

Comparison of Female Legislative Candidate Selection Between the Nasdem Party in 2013 and the Unidos Podemos Party in 2015

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Abstract — The selection of candidates is the initial phase for women to be able to participate actively in politics and to sit in a party or even the parliament. This research analyzes and compares the selection of women candidates between the Spanish political party Unidos Podemos and the Indonesian political party Nasdem. The research uses the theory by Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat, which discuss the selection of candidates by the four aspects of Candidacy, Selectorate, Voting/Appointment System, and Method. By using these aspects, this research is expected to be able to classify characteristics of female candidate recruitment and selection, as well as the barriers of women in joining political parties and the parliament. This research is also expected to provide the right strategy for women to be able to sit in parliament.

Keywords: *The selection of female legislative members, Unidos Podemos party, Nasdem party.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Considering the side of feminism, female representation in parliament becomes important. This is because women believe that female representation will be a bridge for female interests. Women believe that men will not be able to accommodate female demands, but women will. This results from the belief that men and women have diverse perspectives and interests. Even though basic political rights for women exist, the right to vote and to join an election is not equally balanced with the right to be voted. The number of women is lower than the number of men in a parliament. Based on the Inter-Parliament Union, there are only three countries that have had more women than men in a parliament: Rwanda, Cuba, and Bolivia. With a 30% quota for women, only 47 of 191 countries have fulfilled this figure. (IPU: 2019)

To increase female representation in the parliament, there is a method called affirmative action. Affirmative action is a way to increase the number of women in parliament. One kind of affirmative policy is the implementation of a 30% quota for women. This method is believed to succeed in that with a minimum figure, women will at least be able to be represented in parliament.

Indonesia is a country that has used an affirmative action policy to increase female representation in parliament since 2002. However, the figure of 30% women has not been able to be achieved. Female representation in the Indonesian parliament was 11.3%, 17.86%, and 17.32% in 2004, 2019, and 2014, respectively. On the other hand, the 2016 Spanish

election had a different case to the Indonesian election. Having used affirmative action since 2004 (Verge, 2012: 402), Spain succeeded in achieving 39.7% women in parliament, or 139 out of 350 legislative members. The result is that Spain ranked in the top 13 of countries with the highest number of women in parliament. (IPU: 2019)

Based on these data, the research takes the research objects of political parties that exist in two countries: Unidos Podemos of Spain and Nasdem of Indonesia. For the research, it is believed that political parties have the primary role in increasing female representation in parliament. It is assumed that the selection of female candidates at a Spanish political party will serve as a perfect comparative example for an Indonesian political party in order to increase female representatives in the Indonesian parliament.

Nasdem is the party with the fewest female candidates in parliament. Nasdem only had four female candidates: Irma Suryani, Amelia Anggraini, Tri Murni, and Yayuk Sri Rahayuningtyas. Although it did not achieve the figure of 30% female representation, the Nasdem party complied with the legal policy of having at least 30% women running as legislative candidates. Further, the Nasdem party was the party with the greatest number of female candidates running in the election, with 40.4% (PUSKAPOL FISIP UI, 2014: 13). In addition, the Nasdem party also had the second-highest number of votes for female representatives after the PPP party, with 19.74%. In contrast to the Nasdem party, Unidos Podemos of Spain successfully contributed 33 female legislative candidates out of 65 to run for parliament. This means that the party had more female legislative candidates (50.8%) than male ones.

This research compares the recruitment and selection mechanisms for legislative candidates between the Nasdem party of Indonesia and the Unidos Podemos party of Spain. There are two methods that can be used: the Most Similar System Design (MSSD) and the Most Different System Design (MDSD). The Most Similar System Design (MSSD) discusses similarities in certain phenomena or research objects that lead to different outcomes. In contrast, the Most Different System Design discusses differences in certain phenomena or research objects that lead to similar outcomes. This research used the

Most Similar System Design (MSSD) method. (Landman, 2008: 4) By using MSSD, the research pays attention to similar variables of both political parties in both countries. The following table presents the similar variables for this research:

Variables	Indonesia - Nasdem	Spain - Unidos Podemos
Election System	Proportional	Proportional
Affirmative Action	Legislation Quota	Legislation Quota
Participation(s) in Election	1	1
Legislative Members in Parliament	35 members (6.3%)	65 members (18.5%)
Female Legislative Members	4 members (12%)	33 members (50.8%)

Table 1. Comparison of Variables between the Nasdem Party in Indonesia and the Unidos Podemos Party in Spain
Source: Author

Looking at the data above, it can be concluded that the Unidos Podemos party of Spain and the Nasdem party of Indonesia have some correspondences. They were both similarly new parties but had different representations of women in parliament. Nasdem had a minority of women with only 12% of women from all legislative members, while Unidos Podemos had 50.8% of female legislators. Nasdem became the party with the second-lowest representation of women in its first election in 2014, although it had the greatest number of female legislative candidates among the political parties that participated in the election in Indonesia. Whereas, Unidos Podemos in its first election contributed more women than men in Parliament and became the only political party in Spain that had more women represented in parliament than men. With these considerations, it becomes important to examine the selection of legislative candidates in both parties in order to obtain the answer and explanation as to why they had different female representation in parliament.

This research compares the candidate recruitment and selection processes in the two aforementioned parties. By comparing the selection of legislative candidates in both

political parties, this will highlight differences in the characteristics of legislative candidates of both political parties, which can then be classified. After being classified, different strategies of female legislative candidates in both parties can be highlighted. By using the right strategy, the opportunity for female candidates to be able to sit in parliament will increase and women's representation in parliament will also increase.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research used the qualitative research method. A research that uses the qualitative method is a research that interprets data by giving meaning to the obtained data. According to Neumann, qualitative research involves theory and data. Data and theory make up a unity in that the obtained data from literature is inverted and given qualities, and the problem is illustrated by facts and arranged in a composition (Neumann, 2014:13)

In addition, this study used primary and secondary data collection techniques. Primary data was obtained by interviewing several political party leaders of Nasdem and Podemos. Secondary data was obtained in the form of literature regarding the composition of women recruited by the Unidos Podemos party and the Nasdem Party. The literature was obtained from print media, online media, journals, other studies, or websites of international organizations. After the data was obtained, the data was then processed and analyzed for the comparison of the Indonesian and Spanish political parties.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political party recruitment becomes the main function of a political party in order to function as a connector between society and the state inside the political representation structure. Through political recruitment, a political party is able to assist society by representation in government in the legislative or even executive branches (Anggraeni, 2018: 3). Moreover, Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat also explained that recruitment and candidate selection could show the performance of a political party in an election, particularly for female representation in parliament.

Next, Hazan also stated that the candidate selection method is the mechanism of a political party to pick its candidates for running in a national election. The results of this selection are images of candidates, or a list of candidates, as representatives of the party. The political party then makes strong commitments with the candidates and allows access to mobilization by the party for the chosen candidates (Hazan, 2010: 4).

Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat explain that there are four dimensions of candidate selection conducted by a political party. The first of these is candidacy. Candidacy concerns individuals who are allowed to be named and declared as candidates. Candidacy can be inclusive or exclusive. Inclusive means every citizen has the right to join the candidate selection process, while exclusive means there are some conditional situations that limit the participation of people in the selection (Hazan, 2010: 20).

The second is the selectorate, which concerns the responsible selection of candidates. There are five ways that candidates are selected by a political party, which also involve

inclusivity or exclusivity. The first of the five ways of the candidate selection process is selection by voters. In this phase, selection involves all people who have eligibility to vote in an election. In the second way, selection involves all members of a political party. The third way involves selection by party delegations. The fourth way involves selection by party officials. The fifth way is selection by one person, the leader of the political party (Hazan, 2010: 35).

The third is the voting or appointment system, which concerns the nomination of a candidate in a political party. This is differentiated into voting and direct nomination. In voting, votes are collected to decide the candidate to be nominated. In contrast, the candidate could also be nominated directly without a voting procedure. (Hazan, 2017: 71)

The fourth dimension is the candidate selection method, which concerns the collection of votes in the candidate selection process. This dimension is differentiated into centralization and decentralization. With centralization, votes are collected at the central, national, or the highest level. With decentralization, votes are collected at the local or regional level. (Hazan, 2010: 57)

IV. RESEARCH RESULTS

A. Candidate Selection in the Nasdem Party

The initial recruitment process and legislative candidate selection for the Nasdem party was opened internally. All party members and officers were allowed to register themselves as legislative candidates from the party by filling a form that could be taken from the Central (DPP), Regional (DPW), Provincial (DPD), or Local (DPC) Representative Offices. As well, the public were also allowed to register as legislative candidates from the party, also by filling a form from the DPP, DPW, DPD, or DPC, or even at the official web site of the Nasdem party. Moreover, in order to increase the electability of legislative candidates from the Nasdem party, Ferry Mursidan Baldan as the Chief of the Election Victory Agency (Bapilu) of the DPP of the Nasdem party said that he tried to look for people with good social power. This means that he searched for competent and eligible people to become legislative candidates for the Nasdem party.

After collecting names for legislative candidates, the party conducted an internal survey in many cities to decide the legislative candidates for the Nasdem party. Legislative candidates with good survey results would become top priority. Next, the BAPILU along with the DPP of Nasdem party announced the list of legislative candidates and issued a notice from the DPP of the Nasdem party. At this point, the legislative candidates became official.

This selection process for legislative candidates can be analyzed using the candidate selection theory of Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat. For the first dimension of candidacy, the selection by the Nasdem party is categorized as inclusive. This is because no specific criteria exists to become a legislative candidate for the Nasdem party, not even having to be registered as a member of the Nasdem party. Moreover, Ferry Mursidan Baldan, acting as the chief of the Nasdem party, encouraged non-party member individuals to gain more votes. For female members, Ferry Mursidan Baldan said that there were no difficulties to select female candidates. As proof, the temporary list of candidates for the Nasdem party had a high percentage of female candidates (40.4%).

For the second dimension of the selectorate, legislative candidates for the Nasdem party were chosen. After the first process, a notice was issued by the DPP of the Nasdem party; this notice, which contained the temporary list of candidates for the Nasdem party, was signed by the chief and the general secretary of the party. For this dimension, it can be seen that the selectorate for the Nasdem party is classified as exclusive, particularly with selection by the party elite. This is because Ferry Mursidan Baldan acted as the executive, being the leader of Bapilu, together with the DPP elite; the notice was also signed by the chief and general secretary.

For the third dimension of voting or appointment system, although the Nasdem party had an internal survey to decide who would be prioritized as the first candidate of regional elections, decisions from the Bapilu and DPP of the Nasdem party still determined it. This means that the internal survey is merely a recommendation. Thus, for this dimension, the Nasdem party is categorized to have an appointment (nomination) system. For female legislative candidates, with the existence of the internal survey, candidates who possessed better electability would be able to be positioned strategically in regional elections, at the top of a list. As an example, Amalia Anggraeni, a member of the Women's Guard of the Nasdem party, obtained the number one position for the Central Java Electoral District VII due to her leading position in the internal survey.

For the fourth dimension of candidate selection method, wherein decisions are made for the candidate selection process, the decisions were made by party elites at the central level. The conclusion is that the selection is centralized because the decision was made by the central Bapilu and DPP of the Nasdem party. Local elites of the DPW, DPD, and DPC were not involved in the candidate selection process by the central level for the national parliament.

B. Candidate Selection in the Unidos Podemos Party

The first step in the candidate selection process for the Unidos Podemos party was opening the registration for legislative candidates. The main requirement of selection was being a Spanish citizen. Thus, the selection was not limited to party members only. There were also additional requirements, being that candidates had to be at least 18 years old and had to have a recommendation letter from *circulos*, the local organization of the Unidos Podemos party. The list of candidates was then collected by the selection institution, which is known as the Citizen Council. The Citizen Council consists of 62 people who were elected by the Citizen Assembly, the council of party leaders (Mikola, 2017: 43-44).

The selection process of the Unidos Podemos party uses a voting system. This means voters would decide the candidate who would be at the top of the list of candidates at an electoral district. Unidos Podemos opens registration for legislative candidates for all citizens. All citizens who are 16 years of age or older are eligible to participate in this selection. All voters register themselves at *circulos*, the local organization of Unidos Podemos. After registration, the registered voters became an indirect member of the party (Secretaria De Organization y Program Podemos: 5-9).

In 2015, there were approximately 33,000 citizens who participated in the internal selection of legislative candidates for the Unidos Podemos party. Specifically for Catalonia, Valencia, and Galicia, the selection process was conducted differently because Unidos Podemos cooperated with local parties. The local parties were En Comu in Catalonia, Compromis in Valencia, and En Marea in Galicia (Mikola, 2017: 44).

The election system used Single Transferable Vote (STV), allowing voters to vote for more than one candidate by noting their priorities. The election was held for 7 days. Using the election results, the leading candidate with the most votes was put at the top of the list and had the right to be voted in the regional election. However, Unidos Podemos party applied a quota policy for women called the “zipper system”, wherein men and women were mixed in the list and the quota followed this. As an example, if the first candidate was male, the second was female, and vice versa (Secretaria De Organization y Program Podemos: 5-9).

Analysis of the legislative candidate selection process follows the candidate selection theory by Reuven Hazan and Gideon Rahat. For the first dimension of candidacy, considering its process, it can be said that the candidacy process is inclusive. This is because there are no specific requirements to be a legislative candidate, as long as the candidates received recommendation or support from the local organization of the Unidos Podemos party. For the selection of women, there were no different requirements between men and women. All women were allowed to register themselves.

For the second dimension of the selectorate, the selectors who decided the legislative candidates of the Unidos Podemos party were all citizens, even though they would be party members. Therefore, it can be said that the selectorate was partially inclusive. For voters, there was no different treatment of women. Everyone deserved to participate, whether men or women.

For the third dimension of the voting or appointment system, it can be seen clearly that Unidos Podemos used a voting system. This means that legislative candidates were not directly nominated. Yet there were some names that would be put in the list without facing the voting mechanism due to being non-members of the Unidos Podemos party and a part of the (regional) parties of IU, En Marea, Compromis, and En Commu.

For the fourth dimension of candidate selection methods, involving the mechanism of making decisions for the candidate selection process, decisions were made by party officials or the Citizen Council, even if the voting was for local or regional elections.

C. Comparison of the Selection of Female Legislative Candidates Between the Nasdem Party and the Unidos Podemos Party

Based on the aforementioned explanation, there are two differences that can be discussed from the recruitment process of both parties, in the dimensions of the selectorate and voting

or appointment system. For the Nasdem party, the gatekeepers played a main role because the applied system was the appointment system. In addition, the selectorate of Nasdem party was exclusive, meaning the power was with party leaders. This is different from the Unidos Podemos party, for which the implemented system was voting. Thus, party leaders merely became the selection committee, and the results were on votes by voters.

The difference in both dimensions present unique challenges for female legislative candidates in the selection and recruitment of legislative candidates. For the Nasdem party, a close relationship with party leaders played a significant role in running as a candidate at the foremost position and best election area. This is due to the decision by the party leaders of the Nasdem party. For the Unidos Podemos party, the challenge for female legislative candidates was the amount of supporters or social capability to gain more votes in the internal election. If a woman is able to get more votes, her chance to sit in parliament will increase. This is because she can choose her election area and be of better priority.

For candidacy and the candidate selection method, both the Nasdem and Unidos Podemos parties have similarities. The candidacy was inclusive, meaning that everyone, not just party members, can register. For the candidate selection method, both the Nasdem and Unidos Podemos parties make selections centrally and nationally. Both parties had inclusion policies, being a 30% quota for female candidates (Nasdem) and the zipper system to mix female and male candidates (Unidos Podemos).

Candidate Selection Dimensions	Nasdem Party	Unidos Podemos Party
Candidacy	Inclusive	Inclusive
Electorate	Exclusive - Party Leaders	Inclusive – Voters
Voting or Appointment System	Appointment System	Voting System
Selection Method	Centralization - National	Centralization - National

Figure 2. Comparison of Legislative Candidate Selection between the Nasdem Party and the Unidos Podemos Party
Source: Author

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion of the research is that the internal democracy level of the Unidos Podemos party of Spain is

greater than the Nasdem party of Indonesia. This can be seen from the selectorate and the voting or appointment system used by the parties. For the Unidos Podemos party, the applied system was voting. Thus, party leaders only became a committee for candidate selection, and voters make the selection. Because of the voting system and the inclusive selectorate, it can be concluded that the Unidos Podemos party is more democratic than Nasdem party.

This is different from the Nasdem party of Indonesia. The role that gatekeepers play for the Nasdem party is crucial. This is because candidate nominations rely on the party leaders (the gatekeepers) themselves. This is because the Nasdem party selectorate is exclusive, or through the party leaders. In addition, the Nasdem party uses the appointment system, which means the leaders or gatekeepers decide the placement of candidates.

Looking at the differences in these two dimensions, it can be said that both parties have different candidate selection processes. For this reason, the problems and strategies of female legislative candidates are different for both. The problem faced by female Nasdem party candidates is that the network of Nasdem party elites, by whom female Nasdem party candidates can be placed in strategic electoral districts instead of being placed in electoral districts where they are less likely to win or just to fulfill the quota policy of 30% women. As for Unidos Podemos, the initial problem is how to obtain a large voter base to win the internal party election. This is because by winning the internal election, female candidates can determine which electoral district is suitable for themselves so that the opportunity to be elected for parliament increases.

For candidacy and selection method, there are no differences between the Unidos Podemos and Nasdem parties. Both of these parties allow all citizens to run freely as legislative candidates for both parties. Thus, both parties are considered inclusive. In addition, the two parties also have similarities for the selection method. The names of legislative candidates are selected at the central level, and after the selection process is complete, they are distributed to electoral districts.

The implication of the theory used to analyze the comparison of Nasdem and Unidos Podemos is that the challenges and characteristics of the two parties are different. The recommendation of this study is that it is important for

women to enter a political party to find out the characteristics of candidate recruitment and selection by that political party. By knowing the characteristics of candidate recruitment and selection of political parties, women can prepare the right strategy to be positioned in a strategic electoral district so that the opportunity to be able to be voted into and enter parliament also increases.

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