

Evaluation of the Woman Representation in the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District

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Abstract

The Women Representation in the legislative in the 2014 election in Indonesia, nationally and in the region, both provincial and district / city decreased. This condition also occurs in Bojonegoro. The women representation is only 12%, below the national and East Java Province percentage of the woman representation. The situation is particularly ironic, when compared to the election in 2009, whereas the number of women voters increased and the quota system of 30% woman representation with increasingly the strict of Zipper System, as stipulated in regulation number 8 Year 2012, about the Election of DPR, DPD, DPRD, and PKPU. And the regulation number 7 Year 2013, about The nomination rules of DPR, Provincial and Regency / City DPRD, by considering affirmative action for woman representation. This evaluation needs to be conducted to determine the barriers of women in legislative elections and provide solutions to develop the woman representation significantly. Using exploratory and descriptive qualitative method, it is found that there are 522,246 female voters and 515,412 male voters, but only 408,115 (78.25 %) females and 372,539 (72.18 %) males use their voting rights. The absence of voters in the election in 2014 totals to 24.77%. The Recruitment system of majority candidates for legislative held in closed system. There were 535 (from 12 parties) fixed candidate, with 190 (35.51 %) female candidates as the woman representation and 345 (64.49 %) male candidates. The election results get 50 seats from 11 political parties, with 6 women (12 %) as member of legislative and the others 44 (88 %) were men. Evaluation results indicate that there is a majority of female candidates without a mass base, so they were unknown. Those who pass to parliament, they are cadres and have a loyal supporter from mass base. *This obstacle is a new finding.* Other obstacles are financial limitations and psychological obstacles, nominated only to meet the 30% quota rules and using closed system recruitment. As a result, the woman candidates was very minimal, only 12 % and it was insignificant. This study recommends increasing woman representation. It still needed to quota and increase the capacity of women through political education, leadership education and economic empowerment. In addition, recommend to the parties to use the open system in recruiting candidates for legislative members to obtain the qualified candidates..

Keywords: Evaluation; Quota of women representation; The woman capacity; Election.



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1. Introduction

The last legislative election in Indonesia was last held in 2014, as regulated in Law number 12 Year 2012 on General Election of Members of DPR, DPD and DPRD. The Elections Commission (KPU) also implements regulations for the 2014 election in the Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 Year 2013 on the rules of nominating DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency / City DPRD. This regulation is intended to the nomination of legislative members, drawn up in consideration of the affirmative action of women's representation. However, women's representation in Legislative in the 2014 election in Indonesia, both National and District / Province, has decreased. This condition also happened in Bojonegoro District, representation of woman only 12%, under National and East Java.

In the political world women's representation in parliament / legislative still faces many challenges, both internal and external. According to [Karam and Azza. \(1999\)](#) the issue of women's representation is a problem of all countries in the world. The problem is in the form of psychological, economic, political and media constraints. With these constraints, women's representation in Parliament is still low.

Similarly, the low representation of women in Indonesia is due more to the patriarchy culture in society and in political parties. The condition is reinforced by the results of research conducted by [Dewi and Ni \(2014\)](#) that women representation in DPRD period 2009 - 2014 in Bali is very low, that is only 4 (four) women. Besides the internal problems of women in economic factors and psycho-ideology also due to strong patriarchy culture that exist in the people of Bali and patriarchy culture of political leaders who are still halfhearted in delivering women to the legislative.

The 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District shows the number of 535 candidates, that submitted by 12 political parties participating in the election in Bojonegoro Regency with 190 woman candidates or 35.51 % and 345 men candidates or 64.49 %. Bojonegoro district election results in 50 seats, coming from 11 political parties, while 1 (one) political party does not get a seat. With the composition of women representation in the legislative, there are 6 women or 12% and 44 people or 88% men in legislative members. This condition is very interesting for evaluation of the existence of women in the legislative of Bojonegoro regency.

The evaluation of women's representatives in the 2014 Election need to be done in order to determine the cause of decrease in women's representation in the legislative of Bojonegoro Regency, which this condition occurs nationally and regionally. The results of this evaluation is expected to provide inputs to women who want to appear in politics, and to be an input to political parties as bearers of legislative candidates, and to KPU as the organizer of the election. It is hoped, in the next election in 2019, the representative of women in legislative in Bojonegoro district would have increased significantly.

2. Women's Representative Quota

The representation of women in the legislative in Indonesia does not reflect the gender equality in politics. Therefore it is necessary to increase women's representation, one of which is through women's quota of at least 30% in the nomination of legislative members proposed by political parties in the Election through affirmative action. The affirmative action defined as a strategic step to pursue progress in terms of equality and opportunity for certain groups, such as women or other minority groups that are under-represented in strategic positions in the community. Affirmative action emerged in the 2004 elections, regulated in Law number 12, 2003 on Election. The elected candidates were stipulated by the order of the serial number, so those with small serial numbers had the opportunity to qualify as legislators. While in 2004, the majority of women candidates were ranked in large numbers. Based on the 2004 election experience, the 2009 Election has stipulated that the political parties should implement the Zipper System, which includes at least one woman candidate among the three candidates in consecutive serial number. The provision is in Regulation Number 10 Year 2008 regarding The Election, Article 55 Paragraph (20) which states, that in the list of candidates as referred to in paragraph (1), among every 3 (three) prospective candidates shall be at least 1 (one) woman candidate. In paragraph (1) provides that the name of the candidate in the candidate list based on the serial number. But the implementation of the Zipper system also experienced obstacles, because not all political parties apply this system, because this provision does not set the sanctions for political parties that do not apply it. With the existence of PKPU No. 7 year 2013, the 30% quota for women is significant, because this regulation confirms the 30% quota of women in each electoral district and the order of placement of women candidate list with the system in each of three candidates should have one woman candidate. If this provision is not executed by a political party, then the strict sanction of all candidates from the political party in the election areas that do not meet the requirements of the representatives, shall be failed and unable to participate in the election.

From the provisions of PKPU rule No. 7 of 2013, 30% quota in the 2014 election in Bojonegoro regency followed by 12 political parties. All political parties place women candidates in each electoral district and the majority in the order of 3. From the list of candidates remain the number of candidates are 535, consists of 190 women (35.51%) and 345 men (64.49%). On the candidates list, the existence of women fulfilled the quota of 30%, because in this process there is still intervention from the government through the rules made against political parties, but when viewed from the election results of women representation in the legislative only 6 women (12%). At this stage, the existence of women is determined by the electorate, to overcome various obstacles so as to attract votes to vote for and how far the political takes side, as candidates are expected to be or just to meet the rules. This condition triggered to conduct evaluation of women representation in election 2014.

3. The 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District

The implementation of the 2014 election in Bojonegoro district runs according to the Regulation No. 12 Year 2012 on Election of Members of DPR, DPD and DPRD has four steps:

- a. The voter registration
- b. Fixed the legislative candidates
- c. The result of the election
- d. Determination of members of legislative

3.1. The Voter Registration

Table-1. Fixed Voters in Bojonegoro Regency Election 2014

No	District	Quantity		Registered Voters		
		Villages	Voting Place	Male (M)	Female (F)	M + F
1	NGRAHO	16	92	18068	18112	36376
2	TAMBAKREJO	18	113	21867	22285	44513
3	NGAMBON	5	26	4693	4728	9499
4	NGASEM	17	126	23580	23645	47225
5	BUBULAN	5	34	5930	6125	12055
6	DANDER	16	159	31394	32302	63696
7	SUGIHWARAS	17	112	18666	18745	37411
8	KEDUNGADEM	23	184	34175	34727	68902
9	KEPOHBARU	25	142	26620	26584	53204
10	BAURENO	25	163	31628	31420	63048
11	KANOR	25	127	23714	24066	47780
12	SUMBEREJO	26	174	27570	28380	55950

13	BALEN	23	127	25743	26272	52015
14	KAPAS	21	101	20125	20177	40302
15	BOJONEGORO	18	193	32306	34476	667782
16	KALITIDU	18	99	19697	18691	38388
17	MALO	20	70	12344	12628	24972
18	PURWOSARI	12	58	11704	12007	23711
19	PADANGAN	16	84	16633	16807	33440
20	KASIMAN	10	81	12234	12604	24838
21	TEMAYANG	12	92	14728	14856	29584
22	MARGOMULYO	6	61	8775	9182	17957
23	TRUCUK	12	75	15402	15263	30305
24	SUKOSEWU	14	86	16958	16846	33804
25	KEDEWAN	5	30	5047	5297	10344
26	GONDANG	7	58	9836	9844	19680
27	SEKAR	6	65	10889	10909	21798
28	GAYAM	12	69	12889	12828	25717
	TOTAL	430	2801	512855	519806	1037658

Source: Bojonegoro Election Commission.2014

Table1 (above), shows that there are more female voters than male voters, and spread in Bojonegoro District.

3.2. The Fixed Legislative Candidate in Bojonegoro Election Year 2014

The list of candidates for the 2014 Election of Bojonegoro Regency is submitted by 12 political parties participating in the election. All in accordance with the provisions by applying Zipper System, and for more details are in table 2 below:

Tabel-2. The Fixed Legislative Candidate in Bojonegoro Election Year 2014

No	Party	Electoral District										Number Series of Women Candidate
		1		2		3		4		5		
		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
1	NASDEM	7	3	6	3	7	4	6	3	7	4	3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
2	PKB	5	3	5	3	6	3	5	3	4	4	2, 3, 5, 6, 7
3	PKS	7	3	6	3	7	3	6	3	7	4	3, 6, 7, 9, 11
4	PDIP	7	3	3	3	7	3	4	3	6	3	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9
5	DEMOKRAT	7	3	6	3	6	5	6	3	7	3	3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
6	PAN	6	4	6	3	7	4	6	3	7	4	3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
7	PPP	4	5	2	4	2	4	3	5	7	4	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
8	HANURA	7	3	5	4	6	4	5	3	7	4	2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10
9	GOLKAR	6	4	5	4	6	5	5	4	6	5	1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10
10	GERINDRA	7	3	5	3	7	4	6	3	6	4	3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11
11	PBB	2	1	1	-	1	1	1		1	-	1, 2
12	PKPI	7	3	6	3	7	4	6	3	5	3	3, 6, 7, 8, 9
	TOTAL	82	38	56	36	69	44	58	36	70	42	

Source: Bojonegoro Election Commission.2014

From the table above shows that the number of candidates there are 531 people who are divided into 341 or 64.22% of men candidates and 190 or 35.78% of women candidates. The position of women in number series 1 there are only 3 women, from PPP, Golkar and PBB, which also happens to party cadres. The majority are in no 3, and the others position of women are above number 4. Even certain political parties have very low number of cadres, both men and women, that is the Moon-Star Party (PBB).

3.3. The Result of Bojonegoro District Election

In the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District, not all registered voters used their right to vote. Based on the result of the author interviews, saying that many of them do not know the candidates are installed in the area of his choice, especially for women candidates. It is better not to choose the candidate because the candidates came not from the same district with the voters. While the results of interviews in other sub-districts shows the same reason: it is useless to choose the candidate because they do not know the candidates, even though the pictures of the candidates are displayed. The legislative candidates in the electoral area are not from around the voters, because the voters do not know. This means that the candidates are not people who have a mass base in the area, and not supported by maximal socialization. The result of the vote is shown in table 3 (below).

Table-3. The Result of Bojonegoro District Election

No	District	The Voters			Voters who use their right		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	NGRAHO	18.156	18.220	36.376	12.527	13.789	26.136
2	TAMBAKREJO	22.110	22.403	44.153	16.031	17.104	33.135
3	NGAMBON	4.740	4.759	9.449	3.545	3.664	7.209
4	NGASEM	23.635	23.697	47.332	17.512	19.009	36.521
5	BUBULAN	5.944	6.132	12.076	4.167	4.557	8.724
6	DANDER	31.556	32.467	64.023	22.445	24.613	47.058
7	SUGIHWARAS	18.728	18.812	37.540	13.654	15.200	28.854
8	KEDUNGADEM	34.324	34.885	69.209	23.228	26.784	50.012
9	KEPOHBARU	26.715	26.670	53.385	19.419	21.228	40.647
10	BAURENO	31.738	31.558	63.296	23.570	25.416	48.986
11	KANOR	23.796	24.145	47.947	17.343	19.066	36.409
12	SUMBEREJO	27.729	28.534	56.263	20.810	23.420	44.230
13	BALEN	25.836	26.359	52.195	19.830	22.076	22.904
14	KAPAS	20.160	20.223	40.383	16.116	16.942	33.058
15	BOJONEGORO	32.660	34.812	67.472	22.063	24.445	46.508
16	KALITIDU	19.867	18.845	38.712	14.687	15.776	30.463
17	MALO	12.396	12.704	25.100	9.037	10.020	19.057
18	PURWOSARI	11.732	12.032	23.764	8.483	9.0134	17.497
19	PADANGAN	16.680	16.686	33.546	11.208	12.372	23.580
20	KASIMAN	12.311	12.676	24.987	8.670	9.625	18.295
21	TEMAYANG	14.798	14.898	29.696	10.421	11.609	22.030
22	MARGOMULYO	8.813	9.246	18.059	6.302	6.781	13.083
23	TRUCUK	15.101	15.335	30.436	10.791	12.113	22.904
24	SUKOSEWU	17.076	16.956	34.032	12.169	13.717	26.336
25	KEDEWAN	5.060	5.311	10.371	3.192	3.792	6.984
26	GONDANG	9.891	9.898	19.789	7.223	7.587	14.810
27	SEKAR	10.916	10.928	21.844	8.140	8.343	16.483
28	GAYAM	12.944	12.815	25.819	9.506	10.053	19.559
	TOTAL	515.412	522.245	1.037.658	372.539	408.115	780.654

Source: Bojonegoro Election Commission.2014

Table 3 above shows that from 1,037,658 voters who use their rights to vote were 780,654 or 75.23%, consisting of 372,539 male voters and 408,115 female voters. There are 257,004 or 24.77% of voters who do not use their rights.

3.4. Determination of Members of Legislative From Election in Bojonegoro District in 2014

Under the electoral law, Bojonegoro regency has a population of more than 5 million, meaning that Bojonegoro regency has 50 seats in the Legislative of Bojonegoro district as following distribution:

Table-4. The Member of Legislative from Election in Bojonegoro District in 2014

No	Party	Legislative Candidates Name	Notes
1	NASDEM	1. AHMAD SUYONO 2. ALI MUSTHOFA	
2	PKB	1. IMROATUL KHOIROH 2. NAFIK SAHAL 3. ABDULLAH UMAR 4. SUTIKNO 5. IMAM SHOLIKIN 6. AHMAD SUNJANI	Candidate No.1
3	PKS	1. MIFTAHUL KHOIRI 2. SUWANTO 3. GARIMAN 4. ALI MAHMUDI	
4	PDIP	1. BUDI IRAWANTO 2. NUR YASIN 3. BAMBANG SUTRIYONO 4. DONI BAYU SETIAWAN 5. LASMIRAN	
5	DEMOKRAT	1. SUKUR PRIYANTO 2. M YASIN	

		3. MOCHAMAD LUTHFI 4. MASHURI 5. MOCHLASIN AFAN 6. DIDIK TRE SETYO PURNOMO 7. M. FAUZAN	
6	PAN	1. KAFRAWI 2. SUYUTHI 3. LASURI 4. ZAINURI 5. SUWITO	
7	PPP	1. MEYKE LELYANASARI 2. CHOIRUL ANAM 3. JAMIRAH 4. AMINATO 5. AINU ANGARA	Candidate No.1
8	HANURA	1. MUHAMMAD MASAHADI 2. TEUKU ISKANDAR	
9	GOLKAR	1. DIANA HARGIANTI 2. SIGIT KAUSHARIYANTO 3. WAHYUNI SUSILOWATI 4. NASUKHA 5. MITROATIN 6. RASIJAN 7. SUHARTO	Candidate No.2 Candidate No.1 Candidate No.3
10	GERINDRA	1. ANAM WARSITO 2. SALLY ATYASASMI 3. EDI SETYOBUDI 4. WAWAN KURNIYANTO 5. SAHUDI	Candidate No.1
11	PBB	-	
12	PKPI	ALI HUDA	
	TOTAL	50 candidates	

Source: Bojonegoro Election Commission.2014

From table 4 above, it appears that the majority of women are ranked 1-3, and are occupied by women who are party cadres, so they are well known by their cadres, and have a basis, and have good financial condition and have good psychological ability. While those who are not elected on average have no basis, not pure party cadres, economic limitations and external factors in the form of patriarchy from party leader and culture of Bojonegoro community

4. Methodology

Qualitative research is used in this evaluation. According to [Bogdan and Taylor \(1975\)](#), qualitative method is a research procedure which produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of persons and observed behavior.

The data of this study uses a document of the elections in 2014. After reviewing the document, the respondents are chosen. These are KPU Commissioners, representatives of the proponent party, and representatives of voters. The category of representatives voters are civil servants, students, professional, women and union/businessman. Five (5) persons are taken from each category to be respondents.

In the opinion of [Moeleong \(2006\)](#) qualitative research is research that produces analytical procedures that do not use statistical analysis procedures or any other quantification method. The analysis used in this study in accordance with the type of data required, and then the method of analysis used descriptive and explorative qualitative analysis methods.

5. The Evaluation of 2014 Election

Evaluation of the 2014 Election of Bojonegoro District is seen from the process of the stages in accordance with the rules, as well as up to the voter registration (*Pantarlih*).

The use of Zipper System is the good system in election that includes at least one woman candidate among the three candidates and in 2014 Bojonegoro Election, there are 35.51 % women candidate. The party must follow Regulation PKPU No. 8 Year 2013. If the party does not meet 30% of women in the electoral area, the party cannot follow the election.

From the existing data and the use of approaching method, indicates that the existence of the legislative candidates faced several obstacles:

5.1. Internal Obstacles

a. Financial Obstacle

The financial obstacle they face is, besides the woman must give dowry to the party, she also must prepare budget to campaign herself to society with a long time. Because women are not supported by financial from the party. With limitations of financial resources, making women limited in their campaign process and at some point should prioritize the needs of their nomination process. This is the factor that impedes the women legislative candidates in Bojonegoro. They are educator and not yet stable in their economy, so it is not maximized at their campaign, the most important process in the election.

b. Political Obstacle

The majority of Bojonegoro's legislative candidates are not party cadres, so the political access of internal parties and other parties is very limited. The lack of clarity on the target of the party also becomes part of the barriers of the candidates to qualify for the election. Because the majority of the party's target is to comply with the rules, not to make the candidate enter parliament.

c. Ideology and Psychological Obstacle

That includes gender ideology and cultural patterns, lack of confidence of women, because the majority of candidates are not cadres, but new people who enter the political world to be a legislative candidate of one party. Anxiety about the new thing makes them not focus in the nomination. Women have the perception of politics as a dirty game.

d. Emotional Support/Base Obstacle

If seen from all the women candidates in table 4 above, then those who pass to parliament, they are cadres and have a loyal supporter base, for example from *PPP*, *GOLKAR*, *DEMOCRAT*, *GERINDRA*. They are cadres who have a mass base. *This obstacle is a new finding*. Because no matter how strong economically, broad access without mass base support will be difficult for women to get capable votes of delivering to parliament.

5.2. External Obstacles

a. Patriarchy Culture in Party

In the case of the 2014 election in Bojonegoro district, the party's recruitment system is still closed, meaning that only party leaders determine a cadre or an out-of-the-party person who can run for a legislative candidate. The target of the party to the candidates is also unclear, whether it really wants to make a representative of the people or only to meet the rules in order to participate in elections in an electoral area. From the table 3, the majority of political parties place women in number 3. If the party sides with the importance of women's existence in the legislative, then they put women at least 30% at position number 1, not placing women in number 3.

b. Patriarchy Culture of Society

The patriarchal culture of society is visible; people prefer to choose those in the top rank rather than the lower number, because according to the patriarchy understanding is that those in the upper order are the preferred, while the woman candidate of the majority of the position is at number 3 down and up to number 11. These facts are also inhibiting women enter parliament in Bojonegoro.

c. The importance of women's capacity in Parliament.

The substantive problems faced by women are not only to increase the quantity of women in fulfilling quota, but also to improve the quality of women who have occupied the parliament. They can play role and coloring every process of public policy making, from designing process, decision making to policy implementation. They have access to control, not just as an object of development. Therefore, training on gender-based financial budgeting, financial management, political training and leadership must be given to them, so that when they occupy posts as legislators, women are able to occupy certain positions according to their competencies

6. Conclusion

The government's support can increase women's representation up to 35.78%. It is the best effort of the government to increase the role of women in the development of the country, considering the number of women voters is also increasing day by day.

The results of evaluation show that the obstacles experienced by women legislative candidates are:

6.1. Internal Obstacles

- a. Prospective women of the majority do not have a base of mass and this is the new findings, so that they are unknown to voters,
- b. Financial and psychological obstacles

c. Political obstacle. The majority is not party cadres, so they do not have political access.

They are nominated only to meet the 30% quota rules and there is The Closed Recruitment System. So that the candidate is very minimal by 12% and this is not significant with the existing candidate.

6.2. External Obstacles

a. Patriarchy Culture in Party

The party's recruitment system is still closed, still half-hearted. In applying a minimum quota of 30%, the placement of women just only meets rules.

b. Patriarchy Culture in Society

Voters prefer to choose the candidates in the top number position rather than the bottom number. According to patriarchy culture, candidates in the top position are preferred, while the position of women candidate at number 3 and up to number 11. This positioning makes it difficult for women to enter the parliament in Bojonegoro.

7. Recommendation

With the evaluation of women's representation in the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District, it is expected that the upcoming Election in 2019, women's representation will increase in both quantity and quality. The recommendations are:

- a. It needs the quota system to increase women's representation in parliament.
- b. It takes a mass base for women. They need the maturity in ideology and psychology. They need financial ability, political access.
- c. Party must use the Opening Recruitment System. Party must set up woman cadres to put in first rank.
- d. It is necessary to make a rule that women's representation quota of at least 30% has started from nomination of woman position on the list of the fix candidates, not 30% at no 3 but at least 30% in serial number 1. Increasing the capacity of women through political education, leadership, economic empowerment, and gender-based budgeting exercises, either by the government or by political parties, should result in qualified female legislators to be able to maximally play in every drafting of law, enforce the Act, receive benefits and access to control.

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