

# The Paradox of Political Representation: Affirmative Action and Oligarchy Politics

Presented by: anna margret & Yolanda Panjaitan  
CAKRA WIKARA INDONESIA (CWI)

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# Legal Instruments that Support Women's Political Participation in Indonesia



## Presidential Instruction No 9/ 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG)



Instructing all cabinet ministries and their subordinate offices, including local government units to implement the Gender Mainstreaming strategy in all Budget and Program Planning.

## Law 31/ 2002 on Political Parties and Law 12 / 2003 on Election



Only in 2004 election, an affirmative policy was introduced to increase women's political representation as "an advice" (*himbauan*) for political parties to consider allocating at least 30% women candidacy.

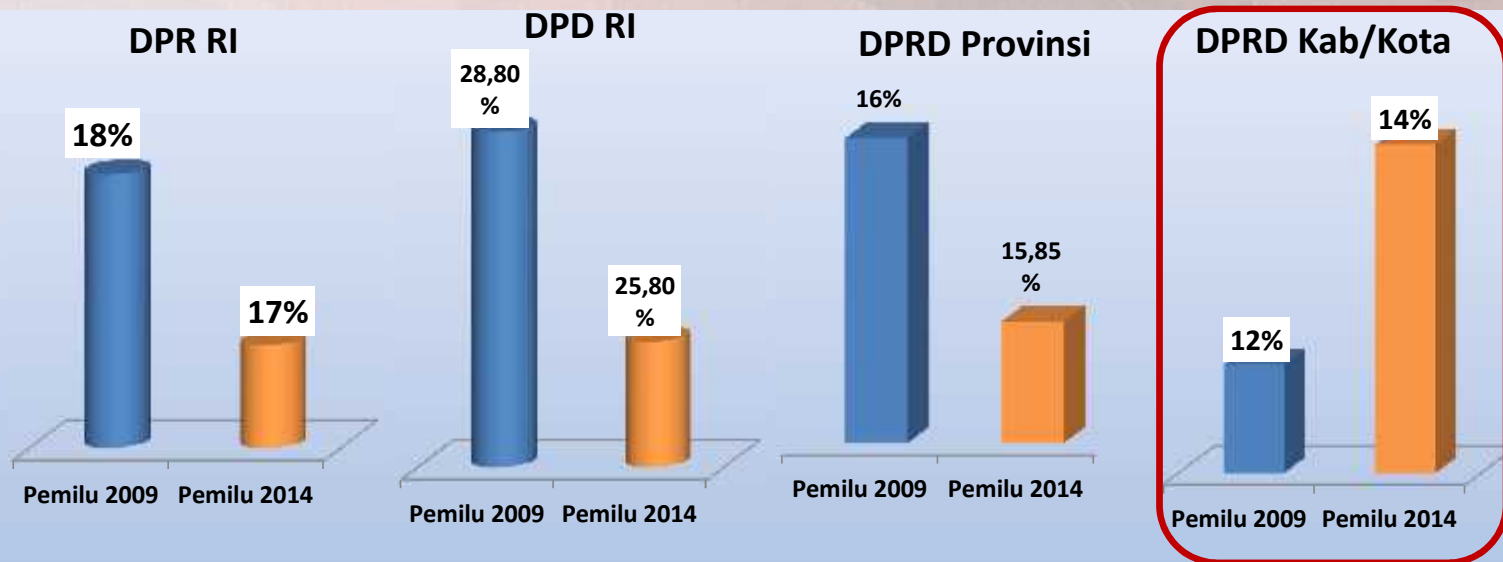


# The Dynamics of Women's Representation throughout Elections

| Year of Election | Total Number of DPR Members (National Level) | Number of Women Members | Percentage |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| 1955             | 272                                          | 17                      | 6,25       |
| 1971             | 460                                          | 36                      | 7,83       |
| 1977             | 460                                          | 29                      | 6,30       |
| 1982             | 460                                          | 39                      | 8,48       |
| 1987             | 500                                          | 65                      | 13,00      |
| 1992             | 500                                          | 62                      | 12,50      |
| 1997             | 500                                          | 54                      | 10,80      |
| 1999             | 500                                          | 45                      | 9,00       |
| 2004             | 550                                          | 61                      | 11,09      |
| 2009             | 560                                          | 101                     | 17,86      |
| 2014             | 560                                          | 97                      | 17,32      |



# Women in Legislative Bodies: A Closer Look on 2009 and 2014 Election Results



There is a **slight decline** in trend of women's electability in the National DPR in the last election. The decline occurred in all levels of legislative bodies **except for** DPRD Kabupaten/ Kota. Interestingly, the highest percentage of women representation can be found in DPD, where candidacy is solely based on regional representation without needing party's nomination.

# The Dynamics of Affirmative Policy in Indonesia

- The rise (or decline) of women's presence in the election result needs to be understood within the context of the dynamics of affirmative policy.
- Affirmative Policy is not the same as quota system / reserved seats : affirmation of process ≠ affirmation of result

| 2004 Election                                                                                                                                       | 2009 Election                                                                                                                                                       | 2014 Election                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2019 Election                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| UU 31/2002 on Political Party:<br>Parties to consider <b>gender equality and fairness</b> in recruitment process and party structure.               | UU 2/2008 on Political Party:<br>(The same as previously with addition)<br>To include a minimum <b>30% of women in the national party structure</b> .               | UU 2/2011 on Political Party:<br>(The same as previously with addition) Parties to consider a minimum <b>30% of women in the recruitment process, establishment, and structure</b> .              | Political Party Law is yet to be revised.                                |
| UU 12/2003 on Legislative Election:<br>Political parties to <b>consider at least 30% women's representation</b> in the legislative candidates list. | UU 10/2008 on the Legislative Election:<br>(The same as previously with enhancement) To put <b>at least one woman in three consecutive names</b> in the party list. | UU 8/2012 on Legislative Election: (The same with enhancement) Strengthened by PKPU 7/2013 (KPU Decree) that regulate <b>parties to implement mandated placement in each electoral district</b> . | UU 7/ 2017 on General Election:<br>(Remain the same as the previous law) |



# Comparative Data of Women Candidacy between 2009 Election and 2014 Election

| No. | Political Party | 2009 Election               |            | 2014 Election               |            |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|------------|
|     |                 | Numbers of Women Candidates | Percentage | Numbers of Women Candidates | Percentage |
| 1   | Nasdem          | --                          | --         | 226                         | 40,43 %    |
| 2   | PKB             | 134                         | 33,67 %    | 210                         | 37,63 %    |
| 3   | PKS             | 212                         | 36,61 %    | 191                         | 38,82 %    |
| 4   | PDIP            | 222                         | 35,41 %    | 200                         | 35,71 %    |
| 5   | Golkar          | 194                         | 30,27 %    | 202                         | 36,07 %    |
| 6   | Gerindra        | 116                         | 29,29 %    | 203                         | 36,45 %    |
| 7   | Demokrat        | 221                         | 32,94 %    | 205                         | 36,61 %    |
| 8   | PAN             | 177                         | 29,70 %    | 207                         | 36,96 %    |
| 9   | PPP             | 127                         | 26,91 %    | 214                         | 39,05 %    |
| 10  | Hanura          | 186                         | 30,67 %    | 203                         | 36,38 %    |
| 11  | PBB             | --                          | --         | 206                         | 37,05 %    |
| 12  | PKPI            | --                          | --         | 200                         | 37,11 %    |



# Recapitulation of Party Candidates in 2014 Election for DPR RI

| No.   | Political Party | Total Numbers of<br>Party Candidates<br>for DPR RI | Male Candidates |            | Women Candidates |                  |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
|       |                 |                                                    | Absolute        | Percentage | Absolute         | Percentage       |
| 1     | Nasdem          | 559                                                | 333             | 59,57 %    | 226              | <b>40,43 % 😊</b> |
| 2     | PKB             | 558                                                | 348             | 62,36 %    | 210              | 37,63 %          |
| 3     | PKS             | 492                                                | 301             | 61,17 %    | 191              | 38,82 %          |
| 4     | PDIP            | 560                                                | 360             | 64,28 %    | 200              | <b>35,71 % 😞</b> |
| 5     | Golkar          | 560                                                | 358             | 63,92 %    | 202              | 36,07 %          |
| 6     | Gerindra        | 557                                                | 354             | 63,55 %    | 203              | 36,45 %          |
| 7     | Demokrat        | 560                                                | 355             | 63,39 %    | 205              | 36,61 %          |
| 8     | PAN             | 560                                                | 353             | 63,05 %    | 207              | 36,61 %          |
| 9     | PPP             | 548                                                | 334             | 60,94 %    | 214              | 39,05 %          |
| 10    | Hanura          | 558                                                | 355             | 63,62 %    | 203              | 36,38 %          |
| 11    | PBB             | 556                                                | 350             | 62,94 %    | 206              | 37,05 %          |
| 12    | PKPI            | 539                                                | 339             | 62,84 %    | 200              | 37,11 %          |
| TOTAL |                 | 6607                                               | 4140            | 62,66 %    | 2467             | 37,33 %          |



# Understanding Affirmative Policy in Indonesia

- A legal instrument designed as temporary measures to **increase women's participation** and **enhance their representation** in political offices; i.e. in legislative bodies, political parties, and election management body.
- In the context of electoral politics in Indonesia, the implementation of affirmative policy in legislative bodies and political party structure relies on the political parties' willingness to empower their female cadres.



# Number of Seats Won by Women Member of DPR-RI in 2009 and 2014 Elections

| No. | Political Party | Number of Seats Won by Women in 2009 | Number of Seats Won by Women in 2014 | Notes of Trend   |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1   | PDI Perjuangan  | 18                                   | 21                                   | Increase         |
| 2   | Golkar ☹        | 19                                   | 16                                   | Decrease         |
| 3   | Gerindra        | 5                                    | 11                                   | Increase         |
| 4   | Demokrat ☹☹     | 35                                   | 13                                   | Decrease         |
| 5   | PKB             | 7                                    | 10                                   | Increase         |
| 6   | PAN             | 7                                    | 9                                    | Increase         |
| 7   | PKS ☹           | 3                                    | 1                                    | Decrease         |
| 8   | Nasdem          | --                                   | 4                                    | --               |
| 9   | PPP             | 5                                    | 10                                   | Largest Increase |
| 10  | Hanura ☹        | 4                                    | 2                                    | Decrease         |



# Challenges Faced by Women Candidates Running for DPR-RI in 2014 Election

- The decline of public trust towards the party due to corruption cases involving top figures with the party, i.e. Demokrat → an overall decline.
- Money politics within and outside the party; amongst fellow candidates and from potential voters.
- Internal competition occurred within party in the selection/ recruitment and nomination process → leading to high cost politics only a few women can do.
- Being nominated without clear projection or strategy and support to win.



# Number of Seats Won by Women Members of DPR-RI in 2014 Elections

| No. | Political Party | Number of Seats Won by Women | Total Number of Seats Won by Party | Percentage of Women's Seats |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1   | PDI Perjuangan  | 21                           | 109                                | 19%                         |
| 2   | Golkar          | 16                           | 91                                 | 17%                         |
| 3   | Gerindra        | 11                           | 73                                 | 15%                         |
| 4   | Demokrat        | 13                           | 61                                 | 21%                         |
| 5   | PKB             | 10                           | 47                                 | 21%                         |
| 6   | PAN             | 9                            | 49                                 | 18%                         |
| 7   | PKS             | 1                            | 40                                 | 3%                          |
| 8   | Nasdem          | 4                            | 35                                 | 11%                         |
| 9   | PPP             | 10                           | 39                                 | 26%                         |
| 10  | Hanura          | 2                            | 16                                 | 12%                         |
|     | Total           | 97                           | 560                                | 17,3%                       |



# Identifying Bases of Recruitments of Elected Women Candidates in 2014

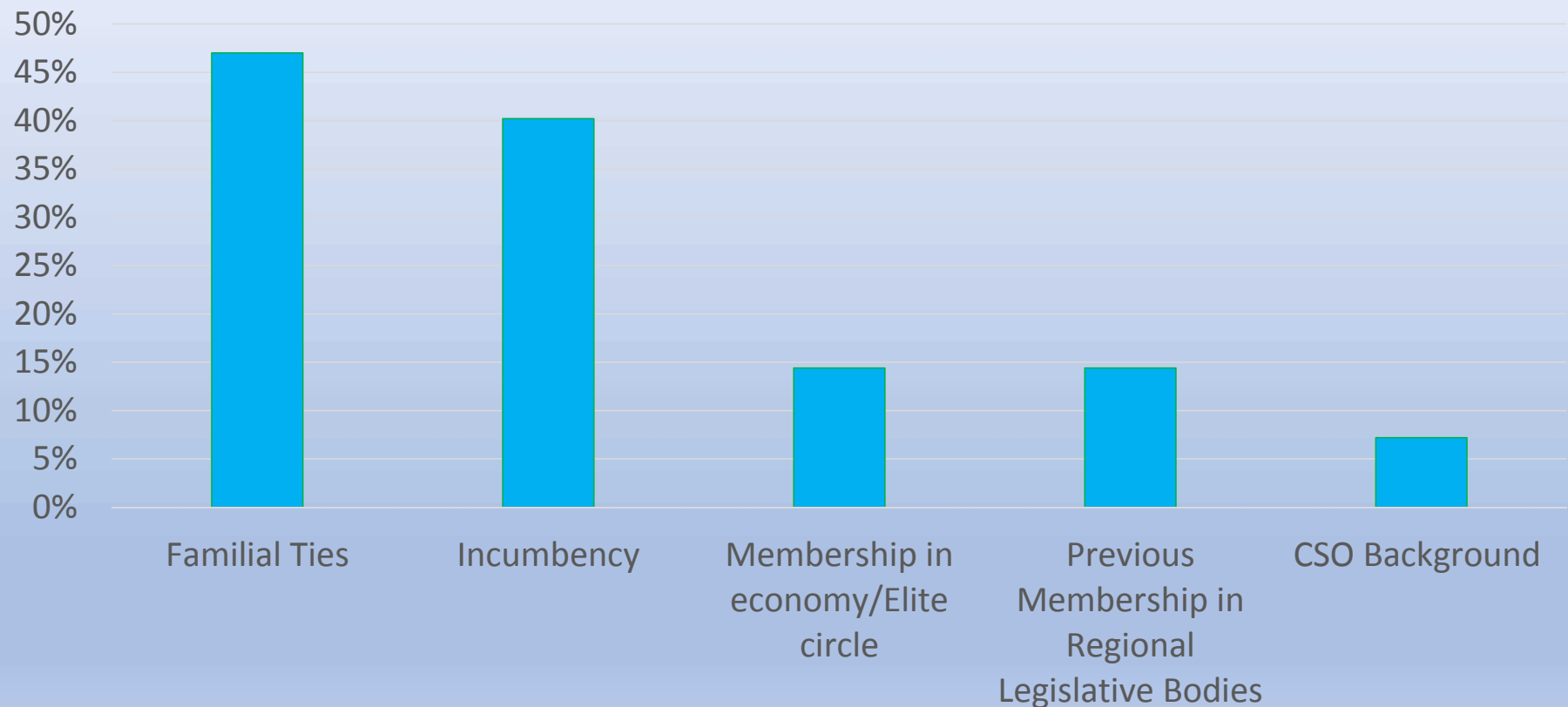
There are 97 elected women candidates to become members of DPR-RI.

- i. 36 of them are identified as next of kin or spouses of the political party's elites (**familial ties or network**);
- ii. 39 of them are **incumbents**;
- iii. 7 of them come from **CSO activists** background;
- iv. 14 of them were **previously members** of regional legislative bodies (DPRD and DPD); and
- v. 14 of them belong to **economy/ elite circle**.

(\*13 overlaps/ cross-cuts)



# An Outlook of the Political Recruitment Base of Women Members of DPR RI in 2014 Election



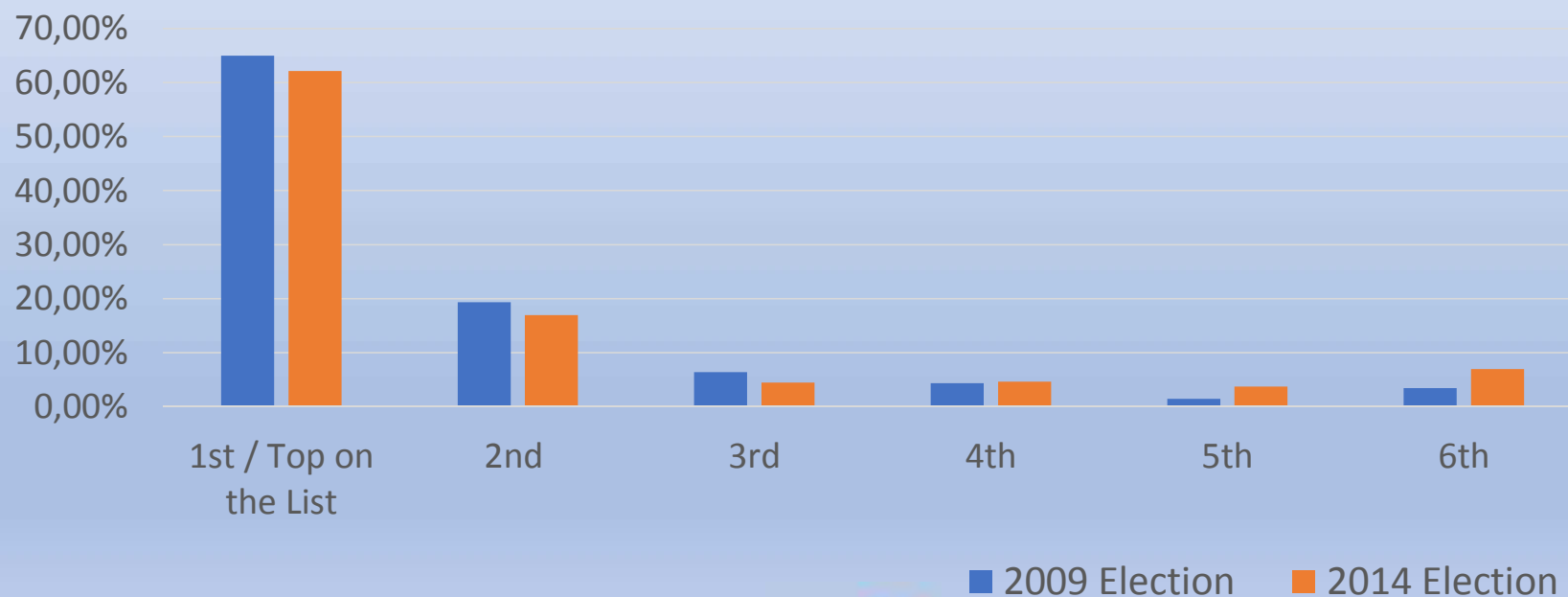
# The Irony

- Despite PPP identified as the party with largest increase of women's seats won in the 2014 election, it is also the party with highest percentage of women members with familial ties, i.e 5 out of 10 (50%).

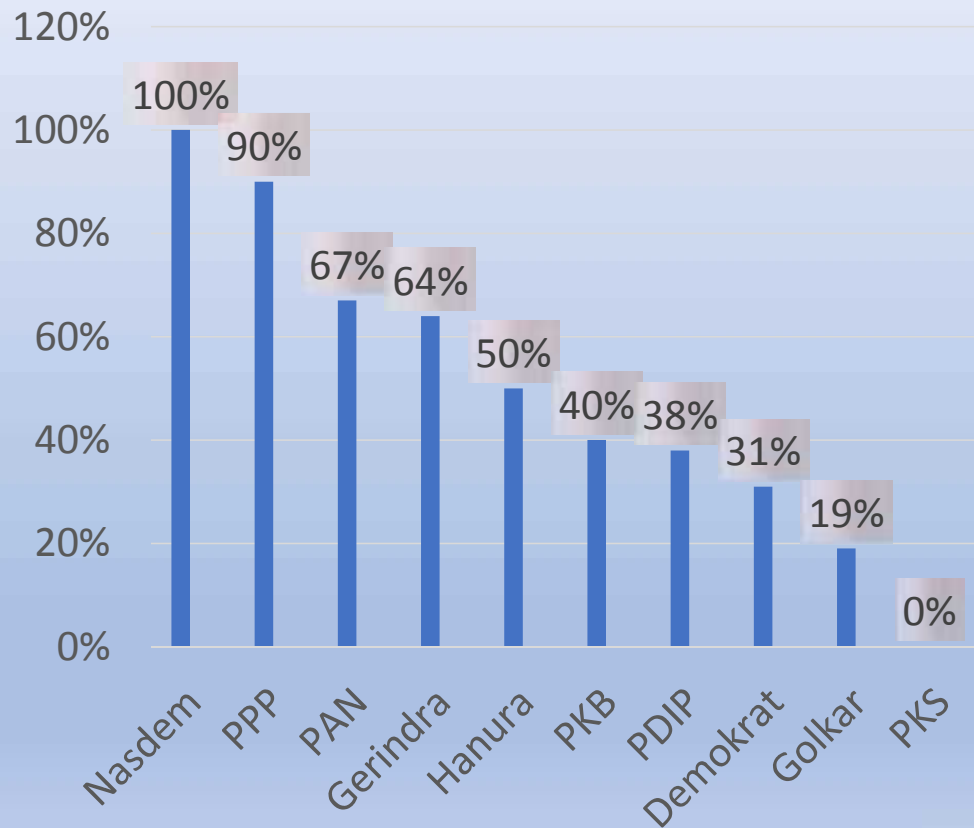


# What Contributes to Women Getting Elected based on the 2009 & 2014 Election Results?

- Data of 2014 and 2009 election results consistently show that most elected candidates were nominated on top of the list (number 1). There were 46 out of 97 (47%) elected women in 2014 placed on top of the party list.



# Distribution of Elected Women Candidates and Their Nomination on Top of the Party List in 2014 Election



| No. | Political Party | Number of Seats Won by Women | Numbers of Women Placed on Top of Party List |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1   | PDI-P           | 21                           | 8                                            |
| 2   | Golkar          | 16                           | 3                                            |
| 3   | Gerindra        | 11                           | 7                                            |
| 4   | Demokrat        | 13                           | 4                                            |
| 5   | PKB             | 10                           | 4                                            |
| 6   | PAN             | 9                            | 6                                            |
| 7   | PKS             | 1                            | 0                                            |
| 8   | Nasdem          | 4                            | 4                                            |
| 9   | PPP             | 10                           | 9                                            |
| 10  | Hanura          | 2                            | 1                                            |
|     | <b>Total</b>    | <b>97</b>                    | <b>47%</b>                                   |





# The Paradoxes

- Affirmative policy in politics significantly **increased the number** of women elected to the legislative seats, but political party structure treated the policies as a **mere administrative** aspect of the political laws.
- Instead of being used as legal instrument to empower women's representation, **affirmative policy has been hijacked** by political parties to serve oligarchy politics.
- After being elected, women members of DPR received **very little support from parties**, e.g. women members find it hard to get into strategic positions within the working bodies in the parliament such as head of commissions, and being assigned in commissions working on “traditional issues” such as welfare and health.
- Women candidates become **pragmatic**; mostly concerned about winning seats rather than understanding the importance of women's political representation.



# Recommendations

- Promoting **internal democracy** within political parties by ensuring transparent recruitment and declaring selection criteria used in the nomination process.
- Endorsing political parties to adopt **internal affirmative policy** by implementing various strategies to increase women's proportion and opportunity in election, i.e. assigning women to "winnable" electoral districts & all-women candidates selection.
- Understanding the **structural problems within the process of recruitment and selection** of women candidates: the importance of investigating the selection criteria applied by political parties in recruiting and nominating women candidates in legislative election
- Women who are members of national party structures have better chance to be nominated higher in the candidates list for election, which shows the importance of mandating the involvement of women in party structure as stipulated in the Political Party Law. Placing women on **higher position in the party list** would then increase their opportunity to get elected.
- Urge **the KPU to issue a decree** requiring parties to implement the mandatory 30% women candidacy and their placement in each electoral district.



THANK YOU

