The Feminisation of Indonesia's Political Parties: Toward Feminised Parties?

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Abstract

The political representation of women in the Indonesian parliament has increased since the implementation of the affirmation policy through quotas, although the number has not yet reached 30%. In addition, the percentage of women placed in the management structure of political parties has also increased. In addition, the percentage of women's candidacy in each election period also showed an increasing trend. This article aims to analyse the feminisation process that occurred in ten political parties in the Indonesian reform era using the model of party responsiveness introduced by Lisa Young. By using a qualitative approach, in which data were obtained from interviews, party statutes (AD/ART), and documents of the Special Committee for the 2017 Election Bill, it was found that the feminisation of political parties in Indonesia is divided into two categories, namely responsive and co-optive. The difference in the level of feminisation is due to differences in party responses to three things namely, the number of women in the party's structure, quota rules, and party responses to pro-women policies. Based on the mapping of political parties in Indonesia using a model of party responsiveness, it can be said that political parties experience limited feminisation where only the representational dimension shows a high tendency. However, in the policy dimension, most parties have a negative response. Therefore, the feminisation that occurs is half-hearted.

Introduction

The representation of women in politics remains a critical topic of discussion (Phillips, 1995), particularly in the context of Indonesia. It is expected to fight for more women's interests (Childs & Webb, 2012). Such increasing participation and representation of women in political parties is referred to as the "feminisation of political parties," a term coined by Childs (2008). It should be noted that feminised parties are not the same as feminist political parties, as the former do not have to respond in a feminist fashion on either dimension of feminisation (Childs & Kittilson, 2016). Instead, political feminisation focuses on changing the formal and informal rules of political discourse by promoting gender balance and increasing women's presence and participation in policy-making processes and representative institutions (Siddiqui, 2023).

Joni Lovenduski (2005) introduced the idea of feminisation in politics in the context of political parties in the United Kingdom. Previously, Lisa Young (2000) researched feminist efforts to transform political parties in the United States and Canada from 1970 to 1997, introducing a model of party responsiveness to examine how far the political parties

had become more feminised. This model was later adopted by Sarah Childs (2008) in establishing the types of political parties in the UK, introducing the term the feminisation of political parties. In this case, Childs defines the feminization of politics is a process – it is about the relative integration of women and their concerns and perspectives (Childs, 2008).

Feminisation is the process of integrating women, both in terms of representation and ideas, into formal political institutions (Lovenduski, 2005). As such, the two dimensions are, first, the integration of women representatives into formal political institutions such as party structures, parliament, and the executive; and second, the integration of women's concerns and perspectives into political debates, policies, and legislation (Lovenduski, 2005). In this article, the integration of women in formal political institutions can be described by the minimum number of women's representation at 30%, which, based on UN research, allows for change to occur and has an impact on the quality of decisions taken in political institutions.

Affirmative policies, such as gender quotas implemented during the 2004 to 2019 elections, served as a gateway for advancing efforts to increase women's political representation. This gender quota policy has resulted in an increase in the number of women elected and an increase in the number of women in the central management structure of political parties. However, we argue that this does not necessarily make political parties more feminised and responsive to pro-women policies. In this case, the feminisation of political parties is an important research topic. Furthermore, examining the issue of women's political representation reveals a paradox: political parties, which play a pivotal role in producing and perpetuating "gender effects in politics," remain underexplored and insufficiently analyzed in research on women and politics (Wylie, 2018). Data on feminisation in Indonesia can be seen from the number of

women elected in parliament, the number of women in the party management structure, and the number of women's candidacies in elections and internal party rules that guarantee women's political representation.

Based on the Law on General Elections (Law No. 12/2003, Law No. 10/2008, Law No. 8/2012, and Law No. 7/2017), political parties allow at least 30% of women on the nomination list. Political parties must follow these rules as well as KPU Regulation No. 7 of 2013 and KPU Regulation No. 20 of 2018 about the Nomination Rules for the Nomination of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD. If a political party does not implement this provision, they will be disqualified, thus unable to take part in the election. Due to this regulation, political parties are obliged to include a minimum of 30% women on their nomination list, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1.
Percentage of female candidacy in the 2009-2019 election based on political parties for the House of Representatives (DPR RI)

Party[1]	2009	2014	2019
PDI Perjuangan	35,41%	35,71%	37,52%
Golkar Party	30,27%	36,07%	37,80%
Gerindra Party	29,29%	36,45%	36,73%
Demokrat Party	32,94%	36,61%	38,92%
PKB	33,67%	37,63%	38,26%
PKS	36,61%	38,82%	39,77%
PAN	29,70%	36,96%	38,09%
PPP	26,91%	39,05%	42,06%
Nasdem Party	-	40,43%	38,43%
Hanura Party	30,74%	36,38%	41,45%

Source: Perludem, 2018

Based on the data presented, political parties have adhered to the legal mandate by allocating the required percentage of women in their ranks. In fact, in the 2014 election,

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[1] Note : The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan); The Party of Functional Groups (Golkar); The United Development Party (PPP); The National Awakening Party (PKB); The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS); The National Mandate Party (PAN); The People's Conscience Party (Hanura Party)

JSP
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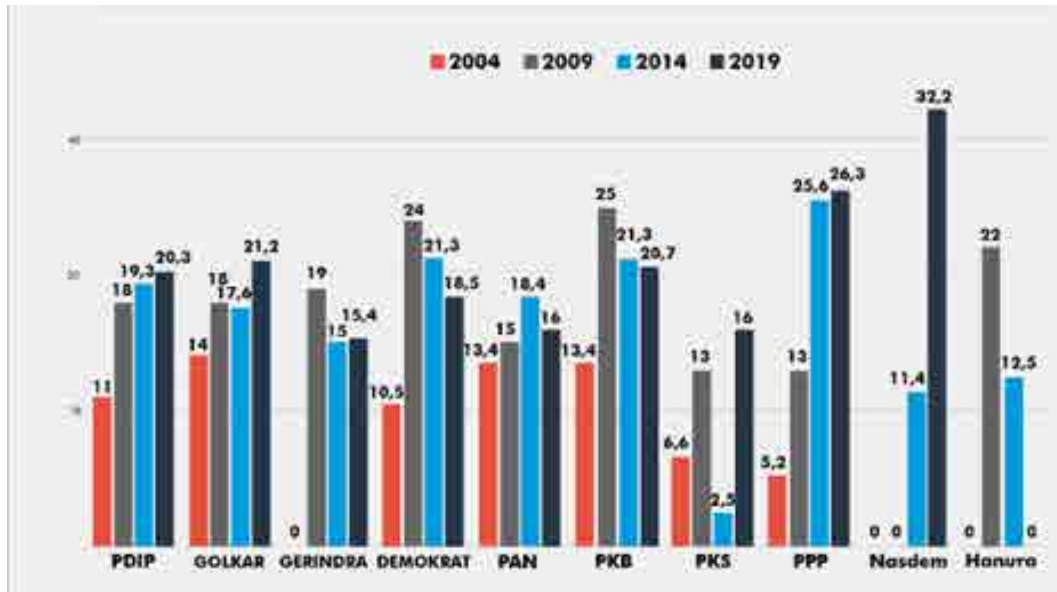
Graph 1. The Percentage of Women Elected in the DPR RI in the 2004 - 2019 Election based on Political Parties
Source: Puskapol, 2019

for the first time in history, Nasdem Party's candidates for the DPR-RI were 40.43% female. In the 2019, PPP and Hanura Party's nominees were 42.06% and 41.45% female, respectively. Unfortunately, Hanura Party did not reach the parliamentary threshold, so it did not secure any seat in the DPR RI in the 2019 Election.

The feminisation of political parties can also be seen in the percentage of women elected to DPR RI, as shown in Graph 1.

Based on Graph 1 above, PDI Perjuangan and PPP saw an increase in the percentage of women in the DPR in all four elections. In the 2004 general election, only 11% of women from PDI Perjuangan were elected, but this number increased to 20.3% in the 2019 election. PPP also showed a significant increase. In the 2004 election, only 5.2% of women were elected in the DPR, but in the 2019 general election, the number increased to 26.3%. Golkar, PAN, PKS, and Gerindra saw fluctuations in the percentage of women's electability in each election period. The percentages for Demokrat, PKB, and Hanura went up in the 2009 election but then declined in the next election. Interestingly, Nasdem Party, which was a newcomer to the

2014 election, experienced a significant increase in the percentage of women elected in the DPR-RI in the 2019 election.

The increase in the number of women in both candidacy and elections cannot be separated from the gender quota policy. Gender quotas are a method used to select female candidates and ensure their inclusion on electoral lists (Hinojosa, 2012). Thus, this article aims to look at the feminisation of political parties in Indonesia. The assessments of feminisation in political parties in this study refer to Young (2000): 1) the integration of women in the party structure and the presence or absence of quota rules in the party constitution, which in this context, is the party's statutes or AD/ART *(Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga)*; and 2) the response of political parties to the proposal for strengthening affirmations in the 2017 Election Bill, as this proposal is pro-women policy, aiming to increase the chances of women's electability in elections.

Literature Review

Several studies have discussed the feminisation of political parties such as Young

(2000), Childs (2008), Childs and Webb (2012), Tasdemir (2013), Campbell (2016), and Childs and Kittilson (2016). Young (2000) discussed feminisation in political parties in the United States and Canada, which involves activism from feminists outside the parties to support feminisation (Young, 2000). The percentage of women in the United States House of Representatives from the Democratic Party in 1970 was only 4% but by 1994, it had risen to 14%. The percentage of women in Republicans went from 2% to 7% in the same period. However, Young did not provide data on women in the Canada House of Common.

A study by Childs (2008) reviewed the feminisation in parties in the UK, especially the Labour Party, the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party. The feminisation of the Labor Party began by opening opportunities for women in the 1970s and 1980s when various changes were made to make the party more feminised. In the United Kingdom, progressiveness developed in the Labour Party in 1990 when a 40% quota of candidacy was introduced. The percentage of women MPs in Westminster increased to 4% in 1992, then reached 18.2% in 1997, 17.9% in 2001, and 19.8% in 2005 (Childs, 2008). Likewise, Childs and Webb (2012) discuss the feminisation in the Conservative Party during the era of David Cameron's leadership. With political jargon aimed at addressing the low political representation of women in the parliament, Cameron modernised the Conservative Party. Through the reform of the candidate selection process, especially ahead of the 2010 election, the number of women from the Conservative Party elected to the lower house of parliament increased significantly from only 17 women in the previous election to 49 women elected in the 2010 election.

Meanwhile, according to Tasdemir (2013), the feminisation of political parties in Turkey emphasised the role of actors and faced obstacles in the process of feminising pro-Kurdish parties. Pro-Kurdish parties began fostering gender awareness in the 2000s by introducing policies that promoted women's equality and emancipation as integral components of the democratisation process (Tasdemir, 2013). Another study by Campbell (2016) also reviewed the comparative feminisation of political parties in the United States and the United Kingdom but emphasised the influence of party ideology in the process (Campbell, 2016). Childs and Kittilson (2016) focused on the existence of women's party organizations in seeing the feminisation of political parties in Europe. A survey-based study revealed that the presence of women's organisations within political parties does not correlate with the proportion of women in parliament. In addition, women's organisations do not necessarily encourage the party to adopt a gender quota policy for parliament (Childs & Kittilson, 2016).

However, there has been no study that focuses on discussing the feminisation that occurs in political parties in Indonesia using the concept of party responsiveness, which was adopted by Young (2000). Therefore, this article aims to fill the gap by examining political party feminisation in Indonesia.

This study adopts Young's (2000) model of party responsiveness, which has been used in the mapping of political parties in the US and Canada, with the dimensions and indicators to measure the transformation of political parties towards feminisation. The two dimensions can be outlined as follows:

1. Representational responsiveness refers to two indicators, namely: 1) the number of women's representation in the party structure/elite and 2) the extent to which the party enforces quotas and other policies that provide guarantees for women.

2. Policy responsiveness, which looks at whether the party adopts or opposes the women's policy agenda, including support from the party elite regarding the agenda (Young, 2000).

Table 2.
Models of Party Responsiveness

	Responsive	Co-optive	Non-responsive	Oppositional
Representational	*High or Moderate*	*High or Moderate*	*Low*	*Low*
Policy	*Positive*	*Negative*	*Neutral*	*Negative*

Source: Young, 2000

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach. According to Neuwman, qualitative methods can present a picture of a situation studied in more detail (Neuwman, 2003). This research uses the framework of feminism, which is feminist research or research with a feminist perspective, focused on the absence and the invisibility of women in various social contexts (Budiman, 2021). Feminism in qualitative research models relies heavily on issues that develop in social dynamics, which is suitable for this study as the focus is on the fundamental differences between men and women and the consequences of these differences in socio-political life (Karim, 2014). The data collection consists of two stages. The first stage is the collection of secondary data on the party management structure, data on women's candidacy in elections, and party statutes (AD/ART). The secondary data is also from parties' documents and data sourced from online media. The quantitative data analysis conducted at this stage aims to identify trends in women's representation within party structures and their candidacy rates. The second stage is primary data collection from in-depth interviews.

Results

To measure the feminisation of Indonesia's political parties, we use the model of party responsiveness by Young (2000), with the representational and policy dimensions. The representational dimension has two indicators, namely, the integration of women into the party management structure and the existence or absence of a gender quota policy in the party's AD/ART. In terms of policy, we examine the example of political parties' responses to strengthening affirmative action policies in the 2017 election bill.

The feminisation of Indonesia's political parties: The representational dimension

The feminisation of political parties in Indonesia can be understood through two dimensions. First, the integration of women into the party structures, as well as the presence or absence of gender quota rules. Second, the existence or absence of a gender quota policy within the party's statutes and regulations (AD/ART).

Women's Integration into the Party Management Structure

The presence of women in the party management structure, especially in the women's division and women's wing organisations, is a means of increasing women's political representation (Hurriyah & Wildianti, 2020). From this point, political parties can develop their cadre and leverage the presence of women as a talent pool. However, regarding the placement of women in party management structures, only a few political parties in Indonesia's reform era have placed more than 30% of women in leadership roles, as can be seen in Table 3.

Looking at the data on the structure of party management above, it can be observed that in all three periods of party management, the percentage of women in leadership roles has increased. After the enactment of Law No. 2 of 2011 about party politics, some political parties have carried out the mandate of the law. As can be seen in the 2015-2019 data, six political parties (PDI-P, Golkar, Demokrat, PKB, PKS, and Nasdem) have placed a minimum of 30% of

Table 3.
The percentage of women's representation in the political party's/DPP's structures

Party	2005-2009 period	2010-2014 period	2015-2019 period
PDI Perjuangan	11,11%	14.81%	38,5%
Golkar Party	11,93%	28,26%	30,3%
Demokrat Party	8,11%	38,74%	30,9%
PKS	10,53%	28,00%	32,9%
PKB	8,20%	22,73%	30,7%
PPP	10,53%	24,29%	28,8%
PAN	13,1%	21,05%	29,7%
Gerindra Party	18,11%	26,87%	28,5%
Hanura Party	28,28%	33,33%	26,63%
Nasdem Party	-	21,8%	36%

Source: Margret et al. (2022)

women in the structure. However, for the other four parties (PPP, PAN, Gerindra, and Hanura), the percentage of women in the management structure is below 30%.

Some political parties have not met the minimum quota for women in the management structure because there are no sanctions for parties that do not meet the quota. In Table 3, even though some parties have placed more than 30% of women in the structure, these women are not in a strategic position to make decisions. Of the ten political parties, there is only one that places women as general chairmen, namely the PDI Perjuangan. There is no political party that places women in the position of secretary general. Instead, women are placed in the positions of deputy secretary general (Demokrat Party, PKB, and PAN), deputy general treasurer, and head of field, department, or division, and the majority are only members.

PDI Perjuangan, which places 38.5% of women in the central management structure, places women in several strategic positions, such as general chairperson, head of politics and security, head of health for women and children, head of tourism, head of social affairs, disaster management, and head of the population program department. Meanwhile, PKS, which places 32.9% of women in the central management structure, has only one

female chairperson, namely the Chair of the Women's and Family Resilience Division, with the remaining being merely representatives and members.

The existence or absence of a gender quota policy in the party's AD/ART

Males dominate the decision-making structures both in parliament and within political parties (OSCE, 2014), although to varying degrees (Dahlerup & Layenaar, 2013). This domination can be seen in party decisions related to efforts to increase women's political representation in both the party structure and parliament. In Indonesia, we argue that women's political representation remains problematic due to the continued dominance of men in political parties. This is evident from the data on the central management structures of political parties, as discussed in the previous section. However, over time, political parties have started to implement affirmative policies, such as gender quotas, to enhance women's representation in politics.

Quotas have become an expedited mechanism for increasing women's representation in politics. Over time, they have proven to be an effective strategy for raising the number of women in national legislatures (Hoodfar & Tajali, 2011; Hughes & Paxton, 2019b; Jabeen & Awan, 2017; Krook, 2014; Piscopo, 2011).

Table 4.
Party Rules about Gender Quotas in AD/ART

Parties	Political Party Internal Rules Regarding Quotas in the Party Structure	Internal Rules of Political Parties Regarding Legislative Quotas
PDI Perjuangan	Regulated in Article 60 AD	Regulated in Article 20 AD
Golkar Party	Regulated in Article 18 AD*	Regulated in Article 19 AD*
Gerindra Party	Regulated in Articles 7,8,9 ART	None
Demokrat Party	None	None
Nasdem Party	Regulated in Article 20 AD*	None
PKB	Regulated in Article 31 ART	None
PKS	None	Regulated in Article 28 AD*
PAN	Regulated in Article 67 ART	None
PPP	Regulated in Article 18, 27, 35 AD	None
Hanura Party	Regulated in Article 30 AD	None

Source: processed by researchers based on the 2014-2019 political party statutes and regulations

Notes: * regulated in the AD/ART but does not explicitly mention 30% women, only "paying attention to women's representation"

In the context of the ten political parties in Indonesia, it was found that not all political parties adopt quota rules into their statutes (AD/ART), as can be seen in Table 4.

Based on Table 4 above, the majority of political parties explicitly mention the 30% quota for women in the party management structure in their AD/ART. It is in line with the rules of Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning political parties, Article 2, paragraph 5: *"Management of political parties at the central level includes at least 30% women's representation."* As for the management of political parties at the provincial and district/city levels, it is prepared by taking into account the representation of women at a minimum of 30%, which is regulated in the AD/ART of each political party (Article 20, Law No. 2 of 2011). However, in the AD/ART of the Golkar and Nasdem, the rules regarding the inclusion of women in the party management structure do not explicitly mention 30% women but only "pay attention to women's representation." Meanwhile, Demokrat does not regulate the women's quota in its AD/ART.

Looking at the rules regarding the quota for the nomination of 30% women in the party's AD/ART, only PDI Perjuangan explicitly mentions the party's obligation to nominate a minimum of 30% women. Meanwhile, Golkar and PKS only mentioned paying attention to the representation of women in filling public positions. The other seven parties did not mention at all the nomination of at least 30% of women in their AD/ART. The increase in the number of women in the party management structure, their nomination and electability in the DPR, and the adoption of affirmative policies into the party's AD/ART serve as evidence of the party's response to one of the dimensions of feminisation: representational responsiveness.

Responses of political parties to strengthen affirmation policies in the 2017 Election Bill: policy dimension

The next dimension to measuring party responsiveness is through the policies. In this context, the analysis focuses on the proposal for strengthening affirmations through the placement of women in number 1 in at least 30% of the electoral districts, which emerged during the discussion of the 2017 Election Bill.

As one of the global policies, gender quotas drive the feminisation of political parties, including in Indonesia. However, the struggle for affirmation remains challenging due to the social construction in which women

live within a patriarchal culture, positioning them in subordinate roles (Supriyanto, 2013). The affirmative actions fought for from 2003 to 2017 succeeded in increasing the number of women elected to the DPR RI, although the representation has yet to reach 30%. The issue with women's political representation lies in the fact that the affirmation rules in the Law on Elections have not changed. This is evident in the language of the article concerning the regulation of 30% female representation from Law No.10/2008 and Law No.8/2012 that the list of nominees contains at least 30% women's representation, and for every three prospective candidates there is at least one female candidate.

The evaluation of the results from the 2004–2014 elections, where the number of women in parliament remained minimal, has sparked aspirations from various civil society organisations to strengthen affirmative policies. Several proposals were submitted by civil society organisations to the Special Committee for the 2017 Election Bill (Document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017). The proposal for strengthening affirmations lies at every level of the legislative election. Female candidates are placed at Serial Number 1 in at least 30% of the total electoral districts (*dapil*) in which their political party secured a seat in the last election.[2]

The proposal to strengthen the affirmation is based on the argument that during the three general elections, there were only a few political parties nominating women at serial number 1. The majority of female candidates were still placed in serial Numbers 3, 6, and others. Meanwhile, based on the data, the chances of electability for candidates are higher for those who are in Serial Numbers 1 and 2. Based on data from the UI Puskapol, in the 2009 election,

64.96% of the elected candidates were those placed at Number 1, followed by 19.34% by those with Number 2, and 6.39% by those with Number 3. As for the 2014 election, as many as 62.14% of the elected candidates had Number 1, as many as 16.96% were candidates placed at Number 2, and there were 4.46% of candidates placed at Number 3 (Lee, 2018).

From the total number of elected candidates, the electability of female candidates in the 2009 and 2014 elections was also dominated by female candidates in Number 1. The results of the 2009 election showed that 44% of the elected candidates were Number 1, 29% were Number 2, 20% were Number 3, and 7% were Number 4 and above (Margret et al., 2022). As for the 2014 election, the percentage of elected female candidates was still dominated by those who were Number 1, which was about 47,42%, followed by candidates Number 2 at 21,65%; candidates Number 3 at 15,46%; and candidates Number 4 and above at 15,47% (Margret et al., 2022).

The data above shows that, although the counting system for the election winners in 2009 and 2014 was based on the most votes, the serial number was still a contributing factor in the electability of legislative candidates. It is due to the psychology of voters. They feel that the people in Number 1 are trusted by the party and are considered to have the competence and capability to be nominated and become members of the legislature (Sjaifuddian, 2021).

The 2017 Election Bill continues to be a topic of discussion, with various opinions being raised about the importance of serial numbers. The dynamics surrounding this debate reflect ongoing efforts to strengthen affirmative policies, especially in terms of legislative candidacy, resulting in three options, as can be seen in Table 6 below.

Based on the mapping of elite politics, as represented by the faction's responses, it can be seen that only Golkar, Gerindra, PKB, and PPP agreed to strengthen affirmations by placing

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2 The proposals came from Sekretariat Bersama (SEKBER) [Joint Secretariat] of Codification, Perludem, JPPR and IPC, MPI, KPPI.

Table 6.
Mapping of factional attitudes regarding the proposed strengthening of affirmations for women in the 2017 Election Bill

Women's representation in legislative nominations	
Option 1: The current rule is that at least 30% (thirty percent) of the candidates on the list must be women.	- PDI Perjuangan - Nasdem - Hanura - PKS - PAN - Demokrat
Option 2: Use a pure zipper system (50% male and 50% female) – alternating between male and female candidates -	No one chooses
Option 3: - The current rule is that the list of candidates contains at least 30% (thirty percent) women's representation. - Women are placed in serial number one (1) at least 30% of the total electoral districts (Dapil)	- Gerindra - PKB - PPP - Golkar

Source: The parties' response mapping prepared by the authors based on the document of the Special Committee Meeting of the Election Law 2017 dated May 30th, and June 5th, 2017

women in Number 1 in a minimum of 30% of the electoral districts. Meanwhile, the other six parties (PDI Perjuangan, Demokrat, Nasdem, PKS, PAN, and Hanura) did not approve it. Finally, based on voting, it was agreed that the 30% quota for women was still the same as in the 2012 Election Law. Thus, the affirmation rule in the 2017 Election Bill did not change from the previous rule.

> As a party that agrees to strengthen affirmations by placing women at Serial Number 1 in a minimum of 30% of the electoral districts, Golkar believes that serial numbers still affect the electability of candidates. [...] for us at Golkar, zipper problems have already happened during the last election period. So, 1 out of 3, now it is proven that most of the women were placed in serial Numbers 3 and 6. Now, that is a clearer picture, showing that only about 5% of women are in Serial Number 1. It is proven that most of the members of the DPR who were elected at the time of the election are those who are in Serial Number 1 (Sjaifuddian's statement as quoted from a document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017).

For the parties that declined, such as PAN, one of the reasons cited by their representatives was a concern about the emergence of kinship politics or political dynasties in the process of nominating women.

> "If you are nominated for Serial Number 1 in 30% of the electoral districts, you can't, because, from experience, the candidates are fake. Especially if it is a female dynasty, it is not good for democracy" (Mauladi''s statement, quoted from the document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017).

Female politicians consider the rejection of the proposal for strengthening by the majority of parties as a form of resistance from male politicians, and this becomes a challenge in efforts to strengthen affirmation policies for women (Masrifah, 2021). Resistance from male politicians arises due to concerns that placing women in Serial Number 1 could result in women gaining a significant share of votes and seats in the electoral district, potentially diminishing the male candidates' chances (Sjaifuddian, 2021). Another reason why political parties reject the proposal to

strengthen affirmation in the 2017 Election Bill is that they have difficulty recruiting female candidates ahead of the election. This is because there is still a patriarchal culture in society that limits the role of women in the public sphere (Widyantoro's statement, quoted from a document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017).

Due to the difficulty in recruiting female legislative candidates, the proposal for strengthening affirmations by placing women in Serial Number 1 in a minimum of 30% of the electoral districts has not been accepted by the majority of the parties. However, Masrifah, as the Chairperson of the PKB women's organisation wing, admitted that, in practice, they face difficulties in preparing female cadres to run for elections. Female politicians who wish to become legislative candidates encounter various obstacles, including family responsibilities and financial barriers. *"[…] so it is not only a matter of popularity and capability but also the contents of the bag"* (Masrifah, 2021).

In addition to the proposal to strengthen affirmations of women's candidacy, the debate on the percentage of women's representation in election organising institutions (The General Elections Commission (KPU) and Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) was also discussed. In Law Number 7 of 2017 about Elections, women's representation in election organising institutions is at least 30%. However, in the 2022-2027 period, the number of women in the KPU and Bawaslu still did not reach 30%. Descriptive representation of women in the legislature is crucial because it influences the resulting policies. As Bratton and Ray (2002) have revealed, descriptive representation is closely tied to substantive representation, meaning it not only affects the attitudes and behaviours of representatives but also shapes the decisions made by the legislature.

The increase in the number of women in the parliament (DPR RI) has an impact on increasing the number of women occupying the positions of chairman and vice chairmen of the commission. In the 2019-2014 period, two women became chairmen of the commission, namely Meutya Hafidz as chairman of Commission I and Felly Estelita Runtuwene as chairman of Commission IX. In addition, six women were vice chairmen of the commission. Furthermore, the substantive impact of increasing the number of women in parliament is evident in the enactment of pro-women legislation, such as the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes (*Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual*) and Domestic Workers Protection Bill (*RUU Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga*). Thus, as the number of women in parliament increases, efforts to advocate for pro-women policies become more effective, leading to greater progress in addressing gender-related issues and promoting women's rights. The party's response to the pro-women policy is part of the feminisation effort.

Discussion
Models of Party Responsiveness in Indonesia

Based on the mapping of two dimensions of *party responsiveness*, namely *representational* and *policy*, the types of political parties in Indonesia can be mapped, as shown in Table 7.

High category if the party fulfils a minimum of 30% women in the management structure and has quota rules in the AD/ART. Meanwhile, the moderate category is if the party fulfils a minimum of 30% women in the party management structure but does not have quota rules in the AD/ART or vice versa.

Based on this data, Golkar, Gerindra, PKB, and PPP belong to the Responsive model. It is because the four parties have a high or moderate representational response and a positive response to the policy agenda, which in this case, is affirmation strengthening. Meanwhile, PDI Perjuangan, PKS, PAN, Nasdem, and Hanura belong to the co-optive model because, even though they have a positive response to the representational dimension, these parties

Table 7.
Party Types of Feminisation

No	Parties	Representational	Policy	Party types
1	PDI Perjuangan	High	Negative	Co-optive
2	Golkar	High	Positive	Responsive
3	Gerindra	Moderate	Positive	Responsive
4	Demokrat	Moderate	Negative	Co-optive
5	PKB	High	Positive	Responsive
6	PKS	Moderate	Negative	Co-optive
7	PAN	Moderate	Negative	Co-optive
8	PPP	Moderate	Positive	Responsive
9	Nasdem	High	Negative	Co-optive
10	Hanura	Moderate	Negative	Co-optive

Source: created by the author, elaborated from Young (2000)

Notes: The high/moderate category is based on the percentage of women in the party management structure and whether there are affirmation rules through quotas in the AD/ART (period 2015-2019).

have a negative response to the proposed strengthening of affirmation policies.

From the mapping of the ten parties, Golkar and PKB are the most feminised parties than others. This is based on the high integration of women in the management structure (more than 30%), the existence of rules regarding women's affirmations, and also a positive response to the proposal for strengthening the affirmations policy in the 2017 Election Bill. Golkar and PKB have been consistent in supporting the proposed affirmation policy since the 2004 election.

What is particularly interesting is PDI Perjuangan, a party that not only integrates women into its structure at a rate exceeding 30% but also includes a quota rule for women in its AD/ART. Despite these efforts, the party rejected the proposal to strengthen affirmative action in the 2017 Election Bill. Even though the General Chairperson of PDI Perjuangan, Megawati, is a woman, she had previously rejected the implementation of a quota policy for women in the lead-up to the 2004 general election. (Riza, 2003).

Although ten political parties in Indonesia during the reform era have generally experienced feminisation, the representation of women in strategic decision-making positions remains low (Chairman, Secretary General, General Treasurer, and Head of Division/Department/Division). Of the ten political parties, only PDI Perjuangan has explicitly listed women, as many as 30% of the candidate list. Meanwhile, Golkar and PKS only mention paying attention to women's representation. The other seven parties did not include regulations regarding the placement of 30% of women in public and political positions.

The number of women in the party management structure is crucial, as it significantly influences the nomination process. Parties often argue that it is difficult to find female candidates during elections to fulfil a minimum quota of 30%. Thus, with the fulfilment of at least 30% of women in the party management structure, the party already has a pool of talent from women plus cadres who are in the party's women's organisation. According to Wijayati, a member of the Special Committee for the 2017 Election Bill from the PDI Perjuangan, in the management of political parties, they should fulfil at least 30% of women's representation up to the district/city level (Wijayati's statement in the Document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017) because this will ease the nomination.

Likewise, Sjaifuddian, a member of the

Special Committee for the 2017 Election Bill from the Golkar Party, stated that, if the number of women involved in the party management structure is sufficient, it will facilitate the party's ability to nominate women during elections. Thus, parties will have no difficulty fulfilling women's quotas both in quantity and quality (Sjaifuddian's statement in the Document of the Special Committee Meeting on the Election Bill, 2017).

Another important thing that can also be seen affirming women in political parties is the composition of the leadership. If women have positions within party elite circles, they may advocate for increasing the number of female candidates or even supporting female candidates in gaining public office (Hughes & Paxton, 2019a; Kunovich & Paxton, 2005). As said by Masrifah, as the head of the women's wing organisation in PKB, she prepared many meetings to ensure that the electoral districts for women candidates did not change. She also prepared women who were ready to run for elections. If the required number of women is not reached within the party, the party often looks for candidates from affiliated organisations such as Fatayat and Muslimat NU. This practice reflects the historical roots of PKB, which was founded by prominent NU scholars (Masrifah, 2021).

Based on the mapping of political parties in Indonesia using a model of party responsiveness, it can be said that political parties in Indonesia experience limited feminisation, with a high tendency observed in the representational dimension. However, in the policy dimension, most parties show a negative response, indicating resistance to fully integrating gender equality measures within their policies. So, it can be concluded that of the ten political parties examined in this article, PKB is the most feminised party.

Referring to the concept of feminising political parties, where parties adopt a feminist perspective in developing and implementing their policies (Childs, 2008), it becomes evident that political parties in Indonesia are still only partially committed to advocating for women's political participation. This is reflected in the low number of women occupying strategic positions within the party and the limited placement of women in winnable positions during elections. Additionally, the majority of political parties continue to resist the policy of strengthening affirmative action as a means to enhance women's political representation. As Lovenduski said, parties experience feminisation if women are integrated both in number and ideas in policy-making, especially pro-women policies (Lovenduski, 2005).

Based on the assessment of the level of party responsiveness to feminism (based on Young, 2000), political parties in Indonesia are at the responsive and co-optive level. However, we conclude that the feminisation that occurs in political parties in Indonesia is only half-hearted feminisation. Quantitatively, from the representational responsiveness dimension, the political party is heading towards feminisation. However, if analysed further, political parties in Indonesia have not yet reached substantial feminisation. In fact, in assessing the feminisation of political parties, not only quantitative aspects must be met but also the struggle for justice and gender equality within political parties and parliaments, as well as pro-women policies. The majority of political parties are heading towards feminisation (PDIP, Golkar, PKS, and Nasdem) and only Golkar, Gerindra, PPP and PKB have a positive response to the proposal for strengthening affirmations policy in the 2017 Election Bill. Although the political party has been able to place more than 30% of women in the structure, we argue that what happened was maldistribution as only a few women are placed in strategic positions of the party, such as Chairman and Secretary General. The majority of women remain confined to

membership roles, which perpetuates gender inequality within political parties.

Conclusion

This study shows that the feminisation in political parties in Indonesia is still half-hearted. This can be seen from the party's decision related to efforts to increase women's political representation. Although some political parties already have explicit gender quotas and policy rules in the AD/ART, in practice, political parties are still dominated by male politicians.

The feminisation of political parties can be assessed by examining how parties integrate women into their management structures, the implementation of quota rules, and their responses to proposals aimed at strengthening affirmative actions for increasing women's political representation. Affirmation strengthening needs to be done in two ways. The first is by placing female candidates in Serial Number 1 in a minimum of 30% of the electoral district and also placing them in the area of the mass base of the supporting party, which can open up opportunities for the election of female candidates. The second is for political parties to improve their affirmation policies, for example, through recruitment and regeneration that provide equal opportunities for male and female politicians.

Through the feminisation of political parties, parties are expected to commit to continuing to fight for justice and gender equality. Apart from it being mandatory under the law to involve women in the party structure, the placement of women in strategic decision-making positions must also be carried out. In the future, it is hoped that all political parties will explicitly emphasize the rules of the gender quota in the AD/ART. Finally, the feminisation of political parties does not only stop at the integration of women into the structure but also with the idea of fighting for the interests of women.

This study has contributed to the body of knowledge on how political parties respond to the demand for women's inclusion in their structure and a more pro-women in their policy making. In this regard, political parties should evolve into more feminised entities, where women's representation goes beyond mere numerical presence and extends to the development and implementation of pro-women policies.

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Interviews

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