formulated with the breath of feminism. This article highlights the increasingly eroded feminist agenda in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. It is time for the consolidation of democracy to borrow the logic of feminism, which rejects the public/private; personal/political dichotomy; in the electoral/non-electoral political struggle.

Keywords: feminist agenda, electoral, non-electoral, democracy

Dewi Komalasari (Jurnal Perempuan)

The Interwoven of Interests in Political Economy and Political Behavior of Women Members of Parliament

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 95-106, 2 tables, 19 ref.

Representation of women's interests through women Members of Parliament (MPs) is achieved if there is a connection between women MPs and their constituents. In order to be able to establish cooperation between these two parties, a developed understanding of MPs behavior is required. This article discusses women MPs various political-economic relationships. These relationships begin when women MPs are nominated as legislative candidates. The relationships result in various interests and pressures that women MPs must respond to. By understanding the various interests and pressures that women MPs face, civil society actors can design action plans that trigger positive responses from MPs and minimize potential risks.

Keywords: parliamentary political economy, elections, clientalism, patronage, women candidates, women in parliament

Atnike Nova Sigiro (Jurnal Perempuan/ Paramadina University)

Strengthening Substantive Representation of Women through the Engagement Model of the Women's Movement with the DPR and DPRD in Indonesia

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 107-114, 20 ref.

Although it has not yet reached an ideal composition, the adoption of a 30% quota of women in elections in Indonesia has increased the number of women in parliament, both at the central level (House of Representative/DPR) and at the regional level (Regional House of Representatives/DPRD). However, the issue of women's representation in parliament is not only a matter of representation based on sex, but also of substantive representation, where women's political agenda can be voiced. One of the concepts developed by feminist thinking is the concept of critical actors. This article seeks to explain how women's organizations and parliamentarians are critical actors that encourage women's involvement with parliament. This article explains how the involvement between women's organizations and parliament can strengthen the substantive representation of women in both the DPR and the DPRD. The article is developed based on studies on engagement models of MAMPU's partners with the DPR and DPRD.

Keywords: women's politics, political representation, parliamentary women, women's representation

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Ensuring the Women's Political Agenda: A Study of Women Members of Parliament in Nine Regencies/Cities in Eastern Indonesia

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 115-127, 7 tables, 9 ref.

Representation of women in the legislature is important. The presence of women members of parliament (MPs) does not only balance the number of parliamentarians (gender balance), but also encourages women's issues to be a priority, so that various gender sensitive policies are born. This study focuses on women legislator in nine regencies/cities of Eastern Indonesia, namely: Maros Regency, Bone Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, Parepare City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Belu Regency and Ambon City. This study looks at women legislator's portraits in nine research areas, obstacles in implementing main tasks and functions as women legislator and relations with various related groups. This study applies a phased mixed method design that focuses on qualitative studies. Data collection is done through document review, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research found that in order to guarantee the struggle for women's political agenda, capacity building was needed for Parliamentary Members of Women in Eastern Indonesia.

Keywords: women members of parliament, women's representation, gender-sensitive policies

Fathimah Fildzah Izzati (Pusat Penelitian Politik - Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia)

The Problem of "Women's Work" and the Idea of Work Democratization for the Liberating Empowerment of Women

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 129-136, 40 ref.

Women never make choices about their work democratically. In patriarchal society, "women's work" is constructed as work that is in the area of social reproduction and is "natural" for women. Consequently, women are increasingly in a vulnerable position in the labor market. In addition, women also face obstacles to being actively involved in

various democratic spaces such as unions and women's movements, and wider social movements because they bear a double workload that is life-consuming. However, various women's empowerment programs launched by a number of development institutions to overcome the problems faced by women turned out to be far from women's interests. Empowerment, also known as "liberal empowerment", actually depoliticized and atomized women. Feminist scholars also call for the importance of realizing "liberating empowerment". Related to that, this paper sees that the process of democratization of work on women's work is an effort that can be done to pave the way for women's liberation.

Keywords: women's work, democratization of work, empowerment, liberals, liberation

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi (Jurnal Perempuan)

The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 137-148, 1 table, 27 ref.

Political parties play an important role as a gateway to women's representation. In political parties the entire battle to win seats in parliament occurs. Therefore, the policies, practices and politics in the political party determine the face of women's representation

in parliament. This study focuses on policy, practice and politics in political parties in the context of encouraging women's representation in the regency / city-level legislative council in Indonesia. This research explores the strategy, experience and challenges faced by women legislative members in the regency / city-level legislative council for the 2014-2019 period of the four parties that passed to parliament in the 2014 elections, namely PDIP, Golkar Gerindra and one Islamic party, PPP. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document review of articles of association/ bylaws (AD/ART) of political parties. The results showed that 1) AD / ART of a number of political parties has adopted a 30% quota affirmative policy for party management structures and the formation of women's party wing organizations; 2) The practices of affirmative action policies in the process of recruitment, candidacy and political campaigns have not yet fully adopted the ideology of gender mainstreaming; knowledge, programs and decisions of political parties as well as competition between legislative candidates in competing for votes are still gender biased, thus detrimental to women's political agenda; 3) Parliamentary women experience psychological violence and intimidation in pushing the political agenda of women in parliament - rooted in patriarchal ideology, while the women's wing have not standing for women's agenda.

Keywords: women in parliament, women's political agenda, regency/ city-level legislative council, women and political parties, substantive representation

Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda

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Abstract

This article explores the complexity of the relationship between democracy and feminism in both theory and practice. For a long time, feminist theorists have put forward criticism of democratic studies, which emphasize the importance of transforming political institutions and addressing the measure of the goodness of democracy that is considered to be generally accepted. As a result, the voice and interests of women are considered merely complementary and not a priority. Feminist agendas—marked by the formulation of interests aimed at challenging patriarchy in a variety of manifestations—are increasingly scarce in the work of fighting for democracy in Indonesia, especially in the participation of women's electoral politics. While non-electoral participation is more indicative of the presence of a feminist agenda, the challenge lies in the lack of linkages with electoral politics. The achievements of democracy over the past 20 years show the lack of contribution of democracy to the struggle that the women's movement formulated with the breath of feminism. This article highlights the increasingly eroded feminist agenda in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. It is time for the consolidation of democracy to borrow the logic of feminism, which rejects the public/private; personal/political dichotomy; in the electoral/non-electoral political struggle.

Keywords: feminist agenda, electoral, non-electoral, democracy

Introduction

The democratization process in Indonesia has been ongoing for 20 years, since the beginning of the reformation, and the women's movement is part of a vital force that helped build political resistance against the authoritarian regime at that time. This became evident through a demonstration on the streets by Suara Ibu Peduli (SIP) on February 23, 1998 – at that time, the government had declared an emergency state, which meant that security forces were allowed to shoot dead on the spot demonstrators whom were considered dangerous (Arivia 2016). Twenty years later, the National Commission on Violence Against Women issued a statement as a reflection of two decades of reformation and the content of the such statement reminded people that the women's movement at that time was "to fight against patriarchal-militaristic authoritarianism" with ethics of care as platform to build a new political culture, namely politics characterized by empathy towards one another, solidarity with each other, and providing an opportunity to grow towards each other" (Komnas Perempuan 2018). The note is important to be referred to as a historical reference that emphasizes the autonomy

of the struggle of the women's movement in articulating their interests, formulating the agenda of demands, and calculating the strategies and tactics and priorities of their struggle. The women's movement that fought at the beginning of the reformation was not just part of — but equally important as other elements of the pro-democratic political forces.

The independence in agenda setting is an important element that shows the significant role of the women's movement in a series of democratic consolidation work. The presence of the women's movement is not merely a talkative passenger riding in the democratic carriage. On the contrary, with knowledge, experience, and goals that are built on the foundation of feminist ideology about resistance towards subordination, the women's movement strategized and took part in fighting for democracy since the beginning of the reformation. After twenty years of this ongoing process, it needs to be examined to what extent the feminist agenda is still the core element of the women's movement as well as the extent to which the achievements of democracy synergize with the feminist agenda. The experience of democratic transition that has taken place in a number of

Latin American and African countries shows a tendency of women's interests to be trapped and hijacked in the midst of democratization projects. The transition of democracy manifests on two opposite sides; seeking empowerment but also leaving trauma for women and other marginal groups. Strengthening democratic institutions is indeed necessary but does not automatically guarantee the implementation of democratic practices, one of them includes gender equality (Budryte, Vaughn & Riegg 2009). This article is based on the observation that something similar also happened in Indonesia.

The transition paradigm of democracy sees the democratization process as a series of stages that needs to be analyzed separately between the transition phase and the consolidation phase. The transition of democracy is considered to end when an agreement has been reached regarding political procedures to establish the government through the general election process; when the ruling government is the result of free and direct general elections; and when the executive, legislative and judicial institutions that are generated by democracy do not share power with other institutions *de jure* (Linz & Stepan 1996). In the Indonesian context, the transition phase can be said to gradually begin since the enactment of the direct presidential election in 2004, which was followed by direct elections of regional heads in 2005. Since the adoption of a proportional system with an open list in the 2009 legislative general elections, voters are allowed not only to vote for political party, but also to select candidates (legislative candidates) that they supported. This marks the recognition and protection of the people's sovereignty in choosing their leaders and representatives. In other words, borrowing Robert Dahl's ideas about polyarchy, the transition to democracy in Indonesia is characterized by the application of the principle of governance by many people on the basis of "contestation / open competition and public participation" (Dahl 1971 in Bunte & Ufen 2009). Both of these principles are closely related to institutional reform in the transition to democracy.

The mainstream literature on democracy generally focuses on institutional transformation that occurs during the democratization process but neglects the dimensions of gender relations, which explains the complexity, even the contradictory interaction between the women's movement, the democratization process, and the three electoral agencies namely political parties, general elections and legislative bodies. Democratic transitions that is measured by gender-neutral goodness criteria sacrifice women's voices and interests (Jaquette

1989). In Indonesia, the achievement of democracy contributes minimally to the women's movement, even leading to a series of new problems. Women's political representation in the formal sphere includes legislative institutions, political parties, the management of political parties, electoral institutions, bureaucracy and regional leadership gradually increased in number (Margret, Panjaitan, Novitasari et.al. 2018). However, the increased number of women's political representation in a number of formal institutions does not automatically contribute positively to the improvement of legislation products that favor the welfare of women and other marginal groups.

In the realm of non-electoral political participation, for example, within the last ten years the name Eva Bande of Central Sulawesi is recorded in 2014, as she was sentenced to four years in prison for organizing peasant opposition to the corporation PT KLS, which closed agricultural land to be replaced with palm oil plantations. Women farmers from the Kendeng mountains who demonstrated by cementing their feet across the Merdeka Palace, as a form of protest, sued the government for revoking the environmental permit for mining and the construction of a cement plant in the Kendeng Mountains. Not only the two cases that are mentioned above, non-electoral political participation that is done by various women's groups can also be traced in a variety of political education programs related to women's leadership, such as those conducted regularly by AMAN Women, Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI), and other civil society organizations. The efforts to strengthen the economy for female migrant workers and female heads of households are carried out systematically by organizations such as Migrant Care and PEKKA (Female Family Heads Empowerment). Legal assistance and protection for female survivors have been carried out for decades by organizations such as Kalyanamitra, LBH APIK (Legal Aid Institute for the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice), and others.

So, what is the connection between the series of women's participation in the non-electoral political realm with electoral politics? Are there parties, female politicians, or female legislative members who substantively respond? Will democratization and the feminist agenda always conflict and lead to a weakening of the feminist agenda for the achievement of institutional democracy? How can the correlation between the feminist agenda and the women's movement be understood and strengthened? How can we correlate the participation of the women's movement in the electoral and non-electoral domains?

To what extent has feminism in Indonesia succeeded in breaking down the dichotomy relationship between democracy and the feminist agenda?

The Complex Relations between Democracy and Feminism: Theory and Practice

The tradition and theory of democracy had existed before the emergence of feminism; it was only around the 19th century that the democratic theorists began to take seriously the issue of women's democratic rights, which then became the focus of feminist studies, especially liberal feminism. From the outset, feminism actually expressed criticism toward tradition of democracy and actively sought to revitalize the practice and theories of democracy (Squires 2004). There are a number of principles in democracy and feminism that are similar and intersecting, such as equality, freedom, people's sovereignty, and law enforcement. However, when this principle is enforced by turning a blind eye to unequal gender relations and dominant cultures that are still misogynistic, a feminist perspective becomes an examining tool; does the fulfillment of the principles in the democratization process contribute to the fulfillment of the feminist agenda or at the expense of the feminist agenda? Since its inception, ideas in the entire spectrum of feminism have raised criticism of ideal values in a democracy that are considered biased to the experience of middle-class men but are considered universal for all. The main thesis of feminism, which emphasizes resistance to all forms of domination and subordination, is the basis of the tension in the relations between democracy and the feminist agenda.

Komnas Perempuan's final remark emphasizes that what is currently present in Indonesia is "democracy minus the ethics of care, minus the redistribution of power, minus transitional justice, and so it ultimately becomes a floating democracy - which does not reach its substance" (Komnas Perempuan 2018). In short, after 20 years of transitional period and democratic consolidation, the feminist agenda which was initially central in the struggle was increasingly dimmed and marginalized. In the study of the developments of feminist theory and democracy, this has actually been repetitively reminded. Even in countries with a longer democratic experience such as America, it is recognized that theoretically democracy and feminism agree on the principle of equality, the practice of democracy has a freeing effect but also oppressing women in that country (Gilman 2014).

The diversity of women's identities and the intersectionality of diverse identities occurs, among others such as, cross cultures, ethnicities, skin colors, religions, social classes, economic backgrounds, beliefs, gender identities, and sexual orientation. The intersectional framework sees that oppression and discrimination experienced by women need to be understood as a product of the interconnectedness of these various identities and cannot be separated from one another (Crenshaw 1989). Equality that is assumed by the theory of democracy and democratization as the basis for the realization of open contestation and public participation, according to intersectional feminist perspectives, ignores reality of diversity. Just because of the similar identity as a woman, it does not mean that there will be a critical consciousness and solidarity spontaneously awakened between them in order to carry out the ethics of care and encourage resistance to all forms of subordination.

The challenge for the feminist movement and agenda does not only come from the tension of relations between feminism and democracy, but also from fellow women. In the last five years in Indonesia, several movements emerged with the foundation of religious conservative ideology whose agenda is aimed at preserving women's subordination as natural and decisively rejecting the idea of feminism. Among them are the Love Family Alliance (AILA) and Indonesia Without Dating (ITP). Interestingly, these movements put women at the forefront of the movement, whereas the woman's body and sexuality is the focus of the issue with the idea of feminism being used as a reference to build counter narrative argument: in short, the affirmation that the ideas and agendas of feminism must be rejected in Indonesia because they are the opposite to the moral values in Islam, which is major faith that is being practiced by the majority of Indonesian society. They rely on various social media as a campaign platform by using popular phrases and slang language, which can be interpreted as an effort to reach the base of support from the wider public and young people. In 2016, AILA submitted a judicial review to the Constitutional Court (MK) in order to change the definition of adultery, rape and sodomy in the Criminal Code but a year later the Court rejected the request.

It is important to note that, the essence of the appeal to expand the meaning of zina by AILA is an attempt to criminalize consensual sex outside of marriage and sexual activity by LGBT. The state was urged to enter into the private sphere and be present as a disciplinary regime for individual choices and behavior. Of the nine constitutional court judges, four people - all of which are

men - agreed to the petition and five people - one of them is woman - refused. This shows that amid the waning feminist agenda in Indonesia's democratization, attacks on the feminist agenda continue to be launched and the frame that is intended to be established is the conflict of ideal ideas about women's struggles among women. The latest action from AILA is the rejection of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (PKS Bill), which is currently under discussion in the Indonesian Parliament. According to the website of the DPR RI (Indonesian House of Representatives), the PKS bill was jointly proposed by three factions of PDIP, PAN and Gerindra to be put in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) (<http://www.dpr.go.id/prolegnas/index/id/180>). As the 2019 election draw nears, a number of mass media highlighted the cross-party cooperation of female DPR members who seemed convincing in their support for the PKS Bill, namely between Diah Pitaloka from PDIP and Rahayu Saraswati from Gerindra. The extent of the solidity of the cooperation still has to be examined by looking at the continued discussion of the PKS Bill.

The idea of intersectionality explains how equality, which is the central argument of feminism, is not the same and neither it is congruent with its meaning in democracy. Although upholding the principle of equality and inclusive participation, democracy does not reject the establishment of hierarchical relations, which are considered constitutional as long as they are produced by procedures that are in line with democracy; for example, through a democratic election. Contrary to this, for the feminist agenda there are no exceptions, all hierarchical relations are deemed to be problematic (Gilman 2014). Based on her observations of the conservative attacks on the women's movement in America ahead of the 2012 election cycle, Gilman noted, "Any war on women is war on democracy". Restrictions on abortion practices, restrictions on access to contraception, cuts in welfare and justice programs at work, for Gilman, is a form of "war on women". According to supporters of AILA and Indonesia Without Dating (ITP), efforts to uphold religious morality as a basis for their struggle is an effort to protect and glorify women. The refusal of AILA and its supporters of the PKS Bill with the main reason that the contents of the bill are full of feminist principles originating from the West reflect the problem of intersectionality. This problem is further complicated by internal debates on democratic ideas between majoritarian and pluralist narratives. The logical bias of the majority rule in democracy justifies the privileges of the majority group in determining the rules of policy making; meanwhile, the minority must submit and follow. An understanding

of the feminist agenda, which relies on the rejection of all forms of subordination – formally known as a patriarchal system - offers a critical narrative to re-examine claims about protection, reverence, equality, freedom, even claims for public participation, people's sovereignty, and even law enforcement. If the claim is true and consistent with the practice, then women that possess diverse identities, or more broadly, diverse minority groups should not be subject to dominant hierarchical power. Institutional reform in the name of the democratic transition and consolidation that sacrifices women with diverse identities or other vulnerable groups is actually an anti-democratic practice.

Women's Movement and Feminist Agenda: Recognizing the to be Opposed Subordination

The above description simply implies that not all women's movements — whether driven by women or focusing on women's issues — can immediately be categorized as feminist movements. The feminist movement - or in this article repeatedly mentioned as "the women's movement with the feminist agenda" - can be recognized by the content in its struggle agenda. This distinction needs to be done not only for the sake of analyzing but more fundamentally, to recall the foundation and basic spirit of feminist agenda that needs to be ensured to be present in a movement that claims to be a movement that defends women's interests. Women's movements with a feminist agenda can be illustrated with several characterizations: prioritizing women's distinctive experience within gender relations inside the society, women's issues, women leadership and the presence of women in the policy-making process (Beckwith 2000). In other words, the women's movement needs a feminist agenda to affirm the antagonism that is being built through the movement in the frame of fighting for justice and refusing subordination. Inside of it, there are choices of tactics and strategies, such as women empowerment and capacity building for contestation. However, the ultimate goal is not only to make women more empowered but to encourage the use of these powers to dismantle and fight injustice.

The first democratic government that is elected through the 1999 elections issued a formal policy that explicitly described support for gender equality, namely Presidential Directive Number 9 of 2000 regarding Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in National Development. This is an important achievement because the Decree becomes an umbrella policy that is required to be adopted by various ministry-level technical agencies in

order to prepare for programs and budgets. Since then, a series of gender training has been carried out massively both inside and outside the government because of compliance with instructions coming from the President as head of government. The Gender Responsive Budget (ARG) Scheme is obliged to be made by every ministry agency even though compliance, implementation and achievements, in this case, vary from one institution to another. The training module on gender mainstreaming is organized with the main content discussing fundamental issues in feminism: namely the difference between gender and sex, followed by ideas about gender equality and its application in public and private spaces. These issues are important to discuss, but if the discussion is not continued with the efforts to uncover injustice and subordination, it means the feminist agenda still has not presented yet.

The idea of gender equality is important but not enough to encourage the organization of women's interests which consciously and powerfully challenge the hierarchy. Therefore, a feminist idea is needed, which has since emerged and up until now continues to grow; so much so that it is almost impossible to mention 'feminism' without including a discussion of the diversity of feminist ideas. The description of feminist diversity possesses several qualities such as "interdisciplinary / cross disciplinary, intersectional / cross section, and interlocking / interrelated" (Tong 2009). Various labels of distinctive analyses of each feminist school continue to evolve over time in line with the efforts of feminist ideas to respond to the dynamics of society. Starting from the tradition of liberal feminist, radical, socialist, Marxist, psychoanalytic, care-focused, multicultural, transnational, eco-feminist, to post-structuralist or third wave feminist. This categorization shows list of labels that continues to grow and are debatable. The diversity of these schools reflects that feminism is not a monolithic ideology and the internal debate between feminists still continues. The labels on various feminist ideas above mark the differences in approaches, perspectives and frame of thought used by feminists in explaining the various forms (and roots) of women's oppression and solutions to eradicating such oppression. However, feminist in their diversity agrees that the patriarchal system must be challenged and dismantled because of its exploitative and oppressive essence.

The definition of the feminist agenda referred to in this article is built with a synthesis of a number of feminist schools above. Instead of choosing the most appropriate, this article tries to assemble a spectrum of ideas

between existing feminist schools, especially in terms of interpreting 'patriarchy'. Although radical feminists tend to rely on essentialist narratives that see women as single and final identity, the narrative of oppressive cultural systems is useful to assert that patriarchy is not always present in the physical form of men. The interrelationship between patriarchy and capitalism as promoted by socialist and Marxist feminists enriches the contextual explanation of the work of exploitative patriarchal system and shows that the liberal feminist arguments about the importance of regulation and enforcement of gender equity that guarantee equal rights between women and men are unable to resolve the inequality experienced by lower class women. Patriarchal construction about the difference between masculinity and femininity is a reflection of the political difference between freedom and submission (Pateman 1988, p. 207). Therefore, the feminist debate about the various forms (and roots) of women's oppression and the solution to end them can be synthesized into: the struggle to challenge patriarchy is the struggle against discrimination, exploitation, injustice, domination, oppression, marginalization and violence. Patriarchy is useful to be understood as a reference in building the antagonism of the women's movement with the feminist agenda.

Dynamics of Democracy in Indonesia: Connecting the Struggle in the Electoral and Non-Electoral Territories with the Feminist Agenda

The frame of thought about the centrality of the feminist agenda in the women's movement is used to examine the various achievements as the results of institutional reforms that have been carried out during the transition phase to the democratic phase and the democratic consolidation. The transition phase can simply be seen from 1999 to 2004/2005 when Indonesia first held direct elections to elect the president and the regional heads. The democratic consolidation phase is reviewed in span of 2006 to 2019. The mapping of these phases is done to simplify observation and discussion. In the formal political realm, this period was marked by a number of achievements that were linked to women's interests. The issuance of Inpres (Presidential Directive) 1/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming can now be seen more as a strategy to build women's movement with a feminist agenda that is empowered to dismantle patriarchy in the public sphere. Gender mainstreaming is not a feminist agenda but rather a tactical battle strategy that has the potential to be the foundation for the women's movement with the feminist agenda.

In the following year, the women's movement and civil society's demand for the adoption of affirmative policies in the realm of electoral politics can initially be seen as a women's movement that possesses a strong resistance agenda because it consciously pushes for transformative elements within gender relations in the electoral politics, especially in the legislative and political parties. Affirmative policy was first adopted by the law on political parties, followed by a law on election management bodies. The stipulation of the affirmative article on the Law on Political Parties regulates gender equality and justice that need to be considered in filling the party management structure. Between the election cycles, the affirmative article on the Law on Political Parties continues to experience major boost, starting with Law No. 31/2002, Law No. 2/2008, until Law No. 2/2011. In 2002, the formulation of affirmative stipulation was still very general. It was only in 2008 that the 30% of the number of women's representation in the political party at each level and the structural management elaboration was included. Furthermore, in the year 2011, the rules that were related to the recruitment process for prospective members of the DPR and DPRD were added. Affirmation efforts in political parties produced results, which can be seen from the percentage of women in party management from 2003 to 2019, which continues to increase (Margret et al. 2018). The position of party administrator is an important aspect to be fought for so that more women can fill in as an effort to improve the quality of selection and recruitment of legislative candidates that is conducted by parties in order not to rely on personage popularity such as celebrities, economic elites, or relatives of powerful politicians.

In the 2009 and 2014 elections it was recorded that 65% of the candidates that is elected in the DPR RI were ranked number one in the fixed candidate list (DCT). In the same two elections, there was an increase in the percentage of female party administrators placed in number one and two in the DCT. Of the 100 female candidates elected in the 2009 elections, 46% were political candidates from the number one slot and 34% of them were candidates who were party managers at central level. Of the 97 female candidates elected in the 2014 election, 46% were political candidates from the number one slot and 42% of them came from party management at the central level (Novitasari & Iksarana 2019). As the 2019 Election draws near, the number of nominated women in the Indonesian Parliament was the highest since the affirmation policy was implemented, namely 40%. There were 603 female candidates that was placed in number one and two slots, but only 19%

were party administrators at the central level. The low percentage of women party administrators who have succeeded in occupying the top sequence number indicates that there is a crisis in the selection quality and recruitment of women candidates in the DPR RI election in the 2019 election.

The affirmative article on the Law on Political Parties can be seen as a systematic effort to improve gender equality. However, that alone is not enough because the essence of the feminist agenda in this context lies in efforts to dismantle the subordination that can be found in the small number of women who occupy high positions in party management that still difficult for women to bring about changes in the party's internal policy making process. The party's internal reformation is currently an urgent agenda in electoral politics because it is the only electoral institution responsible for the quality of the selection and recruitment of legislative and regional heads candidates, even though there has also been opening path for independent or non-partisan. Women's political representation in the legislature is clearly not just a mere increase in the number of women's physical presence, but must be strengthened with the presence of substantive representation of women's interests (Ardiansa 2016). On the other hand, rules about the electoral system can effectively influence women's political representation in the legislature. Five election regimes that can be examined starting from Law No. 3/1999, Law No. 12/2003, Law No. 10/2008, Law No. 8/2012, and Law No. 7/2017 shows that the costs to be paid by political parties in order to be able to participate in the election are increasingly expensive.

It is not only the cost in the financial sense that is increasingly difficult due to the fact that the party attendance requirements at the local level are increasingly widespread, but also political costs in terms of organizing support is increasingly difficult because of the increase in the parliamentary threshold as a condition to obtain DPR RI seats. The failure of small and new parties to enter the national legislature needs to be understood as a threat to the essence of democracy, which fundamentally supports open contestation and public participation. The costly conditions for participating in elections extinguished the opportunity for the emergence of alternative political forces outside the old parties that are already large and have difficulties to reform themselves. The high cost of competition in electoral politics also suppresses the opportunity to transform social movements into political movements, which also means threats to public participation and open contestation. In particular, for

women, this means more difficult efforts in engendering democracy because the records of the 2014 and 2019 election results show that small parties tend to pay more attention to women's cadres and women's issues. The number of nominations for women is consistently found to be high among small and new parties.

In the phase of democratic consolidation, the threat to the institutionalization of democracy and the marginalization of the women's movement with feminist agenda has intensified. In the process of drafting the codified Election Law throughout 2016 and 2017, debate and discourse to return to the closed proportional electoral system arose, as it was carried out in the 1999 election. The implementation of a proportional system with open lists in Indonesia was only implemented in four election cycles: 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019. With reason of wanting to strengthen the presidential system, an increase in a high parliamentary threshold is considered reasonable. With reason of wanting to reduce the complexity and cost of implementing elections, a closed proportional electoral system is considered more ideal. This is a serious threat to women's political representation in political parties and the legislature. The tenuous alignment between the political party and women political candidates, poor recruitment mechanisms within internal party that have an impact in increasing the influence of kinship and unequal power relations between women cadres and party elites will worsen if the closed electoral system is applied again.

Reasons for efficiency and austerity should not be proposed as the main considerations to return to a closed electoral system that has the potential to perpetuate fundamental problems in political parties (Panjaitan 2017). At present, it must be noted that the successful implementation of the affirmative rules by political parties is the result of the assertiveness of the General Election Commission (KPU), which issued technical regulations to strengthen the law relating to the nomination article. The formulation of articles in the law on political parties only stipulates that political party considers 30% of women representation. There are no sanctions if they are not met. Carefully, KPU commissioners from 2012-2017 issued PKPU No. 7/2013, which requires the nomination of women as stipulated in the Law must be fulfilled by political parties in each electoral district. This KPU regulation requires all parties participating in the election to include a minimum of 30% of women in the fixed list of candidates (DCT) and if not, then the party concerned is disqualified from participating in the specific electoral district.

For a number of political parties, the fulfillment of the 30% affirmative rules for female candidates is carried out as an administrative requirement fulfillment without awareness to strengthen women's political representation. This can be traced from time to time in the electoral cycle when there are actually complaining political party stated that it is difficult to find potential women to be nominated as candidates. Such complaints indicate the party's lack of seriousness in preparing a potential cadre and recruitment of women long before the election.

The problem with the party's poor recruitment and selection process confirms that as one of the institutions of electoral democracy, the party actually becomes a challenging aspect for increasing women's political representation (Panjaitan 2017). Ironically, I myself on several occasions heard directly from a number of potential female politicians who participated in criticizing the open electoral system, hoping to return to the closed list system. Their reasoning was that the party's internal policy in determining candidates who won the election was considered more ideal than an open system, which encouraged candidates to compete with fellow party members to win the election. This is not only an irony but also an indication of the decline of democracy, which for years has championed the people's sovereignty in determining their leaders and representatives directly through the election mechanism. The criticism of female politicians of the open electoral system also reflects how winning seat becomes the most important, even more important than the connectivity between politicians and their constituents at the grassroots.

The relative success of the women's and civil society movements with the feminist agenda when pushing affirmative policy until it was adopted in 2002 in the realm of electoral politics was the success of three levels of collaborations between women struggling at the grassroots, women in political parties, and women legislators (Soetjipto 2011). In other words, the connectivity between the women's movement and the feminist agenda in the realm of electoral and non-electoral politics has been proven to be a progressive and transformative power source. In this context, political meaning transcends primitive ideas as a struggle for power and grows closer to the feminist agenda, namely the struggle for empowerment. The idea of empowering and advocating minority and marginalized groups should be the main principle behind efforts of engendering politics.

The inclusion of women as legislators within the framework of the feminist agenda is seen as part of the struggle of the women's movement to oppose against patriarchy. However, in reality, it does not always happen. The product of legislation that protects women's rights was indeed produced as seen in Law No. 23/2003 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Law No. 12/2006 on Citizenship, Law No. 21/2007 on the Eradication of Criminal Act of Trafficking in Person and so on. Unfortunately, legislation products with alignments to the feminist agenda or a gender-transformative empowerment are increasingly scarce. What is more worrying is the increasingly disconnected women's struggle in the electoral and non-electoral political realms, as if the two domains were far apart and had minimal influence amongst them. The increase in the number of women as members of the national legislature from the results of the 2004, 2009, 2014 up until the 2019 elections was not directly proportional to the concern for the women's movement with the feminist agenda in the non-electoral realm. In the sense of the women's electability in the national legislative, further tracking relating to their recruitments and candidacy background details shows that there are still dominance of political kinship ties, popular celebrity status, and economy elites. Those backgrounds become the distinctive challenge to the substantive political representative function.

What about the women's movement with the feminist agenda in the non-electoral realm? The struggle of the Kendeng female farmers who demanded the cancellation of the environmental permit for mining and the construction of a cement plant in the Kendeng Mountains began in 2006 when PT Semen Gresik obtained a mining permit from the Pati Regency government. Cement mining continues to expand to Rembang Regency it pollutes the environment including hundreds of springs, caves, and tens of thousands of hectares of agricultural land threatened with damage. The culmination of the 2017 movement was across the Merdeka Palace (Indonesian Presidential Palace), nine Kendeng peasant women cemented their feet as a symbolic act of resistance and criticism of the government's attitude, which was considered to enact development that impoverished marginalized groups. They stopped the demonstration because one of them, Yu Patmi, died of a heart attack after several days of demonstrations.

In Mollo, a district in Central-South Timor, Mama Aleta Baun organized civil society resistance to reject a number of marble mines. This struggle began in the late 1990s and the campaign which was led by Mama Aleta

reached its peak in 2006. She was included in the People Search List and accused of being a prostitute because she often went out at night, received death threats, and was threatened by her husband's family to divorce her. Mama Aleta organized hundreds of women during an entire year of demonstration by occupying the marble mountains in the mining area while weaving cloth in protest. While the women demonstrated, men showed their support by doing domestic work such as cooking, cleaning houses and caring for children. Around the year 2010, mining companies finally responded and stopped operations in four locations in the Mollo region. In 2014, Mama Aleta became a member of the Commission III of the NTT DPRD from the PKB faction and returned to compete in the 2019 elections as candidate for the DPR RI in the NTT electoral district 2.

Another story came from Eva Hanafi Bande, leader of the Central Sulawesi Advocacy Front, who was sentenced to four years in prison in Luwuk, Banggai, Central Sulawesi for assisting Toili farmers to fight for land rights. The conflict began in the 1990s and continued to escalate. Agricultural land was increasingly eroded by corporate palm oil plantations. Police and TNI officials were also involved and closed the farmers' land that escalate to the burning of bulldozers and corporation-owned excavators in 2010. One of Eva's calls, "unfair laws are not worth obeying", was similar to Martin Luther King Jr.'s about the moral obligation to oppose an unjust law. The framework of the idea regarding ecofeminism intersected with cultural feminism and socialist feminism can be traced in the three stories of resistance of the women's movement in the non-electoral realm above. The presence of corporations was considered to threaten the survival of women and the environment while the state slowly responds to the demands of the movement.

The three descriptions of the women's movement with the feminist agenda in the non-electoral politics realm above emphasize the manifestation of patriarchy in multidimensionality; the dominance of patriarchal culture that subjugates women in the social relations of a society, the power of exploitative capital and impoverishing development practices. Apart from the manifestation of multidimensional patriarchy, the challenges faced by the women's movement with the feminist agenda in the non-electoral political realm also include strategic technical matters and the accuracy of using tactical power to win. Unlike in the electoral realm that still gives limited authority to women in the legislature and political parties, women at the grassroots actually move against the lack of formal authority for women to speak critically in the

public sphere. The antagonism that is built as a frame of struggle is clearly mapped, namely the interests of capital accumulation face to face with survival and the right to manage land. The militancy of the movement and the formulation of the women's interest agenda illustrated by the three movements in the non-electoral realm above show the autonomy in formulating the interest agenda and the distant crises between each women's movement with those powerful governmental figures. The demands conveyed by the Kendeng Mountains peasant women, Mama Aleta Baun and Eva Bande reflects their devotion to fight against subordination and domination that is manifested in the economic, cultural, political, and social system.

Compared to the women's movement in the electoral political realm, the character of the movement in the non-electoral realm is more like the strategic contestation shown by Suara Ibu Peduli in early 1998. The construction of gender in the private sphere is merged with a strategy of struggle in the public space. The role of women as "mothers" who care for life and the environment is put forward as a symbolic message in their resistance in the public space. The dichotomy between public and private is abandoned. This resonates with Beckwith's (2000) observation of the women's movement, which, according to him, is able to define its own movements, issue articulation and resolution that are specific to women's experiences, and they develop autonomously by referring to gender identities and relations that they experience in society. Amid the simplicity of its appearance, the women's movement with a feminist agenda in the non-electoral political realm teaches several things that need to be considered for the formulation of new strategies of struggle in the electoral realm.

Conclusion: Synthesis of Strategies to Fight Subordination

The formulation of the women's movement agenda with feminist ideas on democracy requires connectivity or connection between women at the grassroots, women in political parties and women members of the legislature. Borrowing logic from football matches, offensive and defensive strategies need to be used by the women's movement alternately in fighting for the achievement of a feminist agenda that is principally linked to the agenda of democracy, although in its realization, it cannot always coexist with one another. The defensive strategy in the women's movement is characterized by prioritizing the preparation of counter narrative and relying on "counterattacks against opponents". Offensive strategies

are interpreted as to initiate tactics and maintain the autonomy of the struggle agenda, marked by an agenda setting whose formula has the leverage to correct unequal power relations.

This article views the achievements of the women's movement in Indonesia in the last 20 years tends to be stagnate for two reasons. First, defensive strategy domination of the women's movement with the feminist agenda tends to dominate so that the formulation of its interests seems to be trapped in a number of technical matters. For example, the struggle for the adoption of affirmative rules in the electoral law. The women's movement seemed to be absorbed to win a mere seat and missed preparing plans for changes that are targeted to be achieved or the agenda setting from obtaining additional seats for women in the legislature. The further discussion of the PKS Bill will be very interesting to be examined as a milestone of whether the women's movement in the context of democratic consolidation can successfully influence the policy-making process. Cross-party cooperation between Diah Pitaloka from PDIP and Rahayu Saraswati from Gerindra was tested for its solidity and will answer whether there are still interests of women who are able to collaborate across political parties, similarly to when the first affirmative policy proposal was made. Second, the trap of dichotomous logic in interpreting electoral and non-electoral politics. As feminism has long criticized the separation between the public and private spheres, the struggle of the women's movement in Indonesia can borrow similar logic to rearrange the electoral and non-electoral political struggles as realms of mutual influence.

The time has come for the women's movement to rethink the electoral and non-electoral political dichotomy. The choice of the women's movement in the first half of the post-reformation period to carry out "political repositioning" (Soetjipto 2011) must be recognized as requiring critical evaluation because it turns out that a number of potential women are deprived of awareness and alignment with feminist agendas that strive for exploitative domination and power hierarchies. The choice of political repositioning tactics from the outside positions to become political engagement (Soetjipto 2012) as partners who jointly formulate policies must be recognized to possess a contribution to the increasingly dim feminist agenda, which negotiates with the idea of gender mainstreaming, especially in the formal political realm. Instead of being a critical partner in the formulation of policies that favor the agenda against various forms of subordination, some women in

the legislature and political parties are more concerned with how to maintain or win seats.

According to Ani Soetjipto, women party and legislative members are hegemonized with their parties to the point where they lose their autonomy or independence. Furthermore, transformative elements or gender empowerment are hindered by policy patterns that formulate gender justice at a more general or universal level of discussion (Soetjipto 2012). Therefore, she continued, a new strategy for the women's movement is needed in order to maneuver inside the democratic political institutions that apparently are not automatically committed to advancing democratic gender justice agenda. The main objective of this article is to recognize that engaging the state in the struggle against subordination - the core of the feminist agenda - is a risky strategy. Not only does the transformative elements of the women's movement is vulnerable, but also individual female politicians are vulnerable to experience with disorientation in the struggle.

The study of democracy and the women's movement with the feminist agenda confirms that efforts of engendering democracy by increasing the number of women in a number of democratic spaces such as parties and legislatures are necessary, but that is not enough to correct various forms of historical cultural inequality that are the focus of feminist politics (Cornwall & Goetz 2005). The hardest challenge lies in synergizing women's political participation both in the electoral and non-electoral politics in order to have a dialogue and understand that the substance of the women's movement agenda in both domains influences and requires each other to ensure the democratization project does not hijack or trap the interests and agenda of the women's movement. This does not mean an appeal to the movement in the electoral and non-electoral politics to amalgamate itself into one, even though the most ideal expectations are.

This article offers the idea to no longer interpret the realm of electoral and non-electoral politics in a dichotomous logic. Both can indeed run separately in choosing its movement and strategy, but there needs to be a discursive forum that is maintained and filled regularly to ensure that the two domains are connected through information sharing. Another challenge in this context lies in trying to convince every agent in both domains that the electoral political realm needs to be intervened by the non-electoral women's movement. Intervening in electoral politics is not the same as entering into electoral politics. Intervening can be done by willing to participate in listening to the crisis that

occurred and actively becoming an ally to encourage resolution of such crisis. In this case, the urgent matter is the increasingly closed space for political contestation with the high parliamentary threshold that has been set for DPR RI and the increasingly high cost of being a party that qualifies to participate in the election. On the contrary, non-electoral politics requires attention and commitment from electoral politics because only by restoring the connectivity between these two domains can the apathy crisis and anti-electoral politics sentiment be addressed.

The reformation of democratic institutions actually should not have to be in control of the women's movement agenda. Autonomy in the formulation of the agenda of the interests of the women's movement is key beginning to emphasize the significance of the presence of the women's movement. The interconnection between political parties, grassroots movements in the non-formal political realm and legislative members who can jointly agree on a feminist agenda to be fought for is a trace of an effective women's movement in the context of democratization. Effective does not merely mean that women succeed in entering formal political institutions, but are able to resist subordination and correct existing inequalities by utilizing the opportunities of institutional democracy.

Reflections on the experience of women's political participation since 2004 show that the slogan of "sisterhood solidarity" was proven does not work in the context of electoral politics (Soetjipto 2011). Women are not proven to provide support preference to fellow women, both in political parties and the legislature. This is in line with the explanation of Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) on the diversity of identities that are intersectional, between gender identity, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, faith, and so on. More effective solidarity and support comes from mutual-fate feeling and not always determined by mere physical identity. In line with intersectionality, the idea of feminism itself has offered a broad spectrum to understand the diverse form of oppression, its sources, its manifestations, and the methods or strategies that are considered most appropriate to counter such oppression. This article sees that intersectional identity will be better understood by synthesizing various feminist schools in formulating a movement agenda that has the potential to expand support not only from women, but also from men. Moreover, with the synthesis of feminist ideas, an understanding of patriarchy also becomes more structured because it does not always manifest as a male identity, but it can also be women who want to preserve

subordination to other women as well as in exploitative capitalist economic systems.

Women empowerment needs to be understood as including individual conscientization and the ability to work collectively so that there is power to encourage transformation (Troutner & Smith 2004 quoted in Budryte, Vaughn & Riegg 2009, p. 5). Therefore, the goal of women's empowerment also considers a series of obstacles that subordinate women, institutional transformation that even more perpetuates gender discrimination and inequality, and identification and recognition of a number of institutions that support gender equality. In other words, the mapping of opportunity is carried out in balance with the challenges mapping so that efforts of women empowerment do not stop just at slogans that neglect the reality in the ground.

Both in the transition and consolidation phase of democracy, women's movements with the feminist agenda can understand that mere formal democracy will not be enough to protect women (Gilman 2014). The achievement of democracy in formal political space does not guarantee to contribute in determine the reality of democracy in informal political space. The increase in the number of female politicians resulting from the election does not mean that the political space is more open for women because the end results lies in the dialogue that takes place between the electoral and non-electoral political spaces in realizing the feminist agenda. However, as indicated by the latest developments, none of the measurement of good democracy are negligible towards the level of women's participation even though the measurement qualifications still leave room for debate. In other words, without any doubt, it can be said that the fate of the democratic struggle and the feminist agenda are in fact interrelated. The women's movement with the feminist agenda - meaning against subordination - has the potential to examine the extent to which the framework of reforming institutional democracy contributes to democratic justice and gender equality. Indeed, it does not mean that all the hope of struggles of the feminist agenda can be put into the space of electoral politics, but the negligence of the condition that occurs in the electoral political sphere means there are some neglectfulness in keeping some of the women's movement struggle with feminist agenda. Political parties are the currently the most urgent institutions in the electoral democracy that needs to be intervened in order for the weakening feminist agenda crisis can be restored. Closing this article, I borrowed a quote from Anne Marie Goetz (2018), which is a reminder of the

tense relationship between democracy and the women's movement, leading to the essence of resistance to all forms of domination and subordination:

Where democracies have failed women is not in not offering enough female politicians from which to choose, but in not providing women voters with programmatic parties and policy platform dedicated to overturning male dominance and female subordination.

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