

Recruitment of Women Legislative Candidates: Case Study in Political Parties in Bandung in 2018

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Abstract: Women's role and position in politic still has little significant transformation since values and culture of patriarchy (a value whom emphasize more on male's advantage) remains dominant in society. Political activity often being depicted as dirty, dangerous yet full of anarchy without any advantages at all for society. Generally, it depicts the conditions in several Asian countries, except in Taiwan and South Korea which has increased amount of woman legislative member from election to election. Even though in current condition, Indonesian society has positioned political matters in line with economic advantages, thanks to high rate of corruption among officials and politicians. It still possessed negative impact in society since money-politics brings too many people get jailed by Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). These conditions are assumed as triggering factor on woman's declining participation rate in 2014's Legislative Election in Bandung whom only leaving 3 candidates remains. By applied qualitative – descriptive approach and research instrument through Focus Group Discussion, it has been concluded that the declining rate of woman legislative candidates lied on internal political parties' recruitment process do not positioned women as it should be. Money politics and local elite's authority in regional level still dominated the recruitment process. Local Elite's also purposely put woman legislative candidates in almost-final number, whom isolated women role only a mere "candidate" in legislative elections. Surely, policy from Central or Local Government should be improved in order to increase women's capacity in politic especially in Legislative candidate at Bandung.

1 INTRODUCTION

The change of political life marked by the strengthening of democracy in Asian countries, did not affect the change of political life in women, especially the representation of women in the legislature. This is confirmed by Iwanaga (2008, p.1) by saying that:

“Women as a group have consolidated enormous voting power in recent years, but have been simultaneously disenfranchised with regard to political representation. This begs the question of why women are grossly under-represented at all levels of government in Asia in an era when democracy as a system of government has been spreading worldwide.”

Furthermore Iwanaga (2008) also states that women in Asia receive the right to vote and be elected sooner than women in industrialized countries that have been democratic first. When most of the countries in Europe and the United States involved women in politics in the early years of the First World War, only three countries in Asia included women in

politics at the start of the Second World War. Sri Lanka was the first country in Asia that allowed women to vote in 1931, followed later in 1932 and by Myanmar in 1935.

The gender gap in public life and politics is a global challenge that the global community continues to face in the 21st century. Indonesia's Gender Development Index (GDI) in 2015 is ranked 6th out of 8 ASEAN countries (UNDP, 2015) . This achievement of Indonesia is just above Laos and Cambodia. However, this figure is already slightly above the world average of 92.36. Compared to China, India and Japan, IPG Indonesia is still below Japan and China, but far above India. GDI measures human development, but takes into account gender differences. The GDI components are similar to those used in the Human Development Index (HDI), but are adjusted to see differences in achievements between women and men; three indicators were used including life expectancy, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment, as measured by a combination of reading ability among adults and the average number of years spent attending school; as

well as the standard of living, as measured by per capita expenditure. That women are still left in these areas indicates that there is still a way for women to be truly equal in Indonesian society.

Indonesia is committed to carrying out the principle of gender equality through various national and international commitments. The 1945 Constitution ensures equality between men and women, and gender mainstreaming has been adopted into a policy to integrate gender perspectives into policy, planning and budgeting. The affirmative action has also been introduced starting in 2003 through Law no. 12/2003 on General Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Regional Representative Council, and DPRD, in Law no. 10/2008 on General Elections to ensure that at least 30 per cent of women are nominated for legislative candidates to address the issue of gender inequality in politics in the country. Last is on the Election Law no. 7 of 2017 on General Election. Although women in Indonesia are actively contributing to the national economy and households through their productive and reproductive work, they are still excluded from the various structures and decision-making processes in the family, community and country level. The lack of representation of women in decision-making positions in the public sector has led to the development of economic and social policies that provide privileges to men's perspectives and interests, as well as investments in national resources taking into account benefits to men.

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Before this article discusses the conditions of female legislators in Bandung, the writer will describe in advance the conditions of female legislators in several countries in Asia namely China, Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea including Indonesia. China and Thailand have a resemblance to Indonesia, in these countries the democratic life that gives women women a wide opportunity in politics does not at all increase the number of female legislators. In contrast to South Korea and Taiwan,

these two countries have improved women legislative members from elections to elections.

2 METHODS

This research approach using qualitative approach or qualitative paradigm. Paradigm is defined as a way of thinking of the scientific community to understand the reality of the object under study (Satori and Komariah 2012). While the technique used is descriptive that included into the expost past research that the events studied have occurred so that the data can be traced back through interview guidelines and relevant documents (Gulo 2002).

The data source consists of primary and secondary data (Hasan 2002), the primary data in this study was obtained through focus group discussions (FGD) with political party and women organization officials in Bandung. For secondary data obtained from libraries, Statutes and Bylaws of political parties, and e-books derived mostly from the internet. FGDs were chosen because discussion participants could synergize and interact between individuals who would explicitly produce general data (Finch, et al 2014).

As the character of a more 'investigative' qualitative approach, sampling is more emphasized on the quality of the sample and not on the number (Salim 2006). The informants in this study were determined purposively (Yusuf 2016). The term purposive is still taken from quantitative terminology so that it is categorized as non probability sampling.

3 RESULT

According to Howell (2008), legislative women representatives in China is better comparing with another countries, since it reaches 20,2% in national legislative level (n=National People's Congress). Based on Howell, there are three factors which supported that conditions. First, not only are women under-represented in Party/government institutions at all levels, but the numerical representation of women has declined over the past two decades. Second, when women do make it into leadership positions, they usually occupy the deputy-positions. Third, women are usually assigned 'soft' portfolios such as education or health, or portfolios that reflect their gender, such as family planning and women's work. (2008, p.56).

In order to reach 20.2% is not easy since first the goverment and society strengtening cultural values

that emphasize the inferiority of woman, so they are not confident entering political role. But, in the end the government whom supported by party's wings organization, campaign to persuade women to be more confident.

Social beliefs, practices and processes of socialisation tend to reinforce gendered stereotypes, which position the biological sexes of male and female into distinct roles in society. Despite government intervention to promote notions of equality between men and women, deep-seated social beliefs about the inferiority of women and their 'proper place' in the home work against women taking a more active role in public life. These beliefs about the inferiority of women are shared both by men and women, and become reflected in women's sense of self-worth and self-confidence and in turn men's belief in their own innate superiority. The All-China Women's Federation has run numerous campaigns aimed at raising women's self-confidence and consciousness, such as the 'sizi yundong' [Four Selves] campaign. However social beliefs about the appropriate division of labour between men and women in the economy and within the household as well as the actual and desirable attributes of male and female genders continue to prevail and can affect negatively the prospects of women getting into positions of authority, whether by election or not, and their chances of promotion. (Howell, 2008, p.61).

Thus, in order to gain woman representation in local levels, the government issued regulation in 1988, 1998 and the Home Ministry also issued new regulation in 1999 to harmonize the amount of women legislators in local legislation, namely: "Suggestions for the Guarantee of a Proper Portion Among Members of Village Committees". Government intervention is necessary to ensure fair competition between men and women, besides to ensure women confident on politics (Howell 2008).

In contrast to Taiwan which has women's representation of more than 20% in national legislatures since the 2001 elections, the country uses the representation of quota women with a reserved seat system (Chiang 2008). It is the system that gives women the opportunity to gain seats in the National Legislative Yuan. Furthermore Chiang also pointed out that "The Additional Articles of the Constitution amended in April 2000 limits the total number of legislators and imposes a number of seats to be allotted to female representatives in the legislative election" (Chiang, 2008. P.89). For example, in the legislative election of 2004, there was not one female candidate out of the total 16 candidates who obtained a number of ballots higher than the male candidates

in Tainan County. As a result of the Electoral Law, of the eight seats elected into the legislature for this County, one female candidate named Yi-Jing Ye who earned the highest ballots among the female candidates in Tainan County obtained The reserved seat in her constituency. The final electoral result dismissed the eighth male electee despite the fact that he obtained more votes than Ye did. (Chiang, 2008, p. 90).

In South Korea, woman participation in legislative is no more than 13% of population, although government has issued regulation to increase it. The rules are: As an effort to improve the institutional environment for women's political National Assembly election in 2000 stipulated that 30 per cent of the nominations be reserved for female candidates for national constituency seats. In face of the 3rd local election held in 2002, Law Related Politics additionally encouraged a 50 per cent minimum of female candidates for national constituency seats and a 30 per cent minimum for local constituency seats in Broad District Assemblies. In the recent 17rd general election, the quota system succeeded. (Kim 2008, p. 139).

The increasing rate of women in the legislature, not separated from the character of South Korean voters who do not distinguish between women and men politicians, as long as politicians are good quality, it will be selected. In addition, 70% of female voters chose female candidates as well (Kim 2008). Elite political parties also play a role in nominating women as members of the legislature.

Conditions in Indonesia differ from those in South Korea, as Indonesia experienced a democratic vacuum since the 1955 elections. Indonesia started democracy back in the 1999 elections, but in the election it only put 9.6%. This figure is very small compared to the number of women legislatures during the New Order (Hilman 2017).

Indonesia then established a regulation on the quota system for women in the legislature through Law no. 12 Year 2003, then this regulation was applied in the 2004 election which resulted only increase the number of female legislators at the national level by 11.1%. The following table shows the percentage of female legislators from the 1999 election to the 2014 election.

Table 1: Seats Won by Men and Women in Indonesia's National Parliament 1999-2004

Election	Total Seats	% Men	% Women
2014	560	82.68	17.32
2009	550	82.14	17.86
2004	550	88.9	11.1
1999	500	90.4	9.6

www.kpu.go.id in Hilman (2017: 41)

Based on the tabel, it can be concluded that the amount of quota for woman is still far from 30%. The decreasing of women quota procentage is also happen in Bandung Cuty Council (DPRD Kota Bandung). In 2009 election, member of Bandung City Council was 9 people, and in 2014 was 3 people.

4 DISCUSSION

Hilman (2017) stated that generally there are three types of gender quota, i.e.; reserved seat, voluntary party quotas dan legal candidate quotas. Under a reserved seats system, a minimum number of parliamentary seats are reserved for women representatives. Voluntary party quotas are political party commitments to increase the number of their women candidates. Legal candidate quotas or 'legislative quotas' as they are sometimes known, require political parties to field a minimum number of candidates (typically between 20 and 40 per cent) in order to be eligible to contest elections. (Hilman 2017, p . 38).

Legal candidates quotas system is widely used by countries today including Indonesia since this system is argued more democratic which does not lay based upon gender but the candidates ability. Thus, countries that adopt this system usually have low female representation or women quota in legislative is very fluctuate.

Thus, it also happens in city of Bandung whose members of parliament numbered 9 people in the elections in 2009 declined sharply into 3 people in the 2014 election. The description below will see the factors of decreasing the representation of women in the city of Bandung viewed from the internal policy of political parties, women's recruitment system as a candidate members of parliament and the attitude of political parties in positioning women sebgai party political party.

4.1 Internal Party Policy

Political party policy can be seen from the vision of the mission listed in the Basic Charter and Bylaws (AR / ART), if the vision of the mission is very general then the political party's policy is seen in the AD / ART section only. So also in the analyst of this study, the researchers will see the vision of the mission of the political party leaders who made the informant in the FGD. Researchers take on several vision and mission passages that show women's involvement in political policy.

Can be seen from the vision of the mission of several political parties, not at all mentioned or no words that emphasize the importance of women in implementing the policy of political parties. Political parties only deliver women in prospective candidates only means that few choose women candidates. This is contradictory to the number of female voters in Bandung around 828,587 people, not much different from the male voters who numbered 830,221 people. This condition is not surprising because the legal candidate quota system used in legislative elections.

However, Hanura has advantages in responding to gender equality. This is evident from the party's mission, and its basic budget explicitly involving women in political education and recruitment. Hanura's vision does not mention gender equality, but Hanura in formal policy has responded to gender equality.

Hanura also provides the widest opportunity for women to take an active role in nation building. Equality is also seen in Hanura's Articles of Association in party functions, political education and recruitment as set forth in chapters 19 and 23. For details can be found in article 19, paragraph 5 on Party Functions which states: "a recruitment center for cadres in the process of filling political office through the mechanism of democracy by taking into account gender equality and fairness.

But it can not be denied, although political parties have a formal policy on political education for the community by taking into account gender equality, political education is not yet equitable and comprehensive. This also affects the people who are less aware of women's politics, the existence of patriarchal culture.

4.2 Woman Recruitment System

This section will emphasize the recruitment of women as candidates for DPRD members. Recruitment which is one of the functions of political parties, according to Ichlasul Amal is used in the

broadest sense possible to "demonstrate training and preparation for leadership: open to the public, the appearance of legislative bodies or other functions by party members, and of course competition the good is the election ". (1996: 28). When referring to this opinion, political parties in the city of Bandung in general only to take someone to become a candidate member of parliament, without preparing the cadre to compete in the election. But there are also political parties that provide training to candidates for their DPRD members.

However, this recruitment cannot be separated also from the element of "money politics", thus hampering women legislative candidates who have no money. The consideration for women to be a legislative candidate according to one of the cadres is "willingness and existence of fund (capable) will get strategic position".

There are several parties that have criteria for candidates for DPRD members. Perindo as the new party that will participate in legislative election 2019, has consideration in recruitment of legislative member that woman legislative must have potency to build party, have good social base / populist, and have power in society. While PBB as a non-parliamentary party has consideration in the recruitment is experienced and how long they had participated in politics and also their level of education. The consideration for PKB is to have ideology (religious, nationalist) and the presence of women in society.

Especially for the placement of the legislative candidate number, there are still subjective considerations such as the closeness of the cadre with the Party Chairman. However, there are also political parties who consider the serial number due to loyalty or through a series of tests, such as interviews and pretest on the insights of nationality and Pancasila. There are also parties that apply the policy on the serial number, e.g from 3 candidates should be women's thus, women made in number 3 as an option. Determination of party serial number already exist mechanism so that the determination of the serial number is based on the party leader's policy. Thus, the absence of a struggle is made, because it is all determined and submitted to the Party Chairman. If the legislative candidate accommodates the aspirations of the voters, the usual contents of the voters are usually economic difficulties such as school cost difficulties and hospital costs. There are also voters who convey the aspirations of domestic violence (KDRT).

4.3 Political Party Response

The attitude of political parties in positioning women as party officials of political parties, referring to the stewardship of women in political parties at the central level accommodated by Law no. 7 Year 2017 about the election, although some political parties have accommodated the management of women to the regional level even Rukun Tetangga. The Hanura Party is an example for that statement. Women as party administrators do not get a strategic position. Most are still administrators who are placed in divisions relating to women.

So also with Gerindra Party that has accommodated women in stewardship from the central level even to RT. In its AR ART it states that: "The number of Board of Directors of the Central Board of at least 90 (ninety) persons with regard to women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent)" (Article 7 paragraph 5). But in fact, there are only 12 people from a stewardship of at least 90. Thus, for central management, it does not reach 30%, in reality, the Gerindra Central Executive Board can only access about 13%.

There is a contradiction between the requirements of election participating parties according to Law no. 7 of 2017 on the election of article 173 paragraph 2 points e, with data in the KPU. If the requirement to participate in the election, a political party must include at least 30% (thirty percent) of the stewardship of the central political party, then in the KPU the data listed is 30% female representation of the number of members.

The lack of synchrony between what data should be contained in the KPU with the order of the law, indicates that election organizers find it difficult to ask political parties to comply with the law. It does not rule out the possibility of any political party looking for female administrators who can take care of the organization. On the other hand we must also take into account the internal barriers of women themselves, who consider politics a masculine world, so there is no motivation from women to be active in political parties.

5 CONCLUSION

The condition of women's representation in the legislature in some Asian countries is generally difficult to reach 30%, in how many countries the percentages fluctuate that tends to decline sharply, except Taiwan because it uses a system of reserved-seat quota. Although the government is trying to enact

legislation to increase women's representation in the legislative level, the percentage of women in the legislature declines compared to the New Order.

Viewed from the vision of the mission of political parties that reflect the internal policy, there is no mention or absence of words that emphasize the importance of women in implementing the policies of political parties. Political parties only deliver women in prospective candidates only means that few choose women candidates. The women's recruitment system is also characterized by money politics and close relationship with the Chairman of the Branch Leadership Council. The attitude of political parties in positioning women as party officials of political parties, when viewed from the policy is in accordance with the Election Law no. 7 Year 2017, but the fact remains difficult to place women as party officer.

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