

# Political Parties and the Indonesian Policy of Women Political Representation

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**Abstract-**This study discusses about implementation of policy focussing on dynamics of its targetted groups. It adopts the case of the implementation of women representation policy. Studies of policy implementation mostly see any formal implementer as the vocal point of the policy target groups, which are generally assumed to be a passive actor that has no interest. The general propositions seem to be questionable. We argue that by playing at two different arenas, the objects of the policy not only act as intermediary actors which merely want to accomplish policy target, but also being actors which have full political interests.

**Keywords-**Political parties, women representation policy  
**Introduction.**

## I. INTRODUCTION

There are many researches discuss about policy implementation, particularly those that specifically investigate actors which play important role in any policy implementation. [1], [2], for examples, argue that political party is the actor of the implementation of women representation policy. However, their arguments are not always the case and as will be further elaborated below, arguably, the Indonesia phenomenon, at least in this micro study, shows a different picture. By using administrative approach, it is known that women representation policy implemented by the actor who has authority as the organizer of general election, namely The General Election Commission (KPU). On the other hand, political party becomes the target group of policy. In this paper, the writer focusses on administrative aspects of women representation in politics in the district level, especially Jember district, East Java-Indonesia. The focus of the study is on the question of the role of political parties as the target group which implementing the women representation policy. Furthermore, this project applies qualitative method in which data were collected mostly from interview with selected sources involved. The aim of this research to find aspects of women representation in politics in the district level, especially Jember district, East Java-Indonesia.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses descriptive analysis method and qualitative approach, the writer focusses on administrative aspects of women representation in politics in the district

level, especially Jember district, East Java-Indonesia. The focus of the study is on the question of the role of political parties as the target group which implementing the women representation policy.

## III. RESULT FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Dealing with the issue of women political representation, in Indonesia, there has been a national regulation. The national policy has offically been adopted and formally has been written at Paragraph number 58 Clause (1) of general election constitution number 8/2012, saying that:

*The General Election Commision (KPU) does the verification toward the completeness and correctness of documents of administration requirement for the candidate of House of Representative (DPR) and also verify toward the fulfill of minimum 30% (thirty percents) of women representation.*

Meanwhile, its implementation involves both process as well as actors. In the process of implementation, normatively, the implementation actor who has authority to implement women representation policy is The General Election Commission (KPU). Embarking from [3], The General Election Commision (KPU) can be analog with *formal actor that are guided by the mandates legitimized by the policy makers*. But different from [3] opinion, the action of the General Election Commission (KPU), as the formal actor in the 2014 General Election, was regulated by The Constitution of General Election Number 8/2012. Although the KPU's decides to regulate The General Election Commision Regulation/PKPU Number 7/2013 the authority of The General Election Commision remains administrative.

At the level of implementation, there are also an interesting finding questioning what [3] argue about the "policy consumers" as the intermediry actors in the process of implementation that maybe changed to be implementer [3]. However, according to the finding of this research, although the target group also has role as the intermediary actors, the role and function are not changed to continually being implementer.

Another interesting finding is related to the character of relationship between the General Election Commission (KPU) and political parties. In this research, the arena that is built between the General Election Commission (KPU) and political parties run administratively, but on the other hand between political parties and women tend to be political. This is because political party has interest not only to fulfill administrative requirement as the participant of General Election, but also to win the general election. It can therefore be argued that political parties, although as the intermediary actors, they also oriented to get political power which is design to occupy position in legislature. However, in the open list proportional general election system constituents choose candidate directly. Therefore, political parties attempt make sure that women should be elected.

In the 2014 general election, twelve (12) national political parties as the participants and being the intermediary actors perform their functions in realizing the policy objectives. All of the political parties successfully reach the target of 30% of women representation. But only seven political parties got the position for women. They are: Nasional Demokrat Party, Demokrat Party, Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party, Hati Nurani Rakyat Party, Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, and Amanat Nasional Party. The data in Table 1 below explains that in all district areas, there are women who occupied the position. The biggest achievement of women candidate were in the VI electoral district of Jember VI in which it is obtained by Winti Isnaini (Nasional Demokrat Party), Indriyani ( Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party) and Suharyatik (Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party). District area provides challenges for women who had been recruited by political parties. Political parties have political strategy in placing women as being candidate, There are women who deliberately placed in district area of their residence. This political strategy got results as what expected before. The recapitulation data of distribution of positions in each district area as follows this Table 1.

Table 1. The Composition of Elected Women based on Distric Area in Jember

Electoral District	Number of positions to be occupied	Number of women occupied position	%	Number of men occupie d position	%
Jember I	9	2	22,22	7	77,77
Jember II	6	1	16,66	5	83,33
Jember III	9	2	22,22	7	77,77
Jember IV	10	1	10	9	90
Jember V	7	1	14,28	6	85,71
Jember VI	9	3	33,33	6	66,66

Women who competed in the electoral district which is also to be their own resident are likely to be easier for them

to win rather than the candidate who comes from other district area. The following description comes from an informant:

*"In general election of 2009, I placed in electoral district I where there is no one knows me. In the 2014 election, I asked party officials to be placed in distric area near my residence, where I have many acquaintances. Therefore, I can utilize my acquaintances for winning the election."* (Interview, July 5<sup>th</sup> 2015)

Women legislative candidates who come from the district area of their residence tend to be easier to be known by their constituents, so this enables them to develop political social networkings with electorates. This condition surely makes easier for them to get electoral support. Even for incumbent women legislative candidates who are placed in the district area where they won before, it will also give them political advantages. An informant said as follows

*"I purposely asked to be placed in the district area where I won the 2009 election. This was the period that I was working on. Since Indonesia use the open list proportional general election system, parties are not important again. People will choose the candidates not political parties. That is why, peoples vote me even though I turned into another party, that is Amanat Nasional Party".* (Interview, November, 10<sup>th</sup> 2016).

If we are looking at general trend, besides such above strategy adopted by every single woman candidate; there are some specific conditions or contexts that seem more politically beneficial for female legislative candidates to be elected rather than the male ones . From the ten elected legislative women, their conditions and contexts can be summarized as follows: (1) the majority of them - came from the electoral district of their own residence. For women legislative candidates, the district area of their residence is not an unfamiliar place. They already know the people and the existing culture. Therefore, they were able to develop a meaningful social political networking relation. This is a form of resistance of women legislative candidate toward the existing male-dominated culture. (2) Women legisltive candidates (incumbent) who came from the same electoral district area as previously tend to be re-elected because people have already known the capacity of them. (3) Women legislative candidates, though being new comers, they got two term candidacy – in the same district, so it is easier to get the people's political support. (4) Although women legislative candidates, being a new comers, they can be elected if they gain support from the local community leaders.

Although it is hard to exactly judge how significant the above conditions and contexts in determining the women candidates' winning, it can be said that the conditions and contexts, perhaps, at any rate had enabled them to manipulate for their own political benefits. Having such strong political nuance, as will be discussed below, it is hard for any process of policy implementation to be politically sterile.

The role of the target groups which [3] said as the policy consumer or the intermediary actors in the process of

implementation of the policy merely aims to achieve the policy targets. When the target is reached, the role of the target groups turned into implementers. However, from various interviews conducted with women legislative candidates in the Jember district, it can be argued that Nakamura and Smallwood's argument was hardly to happen. What we found is that, although the target groups acts as the intermediary actors and managed to achieve the policy output, the role of political parties did not turn out to be implementers. Constitution of General Election No. 8/2012, Constitution of Political Parties No. 2/2011 and KPU Regulation No. 7 / 2013 has limited the role of political parties as an intermediary actors as well participants of the general election. In addition the political parties have orientation to be the winner.

The above two dissimilar roles in turn created, two different arenas with different characters, those are administrative and political arenas. Administrative arena was shaped when political parties interacting with the General Election Commission (KPU) in order to fulfill the obligation to have at least 30 percent of women legislative candidates. In fact the political parties should prepare 17 documents that must be verified by the implementers (The General Election Commission/KPU) in administrative and factual verification mechanism.

In the mean time, when the political when the political arena is opened, the political parties try to achieve their policy targets. At the same time they want to win the election. Therefore political parties will select women whose a high electability, set the number and placed them in strategic district area. In this political arena, the policy implementation process which is done by political party is like a game [4]. Based on the explanation, the game will be ended with women's legislative chairs.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

From the elaboration above, some concluding remarks can be suggested here. First, this study proves that the process of policy implementation of women representation took place in two arenas, namely administrative and political arena. Administrative took place in relations between political parties which become the target group of policy with the implementer, that was the KPU. Meanwhile, political arena emerged when the political parties do its function as the electoral participants. This brought implications during the

recruitment process of female legislature candidates. In this respect, the political party is not merely embody the policy targets but it wants recruited candidates to win and get position in legislative. Therefore, political parties also give the candidates a strategy to win the general election, place them in certain electoral district as well as certain number that is predicted to be winners. This phenomenon is different from the concept of consumer policy proposed. In which political parties and "policy consumer" have the same position as intermediary actors in order to achieve policy objectives. Thus, the "policy consumer" in pursuing the policy targets could turn into implementer role, but the role of political parties are unchanged. The role of political parties, normatively, limited by the Constitution of Political Parties No. 2/2011 and the Constitution of General Election No. 8/2012, and also PKPU No.7/2013. However, at the empirical level, as being an intermediary actors who participated in the general elections, political parties also had political interests. Because of this interest, every single political party tended to be politically active such as by conducting political creativity in achieving policy targets rather than *being* "policy consumer".

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