

Women's Representation Through Political Parties in Parliament Period of General Election 2019-2024

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Abstract

This research aims to determine the level of representation of women in the DPR RI as a legislative body in Indonesia during the general election in 2019 and determine the factors that influence women's representation in the legislative body. This paper's research method uses a qualitative method with a literature study approach that examines theories, references, and previous scientific literature related to the research object. The findings of the study indicate the level of representation of women in parliament after the holding of the general elections in 2019 has not reached 30%, where the level of representation of women in parliament is still in the number of 20.52% or as many as 118 female legislators and is still dominated by male legislators which reached 457 people or 79.48%. Although it has not reached 30%, the adoption of affirmative policies has led to a significant increase in women's representation in parliament, from 65 women legislators in 2004 to 118 women legislators in the 2019 general election. Political regulation factors with affirmative action that mandate every political party participating in the election to pay attention to women's representation of 30% by nominating female candidates for each electoral district and a zipper system that is required to position at least one woman every three names of candidates are two factors that affect women's representation by political parties. In general elections, political parties present legislation to the legislature. The affirmative action that regulates woman representation's involvement has become the main reason that numerous events involve kinship the candidacy.

Keywords:

Women's Representation; Political Parties; General Elections; Gender Equality; Affirmative Policy

INTRODUCTION

The paper aims to analyzes women's representation in political parties in the 2019 general election. Along with modern development, the world has pushed the women's role in various life fields, whether social, economic, or political. The high political participation

of women in development in the political area can influence public institutions' quality of decisions (Iqbal & Kurniawan, 2019).

Women's representation in politics is a form of women's participation in overseeing each policy process so that the policy's Impact will be following gender-based interests. Women's representation in the process of formulating and determining policies is a concrete step to support the realization

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of justice and equality for women (Firman, 2018). In this context, women have a broad role in joining women's organizations and political parties to provide adequate space to channel their aspirations. The lack of responsive gender policies makes women's role in political contestation have not encouraged the representation level in politics (Priandi & Roisah, 2019).

Women or better known as the Women's Convention on 24 July 1984 where on 29 July 1980, the convention was signed by the Indonesian Government when following The Second World Conference on Women in Copenhagen (Valentina & Dewi, 2017). With the signing of the agreement, the state has a great responsibility to ensure political parties are prohibited from discriminating against women, ensure equality between men and women in participation, and provide equal opportunities for women and men to occupy public positions based on the electoral process (Artina, 2016). Equality between women and men in the field of law and government is guaranteed very clearly in the 1945 Constitution Article 27 paragraph (1), which states that: "All citizens are in the same position in law and government and must uphold the law and government with no exceptions." From the basis of these rules, it is clear that Indonesia does not discriminate against women for their

rights and obligations as citizens compared to men. Then in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, Article 173 paragraph (2) letter e which states that "Political parties include at least 30 percent (thirty percent) of women's representation in the management of political parties at the central level for the general election of DPR members Provincial DPRD or Regency/City DPRD".

Women's active role can realize through participation by implementing the obligations of women as citizens, which is to influence the process of determining public policy through a representative mechanism that can accommodate women's interests (Rodiyah, 2016). Women's representation as legislators in the legislature always changes in each election period. From the 1999 general election for women sitting in the Indonesian Parliament, there were 44 people, up to 65 women in the 2004 general election period than the 2009 election period again increased to 100 people and decreased in the 2014 election to 97 women (Sucahyo, 2019).

Meanwhile, according to data from the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS), it noted that the percentage of women's representation in the DPR in 2004-2009 was only around 11%, an increase in the period 2009-2014 to 18% and decreased

to 17% in the 2014-2019 period. The involvement of women in parliament in the last three years also did not increase from 2016-2018, which was at the level of 17.32%. The involvement of women in the narrow public sphere has not significantly influenced the resulting public policies' effects (Rodiyah, 2016). Looking at existing data related to women's representation in legislative institutions that have not met the 30% quota, efforts are needed to continue to encourage women's involvement in politics through the presence of political parties in parliament. Cause women's representation is very important in the decision-making process to achieve gender equality (Momoh & Umoh, 2019).

There have been many studies on women's political participation before. Research by Dewi and Ummul (2016) with the title Analysis of Women's Participation in the Legislative Nomination Process of 2009 General Elections in Pelalawan Regency with a focus on studies on women's political participation only from the ideological, organizational and constitutional aspects where the study results conclude that the low quantity and quality of the involvement of women as a legislative candidate for political parties causes fewer opportunities for women to play a direct role in the public policy-making process. Then a study conducted by Ekawati (2018) with the title Women's

Representation in the Post-New Order General Election with a focus on studies inhibiting the representation of women in the legislature with the results of the study of the lack of representation of women in members of the council due to the low motivation to be candidates for the legislative, patriarchal political culture, the lack of political costs and the existence of political party pragmatism to prioritize the acquisition of party votes rather than the votes of women legislative candidates.

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women in members of the council due to the low motivation to be candidates for the legislative, patriarchal political culture, the lack of political costs and the existence of political party pragmatism to prioritize the acquisition of party votes rather than the votes of women legislative candidates.

The limited representation of women in parliament cannot separate from the acquisition of the number of votes of women legislative candidates in the parliamentary election contestation. Women's low political participation in competing in political power is due to gender discrimination and psychological factors that narrow the political space for women (Saputra & Asih, 2017). Gender equality and women's political capabilities are two things according to community preferences that assume that women are not eligible to enter politics (Kambo, 2017). Coupled with the stigma of women party cadres who consider the world of politics is frightening, motivation and high political costs are an obstacle to political parties in doing regeneration through women's political empowerment (Rahman, Harsono & Dewi, 2017).

Women's roles and positions in society, let alone political matters, cannot be divided when discussing them. Because the results of political decisions are less gender-effective, women's different interests have been less accommodated

in a few political decisions because of their low participation in political parties. Women's representation in parliament is also critical in public decision-making because it affects the quality of legislation generated by government agencies and the public.

How is the representation of women in parliament in the 2019-2024 general election, and what factors influence the representation of women in parliament are research questions that will be examined in this paper. This paper aims to find out the level of representation of women in the DPR RI as a legislative institution in Indonesia after the 2019-2024 general election and determine the factors that influence women's image in the legislative body. After knowing the representation of women in parliament, the paper wants to see how women councilors' role in gender-responsive policy-making becomes an interesting study to be developed in further research.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper's research method used a qualitative method with a literature study approach to obtain research data and information. The descriptive qualitative study was conducted to provide in-depth descriptions using qualitative research aspects (Bandur, 2019). The researchers applied qualitative research methods since the

study was to find out about the level of representation of women through political parties in parliament in the 2019-2024 general election period.

The type of data used in his study is secondary data with a non-systematic literature review to collect data, in the form of documents Indonesian election report and affirmative policy in several election law that comes from Indonesian General Election Commission. Then, secondary data report about the cost of a political candidate in the election by University of Indonesia Institute of Economic and Community Research, research study data Indonesian Political Indicator about money politics, and research study about political kinship women legislative candidate that comes from Center for Political Studies the University of Indonesia. Furthermore, secondary data women legislative candidates in general election contestation, which comes from www.ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id. The data were classified, interpreted, and finally concluded.

The data analysis technique used in this study was a thematic analysis to analyze data to identify patterns of data that the researcher has collected. Thematic analysis is technically implemented to analyze a study to understand the literacy of information and data collected by researchers (Heriyanto, 2018). Then an analysis was

done, comparing with previous research findings to confirm the existing theory. Also, repeated validation of the data was done through careful information validation. The analysis technique is carried out by understanding data information from the sources. At last, the final step of data analysis is drawing out conclusions or verification of qualitative research data by interpreting the meaning through the reflection of research data.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The discussion on women and political parties is one of the main issues related to the equality of women's rights in politics. Through the existence of a political party which is a space for people to express democracy, freedom, and openness. On the other hand, at the same time, realizing rights faces various challenges, including realizing women's rights related to women's representation. The number of women's representatives in the management of political parties will increase women's political participation. In the women's leadership rankings, they will be more assertive in their interactions among decision-makers.

Public Participation

Community participation in organizing elections based on the principle of openness (Azhar, 2018). Besides,

community participation in the implementation of elections influenced by socio-cultural factors, family environment, economy, and education (Sarjan, 2019). The community's political involvement is dynamic, where it depends on the motivation to choose, which is influenced by political transactions and emotional closeness (Liando, 2017). The definition of political participation is voluntary community involvement in electing direct and indirect rulers who can influence public policies' formation (Priandi & Roisah, 2019). Public participation in politics is influenced by the condition of public education that will encourage knowledge, skills, and awareness of the community to participate in the holding of elections (Ta'dung, 2017).

To increase public political participation, electoral institutions take steps to formulate clear plans related to election socialization, implementation of face-to-face socialization, and publications utilizing mass media and carry out technical guidance to election organizing committees (Gleko, Suprojo & Lestari, 2017). The influence of community groups determines community political participation, the availability of facilities, motivation and will, the power of government, the environment, and economic factors (Amaliah, Hasanuddin & Said, 2015). According to Michael Rush and Philip

Althoft, political participation is an activity in influencing the making and implementation of ordinary citizens' policies and their involvement in determining government leaders (Putra & Tantoro, 2017).

Women Participation in Legislative Body

To increase women's representation in politics, it is necessary to advocate formal and cultural education to reduce the view of patriarchy that can see the importance of the gender equality agenda in the political process (Sholikin, 2016). Political communication strategies in women's political participation can change by carrying out an equal division of functions to overcome structural, institutional and cultural obstacles to the limitation of women's political roles that have an impact on women's representation in the management of political parties (Rachmiate & Mukarom, 2017). Increasing women's political participation can be done through empowering women through various policies and programs based on gender equality (Palandung, Liando & Sampe, 2018). Supported by the vision and mission of political parties that uphold gender equality, it will be easier to respond to gender-based policies (Malik, Astuti & Marlina, 2016).

The existence of women's political participation in elections through political parties can change the way men

look at providing opportunities for women to get involved in politics, influencing improving strategic functions in building relationships to realize women's friendly policies (Maula, 2017). The lack of political experience and women's motivation in gaining strength is a drawback in offering female candidates' recruitment.

In contrast, in terms of demand, where few women have strategic positions in party management, making policy-making in political parties is less supportive of women to be elected (Purwaningsih & Rubiyati, 2019). The level of women's political participation can be seen from the number of women who occupy public and political positions. An increasing number of women are taking part in the political world. Then there will be expected to be more ideas and ideas relating to women (Purnamasari & Zubaidah, 2018). Women's political participation is women's involvement in influencing changes in public organizations' quality of decision-making processes (Iqbal & Kurniawan, 2019).

Increased support for affirmative policies through socio-cognitive mechanisms can be an efficient means of coercing future events (Fleischmann & Burgmer, 2020). Affirmative policies may lead to distressing awareness shifts that are not seen as reflective of minority groups and differences in culture,

feelings, and attitudes (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). On the other hand, political parties in government are only open to the advancement of gender equality, showing that parties are not a feminist force promoting affirmative policies (Beloshitzkaya, 2020).

Strong women's leadership does not have national political views due to their low views on women's politics, destabilization of the post-colonial women's movement, and gender discrimination (Were, 2017). Women's political challenges come from the local political culture of gender in exercising male domination in the political chair, the hegemony of masculine discourses, and the gender burden on women's leadership (Sumbas, 2020). On the other hand, women's political participation is still constrained by the androcentric of politics, patriarchal culture, and gender, as well as class inequality in the social field (Were, 2017). Biases that strengthen gender in local political culture can prevent the elimination of the distribution of injustice and inequality in women's identity politics towards implementing democracy (Sumbas, 2020).

Women's representation in political parties is essential because the number of women on the political stage is still meager, so women's position and role in the legislative body will significantly influence policies that are

more responsive to women's interests (Gusmansyah, 2019). The most votes system still determines the decision to determine the composition of the number of seats in the legislature. It results in the low level of women's victory in elections, affecting the small representation of women in the legislature (Yulyana, 2017).

However, women as legislative members have not been able to voice aspirations related to gender issues because they do not yet understand their roles and functions as members of the board and the low initial motivation to participate in the election contestation process due to money politics (Yunika, Putri & Asrinaldi, 2019). Women's representation in political parties guaranteed by strict regulations can encourage women's representation in politics because the importance of women's representation in legislative bodies will affect all government policies or decisions, especially gender policies (Fitri, 2016).

Political communication from political parties becomes a strategic matter in encouraging women's role to voice their aspirations and participate in legislative institutions to significantly influence the governmental policies that will be decided based on gender issues (Adeni & Harahap, 2017).

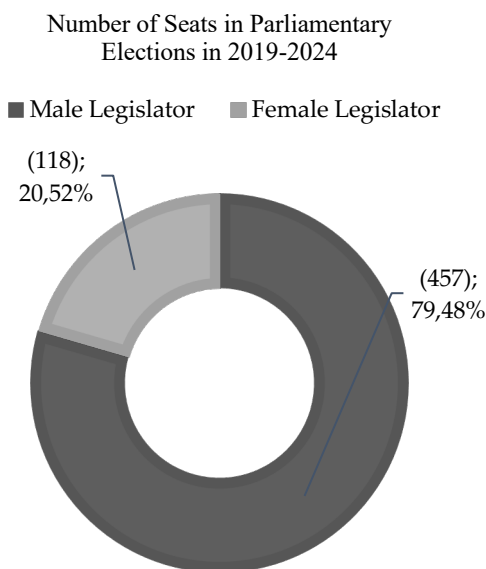
Women's representation in political parties in the legislature

influenced by views on political parties that were full of interests too, lack of confidence in women's political competence to carry out aspirations in political institutions, party policies that still adhered to patriarchal culture in determining legislative candidates, women's ability in politics was still low. Women are less ready to take care of the organization and carry out tasks (Adelina, 2016). Coupled with a patriarchal culture, gender balance in the political sector of government reduced, which can reduce women's participation in the public sphere where this leaves the position of women vulnerable to various forms of political manipulation and is often used as a tool of legitimacy so that active participation in women's representation through parties is needed politics in legislative institutions (Nurcahyo, 2016). Women's representation gives equal roles to women in equal opportunities and positions in the executive, judiciary, legislative, party, and electoral sectors towards justice and gender equality (Purnamasari & Zubaidah, 2018).

Almost every country has seen a significant rise in women's number in political institutions over the last few decades (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020). One of the reasons for female legislative candidates' election was the large support from the family clan (Jovani, Subono & Suyanto, 2020). In addition,

there has been an increase in fulfilling the quota of women legislative candidates through guaranteed regulations to place women in winnable

positions, strict sanctions to force compliance, and a minimum threshold of 30% (Rosen, 2017).



Source: Indonesian General Election Commission, 2019

Women's representation is very important in the policy-making process to achieve gender equality (Momoh & Umoh, 2019). The increased representation of women has an impact on changing considerations in parliament and policy choices. The high representation of women can improve institutions' quality by suppressing elite political networks' corruption (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020).

In the modern world, where women have made inroads into every area of political decision-making, increasing women's participation in national legislative structures is a positive value as a means of equality

(Hughes & Paxton, 2019). Although the high representation of women in developed countries does not affect public policy, in developing countries, it is the representation of women that produces better public policies in the fields of health and education (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020). The high level of women's representation in the legislature will increase women's gender-responsive policy-making interactions (Jovani, Subono & Suyanto, 2020). Thus, women's representation can represent policies determined through gender issues on the political agenda even though gender issues have not yet become representatives of political

parties (Espírito-Santo, Freire & Serra-Silva, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women's Representation in Parliament in the 2019-2024 General Election

Women's presence in practical politics shows by the representation of women in parliament, which is an absolute necessity to create a public policy-making process responsive to women's interests. Increased representation of women through political parties in legislative institutions will be very important to convey aspirations, especially women's interests (Andari & Adnan, 2018). Election contestation is an essential instrument for measuring the high and low level of representation of women in parliament. As for the representation of women in the general elections of 2019-2024, as shown in figure 1.

Based on figure 1, the 2019-2024 general election period results from 118 seats in parliament (20.52%) are women legislators and 457 other places (79.48%) are male legislators. Even though affirmative policies have been implemented since the 2004 general elections, the 30% quota for women representation in parliament is still challenging to realize. Men still dominate the composition of representatives of councilors in the majority parliament. In line with Millet's

(1970) thinking, such as a "patriarchal government", that is described as an institution wherein principle the female population controlled by half of the male population (Heywood, 2016).

It shows that the view of patriarchal culture in Indonesia is still high. Patriarchal culture makes the gender balance in the political sector of government reduced and then makes women's positions vulnerable to various forms of political manipulation. It is often used as a legitimate tool so that women's representation through political parties in parliament can influence government policy direction towards gender-responsive women's issues (Abdullah, 2016). The condition of the nation's socio-culture that is still thick with patriarchal culture is one of the obstacles to women's actualization in their involvement as national development policymakers (Maria, Quintarti & Djou, 2018).

The decision to determine the number of seats in the legislature determined by the most votes system causing a low level of victory of women in elections to impact the small representation of women in the legislature (Yulyana, 2017).

Although the percentage of women in the DPR in this period increased from 17% in the 2014-2019 period to 21% in 2019-2024, the women's voice is still said to be a minority in the

legislative structure. Women's role is still minimal in parliamentary institutions, so they do not influence policy-making related to women's welfare and gender interests. In-state and political life, women are often excluded and experience exploitation and role discrimination, so that the State needs to formulate aspirational and participatory policy formulations against women (Suryadi, 2015). Women as legislative members have not been able to voice aspirations related to gender issues because they do not yet understand their roles and functions as board members (Yunika, Putri & Asrinaldi, 2019).

The low quality of women's legislative members will impact the improvement of social policies, especially those related to women's welfare. Women in parliament are often not in a strategic position as a policymaker. Based on the Puskapol UI study, 40% of women legislative members were never involved in the budgeting process. It made it difficult for women to influence the determination of pro-women policy members. The low representation of women in policy-making institutions becomes a problem when democracy demands equality and justice for women (Maria, Quintarti & Djou, 2018).

On the other hand, there is a significant problem that still becomes an obstacle for the community to make

choices in each election contestation, namely the low reference to legislative candidates, both women and men. The voter community only knows the candidate to be elected after coming to the polling station and looking at the candidate's photo on the ballot. The election voter does not have to consider knowing the background, competence, and record of the representatives who will choose, ultimately only determining the choice at random. Even worse, elections people who dare to pay with money (money politics).

The phenomenon of buying and selling votes impacts reducing democratic values, delegating and distorting the electoral process's implementation, weakening political accountability between politicians and constituents, weakening the party system, and corrupting politicians (Habibi & Purnomo, 2018).

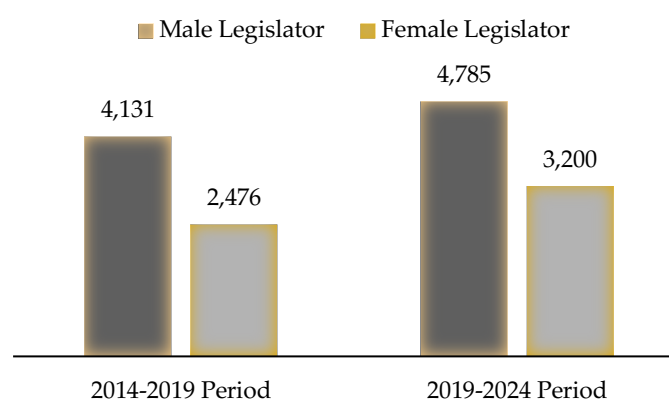
A research study on the practice of money politics was carried out by the Indonesian Political Indicator in 2018. An average of 28.6 percent of voters in Indonesia admitted accepting money politics when contesting general elections. This is supported by the high political costs that must be incurred during elections. KPU in 2019 noted in its report related to campaign funds by 16 political parties valued at Rp. 427,151,741,325, in which the funds with total contributions of legislative

candidates were Rp. 337,856,293,303 or reached 79.10% while from political parties themselves were only 20.09%, the rest individual donations. As much as 79.10% of campaign funds received from legislative candidates consistently show personal orientation in the 2019 parliamentary elections as strong as the 2014 parliamentary elections by ICW Report (Sholikin, 2019).

Strengthened by a report from the University of Indonesia Institute of Economic and Community Research in 2019 revealed the average cost of a legislative candidate campaign of 1.18 billion. That number has the level of reasonable, and the chances of being elected a significant parliamentary candidate were for the size of the standard of reasonableness of the

political investment of legislative candidates for the DPR: (1) less than Rp. 787 million: less/a little, (2) Rp. 787 million to Rp. 1.18 billion: optimal, (3) Rp. 1.18 billion to Rp. 4.6 billion: reasonable, and the opportunity to choose significant, (4) Rp. 4.6 billion to Rp. 9.3 billion: unnatural, (5) above Rp. 9.3 billion: irrational. These data provide an overview of the calculation of the need for political campaigns in which political costs in Indonesia are indeed high-cost so that an appropriate winning strategy is a need in each election contestation period. In an increase in women's legislative candidates' representation, various winning strategies are carried out in political competition to gain electoral contestation votes (Kiptiah, 2019).

Figure 2: Legislative candidates for women in general elections between 2014 and 2019



Source: www.ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id, 2019.

Implications of Affirmative Policy Against Women's Representation in Parliament

Implementing the electoral system is one of the tools that determine women's level of representation in the legislative body. After the reformation, the administration of general elections in Indonesia began to implement affirmative action policy to encourage women's openness of political space. Affirmative action is an appropriate action in the form of a 30% quota for women's

representation through political parties. Political parties participating in the general election must fulfill the 30% quota for women legislative candidates as one of the election contestation requirements. Affirmative policies that are followed up into political laws and elections have proven to increase the political participation of women who enter politics as legislative candidates to compete in elections. That can be seen from the number of female legislative candidates organizing two general election periods, namely the 2014. General election and the 2019 general election (see figure 2).

From this figure 2, it can see that in the 2014-2019 general election, there were 2,476 female legislative candidates and increased in the 2019-2024 general

election period, where there were 3,200 female parliamentary candidates. The increase in the number of female legislative candidates is inseparable from the guaranteed regulations for women who will pursue a career in politics. Regulatory guarantees that place women in winnable positions can encourage the fulfillment of the quota to represent women as legislative candidates (Rosen, 2017). The success of women's political careers in political parties has been supported by the presence of gender-based political rules (Lotulung & Mulyana, 2018).

In addition to strengthening women's representation, political parties must have a high commitment to determine the winning strategy for women's legislative representation, Political parties must have a high commitment to determine the winning strategy for female legislative candidates to win votes. That is because in winning the political competition to get voters' votes, it is necessary to candidates to win votes. That is because in winning the political competition to get voters' votes, it is necessary to attempt various winning strategies in the electoral process (Kiptiah, 2019).

Table 1. Affirmative Policy in the General Election Law

Period 2004	Period 2009	Period 2014	Period 2019
Election Law No. 12 of 2003 candidate member of the Indonesian Parliament, Provincial DPRD and District/City DPRD with pay attention to representativeness 30% women	Election Law No. 10 of 2008 list nominees submitted political parties load 30% women and placement of at least one inner woman every three names candidate (Zipper System).	Election Law No. 8 of 2012 (provisions that are the same as the Law 10 of 2008), strengthened with PKPU No. 7 of 2013 which requires candidacy women as arranged in-law must done in each constituency.	Election Law No. 7 of 2017: Together with provision in Law No. 8 of 2012

Source: [Margret et al. \(2018\)](#)

Regulations that guarantee women's representation in political parties can encourage women's participation in politics (Fitri, 2016). According to Rosen (2017), the minimum threshold of 30% guarantees regulations that can increase women candidates' quota's fulfillment.

In Indonesia, political regulations and the implementation of gender-based elections after the reform era are outlined in several rules, namely from Law No. 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties, Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning General Elections, Law No. 2 of 2008 relating to Political Parties and Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning General Elections for Members of the DPRD. Law No. 10 of 2008 requires political parties to include 30% representation of women at the middle-level management, which is an absolute requirement to be fulfilled by political parties participating in the general election. This law also regulates the zipper system's implementation, which is that for every three prospective legislative candidates, there is a minimum of one candidate for female legislative candidates. This law confirms

women's existence to guide their work on the political stage (Maria, Quintarti & Djou, 2018). This 30 percent figure is based on UN research results, which states that a minimum of 30 percent allows for a change and has an impact on the quality of decisions taken in public institutions (Maria, Quintarti & Djou, 2018). A 30% quota for women's representation in political parties is a positive value for continuing to voice women's interests with the right of initiative given as a board member in influencing gender-based policies (Artina, 2016). As for the affirmative policies in the general election rules as in table 1.

Based on table 1. it can be seen that affirmative policy with a 30% quota policy for representation of women candidates to be implemented in the 2004 general election with the Election Law No. 12 of 2003, then in the 2009 general election, this affirmative policy was accommodated through the Election Law No. 10 of 2008 that mandates every political party participating in the general election to include 30% of

women legislative candidates with a zipper system which places one female parliamentary candidate in every three names of male parliamentary candidates.

Through regulatory guarantees by placing women in winnable positions and a minimum threshold of 30% (Rosen, 2017), it's a way to increase female legislative candidates in political parties. Furthermore, in the 2014 general election with an affirmative policy of 30% women's representation is regulated by the Election Law No. 8 of 2012 and strengthened by PKPU No. 7 of 2013 which regulates every political party participating in the general election to be obliged to nominate one female legislative candidate in each electoral districts that have been determined by the KPU where the same applies to the 2019 general election period wherein this period was renewed again with the adoption of the General Election Law No. 7 of 2017 on general elections the provisions of which are the same as Law No. 8 of 2012. Increasing support through affirmative policies is an effective way to reduce discrimination in the future (Fleischmann & Burgmer, 2020).

The 30% quota policy for women legislative candidates in the history of developing the democratic system in Indonesia is an essential achievement after the reform era. This policy has

brought many changes in the face of politics in Indonesia, especially women's politics. The 2004 general election has accommodated the affirmative action policy through Election Law No. 12 of 2003 to implement a 30% quota for women's representation in the nomination process for legislative members. It shows the government's extraordinary commitment through the policy to provide space for women in politics legally and competitively.

Of course, the presence of affirmative policies on women's politics also needs to be balanced with the capabilities of women in the political sphere so that they can truly utilize the political space to fight for women's political aspirations and interests. Increased representation of women as members of the board through political parties is a positive value to continue to voice women's interests in proposing gender-based policies (Artina, 2016). Affirmative policies provide space for women to voice their political aspirations and interests through the process of policy formation at the legislative level. Women's representation in women's positions and roles in parliament will greatly influence policies that are more responsive to women's interests (Gusmansyah, 2019). The implications of implementing an affirmative policy on women's representation in parliament from the

2004 general election to the 2019-2024 general election period can see as in figure 3.

From figure 3, it can see in the 2004-2009 general election, which was the first time an affirmative policy was implemented. The result was that the level of representation of women in parliament was as many as 65 people. Then in the 2009 general election and the 2014 general election, the affirmative policy was able to encourage women's level of representation in the legislature to increase to 90s legislators. In the general election period 2019-2024, women's representation increased to 118 women legislative members who occupy seats in parliament.

Generally, since the implementation of the affirmative policy for the first time in 2004, until now, it has had the effect of increasing the number of women legislative members in parliament. There is a strong push from women to pursue various goals related to gender interests through the right to vote and be chosen to increase the number of women in elite positions in public life (Heywood, 2016). On the other hand, advocacy of formal and cultural education is needed to increase women's representation in politics (Sholikin, 2016).

Factors Affecting Women's Representation in Parliament

Several factors influence the increasing representation of women in parliament in each election contestation. Political regulations factor that explicitly encourages women to participate and accumulate in politics Law No. 12 of 2003 about General Elections, Law No. 2 of 2008 about Political Parties, Law No. 8 of 2012 General Elections of DPR-DPRD Members and reaffirmed by Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which requires women to represent at least 30% in each constituency. Besides, it was strengthened by the implementation of the zipper system in which in each member of the three legislative candidates, there was at least one female candidate. It automatically makes all parties participate in the general election to include women as legislative candidates to contest in the election. Women's representation in political parties needs to be guaranteed with regulations to encourage women's participation in politics because it will affect policy-making (Fitri, 2016).

Then the serial number of candidates for the legislative candidates in political parties. In the 2019 general election contest, 235 female legislative candidates place at number one and 372 female legislative candidates at number two. It shows that there is still a tendency for the views of political parties that do

not yet have confidence in the political competence of women legislative candidates. There are still many political parties that do not dare put women legislative candidates in the first position. The high view of patriarchal political culture and the pragmatism of political parties, which are more concerned with the acquisition of party votes than women candidates' votes, causes the low representation of women as legislative members (Ekawati, 2018).

Research from the University of Indonesia's Center for Political Studies on the implementation of the 2009 and 2014 legislative elections showed that the majority were in the top three for the elected legislative candidates. In the 2009 general election, as many as 64.96% of the selected legislative candidates were in the number one sequence, 19.34% number two, and only 6.39% of the legislative candidates were elected in sequence number three. In the 2014 general election, the number of legislative candidates selected with sequence number was 62.14%, number two was 19.96%, and the number of legislative candidates was 4.46% (www.ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id). In this case, it can interpret that determining the serial number of legislative candidates will affect the level of electability of legislative candidates to sit as people's representatives in parliament. The existence of political

party policies that still adhere to patriarchal culture in determining legislative candidates influences the low quota of women's representation in parliamentary institutions (Adelina, 2016).

Then there is the political kinship factor. According to a study by the Puskapol UI, about 40% of women legislative candidates who qualify for Senayan this year have a kinship political background or have blood relations with political elites, state officials, or regional heads. It is reinforced by the statement of Nihayatul Wafiroh (DPR RI member of the PKB Faction, October 2019) in a public discussion with the theme "Women's Representation in the Political Process".

Making it easier for women to become legislative members in parliament The Puskapol UI (2019) shows that of the 118 DPR members who have just been installed, 41% come from political dynasties with a kinship with the political elite. Coupled with the power relations with the theory of power reproduction approach, Pierre Bourdieu shows a group will maintain and maintain an identity passed down to create a habitus attached to symbolic capital by establishing relations with political parties (Hapsa & Purnomo, 2016). Women who enter politics are supported by kinship relations with political party leaders and rulers, as well

as great political names in families increasingly providing fluency for women to pursue a career in politics (Lotulung & Mulyana, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings and discussion, it can be concluded that first, the level of representation of women in parliament after the holding of the general elections in the 2019-2024 period has not reached 30%. The total number of representative seats in parliament is as many as 575 seats. For women legislative members-only, it is still dominated by male legislators who reach as many as 118 seats (20.52%). Lack of political experience and women's motivation to gain power have made it increasingly difficult for women in political parties to occupy strategic positions at the management level of party organizations (Purwaningsih & Rubiyati, 2019). Advocacy of formal and cultural education is needed to increase women's representation in politics (Sholikin, 2016). Increasing women's representation in the national legislative body is a positive value as a means of fair rights for women to make breakthroughs in all areas of political decision-making (Hughes & Paxton, 2019).

Second, women's political participation through women's representation in parliament since the adoption of affirmative policies from the

2004 general election period (65 women legislative members) to the 2019 general election (118 women legislative members) has had a good impact as an effort to increase women's political participation. The representation of women in political parties guaranteed by strict laws can encourage women's participation in politics (Fitri, 2016).

Third, factors that influence women's representation through political parties in parliament are political regulation factors with the affirmative policy and zipper system, factors determining the serial number of legislative candidates and political kinship factors. The mindset of political parties full of interests, low women's political competence, and high patriarchal culture in the parties affects women's representation in political parties in the legislative (Adelina, 2016; Were, 2017). Political parties are only open when it comes to promoting gender equality, and they do not support affirmative policies (Beloshitzkaya, 2020).

Further, increasing the representation of women who are legislative members in parliament in the 2019-2024 general elections must also be balanced with quality so that the woman legislator can contribute actively in carrying out the mandate as a people's representative through her role and authority in proposing policies and

regulations that more in favor of women's interests (gender). Women's representation is crucial in the decision-making process to achieve gender equality (Momoh & Umoh, 2019). They followed with all political members' commitment to giving facilitation, seriousness to prepare women cadres before the candidacy. By doing so, the women candidates in the general election could become more accountable and have enough capacity to inform or drafting government programs.

KPU as an institution that has full authority in conducting general elections continues to encourage all political parties through the Election Law by requiring political parties to include at least one female legislative candidate in each electoral district, with strict sanctions where when a political party is unable to full-fill these obligations, it is not permitted to enter the general election contestation. Women candidates' quota could be accomplished by ensuring that women are placed in positions that can be won through regulations, strict sanctions, and a minimum threshold of 30% (Rosen, 2017). Last, by strengthening support for all efforts and socialization activities and advocacy on gender equality in the political field to all levels of society, both men and women can motivate women to participate more in politics. Strengthening gender bias in local

political culture can suppress the injustice and inequality of women's identity politics in the implementation of democracy (Sumbas, 2020), coupled with the implementation of socio-cognitive processes to support affirmative policies. This can be an effective way to suppress future acts of discrimination (Fleischmann & Burgmer, 2020).

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