



were board members in their parties. The candidate for regional leader must establish 'good approaches' to the party they wish they could be promoted as regional leaders. Yet, the main concern was how women could be promoted when the political parties are still dominated by men and seldom to involve women in their activities.

General Election Act has significant role in escalating women representation in the Parliament. Problems might appear when the Act cannot accommodate every affirmation action to contract all parties in fulfilling the 30% quota for women participation and zipper system. As there is no binding sanction available, many parties are not meeting the regulation for affirmation actions. Back then, in the General Election on 2009, there were four parties that did not fulfill the 30% quota for women, i.e. Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional, Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, and Partai Patriot.⁵

Regulations for zipper system were also not been followed properly as there were parties that positioned their women participants on the last multiple three end i.e. on position number 3, 6, and 9. The action was undergone by Partai Demokrat, Golkar, PDIP, PAN and PKS.⁶ This particular pattern has created low possibilities for women to be elected as 80% of legislative members in the Election of 2004 and 2009 were candidates on number one and number two.⁷

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Data was analyzed from Fixed Candidates List of Parliament of Republic of Indonesia 2009, *Ibid.*

⁷ Ibid.

As a nation in a democratic consolidation process, representation in parliament is considered as salient matter for Indonesian. Democracy is not merely a procedural aspect, but also substantial topic. Thus, democracy should involve women representation equally in the Parliament. However, this situation is still considered as a problem in Indonesia. Even though Indonesian Statistical Bureau stated that in 2010, the total population of women and men was almost equal, i.e. 49.7% for women and 50.3% for men.¹ But the equal proportion of women and men does not provide similar situation in representing the legislative members. Women has smaller proportion compared to men's.

This situation is also reflected on low representation of women in the Parliament of Republic of Indonesia, from the beginning of parliamentary era to 2009-2014 period.

The improvement of law in Indonesia in protecting women's political interest is getting better and it shown on efforts to accommodate 30% of women representation in Political Party Act and General Election Act.

Tabel 1
Women in Parliament of Republic of Indonesia 1955-2004

Period	Women	Men
1955-1956	17 (6,3%)	272 (93,7%)
Constituent 1956-1959	25 (5,1%)	488 (94,9%)
1971-1977	36 (7,8%)	460 (92,2%)
1977-1982	29 (6,3%)	460 (93,7%)
1982-1987	39 (8,5%)	460 (91,5%)
1987-1992	65 (13%)	500 (87%)
1992-1997	62 (12,5%)	500 (87,5%)
1997-1999	54 (10,8%)	500 (89,2%)
1999-2004	46 (9%)	500 (91%)
2004-2009	61 (11,09%)	489 (88,9%)
2009-2014	101 (18,03%)	459 (81,97%)

Source: www.kpu.go.id²

The above data illustrates that women representation in the Parliament of Republic of Indonesia is consistently low. The lowest level was in the Constituent period on 1956-1959, i.e. 5.1%. Nevertheless, the highest peak was still far from the critical level of 30%, i.e. only 18% from the last general election result in 2009. Low representation of women is not only emerge in the central government, but also in the provincial, district, and municipality levels. From the previous general election in 2009, the average representation of women in provincial legislative was only 16%, the similar situation also happened in district/ municipality level, i.e. 12%.³

Women representation in the Parliament is not similar in every region. This fact can be observed from the distribution of women in the Parliament of Republic of Indonesia if sorted based on province of origin. The worst situation was that there were six provinces that have no women representation in the Parliament, i.e. West Sulawesi, Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Bangka Belitung, South Kalimantan, and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. There were 17 provinces that have lower representation of women compared to the average number of women representation in the Parliament. In other word, more than 50% of provinces in Indonesia did not meet the average rate of 18% of representation level. The other 16 other provinces had more than 20% of women representation in the Parliament with seven of them had more than 30% of women representation.⁴ Among other provinces, North Maluku showed the highest representation of women in which 100% of legislative members are women.

Distribution of women representation based on political party in Parliament was not equally proportional. From all nine political parties that won

the in Election on 2009 the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) occupied the first position with 25.9% of women representation. Meanwhile, the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) had the lowest position with only 5.3% of women representation. Other major parties such as Partai Demokrat contributed 24.8%, Golongan Karya (Golkar) 16.5%, and Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)



² Downloaded from www.kpu.go.id on 23 May 2010 at 12.00 WIB (GMT + 07:00).

³ Sri Budi Eko Wardani, et al. *Analisis Kuantitatif Keberpilihan Perempuan di DPR dan DPRD Hasil Pemilu 2009: Executive Summary*. Unpublished essay, 2010.

⁴ Op.Cit. www.kpu.go.id.

Tabel 2
The Development of Affirmation Actions in Political Party Act and General Election Act

Political Party Act		General Election Act	
Development of Act	Subjects in the Affirmation Actions	Development of Act	Subjects in the Affirmation Actions
Act No.31/2002	No affirmation actions, but gender equation aspects were considered.	Act No.3/1999	No affirmation actions.
Act No.2/2008	Affirmation actions were available, but limited to 30% of the quota for establishing new party and board membership in the central government level, provincial level, district level, and municipality level. Administrative sanctions were given to new parties that register themselves as legal entities.	Act No.12/2003	Affirmation actions were available, but limited to 30% for woman candidates' nominations in the general election. Non-binding administrative sanctions were given to ensure parties fulfill the requirements on quota.
		Act No.10/2008	There were affirmation actions, i.e.:- <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Party must include 30% cents of women as board members in the central level.• 30% for woman candidates' nomination in the general election, with non-binding administrative sanctions.• Semi-zipper system, i.e. there should be at least one woman candidate amongst 3 legislative candidates, without sanctions.

21.5% of woman representation. With these data, it appears that the low number of women representation in parliament occurred in traffic levels, party and electoral district. Based on the describe data, it can be concluded that the low representation of women in the Parliament was also happening in every level, party, and region.

Regulations applied for general election and political party are problems in enhancing women representation in politics

The improvement of law in Indonesia in protecting women's political interest is getting better and it shown on efforts to accommodate 30% of women representation in Political Party Act and General Election Act. Yet, the accommodated affirmation actions still have several limitations. The following table presents the development of affirmation actions of Political Party Act and General Election Act which related to the affirmation actions.

The table above presents that improvements of affirmation action are available and have been accommodated by Political Party Act and General Election Act. However, problems of affirmation actions are still exist in both acts. Political Party Act is

not giving firm boundaries to political parties, particularly the well-established ones, to invite women's participation as board members. Women's participation, nevertheless, as board members brings significant impacts to women representation in the legislative election and regional election. Based on findings from WRI research held in Pontianak from 2008 to 2009, more than 80% of all legislative candidates

