Political Parties and Women's Representation in the Indonesian Parliament 2009-2019

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Abstract

As the transmission belt linking people's aspirations to the government, the political party has a crucial role in preparing actors to become candidates for people's representatives. Since the enactment of affirmative policies both in elections and internal parties, the number of women in parliament has never met the 30% quota as expected. During the ten years from 2009 to 2019, the number of women in the House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR) seats only ranged from 17-20 percent. This article examines the influence of political parties' characteristics on women's representation in the Indonesian parliament in the 2009-2019 period. This research uses four party characteristics by Sundström & Stockemer as variables that will be analyzed through linear regression models. The research results show that the vote size variable is the only variable significantly influencing women's representation in parliament. The estimated trend of women's representation in parliament shows an increase in the upcoming 2024 elections. However, it is still far from the target of 30%. Hence, it needs a progressive affirmative policy in the form of reserved seats to encourage proportionality in the policy-making forum.

Keywords: Political party, Women's representation, Indonesian parliament

INTRODUCTION

As an instrument to mobilize two-way interests, political parties convey people's aspirations to higher authorities and vice versa conveying government policies and programs to the community. The role of political parties in a democratic system is critical due to their existence as the pillars of democracy. In this case, democratic values are maintained if political parties can carry out their functions properly. According to Miriam Budiardjo (1999), political parties have three functions: political recruitment, political socialization, and articulating and aggregating interests. Thus, in a multiparty democratic system, political parties must be able to be an instrument for changing attitudes toward women (Hilman, 2017). Therefore, political parties play the most significant role in establishing women's representation in parliament.

The mechanism of channeling public aspirations in Indonesia is by representatives, wherein in each electoral district (*Daerah Pemilihan*/dapil), several people will be selected to represent the voices of the people in parliamentary seats. Therefore, it makes the existence of women's representation in parliament becomes important. Given that women's aspirations are more

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noticeable if women figures sit in strategic positions in the decision-making forum (Fitri 2016; Firman 2018; Gusmansyah 2019; Momoh & Umoh 2019). Therefore, the role of political parties is pivotal in recruiting female members and sending women's legal candidate lists. Changes made by major parties will have a significant impact on other parties' behavior, as well as on the representation of women (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu, 2013). Thus, it implies a strong correlation between political parties and women's representation.

Representation is a relationship between the parties represented, and those who represent, where the party representing has the authority under the agreement between the two (Efriza, 2014). There are two types of representation: representation by aspirations and physical representation (Efriza, 2014). The definition of representation referred to in this research is the physical representation (quantity) or by looking at the number of women in parliament. Differ from substantive representation—looking at the success or failure of people's aspirations fight for in the decision-making process—which requires another method to measure it. Analyzing the physical representation is a stepping stone before looking more deeply at how these representatives carry out their functions in parliament. The representation of women numerically portrays the opportunities for women's issues to be raised and discussed. Furthermore, their presence in the parliament allows gender issues

to receive sufficient attention, considering that women are the foundation of the country's growth (Astriani, 2013).

Women's representation targets the existence of equality promoted by the democratic system. Women's participation and representation in politics is a fundamental human right and the foundation for sustainable development and democracy itself (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2021). International rules have regulated the equal rights between men and women as in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 articles (1) and (2), as well as The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). These rules become an international reference in realizing the global agenda to achieve equality for all people, especially women. As stated in SDG number 5, that is achieving gender equality and empowering women. It suggests that women's representation is still an issue that countries are trying to resolve.

Referring to the United Nations resolution concerning Women and Political Participation (A/RES/66/130), at least two things must be done to create a healthy democracy. The first is taking appropriate action to eliminate prejudice based on the inferiority or superiority of one sex or on stereotyped roles, which incidentally constitute a barrier for women to access and participate in politics and strive to adopt an inclusive approach. Second, encourage political parties to make

several efforts: remove all obstacles that directly or indirectly discriminate against women's participation; develop the capacity to analyze issues from a gender perspective; adopt policies to promote the ability of women to participate fully at all levels decision-making within the political party.

In Indonesia, the government has adopted those principles into several laws as a form of affirmative policy. The affirmative policy was first stipulated in Law number 12 year 2003 concerning Elections for the DPR (House of Representatives), DPD (Regional Representative Board), and DPRD (Regional House of Representatives), whereby political parties must pay attention to the representation of women at least 30% in nominating candidates for legislative members. This affirmative policy is one of the efforts intended to increase women's participation in Indonesian politics, which remains low. The government then refine the policy into several laws, one of which is Law number 2 year 2008 concerning Political Parties. Article 2 of that law stipulates that political parties must include a minimum of 30% representation of women in establishment and management at the central level. In addition, Law number 10 year 2008 also regulates the zipper system, where there is at least one woman among the three candidates proposed. A series of affirmative policies are refined over time to achieve the target of gender inclusiveness in politics.

Graphic 1. Composition of DPR Members in 2004-2019
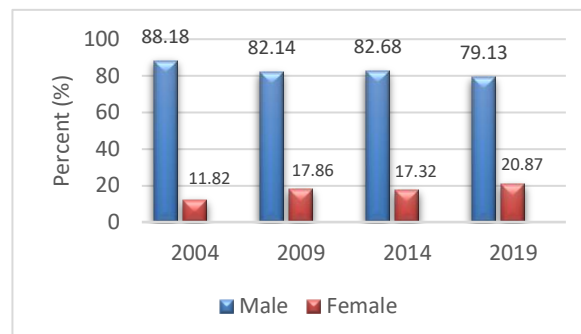
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics.

Women's representation in the DPR has increased every period yet remains unequal compared to men. The number of women sitting in the DPR from 2009-2019 has never met the target of 30%. At the beginning of the legal candidate quota implementation, the representation of women in DPR managed to increase to 17.86% in the 2009 elections but decreased in the 2014 election. In addition, the inherent patriarchal culture in Indonesian society also makes politics a male arena, thereby affecting the selection process between women and men in parliament (Parawansa, K. I., 2002; Adelina 2016; Rahmanto et al. 2021). This shows that women have not been proportionally represented in national representative seats.

Several studies on women's representation and the Indonesian parliament have been conducted by previous researchers, especially during the 2019-2024 parliamentary period (Rahmanto et al. 2021; Umagapi 2019). Some of them also discuss the factors affecting the low level of representation

in parliament (Rahmanto et al. 2021; Saputra et al. 2020), as well as factors influencing women's involvement in the political party itself (Habibah 2015; Kasim et al., 2022). In addition, the literature discussing the role of political parties in the process of recruiting and establishing women's representation in parliament shows that there is no significant and optimal role yet and the low commitment of political parties to involve women in both the party structure and the election process (Umagapi 2019; Budiatri 2012). These previous studies used qualitative methods that focused on explaining contextually how women's representation in politics developed in Indonesia. However, no literature discusses the influence of political parties' characteristics on women's representation in parliament statistically. Thus, this article seeks to the influence of political parties' characteristics on women's representation in the Indonesian parliament using quantitative methods to see more accurately which side of the political party has the most influence on the number of women in parliament.

In their article "Political Party Characteristics and Women's Representation: The Case of the European Parliament," Sundström & Stockemer (2021) use five variables of political party characteristics to measure their influence on women's representation in the European Parliament from 1979-2019. The five variables include intra-party gender quotas, female leadership, age of parties,

size of parties, as well as the ideology of the party. Those five variables are analyzed with multiple linear regression to determine which variable significantly influences the number of women in parliament. The research results show that three among five variables significantly influence the number of women in the European Parliament: the ideology of the party, female leadership, and the size of the party.

This research adapts those variables and uses them to analyze political parties in Indonesia, which practically have different characteristics from political parties in Europe. The primary difference lies in the ideological aspect, where European political parties have clear ideological distinctions that shape the parties' behavior and policy. In contrast, the ideology of political parties in Indonesia can no longer be distinguished and has faded along with the strengthening of the democratic system, making Pancasila the only ideology that can be adhered to. This research is important to obtain information regarding which characteristics of political parties significantly influence women's representation in the Indonesian parliament. In addition, research findings can also be used as a reference for government considerations in formulating policies related to optimizing women's representation in parliament. Therefore, this research aims to determine the influence of the political parties' characteristics on women's representation in the

Indonesian parliament from 2009-2019.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research uses political parties' characteristic variables from Sundström & Stockemer (2021) with several alternative adjustments. Only four of five variables will be used in this research: female leadership, age of parties, size of parties, and party ideology.

Female leadership

Female leadership is an important variable to see the dynamics of the selecting female candidate process within the political parties. The presence of this figure allows influences the party's preference for the female candidate itself. Given that the gender of the party chairperson is an important factor in the candidate selection process (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2001). This result aligns with Aldrich's research (2020) on political parties in the European Parliament, where women-led parties can increase the percentage of female candidates on the party list to the European Parliament/EP. In this case, the female party chairperson positively contributes to the composition of the candidate list (Paxton & Hughes, 2016). The gender of the party chairperson's influence on the number of female candidates who have succeeded in sitting in parliament must be identified. Thus, the hypothesis formed is as follows:

H1: The gender of the party chairperson significantly influences the number of women in parliament.

Age of parties

The party's age is important to consider because it shows in what era the party was officially established and what values developed in that era that influenced party behavior. Parties born in the late 1990s-2000 were exposed to the development of gender equality norms, and consequently, it is difficult to ignore these norms in forming new structures (Krook & True, 2012). In this research, the categorization of old parties is parties that were born before the 1998 reform. In contrast, young parties were born during or after the 1998 reform. This consideration is based on the character of the government system in Indonesia. Before the 1998 reform, Indonesia was under a non-democratic regime, so the parties born at this time had a different culture from parties born after 1998. In the post-reform era, the values of equality and freedom began to develop along with the running of a democratic government. Thus, the hypothesis formed is as follows:

H2: The age of the party significantly influences the number of women in parliament.

Size of parties (vote size)

Party size, in this case, refers to the number of votes each political party acquires. The categorization of the size of the party is based on the popular vote acquired in the election period. The greater the vote gain, the more representatives will be sent to parliament, as well as the more diverse the gender of those candidates. Therefore, this variable positively affects women's representation because the greater the vote, the greater the potential

for women's representatives to be sent to parliament (Matland, 1998). Thus, the hypothesis formed is as follows:

H3: Party vote size significantly influences the number of women in parliament.

Ideology of party

Ideology is one characteristic that distinguishes political parties because the orientation of party policies is generally in line with the ideology they adhere to. Where left-wing parties are more likely to nominate women than right-wing parties (Arriola & Johnson, 2014; Bego, 2014). However, this is irrelevant in the case of Indonesia, where other ideologies besides Pancasila are disallowed. In addition, blurring ideology is one of the main diseases in a multiparty democratic system, so the typology of parties based on ideology cannot be used in this research. In a well-institutionalized democratic system, there is a centrifugal tendency in which political parties point to the center (depolarization), thereby eliminating ideological barriers between parties, and are only oriented towards winning the elections (Surbakti, 2007).

Moreover, party typology based on the composition and functions of members also cannot be used. No political parties in Indonesia are fully included as mass parties or cadre parties but are more inclined toward catch-all parties (Labolo & Ilham, 2015). Therefore, the researcher provides another alternative to distinguish political parties in Indonesia by looking at their mass base. The typology of

parties based on mass base refers to Fossati's research (2019) on political Islam, political ideology, and behavior. Parties will be categorized into two types: secularist parties and Islamic parties. Thus, the hypothesis formed is as follows:

H4: Party mass base significantly influences women's representation in parliament.

Intra-party gender quotas

The fifth variable, intra-party gender quota, refers to whether there is a voluntary gender quota made by political parties, not gender quota provisions that are compulsorily determined by national law. In this case, the regulation regarding gender quotas contained in the Memorandum & Articles of Association of each party refers to Law number 2 year 2008 concerning Political Parties, which reads, "The establishment and formation of political parties as referred to in paragraph (1) includes 30% (thirty percent) representation of women". Therefore, this quota cannot be classified as a gender quota that is voluntarily determined, so the fifth variable is omitted or not used in this research.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses one dependent variable and four independent variables and focuses on ten parties that won seats in the DPR in the 2009, 2014, and 2019 elections as units of analysis. One dependent variable is the women's representation in parliament, created

based on the number of women members in DPR from each party in each election year (2009, 2014, and 2019). The data was obtained from a gender-perspective political database platform, dataspatial.id. Meanwhile, the determination of the four independent variables refers to previous research, which the author used as a basis (Sundström & Stockemer, 2021).

The first independent variable, female leadership, is a dummy variable coded 1 for parties with a female chairman and code 0 for parties with a male chairperson. Data related to the chairperson's gender was obtained from the official website of each party. Then the second variable is the party's age, which will be calculated from the year the party was born until the corresponding election period. Meanwhile, the third variable is the vote size determined by the party's seat acquisition in each DPR election period. Data related to the number of votes obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS). Finally, the party mass base variable is also included as a dummy variable, coded 1 if the party has a secularist mass base and coded 0 if it is Islamically based. Data on the party type was obtained from journals on Ideology, Islamic Politics, Political Movements, and Behavior in Indonesia (Fossati,

2019). These four variables were analyzed by multiple linear regression to see their influence on women's representation both partially and simultaneously.

DISCUSSION

The number of women in parliament—despite a significant increase in the 2019 election—has never met the target of 30% since the affirmative quota setting for women, both in the election process and in the party's internal. Besides, the 30% figure is a critical number the United Nations (UN) determined to indicate a healthy democracy (Agustyati, 2020). Indonesia, which has adhered to a democratic system for approximately 24 years since the collapse of the New Order regime, has not yet achieved gender equality in representative institutions. Women comprise half of Indonesia's population (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022) and have not been properly represented in policy-making forums. At this point, political parties play a key role in recruitment, cadre formation, and the numbering of candidates because each party's policies completely determine it. Thus, characteristics attached to political parties are presumed to influence women's representation in parliament significantly.

Table 1. Linear Regression Result

	Constant	B	Adjusted R Square	Sig.	N
Female Leadership	16.637	2.586	-0.24	0.578	30
Age of Parties	14.312	0.140	0.048	0.129	30

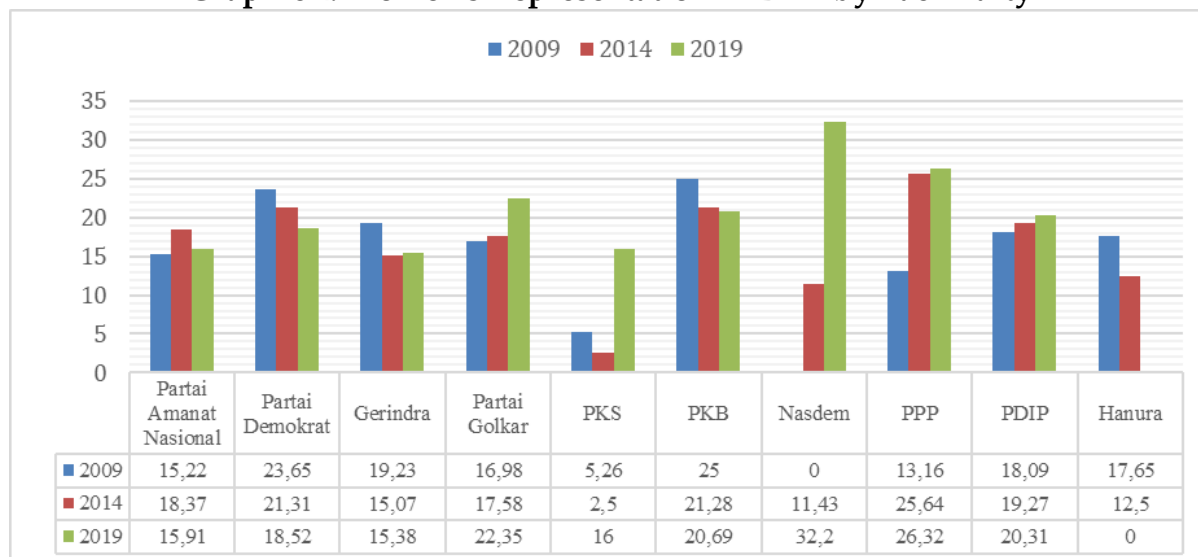| Vote Size | 11.792 | 0.565 | 0.118 | 0.035* | 30 |
Party's Mass Base	17.112	-0.361	-0.035	0.899	30
Simultaneous:	10.786		0.084	0.189	30
Female Leadership x		-2.474			
Age of Parties x		0.079			
Vote Size x		0.658			
Party's Mass Base		-1.747			

*Significant at 0.05 level

Based on the results of the multiple regression test above, it can be concluded that the vote size is the only variable that significantly influences the women's representation variable. It is seen in **Table 1.** that the significance value of the vote size variable is 0.035, which is less than 0.05 so this variable partially has a significant influence on the dependent variable. While the significance value of the other three variables sequentially, female leadership is 0.578, age of party 0.129, and a mass base 0.899. These three values are greater than 0.05, so they are interpreted to have no significant influence on the dependent variable. In addition, the table above shows the total significance value of four independent variables of 0.189, which is also greater than 0.05, meaning that the four variables simultaneously (together) have no significant influence on the women's representation variable.

Female leadership

Theoretically, women leaders can positively influence women's representation in parliament. According to Sundström & Stockemer, the presence of a female party chairperson is likely to increase the percentage of women in parliament because they tend to be more open and recruit candidates of the same gender as themselves. Women party leaders positively influence the composition of candidates to be sent to parliament for at least three reasons: women chairpersons have more qualified women in their networks, they use tactics that are different from men, and they have openness and good faith to reduce obstacles for other women in obtaining a position (Paxton & Hughes, 2016). However, does not relevant to political parties in Indonesia. The results of the regression test above prove that the gender of the party chairperson has no significant influence on the number of women in parliament. Parties with female chairpersons can not ensure many female candidates will succeed in sitting in parliamentary seats.

Graphic 2. Women's Representation in DPR by Each Party

	Partai Amanat Nasional	Partai Demokrat	Gerindra	Partai Golkar	PKS	PKB	Nasdem	PPP	PDIP	Hanura
2009	15,22	23,65	19,23	16,98	5,26	25	0	13,16	18,09	17,65
2014	18,37	21,31	15,07	17,58	2,5	21,28	11,43	25,64	19,27	12,5
2019	15,91	18,52	15,38	22,35	16	20,69	32,2	26,32	20,31	0

The only political party with a female chairman who passed the parliamentary threshold and was qualified to participate in the 2009-2019 election was the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP), chaired by Megawati who has served since 1999. PDIP, the only party participating in the election with female chairpersons, has a lower percentage of female representation than other parties with male chairpersons. In the 2009 election, PDIP was in 4th place as the party with the highest number of women in the DPR after the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB), Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat) and the Greater Indonesian Movement Party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra). PDIP's position persisted in the next 2014 election and fell to 5th place in 2019. Thus, it shows that a party with

female chairs does not guarantee more women in parliament. However, during the three election periods, the percentage of PDIP women's representation in the Indonesian parliament has increased periodically in line with the establishment of an affirmative policy on gender quotas by the government. Significant increases were also experienced by several other parties, such as Golongan Karya (Golkar), National Democratic Party (Nasional Demokrat, Nasdem), and United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP). Thus, the first hypothesis is rejected because it is proven that the gender of the party chairperson has no significant influence on women's representation in parliament.

The lack of influence over the gender of party chairpersons in this regard can be understood by looking at

the pattern of electoral elections in Indonesia, where the existing political parties are pragmatic in carrying out their functions—recruitment and nomination. This pragmatism makes political parties carry out the process of recruiting and nominating candidates by considering the candidate's chances of winning the vote. Political parties tend to choose female candidates who have financial and political potential and close relations with political elites (Ekawati, 2017). The tendency becomes an implied indicator in determining the lists of female candidates to be submitted in the elections. This phenomenon has become a common secret in electoral elections in Indonesia, considering that a series of the elections process, such as campaigns, requires substantial financial support. Consequently, it ultimately shifts the essence of political parties from being a bottom-up public interest vehicle to becoming a transactions forum of elites' interests from within.

This condition confirms that the gender of the party chairperson is no longer an aspect that influences the composition of the female candidates. Both male and female chairpersons nominate female candidates based on their chances of winning the vote. As seen from the background of female members of DPR in 2009 & 2014, who were dominated by those with kinship networks/political dynasties, reached 41% and 39%, followed by those who were celebrities/popular figures, party cadres, and economic elites, etc. (Ekawati 2017). Thus, it is proven that

the presence of women in parliament does not depend on the gender of the party chairperson but on the electability and popularity of each candidate that encourages parties to include them in the list of party candidates in elections.

Age of party
Sundström & Stockemer identified the party's age as a variable that could influence the number of women in parliament for several reasons. First, parties formed in the late 1990s and 2000s were influenced by gender equality norms, and second; new parties are unlikely to have the same male-dominated networks as older parties. It generates the assumption that younger parties have more women in parliament than older parties. However, the regression results above show that the party age variable partially has no significant influence on women's representation in parliament. Neither the parties formed before nor after the 1998 reform significantly influenced the number of women in parliament. This result aligns with Sundström & Stockemer's (2021) research, which shows that party age is unimportant because young and old parties can stimulate women's representation. In this case, it cannot be proven that the younger parties have more women in parliament than the older parties. There is no specific pattern between parties that were born before the reform or during/after the reform. Both have an undetermined number of women.

Political parties categorized as the old parties, namely Golkar and PPP,

have a higher percentage of women's representation in parliament than other parties, such as Nasdem, Hanura, and Gerindra, which included young parties (born during/after the reformation). In the 2014 elections, PPP ranked first as the party with the most women in parliament, reaching 25.64%. While at the bottom two is the Nasdem, the youngest party among the other parties. However, in the following election period, Nasdem became the number one party with the largest number of women in parliament (32.20%). These facts show that both young and old parties can increase the number of women's representation in parliament.

Regarding the values of gender equality as previously assumed, these values have not been realized optimally in the post-reform era. The democratization process, in practice, cannot uphold true justice for all parties. Post-reform democracy is still interpreted as an electoral procession and leadership succession and never eliminates discrimination against women (Anugerah & Endiartia, 2018). Other facts about Indonesian democracy in the post-reform era also show a deviation of the existing democracy from the true essence of democracy. This can be seen in human rights cases that have not been resolved, equality for minorities that have not been achieved, and the implementation of regional autonomy, which induced regional corruption and 'little kings' (Anugerah & Endiartia, 2018). These actual practices show that the post-reform democratic atmosphere in Indonesia has not been conducive to supporting the birth of parties that uphold gender

equality values. Thus, it can be concluded that the period in which a party was born does not influence women's representation in parliament. The government did not properly institutionalize gender equality values before or after the reform era.

Size of the party (vote size)

Vote size is assumed by Sundström & Stockemer as a variable that influences the number of women in parliament because the greater the opportunity to send candidates to parliament, the more gender-diversified the candidates are. In contrast, parties with small vote sizes have more male candidates because they tend to favor those with the potential to win the most votes. However, when the party obtains high votes and gets more allocated parliamentary seats, female candidates are more likely to be sent to parliament even though they do not get the most votes. In this case, the proposition is proven. The regression results show that the vote size variable is the only variable that partially has a significant influence on women's representation in the Indonesian parliament. Thus, it means that the number of female candidates who succeed in getting parliamentary seats is significantly influenced by the total number of popular votes acquired by the party during the election.

As shown in **Table 1.** above, the Adjusted R Square value is 0,118, which means that the vote size variable has an influence of 11.8% on the women's representation variable. These results align with the research of Sundström & Stockemer (2021), which also shows that larger parties have a higher chance for

female candidates to become members of parliament. It is understandable if we look at the seat allocation system in Indonesia. The first allocation method is Sainte-Lague—started to be used in the 2019 election—which converts the party's accumulated popular vote into the number of seats that the party will get with an odd distribution formula. In 2004, 2009, and 2014 elections, the seat allocation method used electoral divisor numbers (*Bilangan Pembagi Pemilihan*/BPP), which divided popular votes in an electoral district by the number of national seats contested. These two methods allow parties with more votes in the electoral districts to get more DPR seats than those with a lower popular vote. Though women candidates do not get the most votes in the electoral district, they still have a chance to get DPR seats if their party gets more popular votes than other parties in the same electoral district. Therefore, large parties or parties with a high number of votes are likely to have a higher representation of women in parliament. With such a system of DPR seat allocation, the total number of votes acquired by a party in each electoral district determines whether the party will get seats in parliament. The same party in each electoral district can get different seats. Under these circumstances, the party's vote size determines women's representation percentage in each electoral district.

Party's Mass Base

The party's mass base is theoretically capable of constructing the identity of a party and then shaping its behavior pattern. In its definition, political parties are political organizations formed by the public with the same interests so that the characteristics of the mass base become important to identify the party's position on a certain issue. Fossati (2019) stated that Islamic societies tend to be less supportive of the liberal understandings of democracy, where they prioritize policies on economic issues and support economic redistribution and regional autonomy. In contrast, secularist society is more concerned with protecting the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. In this case, a secularist society seems to be more friendly toward the issue of gender equality. It subsequently generates the proportion that the party's mass base influences the number of women in parliament.

However, the regression results show that the party mass base variable partially has no significant influence on the number of women in parliament. The party's mass base, which is secularist or Islamic, does not determine the number of female candidates who succeed in getting the DPR seats. The absence of significant influence indicates that the party's mass base no longer shapes the pattern of the political behavior of a party and does not determine their perspective on the women candidates. This condition becomes logical when looking at the 2014 & 2019 elections pattern with an open proportional system that blurs the identities of political parties. In contrast to the 1999 election with a closed

proportional system, party identity became a forceful aspect in shaping mass perspectives, with percentages of party identity (party ID) reaching 86% (Muhtadi, 2019). While in the 2014 & 2019 elections, party ID only ranged from 25%-10%. Thus, it was evidence of an identity crisis among political parties in Indonesia, which became the root of other practices like clientelism and money politics during the election. Competition among parties is no longer based on ideas contesting but rather on the marketing strategy of candidates and political parties themselves. Agenda that reflects the party's vision and mission has also been absent in the election battle, where the existing political parties tend to raise strategic issues that are rising in that period. In the end, it can be concluded that the party's mass base, which is both Islamist and secularist, is no longer relevant to explain differences in voters' political views and behavior. The decision to vote is influenced by considerations of benefits obtained from related parties, not influenced by the inherent identity between the party and mass base.
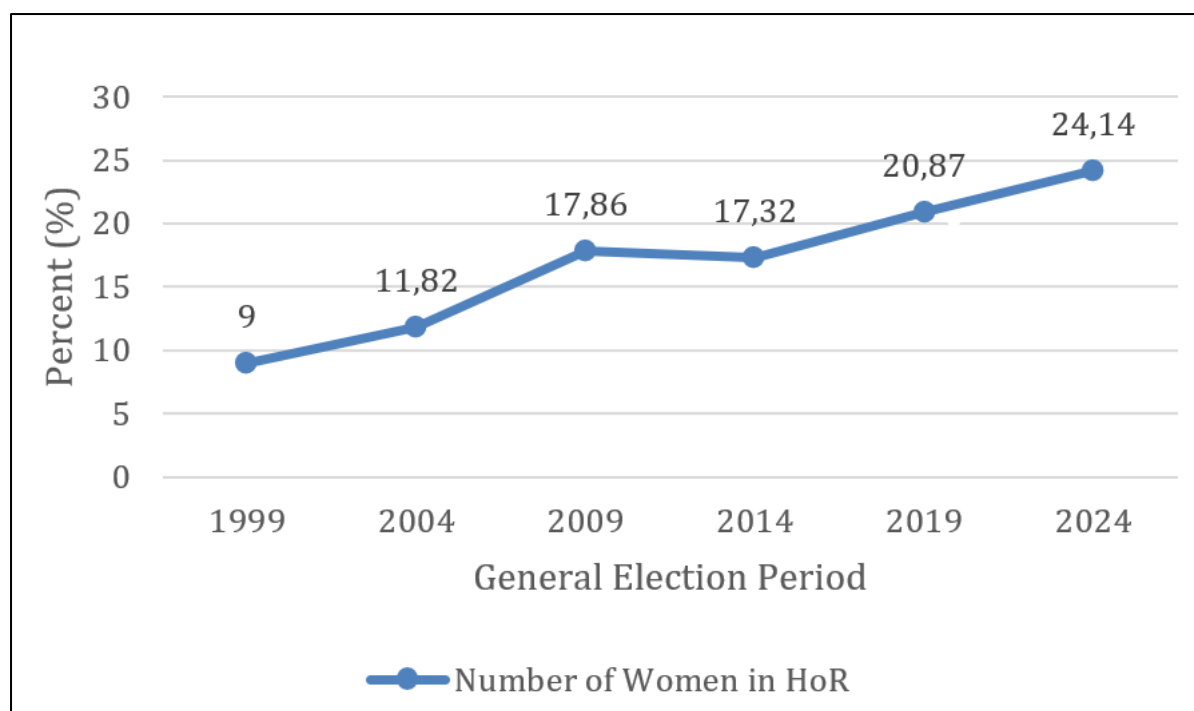
Estimation of Trends on Women's Representation

It is important to estimate women's representation in the upcoming 2024 parliament to see the progression of the gender quota implementation after more than two decades of adopting a democratic system. In addition, the results of estimation calculations can also be used as a reference in determining the next government attempt to promote gender equality within the parliament. The data used is the percentage of women in the DPR election periods of 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019 with the percentages of women respectively being 9%, 11.82%, 17.86%, 17.32%, and 20.87%. Using the least squares method, the following linear line equation is obtained:

$$Y = a + bX$$
$$= 15.374 + 0.5848 \, (15)$$
$$= 24.146$$

Based on the trend analysis above, the estimated percentage of women's representation in parliament in the upcoming 2024 elections is 24,146%. The result indicates an increase in women's representation from the previous 2019 election period, which was 3.3%. Though it has increased, this percentage is still far from the critical target of 30%. Suppose we rely on the current condition, where affirmative policies have not been updated and refined. In that case, at least three subsequent election periods are needed to achieve the target of 30% women. Another chance to increase this percentage is through the goodwill of political parties in listing female candidates—paying attention to gender equality—but it is unlikely to happen.

Graphic 3. Trend Estimation of Women's Representation in Parliament

Source: Calculation results of the least square method

The most effective way is to establish an affirmative policy in the form of reserved seats by keeping 30% of the number of parliamentary seats for women candidates. This policy will create closed competition among female candidates only to guarantee fulfillment of the minimum quota of 30% women in parliament. Thus, it is time for the Indonesian government to refine the existing affirmative policy by setting a quota of 30% for women during the parliamentary seat allocation to create proportionality in the policy-making forum. Because if we rely solely on the status quo, the quality of Indonesian democracy in the next 10-15 years will never be guaranteed.

CONCLUSION

This article examines the influence of the political parties' characteristics on women's representation in the Indonesian parliament from 2009-2019. It is proved that the vote size variable is the only variable that significantly influences women's representation in parliament. Due to the calculation method for the DPR seat allocation, parties with higher popular votes have a bigger chance to win more seats in the DPR than other parties with a lower vote. Therefore, female candidates can sit in parliament if their parties win more than one seat. This result is in line with the research by Sundström & Stockemer, which also found that the vote size variable influences the women's representation

in the European Parliament. Thus, it is interesting that this variable can explain the representation of women in the EP, whose political parties have a firm ideology, and in Indonesia, with political parties whose ideological boundaries are blurred.

Secondly, the party's age variable does not significantly influence the number of women sitting in the DPR. Parties born before or after the 1998 reform could stimulate the number of women in parliament. In addition, assumptions regarding the influence of gender equality norms are not proven. Both Indonesia under the authoritarian regime and Indonesia under the post-reform democratic system have not optimally institutionalized the values of gender equality. Hence, the parties' birth period does not influence their orientation towards women candidates and gender equality.

Thirdly, the two other dummy variables, female leadership and the party's mass base, also do not significantly influence the y variable. The gender of the party chairperson does not significantly influence the number of women in parliament because the consideration in recruiting and nominating women candidates lies in the electability and popularity of each candidate, not in the party's goodwill to create proportionality in parliament. Compliance with the 30% quota for women nominations is solely intended to fulfill the administrative requirements. The women included in the candidate lists have the potential to win, regardless of whether the party chairperson is male or female.

Fourth, the party's mass base also does not significantly influence women's representation in parliament because voter preferences are no longer based on secular or Islamic identity but on considerations of the benefits that can be obtained from political parties. The identity of each party has faded along with the existence of an open proportional system which emerges an unhealthy competition, causing parties to have a higher orientation towards election victory rather than building party identity.

Concerning the existing pattern of the electoral system in Indonesia, the probability of achieving the target of 30% women in the Indonesian parliament remains quite far. At least three subsequent elections are needed so that the percentage of women's representation in the Indonesian parliament passes a critical number of 30% because the estimated trend value of women's representation in the 2024 elections only reaches 24,146%. To accelerate this increase, the government should promptly make a refinement attempt toward affirmative policies. Thus, the law of women's quota should also be stipulated at the seat allocation phase. It is time for Indonesia to have an affirmative policy in the form of reserved seats because the seat allocation phase is the actual competition for getting positions in parliament. In the next elections, the government is expected to fully implement affirmative policies in all stages of the election to promote gender equality in parliament and encourage a healthier democracy in Indonesia.

It should be underlined that this article can merely answer the influence

of the political parties' characteristics on the physical/descriptive representation of women in parliament and is inadequate to explain its influence substantively. It means that further research is needed to analyze whether the characteristics of political parties affect substantive representation or whether other variables influence women's representation in parliament.

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