

## Women and Democracy

### Editorial

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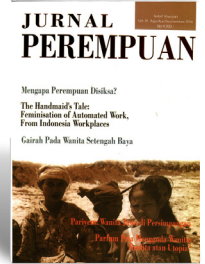
The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019  
*Andi Misbahul Pratiwi*

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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)**



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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

## 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

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### Abstract

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

### Introduction

Women's representation in the political system is one of important indicator in a democratic system. The presence of women in politics shows the recognition towards the existence and interests of women as citizens (Lovenduski 2005). As a democratic country, Indonesia uses the direct elections mechanisms as a way to gain political office in the legislature. In the first legislative election in 1955, women's presence and voices had already taken into account, one of which through the political parties' strategy to establish party wing's women organization and establish communication with women's organizations to gain votes (Janti 2019). Not only for the sake of electoral politics alone, this strategy can be seen as a form of women's bargaining power in the political sphere - becoming a channel connecting women's interests with political institutions.

However, the women's involvement in politic has to go beyond being a vote getter in the general elections because women's interests are often not present and

hardly ever championed by male politicians. For this reason, women must be present to represent their own interests. The ideas of a fair public policies for women are not enough to be championed by entrusting these ideas to male politicians. Thus, the presence of women or "politics of presence" is important because it can open women's access to decision-making in the legislative context in the form of legislative function, budgetary and supervisory functions. The women's presences in parliament will encourage other women to become involved in politics, achieve gender equality, fight for women's interests, and provide different characteristics in politics (Phillips 1995).

In the 1999 election, the number of women who occupied seats in the DPR was 44 or 8.8%. In the 2004 elections, the number of female representations increased to 11.82% or 65 women. The 2009 elections saw the women's representation of 17.86%. In the 2014 election, women's representation in the DPR was at 17.32% (97 people), in the provincial DPRD it was 15.85% (335 people), while in the district / municipality DPRDs

was 14.2% (2,406 people). This means that in the 2014 election only experienced an increase in the number of female seats in the district / municipality DPRDs with an approximate increase of 2%. Meanwhile, the DPR and the provincial DPRD experienced a decrease in the number of female seats (Puskapol UI).

Some efforts have been made by the women's movement to encourage women's representation in parliament. Toward the 2004 elections, the women's movement have advocated and succeeded in integrating the concept of the minimum 30% women's representation into article 65 of Law No. 12 year 2003 on General Elections. Then inserting three articles, namely the 30% nomination of women, the placement that guarantees for female candidates to be ranked in the top of the list (zipper) and article to determine the elected candidate by means of Voter Divider Numbers (BPP) and sequential numbers (semi-open proportional) in Law No. 2 year 2008. In 2013, the General Election Commission (KPU) issued the General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 year 2013, which mandated political parties to include at least 30% of women's representation in each electoral district (Dhewy & Sandiata 2019, pp. 81-82). Those efforts depart from the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was then adopted in Law No. 7 of 1984 by Indonesia, in which its article 7 states that the State must take serious measures to eliminate discrimination against women both in the political sphere by ensuring that women and men have the same rights to be elected and hold public office, as well as ensure equal and fair participation in the formulation and implementation of public policies.

Although the 30% female quota has not yet been fulfilled, the spirit of various affirmative actions in the form of aforementioned national policies does not stop at the quantity aspect, but rather on the meaning of substantive representation, namely the presence of policies that favor women's interests so that women can access resources for good of the whole society (Phillips 1995). Equality and equity of resource's distribution can only be achieved if women in the parliament are able to improve the quality of decision-making at a substantive level, which is by incorporating women's interests and perspectives (Young 1997). In the context of Indonesia today, women's representation in parliament is inadequate in both quantity and quality. Women's political agendas such as the Law on the Protection of Domestic Workers, the Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence and the Law on Gender Justice and Equality, have yet to be realized.

The question remains, where is the problem, why has the change in legislation not significantly changed women's representation? Changes in the electoral system through Laws and General Election Committee Regulation related to affirmative policies have been done, but unfortunately the women who are nominated by political parties to fulfill the quota are not always those who have the will to champion for women's interests. This is due to the poor cadre system at the political parties' level, money politics and political dynasties; so that 30% of female quota is dominated by elites, celebrities and entrepreneurs - who do not fight for women's voices and interests. Meanwhile, those who are with perspective and have the desire to fight for the women's interest must face many challenges, even at the political parties' level. Political parties are the gate-keeper for women to gain political office in the legislature. It is within political parties where most electoral battles occur. Policy, practice and political party politics determine the face of women's representation in politics.

This research focuses on policy, practice and politics in political parties in the context of encouraging women's representation on the level II parliament (Regency / Municipality). This research explores the experiences, strategies and challenges faced by women legislators (member of parliament / MP) in the Regency / Municipality DPRD for the 2014-2019 period with political parties in encouraging women's political agendas. This study aims to show the complexity of the problems that is faced by Regency / Municipality DPRD members from the four parties that passed to parliament in the 2014 elections namely PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra and one Islamic party, PPP, in realizing substantive representation amidst public pessimism over the affirmative policies of the 30% female quota and the birth of gender-fair public policies. The data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews and focused group discussions during April 2019.

The subjects of this study were eight female legislative members in level II (District / Municipality) who were successfully elected in the 2014-2019 legislative elections. The eight research subjects come from various social, cultural and economic backgrounds and are knowledgeable about women's issues and politics. They are 1) women legislators who have a background in the women's movement; 2) women legislators who have participated in women's political education; 3) women legislators who are active in the women's wing organization of their party and / or parliamentary women's caucuses. Duly noted that the knowledge

related to women’s issues and politics is not even among all eight legislators.

**Political Parties, Affirmative Policies and Women’s Representation**

Political parties play an important role in promoting women’s representation in the upstream of the electoral process. In political parties, there is a process of regeneration, nomination, campaigning, funding, votes raising, and assigning candidates and legislative members. Julie Ballington (2004) states that political parties also formulate policies in their institutions, thus political parties need to be seen as a strategic place to address the issue of women’s representation in politics. One way to see the commitment of political parties in pushing the gender equality agenda is by examine policies, practices and politics that are implemented.

The policy was intended as a decision by political parties to include the concept of women’s representation and the concept of quotas in their policy texts. Meanwhile, practice meant the implementation of the party’s internal policies regarding the representation of women — if any — in a more tangible and visible form. The practice also includes political party strategies in realizing the policies that have been adopted. In this case, politics is the relationship between existing policies and practices along with their relation to individual interests inside the political parties and political parties themselves that are influenced by social, cultural, economic contexts. Politics

also includes the influence of gender ideology towards the products and implementation of the party’s policies. All three are relevant to be analyzed, so they are able to decipher the complexity of problem that women faced in relation to political parties.

The three aspects can be derived in a more detailed classification, namely, political parties can promote representation and women’s political agenda by 1) adopting the 30% affirmative policy in the party’s charter and bylaw, 2) including women in a strategic position inside Party structure, 3) including more women on the list of candidates and place them in strategic sequence numbers, 4) providing political training and education for female cadres, 5) providing space or forums for women, 6) providing funding opportunities for campaigns, 7) supporting women’s political agenda in policy. The strategy can be used by political parties as a support for affirmative quota policies while at the same time promoting gender equality within political parties.

In the 2014 legislative elections, there were 10 out of 12 political parties participating in the election that managed to meet the parliamentary threshold of 3.5% of the number of valid votes. The PDIP won the most votes with 18.95%, followed by Golkar with 14.75%, Gerindra with 11.81%, the Democratic Party with 10.19%, PKB with 9.04%, PAN with 7.59%, PKS with 6.79%, Nasdem with 6.72%, PPP with 6.53% and Hanura with 5.26%. Meanwhile, the women’s seats acquisition in the DPR RI can be seen in table 1 below.

**Table 1. Affirmative Policy in the AD / ART of Political Parties Participating in the 2014 Election**

Party	Women’s Seats in the DPR RI, 2014 Election	Affirmative Policy in the AD / ART of Political Parties
PDIP	21	The Tenth Section concerning Women’s Representation states in article 60, verse (1) that the structure and composition of the entire party DPP must pay attention to 30% women’s representation. Article 60, verse (2) states that the established structure and composition of the party’s regional structure and party’s branch structure must pay attention to the representation of 30% of women.
Golkar	16	CHAPTER VII Position and Task of Wing Organizations in Article 21 states that the Golongan Karya Party has a Women’s Internal Organization, namely the Women’s Party of the Golongan Karya (KPPG).
Gerindra	11	CHAPTER II First Section Structure and Management in articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 regulates the management structure at each level (Central Leadership Council, Regional Leadership Council, Branch Leadership Board, Representative Branch Leadership Board, Branch Manager, Party Representatives Abroad) with a minimum representation of 30% of women.
Demokrat	13	Not available

Party	Women's Seats in the DPR RI, 2014 Election	Affirmative Policy in the AD / ART of Political Parties
PAN	9	<p>Article 27 concerning Placement of cadres in the Management, Paragraph 1 states that the placement of cadre inside of the management for each level of the party leadership must pay attention to women's representation at around at least 30% (thirty percent).</p> <p>Article 28 concerning Placement of cadres in the Legislative Institution, verse (1) states that the placement of cadres in the legislative position by PAN is done objectively, transparently and decided through the Party's Plenary Meeting, by taking into account women's representation.</p>
PKB	10	<p>CHAPTER IV Placement, Task and Authority of Party Management in Article 23 states that the party's management structure at all levels is required to accommodate "female elements" of at least 30%.</p> <p>CHAPTER VII Comprehensiveness and Paraphernalia of the Party on Article 33 concerning the Autonomous Agency, verse (4) states that an autonomous body for women is the National Awakening Women Movement, abbreviated as PPKB.</p>
PKS	1	CHAPTER XX Political Position Recruitment in article 28, verse (2) states that the recruitment of political positions for DPR and DPRD candidates is done through a screening and recruitment mechanism by taking into account the level of membership, capacity and professionalism and representation of women.
PPP	10	The minimal 30% of the women's representation quota in the management structure of the PPP is arranged starting from the level of the daily board of the DPP, the Daily Central Court of the Board of Directors, the Daily Regional Executive Board, the Daily Management of the Branch Board, the Daily Branch Manager of the Branch Office, the Daily Branch Executive Board, to the Daily Management DPLN. See chapters 18, 23, 27, 35, 43, 43, 48, 53 in the statutes.
Nasdem	4	CHAPTER X Women's Representation in article 20, verses 1 and 2 regulates the minimum 30% women's representation in the Party Central Leadership Council, Regional Leadership Council, Branch Leadership Council and Board.
Hanura	2	CHAPTER XI of the Abroad Management and Representative Organizations in article 30, verses 2 and 3 regulates a minimum of 30% female representation in the central, provincial, regency / city, sub-district, village management, neighborhood and neighborhood groups.

Source: Obtained from the AD/ART of each political party.

Based on the review of bylaws in the ten parties that passed the parliamentary threshold in the 2014 legislative elections, it was found that the concept of women's representation already exists. The table above outlines the 30% quota policy in the political parties' bylaws. Some of the policy possesses binding characteristic in the use of the words "must /obligatory", while some are just request from still using the words "consider/ pay attention".

The women's underbow party are internal parties that aim to strengthen women's representation in the party and in the general political process. Establishing a women's wing in a political party is not a new phenomenon – it has been promoted by women's parties and activists since the last century. Often, a women's party wing helps to promote women's interests in party policy platforms and strengthen recommendations to increase women's representation in the party nomination list and decision-making process.

Some parties also explicitly include policies regarding women's wing organizations, whereas others did not mention it at all. For example, the PDIP only regulates the 30% quota in the management structure of the DPP, DPD and DPC, but does not regulate the women's wing organization in its bylaws. Even if PDIP does not specifically regulate the organization of a women's wing, there is a sector within the party structure that deals this specific problem, namely the Women and Children Sector. Then, the Golkar party in its AD/ART only mentions the women's party wing organization, the Women's Party Union of the Golongan Karya (KPPG), but does not regulate the representation of women in the party management structure. Meanwhile, the Gerindra party has the *Indonesia* Raya Women's organization (PIRA), which is a Gerindra Party wing organization that seizes the aspirations of Indonesian women, but is not explicitly stated in the bylaws. The review of the bylaws documents above shows that political parties have adopted a policy

of women representation in their management structure and in their bylaws nomination. This is important to note because the regulations and programs that will be prepared by political parties will refer to their bylaws.

The political party policies above derive from a national policy on women's representation in politics with a quota system. The Hanna Pitkin's political representation concept is categorized into four types. First, authorization/ formal, is a person who is a given authority as a representative to act for the entity he or she represents. Second, descriptive, representatives represent certain groups based on similar characteristics, such as race, gender, ethnicity or domicile. Third, symbolic representation is a representative who decides or produces an idea along with the entity that he or she represents. Fourth, substantive representation is when the representative seeks to promote the group or entity that he or she represents through policy according to the needs and interests of the policy (Pitkin 1972).

Based on Pitkin's categories, the spirit of gender mainstreaming in politics actually transcends beyond descriptive representation. Thus, the policy text inside of the political parties have yet to be sufficient in order to realize the women's substantive representation in politics - that is, women abide in order to champion for progender political policies. In the realm of political parties, the most crucial stage in which electoral struggle occur - which is in the process of votes raising, campaigning and elections - is not sufficiently resolved by the party's internal policy. The next section in this paper describes the multiplicity of such problem, namely how the status of women in the process of regeneration, nomination and political campaigns.

### **Women and Political Parties: Regeneration, Nomination and Political Campaigns**

The process of regeneration, nomination and political campaign of women legislative candidates in political parties is an important part that must be observed, because the process determines the type of women representation when they are elected and acquire a legislative seat. In the regeneration process, the matters that need to be concerned with are the women's background and their reasons for joining political parties, as well as the political party's strategies in recruiting female members. Meanwhile, the nomination process explains the political party actions in nominating their cadres as legislative candidates. The nomination process also includes the nomination system and party leader's political decision in determining the candidate's

placement rank. Political campaigns examine the strategies and obstacles in the votes gathering process that is faced by women in relation to political party systems or policies. The policy includes electoral districts funding and distribution.

Sahat Farida Berlian, who is a cadre of the PDIP and Chair of the Women's and Child Health Division of the Depok City Branch Leadership Council (DPC) stated that there were many regeneration channels in the PDIP, among them the underbow party's organization. She herself joined the PDIP in 2011 through volunteer activities (Repdem) - when she served as PDIP Repdem's Secretary General Deputy of the National Leadership Council. In 2014, she was elected to the Depok City legislature (Depok's DPRD) and later served as Deputy Chairperson of the Sectoral Commission D. Sahat who had a background in the women's movement when she was in college and expressively showed alignments in pushing the women's political agenda.

The woman who is currently pursuing a Master's degree in Social Welfare, at the University of Indonesia's Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP) was once a research assistant at the Tifa Foundation, researching migrant workers in East Nusa Tenggara. After that, she joined WALHI North Sumatra as an advocacy and campaign manager. She had also worked at the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) as an assistant monitoring coordinator. In 2011, she attended a CEDAW workshop (Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women). She now serves as a people's representative in the Depok City DPRD and is still committed to advocate women's agenda in policy making, budgeting and supervision in the level II parliament.

Not much different to Sahat Farida, Ririk Banowati, who is now Deputy Chairperson of the 2014-2019 Yogyakarta City DPRD from the Gerindra Faction, also comes from the same movement. Ririk joined the Gerindra party in 2009 - at that time, Gerindra had only emerged as a new party and needed female candidates to fulfill its 30% women's representation quota. Ririk who was active as a community social worker, community leader and PKK Chair at that time was offered to run for the Gerindra party.

I am from a family where nobody has entered into the political world. There is no one from my husband's side, nor from my own family. So, you could say that I derailed from my familial path. I have no political background from my family. Nevertheless, I have been active in the community, as a community social worker. (Ririk Banowati 2019, interview April 14)

Sila Rita, cadre of the PPP (*Partai Persatuan dan Pembangunan Bangsa*) also engaged in social activism as a lawyer before joining a political party. She chose a party with an Islamic background – and not only because she received an offer to join in order to fulfill the women's quota.

I started politics maybe from 2008, but I was also active in LBH (Legal Aid Institution), maybe I was also active in NGOs like that because I had a lawyer and law basic. Then in 2008 I chose to enter the PPP because it is an Islamic party. (Sila Rita 2019, Focus Group Discussion April 30)

Before becoming a nominee as a legislative member, Sila provided a lot of legal education to women party cadres and the community. The education she provided for women included the undocumented marriage law, property and inheritance from a legal perspective. She was increasingly known by the community after joining PPP and entering the party structure as Treasurer.

Diani Anindiati, who is legislative member of the Yogyakarta City DPRD from the Golkar faction, has a different regeneration experience. After being asked to be involved in various party activities, she chose Golkar as her political manouver. Before being nominated as a member of the legislature, she was the organizer of the party's women's underbow organization KPPG as well as an organizer in the Golkar Party's Regional Leadership Council (DPD) in Yogyakarta.

I officially (entered the party) in 2005, while in 2000 I still joined the ordinary cadres. So, What I experienced in the regeneration system is when I was included activities like becoming involved in the committee and so on. We honed our knowledge internally about how things should be appropriate and fit to be included in the structure, then I was included in the structure in 2009, directly in the DPD women's empowerment system at that time. (Diani Anindiati 2019, April 9 interview)

From the review above, we can see that the regeneration process in political parties takes many forms ranging from underbow party's organization, women's fulfillment quota, to the movement's and society's social activism background. Political parties become the start for women to push for women's political agenda. Apart from the background or female politicians will to champion women's interest, political parties also become a political arena of struggle that determines the outcome or the women's representation in politic, merely descriptive or substantive. Thus, it is important to see to which extent the commitment of political parties in encouraging substantive representation of women. The importance is not only processed by recruitment of party

cadres but also responsibility in increasing the cadre's capacity.

Furthermore, after there is an internal policy party draft that regulates women's representation in the management structure, the implementation needs to be reviewed. The placement of minimum 30% of women in the party structures as a manifestation of the political parties' commitment needs to be followed by other programs, such as improving gender capacity and insight both for women and men. Sahat explained in the interview that there was no special political education program for female cadres or gender equality education for PDIP cadres in general. However, the presence of Sahat in the internal party gave rise to several initiatives related to women's political education programs.

In Depok in 2016 we studied the book *Sarinah: The Obligations of Women in the Indonesian Republic Struggle* to become a women's political learning model. Then, two years ago, if I'm not mistaken, this book was also studied in the DPP regeneration field to look at the position of women in political practice that is initiated by Bung Karno with today's practice. But, the activities weren't implemented yet. I suppose that it's not time yet for this particular political course. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, April 5 interview)

Sahat's presence in PDIP is certainly not a symbolic one. Since the beginning, Sahat has not hidden her identity as a marginal group fighter, especially concerning women and children. Sahat acknowledges that women's representation in political institutions, ranging from political parties to parliaments, becomes important because the struggle to push women's political agenda cannot be done alone. According to her, there must be a women's collective strategy.

Just like Sahat, Ririk believes that political education for women is still lacking. Thus, women's awareness to fill political positions and voice women's political agenda is still low.

Actually, honestly, if I may say so, political education for women in the party is actually lacking. The average political education for women comes from institutions. In 2012, before I entered as a political candidate, I had participated in political education held by other institutions, not from the party. (Ririk Banowati 2019, interview April 14)

Going back to the root of the concept of representation of women, namely gender mainstreaming (PUG) in all aspects from education to politics, it is necessary to ensure that the regeneration process that runs in political parties integrates the principle of gender justice, which is access and control of political resources for both women and men. Furthermore, it means that PUG seeks to facilitate

substantive participation. The women regeneration in political parties should not only fulfill the 30% quota contained in the political party's statute/ bylaws, but it also aims to distribute resources. Therefore, the lacking political education for women in political parties shows that the commitment of political parties to PUG at the regeneration stage has not yet reached its full potential.

Here, on average, men see women as very expensive. Very expensive. Even if there are those who want to, they will be allowed as candidates, but don't want to fight. So, if there are events, they rarely come. They are not allowed by her husbands. (FGD of Parliamentary Women's Caucus, 30 April 2019)

Another problem that political parties rarely acknowledge is the obstacle of women leaving home or having a career in politics. In various aspects, barriers such as being prohibited by husbands from going out of their homes to pursue a career often occur— not only in politics — but political parties need to recognize this atypical women problem. Political parties can take responsibility by organizing activities or meetings that are suitable for the female cadre's time. Thus the 30% quota won't just be an administrative fulfillment, but a gender mainstreaming effort within the political system.

The nomination / nomination process means that political parties choose and place members both in the party management structure and in the list of legislative candidates. The state has already intervened with these two types of nominations through Law No. 2 year 2008 and General Election Committee Regulation in 2013, which required a minimum quota of 30% of women to be inside of the political party structure and nominated in the list of candidates. This was later adopted by political parties in the bylaws (see table 1). Even though the state has intervened, the nomination process is closely related to the interests of the party elite.

Nomination is a crucial stage in the Legislative Election. This stage includes the legislative candidates that is registered by political parties to take part in competing for seats in the DPR, Provincial DPRD and / or Regency / Municipality DPRD. But before contesting in the election, the legislative candidates must be members of political parties first. This is because the political party is the only entity that can register their members to become legislative candidates in the election (Puspitasari 2013). Unfortunately, in the context of women's representation, the affirmation policy is only understood by party managers as limited as the administrative aspects to fulfill the provisions of the law. This policy was finally utilized

by party elites to nominate women in their closest circle, without considering the aspects of the skills and political experience of the respected women. The Puskapol study shows that the majority of the elected women in the Provincial DPRD have family relations in the political parties that nominate them, like husbands, parents, and siblings. In the DPR RI, 25% of female members have family relations with the political and economic elite (Irwansyah et al. 2013).

At the district / city DPRD level, the nominations and elite interests are also seen in both the recruitment process and the nomination process for legislative candidates. In the PDIP bylaws in the tenth section on Women's Representation, it is mentioned in Article 60 paragraph one that the structure and composition of the entire Party's DPP must pay attention to the 30% women representation quota. In paragraph two, it is stated that the Party's constructed DPD and the DPC structure and composition must heed the 30% women's representation. Sahat acknowledges that the party elite interest's influence the women representative look's in the political party structure.

The affirmative policy inside of the Party's bylaw states that the party management structure at each level must be at least 30%. If it doesn't fulfill the quota, it will be disqualified. At the national level, when talking about accommodating 30% of women quota, it has already been achieved. But again, there needs to be capacity strenghtening for these women. The next question is, who is this woman, where is she from, this is not clear. For example, the husband is unillegible for the Party's management, then his wife takes his place. Such coincidence still exist. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, April 5 interview)

Furthermore, the process of nomination for female legislative candidates does not always initiate from the consideration of the woman's background or political will, but rather from the consideration between party elites competing to supplant their respective interests. This particular nomination process closes the way for the female substantive presence representation - meaning women as representatives have the will, act and responsiveness to fight for the interests they represent (Pitkin 1972).

Now, for determining who can get nominate, there is actually a procedural mechanism inside of the plenary assembly. It's just that my party is also a big party before and had yet realize the expectations demands for transparency and accountability. Suppose I am now candidate number 5 in the 2019 legislative election, whereas as an incumbent in 2014 I was number 3. Even though I was on the field, I was seriously struggling. But I got number 5. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, interview April 5)

From the interview with Sahat, several important things were discovered, namely, the mechanism for the elected candidates does not always taken place in practice at every level and region. Although in Sahat's case, this concept did not apply, in the cases of Ririk and Diani, their background in social movements, party cadres, administrators and cadre contributions to the party were among the party's considerations in nominating their cadres as candidates. As explained by Ririk Banowati (2019, interview April 14), "First, (female candidates) must be cadres, it's clear. Second, positions within the party structure. And thirdly, what is their contribution to the party?" The same concern was expressed by Diani.

There is a matriculation values system, for example, the service period. Then there is a separate scoring system. For example, if we enter a social organization (*ormas*) or in a party's underbow or in the daily management, there is a score. Now that's the score that determines which number we get for the nomination. (Diani Anindiati 2019, April 9 interview)

It can be concluded that the practice of gender mainstreaming (PUG), which is derived through political party policies, takes different processes and forms in each political party and at each level (DPP, DPD and DPC). However, within the political party that has been dominated by male political party elites, it does not rule out the possibility of gender bias in the decision-making process. This is a representation problem, that on one hand political parties "seem" to have provided space for women, but their involvement in decision-making is limited, and the decision-making space is dominated by men. Even though the selection of competing candidates in elections is what distinguishes political parties from other organizations. The nominated candidates play an important role in determining the political party characteristics in the eyes of the public. Candidates are the face of the party in the election, so the party members democratic participation in determining candidates is important (Katz 2001).

Yes, the service period is important. There is a separate score, and then competency and the service period, but if you're not pro-active, this will also be evaluated. Now if the technical mechanism is beyond the standard scoring, then there are separate considerations. There was a special team to determine what the nomination was. (Diani Anindiati, interview April 9, 2019)

The placement of women within the rank of the candidates' list also has electoral influence. Although many studies from several advanced democratic countries show that there is a tendency for voters to choose political

parties rather than individual candidates. This is more the case for a closed electoral system than an open electoral system. In an open list electoral system, political parties have the option to encourage women's representation by placing women in a strategic rank (Ballington 2004). In Indonesia, where an open proportional system is used, the contribution of rank numbers to electability is still very high. Especially in the broad electoral districts, people tend to have difficulty in recognizing candidates, so lower numbers are considered as a representation of the quality and party alignments. Voters tend to choose candidates with the highest rank number because of the assumption that the best person is ranked on top (Perludem 2019).

Fact is, today in the 2019 legislative election, I am ranked number 5, and how can the legislative election mechanism today remain the most proportionally open vote; I want to prove that as number 5 I can obtain the most votes. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, April 5 interview)

In political parties, consideration for determining the rank number is another battlefield after being shortlisted as potential candidates. The perspective of the administrator and party's decision maker also influence the decision regarding the rank number of the women candidate. Even though a cadre sit as party administrator, it is not necessarily that they get number 1 rank, because ideology also influences the selection of rank. For example, the prevalent mindset assumes male as leader, so women are placed as number two (Sila Rita 2019, FGD April 30). The number one rank is still significant to boost electability, placing women in a smaller number opens an opportunity for them to be elected. In the 2014 election, the Gerindra party agreed to give rank number one to female candidates in the Yogyakarta City DPRD that consisted of 5 electoral districts. As a result, the five female legislative candidates managed to qualify for the parliament and filled most of the women's seats.

In 2009, I was number 3. Well, in 2014 I was number 1 because I was already in the process of becoming a general treasurer. So, I slowly and assuredly, I become a general treasurer. But it was not just me, what was special about Gerindra's DPC in the previous period, was that in five electoral districts, all women were placed as number 1, it was all the party's policy and all of them won. (Ririk Banowati 2019, interview April 14)

In addition to the rank number, the distribution of electoral districts also becomes a determining factor of success for women. The electoral district determines the success of a candidate to gain the most votes. Based on the FGD with the Yogyakarta City Parliament Women's

Caucus on 30 April 2019, three important points can be made regarding electoral districts. First, there are electoral districts where the society can be involved in a discussion, while the same may not exist in the other electoral district. Secondly, the selection of electoral district is also related to the existing candidates from the same party, for example a female candidate is placed in electoral district whose majority are senior male cadres of the political party, thus they must work extraordinarily hard to get the votes. Third, there is possibility for the candidate to be transferred to another electoral districts in the next election. During the decision-making process regarding selection of the electoral districts above, political parties play important and decisive role.

I am the party treasurer, in the 2014 legislative election I was placed as number 2. The number one was the DPC chairman who is now the chairman of the council or the chairman of the DPRD council. So, I competed with him in the same electoral district. Well this is also called electoral district from hell. Because there is a senior (male) that has won four times. In 2014, I was placed in the electoral district, which was truly the electoral district of hell. (Suryani 2019, FGD April 30)

The battle during nomination process within political party starts from the struggle for becoming a potential legislative candidate placement on the candidacy list and electoral district. This is related to the political party management and policies. The high internal competition within the party is to secure the top position on the party list, which is usually dominated by seniors, male party elites. The seniority of male elite politicians is one of the fundamental obstacles that must be faced by women who want to take part in politics (Rahayu & Ikayanti 2014). These obstacles are not enough to be answered by only relying on affirmative policies in the party's bylaw. At this stage, if political parties do not see the complex problem faced by women and do not reduce affirmative policies in their political decisions, it is difficult for women to be elected and gain seats in parliament.

The political campaign process consists of two issues: firstly, about campaign funds and secondly, regarding challenges and strategies. The campaign in the electoral battle proves to be costly. In the context of women and politics, these costs are very important in the electoral process. Women's campaigns in the early stages will determine their opportunities. Campaign costs tend to be quite large, while the campaign must be held constantly at least two years before candidacy. Building a reputation and recognition among constituents, and among party members need continuous work with a considerable amount of time and money spent. Invisible

campaign costs such as the costs of communication, food, transportation, clothing, costs of attending the party's training sessions and conferences and familial expenses are obstacles to women's political participation (Ballington 2003, pp. 158-159).

The money issue is real. At the beginning, I immediately printed the attributes, leaflets, business cards. From there, the expenses grew. Some people helped. And I started to beg for money, seriously. I went around the electoral district or to the women's organization events and continued to beg (in the form of singing), there were many friends who contributed. Some contributed two thousand rupiah, others contributed 5 million. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, April 5 interview)

The high political cost benefits only one group, namely the group of candidates who have large economic capital who are usually celebrities or entrepreneurs. Women candidates who come from the women's movement face difficulties in the campaign process. Nevertheless, as we can see from Sahat's struggle, collective action in the form women's movement network and solidarity is also important to be used as women's political asset in encouraging their political agenda in parliament. Diani Anindiati (2019, April 9 interview) explained, "Maybe there is a relationship with the DPP, say for example donors for visual aids tool or something like that, it depends on each of us." The statement was added with Ririk Banowati's statement:

Funding is clearly our own responsibility. Well, the only difference to 2014 was that the witness (candidial witnesses) were financed by political parties. So, we only focus on the candidacy. And the candidacy period has already finished, the legislative election has finished, the presidential election immediately comes next. This time, it's different. Everything came together and there was no help anymore for the witness. We handle everything by ourselves. (Ririk Banowati 2019, interview April 14)

The size of the campaign fund also led to the practice of money politics in the midst of society, which on the one hand actually damaged Indonesian democracy. Women who do not have economic resources can be casted aside. Women are defeated by money politics, losing nominal with fellow male candidates who have more money. In addition, in the FGD with the Yogyakarta City Parliament Women's Caucus on 30 April 2019, it was revealed that women experienced slanderous political campaigns designed to bring down political opponents – within their own party. Competition in the party is very heavy, even female candidates resort to black campaigns. In electoral districts that face internal party rivals, black campaigns are also common. A black campaign can

consist of creating and disseminating information to the public about the incompetency of women to become leaders, or women are not good enough to lead, or about women who are campaigning to seduce other women's husbands. This black campaign was born within the party itself, through both male and female competitors.

The process of regeneration, nomination and political campaigns that is described above are intertwined with each other, and women - as party cadres and as legislative candidates - face specific problems. First, the process of women's regeneration by the party that departs from the "30% quota" turns out to stop short at quantity. Political parties are flocking to find female cadres to fill the party structure and become candidates - which is then not followed up by political education for women. Second, in the process of nominating women, the interests of the party elite are still the dominating force (see Sahat's case, she is an incumbent and also a party administrator but cannot be number one in the 2019 legislative election). The placement of numbers that is stipulated in the Election Law concerning the application of a zipper system — to increase the potential for women's electability— in fact the struggle to obtain strategic rank numbers (number one) is still dominated by patriarchal thinking that men are leaders and therefore should be placed on top of the list. However, not all political parties share similar views. Third, the political campaign process determines the number of votes that is going to be achieved. The practice of money politics and black campaigns are the biggest obstacles for women in winning the seats.

### **How Does Patriarchy Undermine Women's Political Agenda?**

Kate Millet in her book *Sexual Politics* (1970) argues that patriarchal ideology exaggerates the biological differences of men and women, and ensures that men are always dominant and subordinate women. Patriarchal ideology is so strong that men are able to get approval from the women they oppress. This ideology is perpetuated in political institutions, education, religious institutions, families (Millet 1970). Furthermore, Sylvia Walby defines patriarchy as "a system and practice that forms a social structure in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women." Patriarchy is a system that does not always have a biological connection. Walby divides patriarchy in two domains, namely private and public. In a private space, patriarchy is in the home, where reproductive processes (biological and social) occur. In public spaces, patriarchy works without abandoning patriarchal control within the home. In the public domain, women's subordination

occurs in every formal and informal situation and level (Walby 1990, p. 173). Politics in the public sphere are also infiltrated by patriarchy in policies and practices, so that women who have been kept away from politics in the public space experience various obstacles rooted in the patriarchal system. These obstacles come from individuals and institutions.

The relationship between women and political parties does not stop after female candidates have won the most votes. Political parties have a contribution in assigning their cadres to the parliamentary sectoral commission. This assignment then determines to what extent women can produce pro-gender policies. As for the political party that won the election, the party has the right to assign candidates from its party to assume the strategic position in the parliament, namely as chairman or vice chairman. A parliament member in this process has three possibilities, first she chooses the sectoral commission themselves and the party agrees, the second is that she did not choose, but directly assigned by the party, the third is that she choose but her choice is not approved by the political party.

If we choose. We're asked about our passion first. They'll first check your educational backgrounds and so on. Then the chairman of the party DPC will ask where we want to go. I asked for commission D ... There was no fight about it, instead people were confused why I chose Commission D. Someone said, "You're smart, why aren't you on commission A - Government or commission C - Infrastructure? This D Commission is the commission of tears." (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, interview April 5)

The quote above shows when Sahat was in the position of choosing or proposing to be placed in Sectoral Commission D, which was in accordance with her political agenda, namely constructing to the Regional Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children from Violence. In Sectoral Commission D, the largest APBD and APBN are given, namely 20% for education and a minimum of 10% for health. But because the issue is advocating for school dropouts, health services, and awareness for violence against women, there are not many cadres who choose to take on a role in Sectoral Commission D (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, interview April 5).

Position as chairman of the representative body is rarely filled by women legislator, or to understand it clearer, it is rare for women legislator to be assigned by winning parties to occupy strategic leadership positions in the legislative body. If there is any woman who meet the qualifications, her ways would be heavy because there is a burden to prove her performance. The same

do not happen to male leaders. Gender construction that is rooted in a patriarchal system, places dominant masculinity above femininity, and makes it natural for men to be leaders, while women face layers of challenges - proving themselves in political parties so that they are worthy of being assigned/ placed as council leaders and prove themselves worthy of being leaders.

I am the first and the only council leader in the city of Yogyakarta for now. So, the first year and the second year were the hardest years for me to prove that I was also able to become a board leader. That was very hard. I was ridiculed, talked about behind my back, so I just closed my ears. (Ririk Banowati 2019, interview April 14)

A study conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2018) shows that sexism, harassment and violence against women in the European Parliament are common. The results of the study show that 85.2% of women parliamentarians – who were interviewed – admitted that they had experienced psychological violence during their term in parliament. Sexism that occurs in parliament has an impact to the women's difficulty to advocate for their political agendas.

Thus for the last campaign promise about the Regional Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children, I lost. It didn't become a Regional Regulation, it became a Family Resilience Regional Regulation. The title was originally drawn up as the Regional Regulation on the Resilience of the Prosperous Family. I really thought a lot about this defeat. Because indeed, in the end, I was personally attacked. I heard these accusations, "Do you even know about child abuse? You don't have children." "Do you really know about female violence? You're not even married yet." All the religious attribute elements came out. There were also accusations about my sexual orientation and adultery. (Sahat Farida Berlian 2019, April 5 interview)

In a patriarchal political culture, women's identity and abilities are always debated. As Sahat's quote above shows, the effort to push the women's political agenda by women legislator in the legislative body was very difficult. Women have to face various accusations that are always associated with their identity as women. Patriarchal ideology within religious institutions and the lack of solidarity between women become one of the strong factors that hinder women's political actions in parliament.

Ironically, in the struggle to push women political agenda in parliament, political parties do not play much roles. Departments or division under political party structures and women's party wing do not have significant function in pushing women's political agenda in the parliament. During the FGD with the Yogyakarta

City Parliamentary Caucus, several key issues concerning women's party wing were identified, namely 1) existing patronage culture, meaning the activeness of a party wing organization was determined by the activeness of its leadership, as well as the proposed agenda; 2) the women's party wing in some regions is still very exclusive and filled by women who have connection to the party elite and often excluding women from other social classes, which partly was influenced by existential ego; 3) women's leadership within party wing do not guarantee her alignment with women's political agenda.

## Conclusion

This study found that political parties have begun to accommodate women's representation in terms of policy. But when it comes to practical level, women still face difficult challenge and complexity due to their connection with individuals and political party institutions. The practice of affirmative policy in the processes of regeneration, nomination and political campaign have not yet fully adopted gender mainstreaming ideology. In addition, the knowledge, programs and decisions of political party's elites are still biased towards women. The majority voting system requires all candidates to compete for seats, and for women candidates they also have to face gender biased of attitudes and views. This research also found that women MPs experienced psychological violence and intimidation in their efforts to push for women's political agenda in parliament. This challenge is rooted in patriarchal ideology that works both in the consciousness of party members and institutional culture of the party. Meanwhile, the party wing's organization and women's parliamentary caucuses have not had substantive role and influence individual that could influence change to the individual culture and also the political parties' culture.

Women's political affirmative policy through the 30% quota system, *zipper system* and General Election Committee Regulation, have succeeded in increasing women's representation in parliament, but it is not enough. Although there is an increase of women in parliament, but this is not always resulted in pro-gender justice policy products. According to the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), there are 421 discriminatory local regulations throughout Indonesia that is produced by the regional government and parliament, of which 333 rules specifically discriminate against women. Besides being difficult to reach the minimum 30% quota, because the number of women entering politics is

still small, it is important to note that there is a lack of gendermainstreaming strategies in political parties as the upstream of political caderization.

Political parties as entry point for women to gain political offices in parliament need to see and be aware of the complexity of the problems that are faced by female cadres. Although political parties have included the concept of representation of women in party statutes / bylaws, which regulates women's representation in party structures at the central up to regional levels and also regulates the nomination of women candidates and women's party wing, but the policy practice and politics continue to be a problem for women. Therefore, the ideology and strategy of the gendermainstreaming need to be integrated in the whole set of political parties' processes.

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