IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN REGIONAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN SALATIGA 2019
(Study of the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party)

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Abstract
Political parties, as a democratic institution, have a strategic role in empowering women in politics. One of the crucial roles of the party is to guide women party cadres to be prepared to become qualified women cadres and, at the same time to boost women representation in politics, especially in the legislative body. Women representation in politics is needed because society needs to have balanced views between the needs of men and women. Besides, the formulated public policy must also represent the interests of both. This type of research is qualitative research as a socio-legal research by expressing symptoms thoroughly and by the context through collecting data from the field and interacting directly with the two parties in the City of Salatiga.
Salatiga, namely the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party, as well as candidates women from both parties. The policy adopted by the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party by applying the open and closed recruitment method has resulted in the fulfillment of a 30% quota for women’s representation so that the implication of the Gerindra and Nasdem Party legislative candidates has been determined as a permanent candidate in the 2019 concurrent elections.

**Keywords:** Women’s Representation, Salatiga City Legislative Election

**INTRODUCTION**

Political parties within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) that are plural and have a national perspective are channels for
fighting for the aspirations of the community and a means of regenerating and recruiting leaders at the national, regional, and city levels. Political parties are very influential in every country. They use a democratic system because political parties are a tool to realize the country’s goals by holding general elections to elect people’s representatives such as the President and Vice President, Regional Heads, and members of the legislature (Muchamad, 2011:4).

A general election is a process of peacefully changing power carried out periodically, by the principles outlined by the constitution, which in practice is the political activity of a country in the context of realizing democracy used to elect people’s representatives who will fight for the interests of the people and their regions. General elections are also a means of implementing the people’s sovereignty, which is held directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly to produce a democratic state government based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Kelly and Ashiagbor, 2011:3).

A state government that is run on democratic principles demands a representative system that allows all groups of society to be represented. The goal is that in decision making, no group is left behind. However, since the idea of democracy was put into practice, the parliament has never represented all groups in society. This fact causes the parliament to issue often policies that discriminate against the groups of people they claim to represent. One of the groups that are not represented in parliament is women. The low representation of women is not only detrimental to women groups but also society as a whole. Here is the need for a movement to increase women representation by choosing an electoral system that provides opportunities for women to enter parliament. Therefore, it is necessary to re-interpret the meaning of representative democracy by emphasizing the importance of political presence, namely equal representation between men and women, the balance of representation among different groups, and involving marginalized groups in representative institutions, the imbalance of the position of Indonesian
parliamentarians as well as being a representation of a patriarchal society (Rahma: 2014:4).

Patriarchy or patrilineal is an understanding in which men are seen as superior to the opposite sex, namely women. This understanding may have developed for a very long time and seems to have been cultured. The famous historian John Tosh describes that patriarchy is a concept in which men enlarge their network of power with the dependents of women both on a physical and social level. (Wacana’ 2008: 42)

Since 2006, The World Economic Forum has published an annual *indeks kesenjangan gender* (IKG) for various countries. This index compares the number of gender-based gaps between countries and the trend of change from time to time. In general, the IKG consists of two primary indicators: a country’s gender gap rate (score) and a ranking of the gender gap in four dimensions in four main dimensions: educational attainment, health and survival, political empowerment, and economic participation and opportunity (Utomo, 2018:7).

The gender gap figures range between 0 and 1. Number 1 reflects the condition of parity, where the achievement of the population of men and women in one measurement dimension is the same. Conversely, the number 0 reflects total equality. From these calculations, the rankings between countries are determined. The lower a country’s ranking, the more significant the multidimensional gender gap of that country is compared to other countries (Utomo, 2018:7).

In 2017, Indonesia was 81 out of 144 countries in the world (Table 1). This ranking is below other Southeast Asian countries. In Southeast Asia, the best ranking was achieved by the Philippines (rank 10), followed by Laos (64), Singapore (65), Vietnam (69), Thailand (75), and Myanmar (83). According to the IKG ranking for that year, only three other ASEAN member countries ranked lower than Indonesia: Cambodia (99), Brunei Darussalam (103), and Malaysia (104). It is relatively low in Indonesia among neighboring countries. Indonesia is
more capable of achieving gender equality in dimensions: education, health, and politics (Utomo, 2018:9).

Indonesia itself, the participation of women in voting rights, for example, has existed since the first election in 1955. Although women are allowed to vote, it does not mean that the presence of women in government, both in the executive and legislative branches, is equal to that of men. The women movement during the Old and New Order periods was only limited to emancipation, in the sense that women fought for formal matters such as education, health, and so on (Fauzia, 2004:78).

It was only in the 90s that the direction and direction of the women movement began to change, which previously focused on formal matters and then highlighted matters of gender equality, such as the representation of women in the public sphere, especially in politics. The women movement has begun to enter by the ideology of international feminism, which is concerned with the many problems and injustices experienced by women (Fauzia, 2004:79). The primary genre of the feminist movement is equalizing women in political participation. Feminists revolt against male domination that was too strong in politics and in almost all fields, except for some areas such as beauty. Through international networks, many NGOs educate and put pressure on countries where women participation is still lacking in political life.

After several years of rolling, the government issued a regulation that answered groups who wanted a stronger and more balanced representation of women in the legislative domain. The Indonesian government wisely ratified the mandate of the conference, which wanted affirmative action with 30% women in parliament. Women representation began to gain a legal foothold when the DPR passed Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning general elections, which was later updated to Law No. 8 of 2012 concerning general elections. It was renewed again into Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, which require political parties to send at least 30% female candidates to contribute to the legislative election arena both in the central DPR to
district or city DPRDs. The law does not automatically pass 30% of board seats. It becomes a problem whether 30% women representation only reaches the number of female candidates in the legislative elections. Then what is the real presentation with the number of women in parliament?

The representation of women in the management of political parties has been explicitly stated in Law No. 7 of 2017 in article 173 paragraph (2) letter e which states that political parties must include at least 30% (thirty percent) women’s representation at the central level political management because they have given special treatment (affirmative action) to women in line with the constitution. It is reinforced by the general election commission (KPU) regulations regarding women representation. Political parties must include at least 30% (thirty percent) of women representation in the management of political parties at the central, provincial, and district or city levels (UU no 2/2011 on political Parties Article 1 Paragraph 1).

Affirmative action by imposing a 30% quota for women is a constitutional right that must be viewed professionally without neglecting the people’s sovereign rights. As the primary stakeholder in a democratic country, it is the people’s right to elect their representatives to sit in parliament. Devotion to the people’s right to elect their representatives is a violation of democracy and people’s sovereignty (Dewi, 2007: 12).

The results of women legislative elections in 2014, women votes at the central level, namely the DPR-RI amounted to 17.3% or the same as 97 seats out of 560 seats contested in 77 electoral districts (Dapil), this acquisition is arguably insufficient. The reason is that in 2009, which was 18% or the acquisition of 103 seats in the central parliament obtained in the 2014 legislative elections had decreased by six seats compared to 2009 (Puskapol, 2014:28).

According to the Puskapol, the trend of women representation in the legislative in 2014 tended to decline compared to the 2019 election. The only thing that experienced an increase was the 2009 legislative
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election, only nominating 33.6% of women to run next in 2014, women candidacy increased by approximately 4% to the percentage. 37% of this is in line with the regulations from the KPU which are stricter with 30% representation in the list of legislative candidates in each party (Puskapol, 2014:32).

The results of the number of seats in the DPR RI in the 2014 legislative election have indeed decreased. The percentage of political parties as a whole, starting from the largest number, was occupied by PDIP with 23,681,471 votes or 18.95 percent. The second rank was the Golkar Party, with 18,432,312 votes or 14.75 percent. Gerindra occupied the third rank with the acquisition of 14,760,371 votes or 14.75 percent.¹

Political parties in Indonesia continue to grow, and there are significant fulfillments. One of the parties that have recently been formed with relatively high electability is the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party. The results of LSI Denny JA’s survey in 10 provinces, portraying the electability of the Gerindra Party, which is perched in position 3. Despite being under the PDIP and Golkar, Gerindra considered the survey results to be quite encouraging. The survey results showed a significant increase in votes for the party. Moreover, in the three provinces, Gerindra was able to rank first. According to Sodik Mudjahid as chairman of the DPD, in general, the Gerindra Party’s position has increased significantly in various provinces, from the 2014 election even in 3 provinces to the number 1 position.

The Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party are newcomer parties on the Indonesian political stage. However, by carrying out its vision and mission, the Gerindra Party has experienced significant growth not only at the national level but also at the regional or city level, especially the City of Salatiga. Salatiga City, Gerindra Party in 2014, received 12,176 total valid votes and succeeded in placing 4 of its cadres as

legislative members in the City of Salatiga (http://nasional.kompas.com. March 23\textsuperscript{th} 2019)

The Gerindra Party is a party that was recently formed and successfully ranked third after Golkar. Another successful new party is the Nasdem Party. In the 2014 election, the Nasdem Party won an eighth-place with 8,402,812 (6.72 percent) national votes. In the 2014 legislative elections in Salatiga City, the Nasdem Party only won one seat in the Salatiga City DPRD. Judging from the ranking, Nasdem is a party that is only seven years old but has been able to beat several old parties, namely the PPP Party in the ninth rank and the HANURA Party in the tenth rank. In the 2019 legislative election, Nasdem is very optimistic that he will get four seats in the Salatiga DPRD. So, although Gerindra and Nasdem are considered new, the party’s actions are no longer used (http://nasional.kompas.com. March 20\textsuperscript{th} 2019).

Because the two parties are considered new compared to other parties and their achievements from the 2014 legislative elections, it can be seen that their ranking has been ranked strategically in comparison to other parties that were established earlier. So that the author takes research entitled IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN REGIONAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN SALATIGA 2019 (Study of the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party).

DISCUSSION

1. Gerindra Party

Gerindra Party in the City of Salatiga has the right image in the people of Salatiga City. It is evidenced by in 2014 getting 4 (four) seats in the legislative elections. Meanwhile, in 2019 the Gerindra Party targeted 6 (six) to occupy the Salatiga City DPRD government. The chairman of the Gerindra Party is currently the Mayor of Salatiga himself, so there is no need to abuse the existence of the Gerindra Party anymore.
Based on the discussion on party fulfillment, it was found that the legislative candidates from the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party were not all genuine party cadres. As one of the cadres of the Gerindra Party, there is indeed an instant cadre. As conveyed by Mr. Sarwono as the Gerindra Party secretary, one of the candidates is not a genuine cadre but a cadre from outside. Even so, he is the wife of one of the Gerindra Party administrators. Gerindra Party itself does use 2 (two methods), namely the internal method and the external method. Even though they are not genuine community cadres who want to nominate those who have met the requirements, they can nominate the party they want, such as the Gerindra Party.

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1) The internal recruitment method is recruitment carried out by party elites who can elect candidates who are deemed fit and eligible to be given positions based on their skills and capacity
to lead. This procedure is considered a closed procedure because only a few people prescribe it. However, this closed pattern has obstacles to face. Not all cadres from the Gerindra are willing to be nominated to become regional legislative candidates for the City of Salatiga.

2) The external recruitment method is that every citizen has the right to nominate to become a legislative candidate from the Gerindra Party even though they are not original cadres from the Gerindra Party. However, before being accepted to be a candidate through the Gerindra Party, the selection team had to consider the quality of cadres and the work of cadres in society.

These recruitments are carried out so that Gerindra Party cadres are loyal to political parties. What sometimes happens is that people who want to run for office do not want to join organizations because they do not receive a salary to become party officials. However, the selection team also had many considerations. However, the selection team also had many considerations. The Gerindra Party itself also has an advanced cadre that, after the general election, all candidates are invited to Jakarta to be trained by Mr. Probowo as chairman of the Gerindra center. In the 2019 legislative candidate, the Gerindra Party has targeted six seats because, in 2014, it only obtained four seats, especially in 2019, all of the electoral districts have obtained; Argomulyo District 1, Sidomukti District 1, Sidorejo District 1, and Tingkir District 1.2

Gerindra Party Secretary Salatiga said that in 2019 the Gerindra Party nominated 25 cadres including nine female cadres and sixteen male cadres. This year, the Gerindra Party is targeting six seats in the Salatiga City DPRD, this is due to the ability and capability of the cadres being nominated. The capacity of female cadres is from the Gerindra Party itself and this is supported by the

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2 Interview with Sarwono, The secretary of Gerindra Party in Nobo Tengah, January 7th 2019, 12.09 PM.
existence of a supporting organization which is supervised by the deputy chairmen.

The existence of this organization is very helpful for the cadre in the Gerindra Party itself, especially in the cadre for women who have a supporting organization, namely Pira to accommodate women aspirations. This is used for cadres of women, both mothers and youth.

2. Nasdem Party

The Nasdem Party is a new party that has a good role in society because the Nasdem Party has carried out a campaign or introduction to the community using kinship methods such as visiting people’s homes. By using this method the Nasdem Party has been widely recognized in the community. One of the Nasdem Party cadres who is currently the chairman of the Nasdem Party, Mr. Bambang in DRPD also serves as the commission chairman.

According to Pinarsih, one of the Nasdem candidate cadres said that to win this general election it was not like other parties such as a massive campaign but in the Nasdem Party it used the technique of house-to-house hospitality to introduce the Nasdem cadres thoroughly. Ms. Pinarsih has already nominated and this is the second time she has nominated her, Mrs. Pinarsih’s hope is that hopefully it can improve education and other fields. He has also collaborated with the Department of Agriculture to make or preserve fruit plants to utilize home land. Ms. Pinarsih’s own reason for nominating herself and her family also supports her to nominate.

[Interview with Pinarsih, a legislative candidate of the Nasdem Party at Mangunsari Salatiga House January 14th, 2019, 10.15 AM] has fulfilled the existing regulations with the percentage of female representation of the Gerindra Party 36.00% and Nasdem Party 39.13% (UU no 7/2017 on Election).

Based on the discussion in fulfilling the candidates for legislative members of the Nasdem Party itself, not all of them came from the original party cadres, but of the nine female cadres there
were 2 (two) cadres from outside. This happened because the Nasdem Party itself opened two methods, namely the open method and the closed method.

According to the chairman of the Nasdem Party, Bambang said that 30% of the fulfillment of women representation in the Salatiga City legislative election, this year’s Nasdem Party only received 23 seats because there were two members who did not meet the requirements. And of the female cadres, there are 9 (nine) and 2 (two) not original cadres. To complete the 30% representation of women, the Nasdem Party uses closed and open recruitment methods:

a. A closed recruitment method, carried out by party elites who have the power to elect candidates who are deemed worthy and eligible to be given positions based on their skills and capacity to lead.

b. An open recruitment method, every citizen has the right to nominate to become a legislative candidate from the Nasdem Party even though they are not original cadres from the Nasdem Party. However, this recruitment pattern has obstacles or problems, namely finding female cadres is very difficult due to the absence of openness of candidates, the problem of diplomas from SD to SMA education levels are not the same, diplomas and family cards are not the same.

As explained in Article 29 paragraph (1a) of Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties above, that the recruitment pattern as referred to in paragraph (1) letter b is carried out through democratic regeneration in accordance with the AD and ART of each party.

However, the implication of this law is that the City of Salatiga has been fulfilled administratively by both the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party, this is proven by the data from the Salatiga KPU, that

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3 Interview with Bambang. The chairman of in DPD Nasdem Party Office, February 11\textsuperscript{th} 2019, 09.07 AM.
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the Gerindra Party is 36.00% and the Nasdem Party is 39.13%. Of
the two parties it has been fulfilled, however, not all of the parties are
original party cadres, but there are some who are cadres from
outside. Because both parties use a policy that there are two kinds
of recruitment methods, namely closed and open recruitment
methods.

The existence of regulations regarding this recruitment method,
each party has a different way as in the Gerindra Party, all cadres,
whether original Gerindra Party cadres or carbitan cadres, after the
general election, all Gerindra Party members are gathered in Jakarta to
train the general chairman of the Gerindra Party in Jakarta. In the
Nasdem Party itself there are also tiered cadres as explained above
that all cadres exist in each to maintain the loyalty of cadres to the
party.4

The General Election Law No.7 of 2017 requires all parties to
contain at least 30% female representation, in this case the two parties
between the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party have complied, this
is evidenced by data from the 2019 Salatiga KPU.

The policy taken by the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party,
namely by implementing open and closed recruitment methods, has
resulted in the fulfillment of a 30% quota for women representation so
that the implication is that the legislative candidates for the Gerindra
Party and the Nasdem Party have been determined as permanent
candidates in the 2019 simultaneous election.

The success of fulfilling the 30% quota for the Gerindra Party and
the Nasdem Party is an ordinary achievement for the progress of
democracy and the Indonesian state.

CONCLUSION
Based on the results of research in the field and the analysis that has
been done, the following conclusions can be drawn.

4 Interview with Sarwono, The secretary of Gerindra Party of Salatiga, Januari 7th 2019, 12.09
PM.
1. The policies adopted by the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party are to apply closed and open recruitment methods, this is the closed recruitment method applied to cadres from parties within the party, and the open recruitment method is applied to the public, anyone can register through the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party, however in this open recruitment method there is still a selection stage. To consider the quality of the cadres as well as their role in society.

2. The Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party have met the 30% quota for women representation.

3. The implication is that the two parties can participate in the nomination for simultaneous elections in 2019. This is a success in the process of democracy and nation.

   Based on the results of research in the Gerindra Party and the Nasdem Party regarding the implementation of women representation in the Salatiga City regional legislative elections in 2019, the researchers provide several suggestions, as follows:

1. Stakeholders or policy implementer must make more efforts for gender and political education, this is so that female cadres have a forward mindset towards the world of politics.

2. Women representation must be balanced with efforts to ensure that female cadres who will become people’s representatives are truly qualified and able to fight for people’s rights and voice the aspirations of the community.

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