

**WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN INDONESIA'S 2019 ELECTION:
WHAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE INCREASING
NUMBER OF WOMEN CANDIDATES?**

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Political Science at The
Faculty of Social Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of The Requirements
for The Degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Hayatun Nufus

02222110009

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Name : Hayatun Nufus

Programme : MA in Political Science

**Title : Women's Political Participation in Indonesia's 2019 Election:
What Contributed to The Increasing Number of Women Candidates?**

Although political parties have been able to meet the requirement that there be at least 30% women in the legislature, practically all political parties have confessed that it is difficult for them to recruit women to run for office; however, in the 2019 election, a phenomenon occurred where the number of female legislative candidates increased in all political parties ranging from 37-55%. This research explains why this was the case by discussing two variables: the role of political training and the pattern of the selection process within the political process. The two questions are formulated: First, how did training in women's political participation by multiple stakeholders encourage female candidates to run for office in the 2019 election, bringing about the increased number and percentage of the list of candidates in the election? Second, what was the pattern of recruitment of political parties' participants in the 2019 election in selecting female candidates for parliament? The objectives of this study are: First, to investigate whether political training undertaken by Indonesian women resulted in an increase in women candidates in the final list of candidates. Second, to examine the influence of political party recruiting trends in selecting candidates that exceeded the 30% nomination criteria of women participating in elections. The methodology employed in this study was qualitative using selected cases. Based on these two factors, the objective of this research shows that studies of women in politics that usually focus on women candidates who win seats can also be looked at through women's participation at the candidacy stage. The research and results of this study are expected to contribute theoretically and practically; First, the theoretical benefit is the development of science. The findings from this study show that political parties with women's cadre schools and training for women cadres have a significant stock of candidates, so they have no difficulty getting women candidates. In contrast, political parties that do not have a mechanism for educating women candidates find it difficult but are helped by the existence of training held by the government and NGOs, both local and international. Thus, the increase in the number of female candidates is the break-even point between the high demand from political parties due to being forced by the 30% gender quota system and the readiness of women who have received training to become legislative candidates for political parties in the 2019 election. Advocacy by civil society organizations (CSOs) for women's voices can be an indirect cause and impact on internal party mechanisms that are friendlier and prepare female candidates to be empowered and confident so that a significant increase in women legislative candidates in the 2019 election ensured the 30% requirement was surpassed.

Keywords: *Women's Political Participation, Indonesia's election 2019, Increasing Number of Women Candidates, fixed list.*

PREFACE

I am very glad and deeply proud to have received direct inspiration, guidance and solid direction from my thesis supervisor, Aan Suryana, Ph.D. and Phillips J. Vermonte Ph.D., the thesis examiner Ella S. Prihatini, Ph.D., and the chairman of the thesis defense examination Gde Dwitya Arief Metera, Ph.D. I am grateful for their clear notes, critique and insight suggestions, and then focusing my direction and encouraging me to revise this thesis properly. They motivated me to complete this thesis to the best of my ability. I thank them all, with deepest gratitude from the bottom of my heart for their kindness and assistance. Jazakumullah khairan katsira.

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Last but not least, thank you so much for all my source-persons of this thesis. Finally, this manuscript is dedicated to all my X, Y, Z, and next alpha generations, keep learning and spread the great benefits of science. Let us achieve gender equality and may Islamic *Wasathiyah* civilization become a reality in this world.

Bogor, August 10th, 2023



Hayatun Nufus

ABBREVIATIONS

BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional -National Development Planning Agency.
DCT	Daftar Calon Tetap-Fixed List Candidacy.
DPR RI	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat-House of Representative in Indonesian Parliament.
DPD RI	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah-Region Representative in Indonesian Parliament.
IRI	International Republican Institute.
KAS	Konrad Adenaur Stiftung
Kemdagri	Kementerian Dalam Negeri-Ministry of Internal Affairs.
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum-Indonesia General Elections Commission.
KPPI	Kaukus Perempuan Politik Indonesia-Indonesian Woman Caucuss in Politics.
KPPPA	Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak-Ministry of Women Empowerment and Children Protections.
UN SDGs	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations.
Perludem	Perkumpulan Pemilu dan Demokrasi-Democraton and Election Fellowships.
Puskapol UI	Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia-Center for Political Study, University of Indonesia.
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan-Indonesian Struggle Democratic Party.
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera-Justice and Walfare Party.
PSI	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia-Indonesian SolidarityParty.
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan- United Development Party.
Nasdem	Nasional Demokrat-Democrat National Party.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

A. Research Problem

Women's political participation is the core issue of this thesis. According to studies, more women in parliament contribute to more attention to women's issues. Political engagement by women is a vital requirement for gender equality and an authentic democracy. It promotes women's direct participation in public decision-making and ensures more accountability for women. For several election cycles, Indonesian legislation has stipulated a gender quota of 30% for female political representation. This gender quota came into force in 2003, when a quota system was made optional. Beginning with the 2004 election, political parties were required to "consider" nominating at least 30% of female candidates using a zipper method. (Center for Political Study, University of Indonesia - Puskapol UI, 2005).

Schmid (2009) demonstrates that the notion that women are regularly put at the bottom of party lists is not fully accurate, rendering placement regulations such as the zipper system irrelevant. Despite the gender quota starting in 2004 (Elections Law No.12/2003), the target of 30% women in Indonesia's parliament has not been met. Furthermore, the zipper system for nominations only slightly increased women's participation in the House of Representatives (DPR) in 2004 since it was vague and lacked compliance sanctions. Thus, in the first election after the fall of the totalitarian regime in 1999, the percentage of women in parliament dropped from 13.6% to 8.8%. (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Women's Representation in the House of Representatives (DPR) during the Suharto and Post-Suharto Eras (1987–2019).³

Election	Total seats	Seats won by women	% Seats for women
Suharto era			
1987	500	59	11.80
1992	500	62	12.40
1997	500	58	13.60
Post-Suharto era			
1999	500	44	8.80
2004	550	65	11.80
2009	550	100	17.90
2014	560	97	17.30
2019	575	120	20.50

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2015); White and Aspinall (2019).

Below is the data on the percentage of women in Indonesia's parliament from nine political parties as the result of the election in 2019:

Table 1.2 Percentage of Seats Won by Female Candidates in the 2019 election

Political Party	Percentage of Women Elected to DPR
NASDEM	32.03%
PDIP	25.61%
GOLKAR	24.23%
PPP	23.14
PKB	21.40
PKS	21.29
GERINDRA	21.24
DEMOCRATS	20.63
PAN	18.55

Source: General Elections Commission (KPU) 2019.

The fulfillment of women's representation in candidate lists was one of the mandatory obligations for political parties in the elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019 when they registered candidates for legislative members with the General Elections Commission (KPU). In the fifth election held during the reform era, affirmative action in the form of the granting of a 30% quota for women candidates and the zipper system was, in fact, preserved. Considering the low percentage of women who hold elected positions, it is imperative that this policy of positive discrimination be preserved. To illustrate the quantitative picture of the national map, the following is preliminary data related to the continued increase in the number of female candidates in the three general elections in Indonesia:

Table 1.3. Number of Women Candidates in 2009, 2014, 2019 elections

Year	2009	2009	2014	2014	2019	2019
Political party	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
PPP	127	26.91	214	39.05	233	42.00
PKS	212	36.61	191	38.82	212	40.00
NASDEM	0	0	226	40.43	222	38.60
PKB	134	33.67	210	37.63	220	38.30
PDIP	222	35.41	200	35.71	215	37.52
DEMOCRATS	221	32.94	205	36.61	226	39.40
GOLKAR	194	30.27	202	36.07	216	38.00
PAN	177	29.70	207	36.96	223	39.00
GERINDRA	116	29.29	203	36.45	212	36.87
TOTAL	1,403		1,858		1,979	
%		28.31		37.52		38.85

Source: KPU, 2019.

Although political parties were able to meet the requirement that there be at least 30% of women in the legislature, practically all political parties confessed that it was difficult for them to recruit women to run for office. Even though an affirmative policy mandating a minimum of 30% candidates be held by women had been in place since the election of 2004, political parties were still having trouble with the nomination process, particularly when it came to recruiting women to run for office. For instance, several public statements were delivered by political party members which expressed their difficulty in finding women legislative candidates;

Lena Maryana Mukti (*Kompas*, 2018) a female MP from the PPP stated that: "Most political parties had difficulty meeting the 30% requirement for women's representation in the nomination of legislative members". Moreover, Gede Ngurah Wididana from the Democratic Party (Nusa Bali, 2018) said that: "It's true, it's hard to find female candidates. Even if we do, yes, we can persuade them half to death. We are dizzy too".

In addition, several political parties asserted that a significant number of women were unwilling to be nominated for positions in the legislature. In fact, political parties also confessed that the challenges they faced in recruiting female candidates were the result of internal party regeneration processes that had not yet been implemented (Sandra Lucky, 2019).

Interestingly, the initial statement made by political parties admitting that they had difficulty in finding female candidates, appeared in contrast to the high number of female candidates running in the 2019 election. The 2019 election saw the highest number of women running as DPR candidates. Even the KPU (*Kompas*, 2020) stated that there was an increase in women's representation in the fixed list of candidates. In the 2019 election there were 2,563 women candidates for the DPR, which was the highest number in the history of elections in Indonesia. The percentages of women in fixed-list candidates from political parties in 2019 were rather high, ranging from 37% to 55%. These percentages surpassed the 30% quota obligation, as seen in Table 1.4 below:

Table 1.4. Data on Women Candidates in 2019 Legislative Election

No	Political party	Total candidates	Number of women candidates	% Women candidates
1	PKPI	140	77	55.00
2	GARUDA	226	109	48.00
3	PSI	574	274	48.00
4	PPP	554	233	42.00
5	HANURA	428	180	42.00
6	PKS	531	212	40.00
7	DEMOCRATS	573	226	39.40
8	PERINDO	569	220	39.00
9	PAN	575	223	39.00
10	NASDEM	575	222	38.60
11	BERKARYA	554	214	38.60
12	PKB	575	220	38.30
13	GOLKAR	575	216	38.00
14	PDIP	573	215	37.50
15	PBB	482	177	37.00
16	GERINDRA	575	212	36.87

Source: KPU 2019.

The data above shows the number of female legislative candidates surpassed the 30% gender quota. So far, many studies have only focused on the result of achieving the 30% quota for women as members of the DPR yet there has been no research that focuses on the phenomenon of increasing the number of women included in the final list of candidates in the last three elections.

An intriguing symptom has emerged in the form of a general upward trend in the percentage of women candidates running for office in the legislature. The number of fixed candidate lists that include women tends to grow from one election to the next, which is significant in the context of women running for office. Based on the research problems, this research will explain why this is the case by discussing two variables: the role of political training and the pattern of the selection process within the political process. The two questions are formulated as follows:

1. How much did training for women in political participation by multiple-stakeholders encourage female candidates to run in the 2019 election, leading to the increased number and percentage of candidates in the election?
2. What was the pattern of recruitment and selection of women legislative candidates in the 2019 election?

B. Authenticity of Research

The female candidate quota in Indonesian politics was strengthened in three main ways in 2008 (pre-2009 election): (1) it mandated that one out of every three candidates on party lists be a woman; (2) it mandated that local election commissions verify that party lists complied in each electoral district; and (3) it mandated that parties include 30 percent of women in their executive boards (Hillman, 2017: 40). The quota rules were tightened once more before the 2014 election, and non-compliant parties were barred from running in such areas (Puskapol, 2015: 29).

The authenticity of this study is a result of an examination of the latest research by Puskapol UI and Hillman. First, the novelty of this thesis is based on an academic gap. The basis of this analysis is the scholarly divide between optimists and skeptics on gender quotas and the number of women who have run as candidates in Indonesian elections post-Soeharto. Numerous scholars and observers are pessimistic, skeptical and disparage the optimists (Puskapol UI 2015; Parawansa 2002; Pierskalla et al. 2020; Siregar 2005), but the few optimists (e.g., Hillman B 2017, 2018) report that training has increased the capacity of female candidates.

Second, quota provisions for women in politics have been agreed upon on a worldwide scale by democratic countries that wish to strengthen the role of women and equalize political involvement with men in making public policy decisions. Globally, the problem of women's roles in politics leads to the creation of platforms for women to have an equal opportunity to express themselves in politics and government.

Furthermore, the potential research contribution of this thesis is the discovery of the fact that increasing women's representation in the fixed list of candidates for parliament in the 2019 election appears to be related to United Nations Planet 50:50 goals and the local, national, and international synergy ecosystems to support increased numbers of women in the Indonesian legislature. The PKPI (55%), Garuda (48%), and PSI (48%) had female candidate numbers close to 50% in the 2019 election. Once again, the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENEAS, 2023) aimed to meet UN Sustainable Development Goal 5.5 and Planet 50:50, which seek to "...ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life...".

C. Research Objectives

The two objectives of this study are: First, to investigate whether political training is an important variable in increasing the number of women candidates in the 2019 election. Second, to examine the influence of political party recruiting trends in selecting candidates to exceed the 30% nomination criteria of women in political parties participating in the 2019 election. Based on these two factors, the objective of this research is to show that the study of women in politics, which usually focuses on women candidates who win seats, can also be looked at through women's participation at the candidacy stage.

D. Research Significance

The research and results of this study are expected to contribute both theoretically and practically. First, the theoretical benefit as a development of science. The findings of this thesis are expected to be useful for scientific conceptual development, especially in political science, development of gender and political theory and women's political representation in elections.

Second, the practical benefit. It is hoped that the results of this thesis study will be useful in providing feedback and input to institutions providing training and political education for women in Indonesia pertaining to their role in encouraging an increase in the participation of women at the nomination stage, particularly the fluctuation in the percentage of candidates in the 2019 election process. At the same time explaining the hypothesized success of the role of political training and educational institutions in increasing the number of women candidates to the highest in the history of elections in Indonesia.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

A. Literature Review

In the context of affirmative action there are many different forms and versions of gender quotas, which Mona Lena Krook (2009) has typically categorized into a variety of categories. These categories may be found in the diverse literature on gender quotas. To be more specific; a) party quotas, which allow political parties to include a particular percentage of women in their lists of candidates and provide women access to the nomination process, b) legislative quotas, which are somewhat like party quotas in that they provide access to a certain proportion of candidacies for women and are mandated for all political parties contesting through binding regulations.

The debate that has arisen around affirmative action using gender quotas has recently focused on presenting representations of women's identities in quantity, which according to Ann Philips (1995) will promote justice and equality and encourage the pursuance of women's interests. It also allows women to access resources for the good of the whole society. Other views question the ability to present women's interests, because political parties through their political elites often have different motives. One motive is to use women as a winning strategy solely to gain the sympathy of voters and to take advantage of women's popularity as a target for winning votes, as revealed by Caul (2001); Meier (2004) Chowdhury (2002) cited in Mona Lena Krook's (2009).

Ishiyama and Breuning (2013) provide an example of how the implementation of women's quota policies tends to lag. It may be due to the difficulties in locating qualified individuals or articulating women's identity demands and their multifaceted experiences. Promoting women's representation is an endeavor to bring democracy into political practice. Democratized representation is a community with a connection or link to its members in the legislature. Unfortunately, Ishiyama and Breuning did not elaborate how the quota strategies could be fulfilled by political parties.

However, political representation remains problematic when this policy is solely intended as an administrative necessity for political parties to adhere to in elections. Outshoorn and Kantola (2007) critique this strategy because, after nearly a decade of such women's policies, the expected improvement in women's equality has not yet occurred. From insufficient scientific prominent studies, the scholar must see that studying women's political representation should start with the nomination stage. In addition, to

fill this gap, political studies should be carried out at the stage of nominating women where the expertise and preparation of women in the world of politics will also be in line with an increase in the number of women representatives in parliament.

Furthermore, Prihatini (2019) indicates that Islamic ideology plays no obvious role in limiting female participation in legislative elections. From an ideological perspective, Prihatini says Islamic parties do not significantly limit female participation in elections; Islamist and pluralist parties meet quotas for female nominees but struggle to put them first on party lists. Islamic theology does not greatly restrict female participation in legislative elections. Due to their lesser access to cash, female candidates in Indonesia's costly open-list proportional representation system are more impacted than male candidates.

B. Theoretical Frameworks

B.1. Political Participation

Pericles (453 BC) supplied one of the best descriptions of political engagement when he said, "An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household, and even those of us who are involved in business have a reasonable understanding of politics." Today, in a typical election with many electors, the fact that a single vote is unlikely to alter the outcome does not discourage participation, as it has never done in human history.

Moreover, Conway (2021) describes women's political participation and focuses on women's participation in electoral politics, as voters and as office holders in the United States, she examines explanations developed in other countries for patterns of elected office-holding among women. Political participation may be defined as "those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities, or the policies of government".

B.2. Gender Equality Strategies

The work of Pippa Norris (2004), which provides a theoretical framework for electoral engineering, voting rules and political behavior consequences for political representation, will be utilized in this study. She has argued that various factors, including the ones listed below, can be employed for gender-equality strategies to increase women's representation in politics:

Table 1.5. Gender Equality Strategies, Pippa Norris's Model

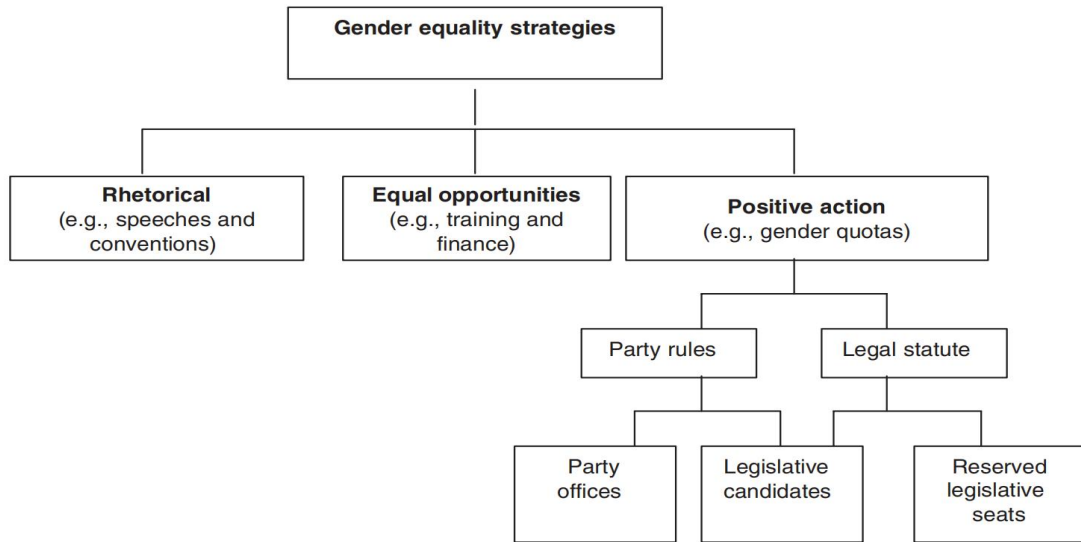


FIGURE 1.5 Gender equality strategies

Under this theoretical framework, Norris believes that several elements may be utilized for gender equality tactics. The most typical tactics fall into three categories:

First, rhetorical strategies are deployed via the signature of international agreements on women's rights, as well as through public statements and remarks praising the principles of equal opportunities for men and women. This can result in the progress of women in elected and appointed office where leaders are dedicated to these ideals and wield patronage and influence.

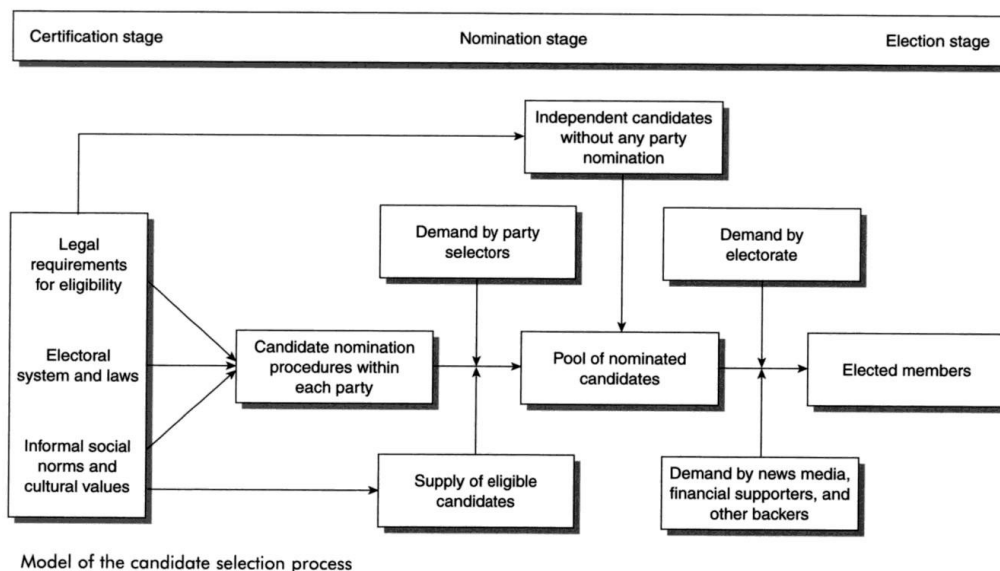
Second, the objective of equal opportunity rules is to level the playing field so that women and men may pursue political careers on an equal basis. Common examples include programs that aid with election expenditures, training for candidates in communication, public speaking, networking, campaigning, and news management, and the provision of creches and childcare facilities within legislative assemblies. Equal opportunity approaches can be intended to be gender-neutral; for instance, training opportunities can be offered to both male and female candidates for the legislature, and childcare services can be utilized by both parents, even though the results may largely benefit women.

Third, affirmative action policies are designed to aid women as a temporary solution until gender parity in legislative and elected bodies is attained. Positive action comprises three principal strategies: the usage of reserved seats for women created by electoral legislation; statutory gender quotas

controlling the makeup of candidate lists for all parties in each nation; and voluntary gender quotas utilized in laws and norms governing candidate-selection procedures within certain parties.

Furthermore, we state in Norris' candidate-selection process analysis framework that candidacy has three stages: certification, nomination, and election. The political-recruitment model developed by Norris (2006) provides a wide understanding of political recruiting. According to his model, the political recruitment process is divided into three stages, with various factors influencing each stage. Certification, nomination, and election are the three processes, what follows is the candidate-selection process model:

Table 1.6. Candidate Selection Process, Pippa Norris's Model



Source: Norris, 2006. p. 90.

According to Norris, the first stage is certification, which relates to who has the right to be nominated (eligible). Legislation, election systems, and electoral regulations, as well as applicable social and cultural norms, all have an impact on this stage. In general, applicable election laws and regulations, such as age, nationality, place of residence, and education, might limit candidates' eligibility. Internal party regulations also have an impact on candidates' eligibility in the selection process. Party membership, length of membership, loyalty, and awareness of party policy lines are all factors considered by internal rules. Some political parties have strict standards for candidacy, while others do not.

The second stage is the nomination stage, which is concerned with who makes the nomination. This is a critical stage in the nomination process. Norris quotes Schattschneider as saying, "Whoever makes the nomination is the owner of the party." At this point, the party's internal nomination procedure is in effect. Who makes the decision? This is the key question. It may be seen in three dimensions. The first component is the degree of centralization, or the amount to which organizational leaders at the central, regional, and lower levels of the organization have influence in decision making. In a centralized party organization, the main level of party leadership has a significant role in determining decisions. Decisions in decentralized party structures are made locally and involve the grassroots.

The third dimension is the election's scope, which is related to the number of candidates, whether one, a few, or many. If there are a lot of candidates, the procedure can be carried out gradually from many to a few, with one individual being nominated at the end. On the other hand, if only one candidate is nominated, there may be no candidate-selection procedure. This usually happens to the incumbent candidate. The official entity in charge of executing the selection is not always the most important factor in decision making. In the absence of written procedures and regulations, decisions can be made. If this is the case, the institutionalization of the party is deemed to be feeble. The formal procedure is merely a "rubber stamp" for selections that have already been made.

Norris says the election stage is the third stage of the recruitment process. This step is concerned with who is nominated. This stage is also influenced by the interaction of political parties with the electoral system, as well as the creation of political concerns that require public accountability. Among these are voter demands, media coverage, and donor support, for example, claims about the nomination of women or minority groups.

B.3. Equal Opportunities Roles by National and International Agencies

According to Inglehart and Norris (2003), most international parliaments fail to represent the proportion of female voters. Even in established democracies, this tendency endures despite post-war changes in the home, family, school, and workforce, as well as the emergence of multicultural cultures. NGOs, political parties, and international organizations have frequently emphasized the need for equitable opportunity for all individuals in appointed and elected roles in public life.

Moreover, according to Norris (2006), international agencies, countries, parties, and organizations concerned with raising the presence of women and minorities in public office have promoted a variety of approaches meant to break down obstacles. The international agencies, governments, parties, and

organizations can provide equal opportunities roles, such as training and financing, as part of their support system for women activists pursuing legislative candidacies.

In addition, according to Norris (2004), equal opportunity policies are intended to level the playing field so that women may pursue political careers on the same terms as males. Common examples include programs of financial help to assist with election expenditures, training for candidates in the areas of communication, public speaking, networking, campaigning, and news-management, and the provision of creches and childcare facilities within legislative assemblies. Equal opportunity tactics can be designed to be gender-neutral; for instance, chances for training can be provided to both women and men parliamentary candidates, and childcare services can be utilized by both parents, even though their impacts may disproportionately benefit women.

B.4. Positive Action and Party Rules

According to Norris (2006), positive action techniques have been implemented for women and minorities. As demonstrated by the British Labor Party, candidate quotas may also be utilized in majoritarian election systems; however, it might be more difficult to implement quotas within single member districts than within party lists. Reserved seats can also be used in majoritarian election systems, such as in New Zealand for Maoris prior to reform, but they have been utilized less frequently in the majority of established democracies. Consequently, proportional representation systems are more likely to elect more women to the legislature than majoritarian systems.

B.5. Pattern of Party Legislative Candidate Recruitment

The pattern of party legislative candidate recruitment according to Hague & Harrop (2001) is the process carried out by political parties by reducing the number of people who have the potential to sit as members of parliament to only a small number of those who will be entitled to take part in general elections. Putnam, as quoted by Wessels (1997), argues that legislative recruitment refers to the mechanism and process of selecting millions of people who have the political motivation to become several thousand people who succeed in becoming members of parliament at both the local and national levels. Norris (1997) states that legislative recruitment refers to the stages that determine an individual's move up from the lower level to become a member of parliament.

Norris stated four things that also influence the implementation of the recruitment of legislative candidates in various countries:

1. The political system of a country, especially the rule of law, party system and election system that describes the opportunities for candidates in the political market space in that country.
2. Internal party recruitment process, especially the level of democratization within the party in the making and implementation of legislative candidate selection rules.
3. Candidates who offer themselves to participate in the election, related to the level of motivation and political capital they have.
4. Furthermore, of these four matters, whether a person becomes a legislative candidate is still determined by party policy makers (party gatekeepers), as stated by Hague and Harrop (2001).

Going deeper, Norris (1996) classifies final decision-making within the party based on two indicators, namely:

1. Tight or lax party policy-making elites in determining legislative candidates based on criteria set by the party. The classification being: a) bureaucratic, political party elites apply strict criteria in selecting candidates; b) patronage, party elites select candidates loosely (not too rigidly) in applying the criteria that have been applied by the party.
2. The level of final decision-making, whether centered on party officials at the national level or decentralized to administrators at the local level. The classification is: a) Centralized decision making, policy makers for candidate recruitment are party elites at the national and regional levels; b) Localized decision making, policy makers are constituents, party officials at the local level, and even voters.

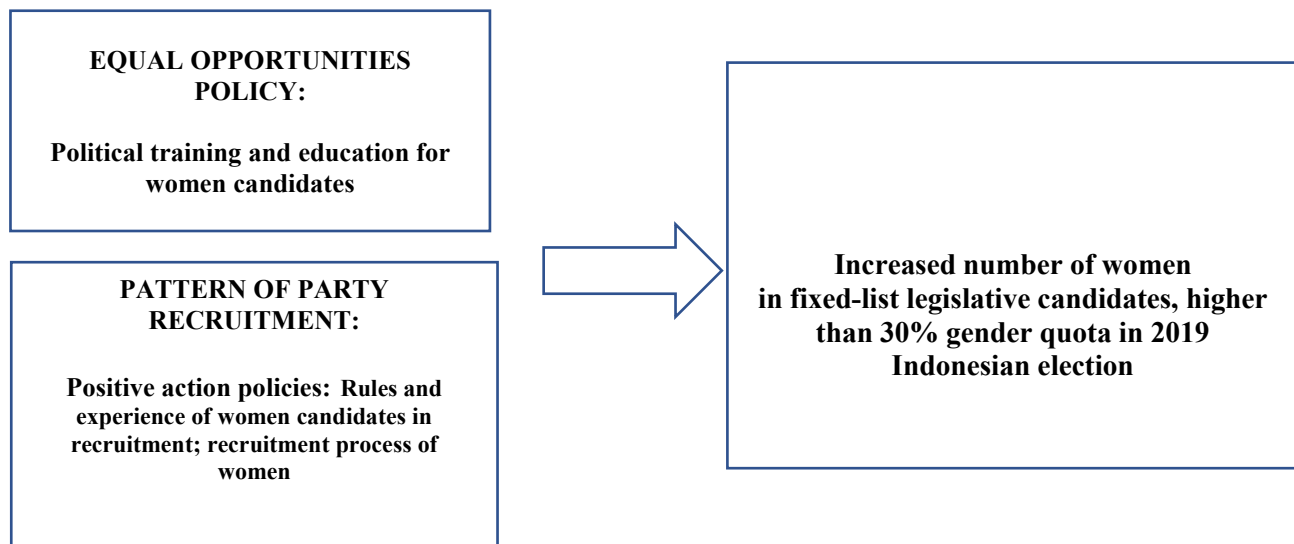
Based on the two indicators above, Norris describes four typologies of legislative recruitment by political parties, namely:

1. Central patronage, policy makers are party elites at the national and regional levels, implementing the criteria for legislative candidates loosely set by the party.
2. Local patronage, policy makers are party officials at the local level, implementing the criteria for legislative candidates that have been determined by party officials at the local level and even party constituents loosely.

3. Local bureaucratic, policy makers are party officials at the local level, strictly implementing the criteria for legislative candidates that have been determined by the party.
4. Central bureaucratic, policy makers are party elites at the national level, strictly implementing the criteria for legislative candidates that have been determined by the party.

C. Working Hypothesis

Hypothesis Analysis Model:



Working Hypothesis: ¹

Knoepfel *et.all* (2011) says a working hypothesis is a hypothesis that is tentatively accepted as the basis for future investigation with the aim of producing a tenable theory or descriptive analysis, even if the hypothesis ultimately fails. In this way, a working hypothesis is an accepted starting point for further research. The first working-hypothesis (H.1) is how equal opportunity policies can increase the number of women candidates. The intensive efforts of stakeholders to achieve equal opportunity policies, such as political training, boosted the number of women legislative candidates to surpass the 30% gender quota in the 2019 Indonesian election. The second working-hypothesis (H.2) is the explanation of political parties' mechanisms. Did closed or open recruitment or female leadership in a party contribute to increasing the number of women candidates escalates beyond the 30% gender quota in the 2019 Indonesia elections?

¹. Look at Peter Knoepfel, Corinne Larrue, Michael Hill (2011). Research and working hypotheses. *Public Policy Analysis* (pp.251-270).DOI:10.1332/policypress/9781861349071.003.0011; https://stats.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Advanced_Statistics/Analysis_of_Variance_and_Design_of_Experiments/01%3A_Overview_of_ANOVA/1.01%3A_The_Working_Hypothesis

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN

A. The Place and Time of The Study

The place of this research was Jakarta, Indonesia, and the time of the study was from 2018 until 2023.

B. Research Materials and Tools

B.1. Research Materials

The research materials of this thesis were relevant documents and textual opinions of sources. The interviews were conducted through a case selection of individuals who were connected to the research topic, such as women candidates from specific parties, party actors with recruitment functions, and political party experts and researchers as source-persons. Furthermore, to understand the pattern of recruitment, interviews were conducted with political party representatives, from parties that had the highest number of women candidates (the PKPI, Garuda and PSI) and from parties with the highest number of women in the national parliament (the PDIP and NASDEM) following the 2019 election; and with the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI); Perludem; the International Republican Institute (IRI), B-Trust with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS); the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA); and women legislative candidates.

B.2. Tools

The methodology employed in this study was qualitative. The application of methods to study and comprehend the importance that persons or organizations are thought to have evolved from a social or human problem is the primary focus of qualitative research (Creswell, 1998, 2011). In addition, this research made use of in-depth interviews, as well as a systematic literature evaluation, which investigated the data and findings of other writers in relation to the research issue or questions. The research also applied the data that was gathered through in-depth interviews with source-persons.

C. Research Management

According to Grant, M. J., and Booth, (2009), research can be either primary/empirical or secondary/desk based. Primary research typically entails collecting data directly from research subjects and necessitates ethical permission. Secondary research involves acquiring data that already exists through desk review and does not require ethical approval because it does not involve dealing directly with subjects or generating new data. The triangulation method was utilized during the data-validation process to generate a valid resume of the findings. The particular and general questions served as the selection criteria for the data that was collected. Both the main data obtained from in-depth interviews and the secondary data obtained from a literature analysis held equally significant positions.

**CHAPTER IV:
RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

A. Research Results

A.1. Equal Opportunities Policy:

An equal opportunities policy sets out to advance and fulfill the target of women's representation in politics. In the context of the 2019 elections in Indonesia, the KPU had issued a regulation for political parties that required at least 30% female candidates in the final candidate list. In the real world, it was not easy for political parties to get these candidates, because during the New Order the patriarchal political culture was so strong that the role and involvement of women in politics did not get an important place.

This thesis research asks, how did political training for women by multiple stakeholders encourage female candidates to run in the 2019 election and bring about the increase in the number and percentage of candidates in the election? The following data compiled from a variety of sources is presented:

Table 4.1. Political Training and Its Impact on Female Candidates in The 2019 Election.

No.	Source	Political Training Available	Impact of Training/Education on Female Candidacy
1	Andy Budiman, vice president PSI.	<p>Ahead of the 2019 election, the PSI formed an internal educational forum to encourage women who had the potential and wanted to build a new Indonesia that was more democratic and tolerant, to run for election.</p> <p>The forum succeeded in convincing women activists so that 48% of candidates nominated and registered in the 2019 election were women and this forum in the PSI later</p>	<p>Many factors determined the PSI's decision to nominate 48% of women in the 2019 election. The main factor, apart from training, that increased the capacity and confidence of female candidates to have the courage to run was the leadership factor.</p> <p>The chairperson of the PSI, who at that time happened to be a woman, was relatively successful in convincing and becoming a role model for women to enter the candidate list. Female candidates saw firsthand the new leadership of</p>

		became the forerunner of the 2019 PSI cadre school.	women in the PSI, how they expressed ideas, spoke in public, this convinced cadres to run as candidates in the 2019 election. However, political training outside of our party provided by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and NGOs, and that was quite a lot, helped women candidates also.
2	Yohana Murtika, secretary-general of the Garuda Party.	<p>Training to increase women's capacity in politics organized by various parties, including the state, donor agencies, and civil society organizations, built women's awareness about running as Garuda Party candidates in the 2019 election.</p> <p>The Garuda Party in the 2019 election held Garuda cadre training. Important material presented related to why women needed to participate in politics, capacity building and the self-confidence to move forward. At that time, there were 48% of female candidates in the candidate list.</p>	<p>The influence of Garuda cadre training in encouraging candidates to run as candidates was quite significant. Women activists who initially had doubts, after participating in the training their doubts disappeared and they were confident in taking part in the candidacy process in the 2019 elections.</p> <p>As a result of the political training for women in our party, as many as 40% of the training participants decided to run as national candidates in the 2019 elections, so that the Garuda Party was able to field 48% of female candidates in the 2019 elections.</p>
3	Dwi Septiwati Djafar (PKS), chair of the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus.	<p>The role of political training carried out by the state, society and international aid agencies is reckoned to have been effective in restoring the confidence and enthusiasm of female candidates who were members of the Indonesian Political Women's Caucus to want to and have the courage to run as candidates, above the 30% KPU requirement.</p> <p>The political training encouraged women's political representation, so that women also participated in fighting for the interests of women, families, and children.</p>	<p>The influence of training held by the state, KPPPA, Regional Women's Empowerment Service, NGOs, Perludem, campuses and donor organizations (Puskapol, Kemitraan, KAS, IRI, NDI) encouraged women activists to advance as candidates, as a result the PKPI, Garuda, PSI, Hanura, Nasdem, PKS were able to ensure 40% female candidates.</p>

4	<p>Muhammad Rouf, director of LKPPM-KPPPA, partner and member of the West Java Nasdem Party.</p>	<p>The women's capacity-building training organized by the KPPPA and LKPPM aimed to encourage the development of a perspective of gender justice and equality among women activists.</p> <p>So that women can be called upon to participate and have the ability and confidence to be nominated in the 2019 elections.</p> <p>Training for female candidates helped encourage candidates who were hesitant before to become confident to run as a candidate. This could be seen after conducting an evaluation survey after the training activities were complete.</p>	<p>The training of female candidates saw quite a lot of interest from female activists, sometimes even the people's representatives fought over it because the numbers were limited, even though some political parties also have schools for female cadres.</p> <p>All candidates would join candidate training, which further strengthened them to continue advancing to the final list of candidates. This is because during the 2019 elections, many women withdrew during the selection of the final list of candidates.</p>
5	<p>Darsono Sudiby, assistant deputy for gender and politics at the KPPPA (2017-2020).</p>	<p>The assistant deputy for gender and politics at the KPPPA created a training module for female candidates and a training program to increase women's capacity ahead of the 2019 elections, which was intended for all political parties as participants. The training materials were on Women's Leadership, Campaign Strategy, Personal Branding, Vote Target Strategy, and the Indonesian Electoral System.</p> <p>The institutions conducted training for women political facilitators in 34 provinces; leadership training for potential women as candidates for regional heads and national political education with a gender perspective.</p>	<p>After the training program was created, the benefits of the training and their influence in preparing for the nomination process were evaluated. Most of the participants stated that they gained new knowledge, strategies that had never been imagined before, and increased their self-confidence and could imagine what role they would play if elected, especially as representatives of the people who cared about gender equality and justice.</p>
6	<p>Heroik, researcher</p>	<p>In the 2019 election, most political parties conducted training and provided political education to women cadres, by</p>	<p>The role of international institutions concerned with women's empowerment, both directly providing training materials and</p>

	<p>Perludem.</p>	<p>collaborating with CSOs such as Perludem or sending their cadres to take part in capacity building training for women legislative candidates held by the state such as the KPPPA, Kemdagri, Puskapol UI or workshops on the work of the Women's Coalition such as the KPPI and KPI with the support of international institutions such as Partnership, IRI, NDI, and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). Apart from that, Perludem also received invitations from political parties to train their candidates in preparing for the 2019 elections.</p>	<p>indirectly in the form of funding and facilitating training participants for trainers, was important in increasing women's capacity in the 2019 election, so that many training participants were confident about running for election as a candidate.</p> <p>Support from international institutions and funding, as well as domestic stakeholders in training activities that strengthened the capacity of women activists, played an indirect role such as providing materials and funding for training and workshops in increasing women candidates to more than 30% in the 2019 election.</p> <p>Strengthening at the individual level of women legislators needs to be carried out, among other requirements, increasing hard skills, namely knowledge and skills in drafting laws and understanding the substance of draft laws and improving soft skills, namely understanding gender perspectives, and negotiating strategies with political factions and parties. For this reason, a support system is needed for female candidates, including the involvement of civil society.</p>
7.	<p>Yolanda, research director – Cakra Wikara Indonesia.</p> <p>(Source: Working Paper on Strengthening Women's Political Representation in Indonesia Compiled by: Anna Margret Lumban Prision & Yolanda Panjaitan. Cakra</p>	<p>Political training contributed to women being willing, confident, and running as candidates in 2019. However, great authority is attached to political parties in terms of political recruitment, the nomination process in elections, to the determination of seats in parliament. Affirmative policies that exist today have been successfully "held hostage" by political parties to maintain the power and authority of the party over its members, the existence of party schools or political training helps women to gain political abilities and knowledge</p>	

	Wikara Indonesia 2023 P. 5.)	that are equal and better than before.	
8.	Ika Wahyu, senior program officer International Republican Institute).	<p>During 2018-2019 the International Republican Institute (IRI) did not touch on the national level, but rather at the sub-national level in provinces and districts/cities in Indonesia and several training participants included national candidates.</p> <p>However, at the provincial level, the IRI has a major presence in Aceh, Jogjakarta, Central Sulawesi, NTT, South Sulawesi, DI Yogyakarta. The IRI's main program ahead of the 2019 election was the empowerment of political women.</p> <p>Training materials: Election Law, Election Rules, Election Mapping & Voter Targeting, Nomination and Campaign Regulations, Get Out the Vote (GOTV), Communication Strategy.</p>	<p>The IRI has trained many candidates at the provincial level. The material provided was more of a time-urgent need, namely the preparation of soft skills given to female candidates who had the potential to take part in the 2019 election.</p> <p>Since starting in 2017, the IRI has had the PUTIK (Women for Politics) program which is an academy of women's political leadership. In this program, the IRI invites active political party structures or cadres to take part in the training. The material includes how female cadres of political parties can win strategic seats.</p>
9.	Nita Estina Gunitarukmi PDIP candidate in the 2019 election.	<p>The training of female cadres was carried out twice, two batches a year before the 2019 election. In addition, the formation of tiered cadres for female PDIP members was carried out by the PDIP Education and Training Agency.</p> <p>There was training by the KPPPA, which we also received, apart from that there was training organized by the international agency the UNDP. The training participants taught technical matters on how to calculate the votes we must get.</p>	<p>Women activists were involved in the regeneration process. The PDIP ahead of 2018-2019 had special training for female cadres at the national level (PKKPN) to prepare female cadres who would run as legislative candidates. The participants were candidates for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and regency/municipal DPRD.</p> <p>The variety of training and political education that I participated in emboldened me to run for the 2019 election, even though I lost in 2014, the training convinced me not to give up and run again as a candidate in the 2019 elections.</p>
10.	Yuyu Komariah, director of B-Trust local partners of	The Konrad Adenaur Stiftung-B-Trust training time scheme was carried out from 2015-2026, including training ahead of the	Several non-parliament member participants who took part in KAS-B-Trust activities stated that they had never nominated themselves. They

	Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (KAS).	<p>2019 election. Initially the KAS and B-trust trained since 2015 for members of the DPR. In one training session, there were 26-30 participants representing provinces in Indonesia. In fact, only 15 people were able to take part in full. In the end, before the training started, KAS-B-Trust opened opportunities for non-legislative members. This meant that KAS-B-Trust training was not only for elected DPRD members but also DPRD member candidates in the 2019 election. Because the average non-legislative participant would become a legislative candidate.</p> <p>Training materials included legislative roles in regional development accountability, understanding and analysis of APBD, child protection, communication strategies as political capital, political communication and media handling, narratives, and dynamics of women's leadership in politics, SGDs in regional development, and emotional intelligence for adaptive leadership.</p>	<p>were active in political parties because they wanted to gain experience and project opportunities in political parties. The reason being that when close to the elected legislator from a particular party, the network became deeper.</p> <p>However, when they attended the KAS-B-Trust training, their vision changed, they became very excited to become candidates in 2019, there was a change in the mindset of the training participants. And most of the training participants ran as candidates in the 2019 elections.</p>
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Noted: Data collected in March-May 2023.

The data analysis matrix above shows a recurring pattern in that most interviewees had an optimistic tendency with almost the same pattern saying that there was a lot of training and political education so that women candidates were encouraged to have their names included by political parties in the nomination process to become candidates in the 2019 election.

The Norris “equal opportunity rule” (2004) was applied in the case of the 2019 elections. Several female candidates had support systems from state institutions. The Assistant Deputy for Gender and Politics at the KPPPA created a training module for female candidates and a training program for increasing women's capacity ahead of the 2019 election, aimed at all female cadres of political parties as participants. The training materials were Women's Leadership, Campaign Strategy, Personal Branding, Vote Target

Strategy, Indonesian Electoral System. The training covered 30 provinces and several districts and cities. In one province the number of female participants was 80-100 candidates from political parties and women activists from NGOs.

Furthermore, the KPPPA source, Darsono Sudibyo, believed the training increased women's confidence to run for the 2019 elections. Most of the participants stated that they gained new knowledge, strategies that they had never been imagined before, and increased self-confidence and could imagine what role they would play if elected, especially as people's representatives who cared about gender equality and justice.

On the other hand, the role of political education and training for women in the 2019 election was more serious and carried out by internal parties and the support of stakeholders (the state, CSOs and international institutions). Women's capacity was built and women were encouraged to become a legislative candidate through the training they participated in. For example, Perludem and the CSO Women's Coalition ahead of the 2019 election conducted voluntary training with Women Indonesia Raya (PIRA) with women candidate participants. Invitation training was conducted with female cadres of the Gerindra Party.

Moreover, the Gerindra Party invited Perludem to hold a two-day training workshop for female cadres during the preparation stage for the temporary candidate list, which the Gerindra Party would submit to be included in the final 2019 legislative candidates list. This was done to strengthen the female cadres so that they remained steady in continuing the nomination process toward the preparation of the fixed candidate list. The material provided in the training was related to election techniques and electoral law enforcement processes, candidate vote targets, voter maps, so that women capacity-building training participants did not waste energy and worry about not being able to meet campaign targets in each region. Perludem taught that to meet the votes target, they needed to know which regions were not the traditional voter base of a particular party based on the 2019 election results.

The identification efforts in the training helped increase the motivation of female trainees to participate in the nomination process. This was proven in an in-depth interview, a candidate participant from the PDIP stated that she was initially hesitant to run for the 2019 elections, but after attending the training, she stated that she was more determined to take part. There was training material on why women should be involved in politics, as well as how to deal with election fraud. Based on the evaluation of the training participants, this encouraged them to be more confident in running for the legislature because they felt more empowered and knew how to be competitive in the election process. This is in line with a statement

from the Indonesian Women Political Caucus (DSD) that the influence of training boosted women's candidacy in the 2019 election.

A.2 Patterns of Party Recruitment

Elections are an arena for political parties and women candidates to compete for political positions in parliament. In achieving this goal, political parties take certain steps and internal mechanisms that determine which candidates will be appointed to fight and enter the final list of candidates. The right candidate will increase the party's chances of winning as many votes as possible from the electorate. What is in the spotlight is the party's internal mechanisms, which can be in the form of discussion panels, scoring systems, administrative requirements in the form of collecting copies of identity cards from voters, “political dowry” donations etc.

There are political parties that declare they engage in politics without political dowries, as announced openly by the Nasdem Party. A political dowry is one of the administrative obstacles for women in running for elections. The PDIP, PSI and PKS use a scoring system, whereas the Garuda Party tends to emphasize that female candidates not be burdened with the obligation to collect voter identity cards or party fees so that the number of female candidates nominated exceeds 30%.

One of the challenges faced by political parties in the 2019 election was the insistence by the KPPPA, women activists, local and international NGOs, that political parties in Indonesia have a juridical and moral obligation to recruit candidates who fight for women's representation, especially the empowerment of female cadres amid the lack of women's political participation. The following are field findings related to the opinions of informants:

Table 4.2. Internal Mechanisms of Political Parties and The Impact on Women's Candidacies in the 2019 Election.

No.	Informants/Sources	Internal Party Mechanism	Impact on Women Candidates
1	Andy Budiman, vice president PSI.	The PSI created a party forum to openly screen and invite talented women to run for election. The PSI is a political party that strongly supports the role of women in politics and 66% of party officials at the central level	In conducting party selection, the PSI conducted a fit and proper test and even invited several experts such as Mari Eka Pangestu, and Sri Budi Eko Wardani of Puskapol UI to provide an objective assessment of candidate selection. The

		<p>are women.</p> <p>For the recruitment of candidates the PSI announced the registration of candidates through the party's social media, and the PSI even made an approach to women in the community to recruit quality female candidates.</p>	<p>women candidates had to pass internal PSI mechanisms.</p>
2	<p>Yohana Murtika, secretary general of Garuda Party.</p>	<p>The Garuda Party is determined to promote women. Therefore, fostering female cadres, delaying the implementation of scoring which hinders women administratively, such as collecting voter identity cards, and abolishing dowries/party contributions as political affirmation.</p> <p>In collecting female candidates, the Garuda Party used the network pattern of female political party officials to recruit female activists to become candidates in the 2019 election.</p>	<p>The influence of a woman leader, Yohana Murtika, secretary general of the Garuda Party, made the party's internal mechanism very women friendly. And the party's main program is indeed designed to provide a strategic place and position for women as the main program of political parties.</p>
3	<p>Dwi Septiwati Djafar (PKS), Chair of the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus.</p>	<p>Assessing the party mechanisms that produced 37-55% women candidate lists, the PKPI, Garuda, Nasdem, Hanura and PKS are very friendly to women. In addition to KPU regulations, there is a special desire to build equality between men and women in these political parties and in parliament.</p>	<p>The democratic and transparent mechanisms of several political parties that are women-friendly and have a gender equality perspective allowed for more than 30% of women in candidate lists.</p> <p>This is part of the impact of the role of KPPPA, academics/experts, the media in campaigning for justice and gender equality in politics in Indonesia so as to encourage political parties to not play games in fulfilling the number of female candidates, even several NGOs such as Perludem, the KPI together with party activists women approached</p>

			political party leaders to ask them to consider women as serial numbers on the list of candidates.
4	Muhammad Rouf, director of the LKPPM and administrator of the West Java Nasdem Party.	The internal mechanism of several parties in the Reform era was due to the political education of parties, both the state and society so that they could have a gender perspective, have an impact and provide opportunities for women to run for election, exceeding the KPU's target of 30%.	The influence of internal party mechanisms that understood the importance of women's representation resulted in the number of women candidates being more than 30%. This was reportedly due to party socialization, which was able to be absorbed by party leaders and administrators.
5	Heroik, researcher Perludem.	<p>Internal party mechanisms are also important in increasing the number of female candidates. Perludem has the latest research regarding the democratization index in political parties. There are at least four indicators of party democratization. First, space for participation, to what extent is the role of party members in making decisions compared to the role of party elites to be involved in the process of determining candidates and determining general chairpersons?</p> <p>Second, representation. How is the treatment in the party of minority groups including women, youth and so on? There are parties like the PPP which in their party statutes and bylaws contain and implement the principle of representation.</p> <p>The Indonesian Political Women's Caucus (KKPI), Advanced Indonesian Women (MPI) and Perludem together with the Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI) Kapal Perempuan (KP) and other CSOs, traveled to political</p>	<p>Regarding the pattern of party recruitment in the candidacy process, the Golkar Party has a scoring mechanism in determining temporary and permanent candidate lists for male or female candidates. For example, a female or male candidate who is an incumbent in the DPR will get a high score and have an impact on the possibility of getting a low serial number. Women who occupy positions in party infrastructure such as core administrators, daily administrators also receive high scores compared to female candidates who are not administrators. Scoring is gender neutral and not biased or affirmative for female candidates. Likewise, the tendency of scoring in the PSI is called the convention selection process.</p> <p>This indicates that when in the 2019 election the number of female candidates exceeded 30%, women who passed the fixed-candidate selection were qualified candidates who were not just taken from the</p>

		parties to meet with party leaders to ask political parties to pay attention to female candidates in their recruitment system and place women in strategic candidate numbers.	secretariat or administration, as was the tendency for women candidates who entered the fixed list in the 2014 election.
6	Darsono Sudibyo, assistant deputy for gender and politics KPPPA.	Several political parties in the Reform era understood that women were a source of the voter base because the female population according to the 2010 BPS census was 50.1%. A gender-friendly party leadership mechanism made the decision to include more women in the fixed-candidate list, more than the 30% stipulated by the KPU.	Political parties that recognized women as a real source of support in the 2019 elections would try to attract women voters to vote for women candidates. As a result, several parties decided to include women candidates as candidates outside the provisions of the KPU regulations.
7.	Nita Estina Gunitarukmi, PDIP candidate in 2019 election.	In the PDIP, the recruitment system is carried out using a scoring system regardless of men and women, as long as the candidate is a party official, has political experience, they will usually get a fairly high score. The pattern of recruitment is from within the party or outside the party, usually the party management at the provincial and district/municipal levels will propose several names to the national-level party, the names of candidates who have the potential to be elected.	The party recruitment system also influences the party's alignment with female candidates. For example, as a female candidate, I receive campaign material assistance, such as: political advertising banners, party flags, name cards for party candidates, headscarves, and election accommodation costs. Not all candidates get that, I got it because I am a loyal cadre and have long been an administrator of the political party.
8.	Yuyu Komariah, director B-Trust local partner Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (KAS).	Political parties understand if they cannot fulfill the 30% quota, they will be in trouble. However, what was interesting was that some of the trainees stated that as female candidates they got conveniences, such as being allowed to choose an electoral district in the neighborhood where they lived or had their	The system of offering conveniences by political parties to women candidates was enough to attract women's attention and encouraged them to run as candidates in the 2019 elections.

		extended family.	
9	Yolanda, research director, Cakra Wikara Indonesia.	In terms of descriptive representation, increasing the number of female candidates is still important, but in reality, efforts to increase the number of women candidates need to be balanced with improvements to the party's mechanism for recruiting candidates to guarantee access. To ensure legislative nomination is not dominated by popularity and financial readiness as the main factors.	The root of the problem lies in the recruitment mechanism for political parties that ignores the principles of transparency, inclusiveness, and equality. Party pragmatism, which prioritizes popularity and financial strength as the basis for obtaining votes in elections is one of the main obstacles in the quality of political recruitment, for both female and male legislative candidates. Gaining and keeping seats is the primary goal of parties, as well as most politicians.

Noted: Data collected in March-April 2023.

Dwi Septiawati Djafar, chairperson of the Indonesian Political Women's Caucus, when asked how political development and the role of parties influenced the increase in the number of female candidates in the 2019 election where the number of candidates in some parties surpassed 30%, explained that the increase in the percentage of female candidates in the 2019 election was due to several reasons.

First, women's issues in Indonesia are increasing and widely discussed in the mainstream media and social media, increasing the awareness and concern for women to enter fields that are less desirable, including politics.

Second, there are systematic and planned efforts made by stakeholders to increase women's representation in the political field. These efforts encourage women to become candidates in legislative elections. Efforts to encourage women's candidacy were carried out by the government through the KPPPA, through the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemdagri), as well as the Coordinating Ministry of Human Development and Culture (Kemenko PMK), and BAPPENAS. These efforts were in the form of political education, workshops and training on women's empowerment in line with the UN SDGs.

Third, the role of institutions in strengthening democracy at the national and international levels. Apart from raising women's issues, they also made concrete efforts, for example conducting training, debriefing, by providing financial support and establishing good trainers for women activists.

Fourth, the role of political party institutions. Although the number, frequency and escalation of activities tended to differ among political parties they understood the regulatory demands, the demands of the Election Law in the form of a stipulation that women amount to a minimum of 30% of the candidate list.

In the training forum, apart from asking women why women needed to be present in politics, they also came to the point of "wanting to register". To build awareness of women entering the nomination process, training held by parties, the media, provisions of election regulations and low administrative obstacles by political parties all played significant roles. The training provided to women from several parties in the 2019 election succeeded in convincing them to become candidates and be included in the final list of candidates.

This is then related to the question of whether there are other factors such as certain parties not requiring administrative burdens such as dowries or "political costs", not requiring the collecting of voter national identity cards as proof of support, which led to the number of female candidates in the 2019 election exceeding 30%. This chair of the Women's Political Caucus explains it as follows:

“In my opinion, the placement of 30% women candidates is a provision regulated in the 2017 Election Law. So political parties must prepare at least 30% female candidates. If the amount exceeds 30% [certain parties 33% to 49%] then there are other reasons that encouraged this to happen. The need for women candidates is in political parties. If the party presents burdensome conditions, it will certainly prevent women from entering the list of candidates.”

The KPPI chairwoman resource person also explained the PSI phenomenon where in 2019 the chairperson was a woman, namely Grace Natalie, and the female candidate rate reached 48%. The PSI's success with regard to women candidates is related to the factor of female leadership. This greatly affected the number of female PSI candidates in the 2019 election. It was easy for women, from celebrities and influencers, to attract and invite women to become candidates for the 2019 legislature, to resolve issues related to women's interests. Then many women became candidates for the party. The factor of the chairperson and secretary general being women can also be an explanation as to why the PSI and the Garuda Party had a large number of female candidates in the 2019 elections.

The next step is related to the question of how the mechanisms in political parties produced a large number of female candidates in the 2019 elections. The KPPI explained that the PKS in the 2019

elections had a total of 39.97% female candidates, rounded up to 40%; the Garuda Party, 48.89%; the PSI, 47.74%; Hanura 41.58%; the PPP 42%, with the highest being the PKPI at 55.47%. What role did political party mechanisms have on increasing the number of female candidates in the 2019 election? The Garuda Party, PKS, PSI, PPP did not impose burdensome requirements on female candidates. In addition, the PKS also has no other requirements to become a candidate except for the general requirements for candidates set by the KPU. The PKS does not ask for a dowry or collection of identity cards as proof of support. Women tend to refuse to register as candidates if asked for aggravating factors. The absence of aggravating factors demanded by political parties contributed to the increase in the number of women candidates. If the party mechanism is good and not burdensome, women will be willing to participate in the party nomination process.

This thesis research was also able to collect data from CSOs, namely Perludem researchers to explore their views on the process of nominating female candidates in the 2019 election. Perludem researchers explained that the PKPI does have a high number of female candidates, but the distribution of female candidates is uneven and tends not to be fully allocated in each region. Although in other parties, such as the PSI, Garuda and the PDIP, the distribution of female legislative candidates was even.

According to Perludem, there are several factors that can explain why there was an increase in female candidates, exceeding the 30% nomination requirement;

First, there is a recurring pattern in recruiting the closest women from the incumbent candidate's work environment. Perludem's study "Women Candidates in the 2014 DPR elections" found that most parties had difficulty meeting the target of 30% female candidates, so that including the names of DPR expert staff, secretariat or administrative division staff, tended to only meet the nomination requirements of 30% women. In contrast to the pattern in the 2019 election, new parties such as the PSI prepared quite well for regeneration by conducting internal and external party training and debriefing. This helps explain why there were more female candidates in the 2019 election compared with the previous election in 2014.

Second, in 2019 several political parties such as the PSI were led by a female chairman. This then had an impact on the confidence of female activists to run for office resulting in a significant addition of female candidates for the PSI.

Third, advocacy by CSOs among chairmen of political parties to further promote women. In 2019 the KKPI and Advanced Indonesian Women (MPI) together with Perludem toured with the Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI), Kapal Perempuan (KP) and other CSOs traveling to political parties to meet

with party leaders and encourage them to commit to advancing women candidates. Advocacy for the women's voice by CSOs had an indirect impact on the significant increase of women candidates in the 2019 elections.

B. Discussion

B.1 Discussion of Equal Opportunity Strategies:

Norris (2004), providing a theoretical framework for electoral engineering voting rules and the consequences of political behavior for political representation, will be used in this discussion. Norris argues that a variety of factors, including those listed below, can be used for a gender equality strategy to increase women's representation in politics:

The Theoretical Framework of The Pippa Norris Model

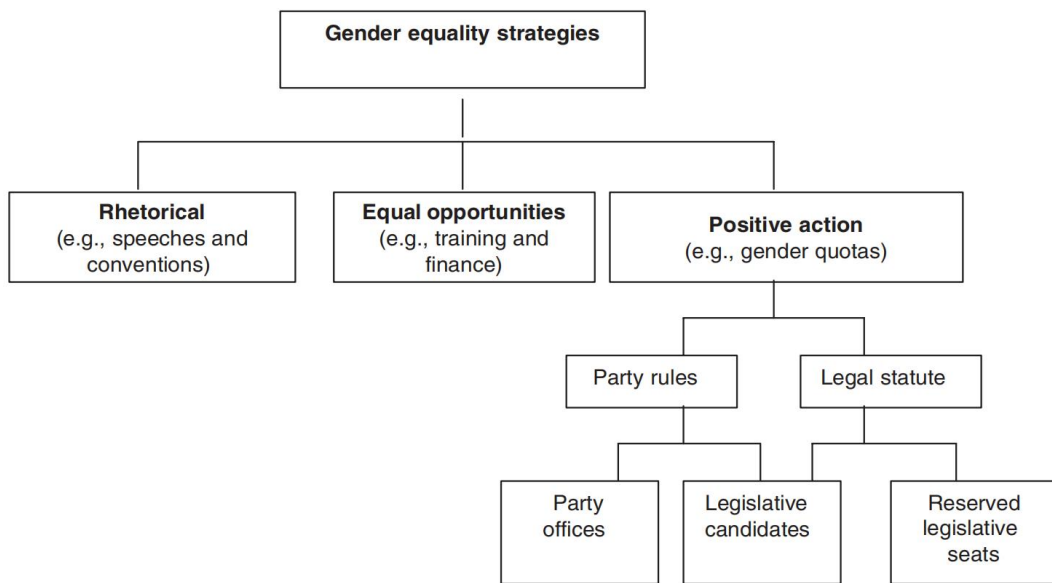


FIGURE Gender equality strategies

Under this theoretical framework, Norris believes that several elements can be used for gender equality tactics. Women's political participation in electoral politics is important to discuss, given the low percentage of women's representation in political institutions as a determinant of gender-friendly public policy.

The intensive efforts of stakeholders to achieve an equal opportunity policy, such as political training, increased the number of female candidates to more than the 30% gender quota in the 2019 elections. This is related to the discussion that the issue of women's representation and candidacy of women in elections

cannot be separated from the issue of democracy, because these two concepts address issues of humanity, social justice, and anti-discrimination (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995; Selimen 2014; Dovi 2012).

Discussion of the argument that increased women's representation will meet the needs of female citizens is very relevant to the findings of this study. Several sources acknowledge and agree that political training held by parties, the KPPPA, campuses, NGOs, and international institutions before 2019 attended by women activists gave new enthusiasm and knowledge to nominate and be nominated through parties to run for the DPR in 2019. The intensive efforts of stakeholders to achieve an equal opportunity policy such as political training to increase the number of female candidates to more than the 30% gender quota in the 2019 election were validated based on verification of the opinions of most research sources.

B.2. Discussion of Internal Political Party Mechanisms:

Political parties' open recruitment for woman candidates boosted the number of women legislative candidates over the 30% gender quota in the 2019 election.

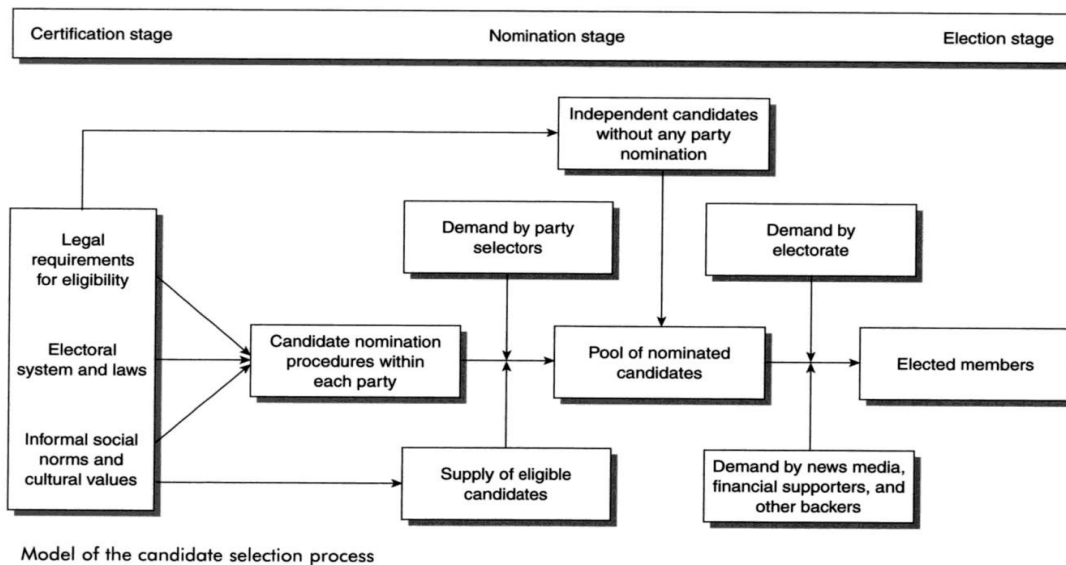
In the research sample the PSI, Garuda, Nasdem, and PDIP set out their internal mechanisms openly, announced them to the mass media. This open recruitment system was recognized by political party officials and candidates, encouraging them to run as candidates in the 2019 election.

On the other hand, is the argument for increasing women's political participation. Participation will increase in response to the number of women in political office. More women in office will increase the number of women who make decisions, lobby, negotiate and engage in politics (or at least increase the political interest and attitudes of women participating in elections), this can be seen from the PSI, 66% of whose heads of department were women in 2019 and the Garuda Party whose party secretary general was a woman.

Our sources from the PSI, Garuda and Nasdem explained that the interesting thing about the recruitment of women as candidates for political parties is that several parties made efforts to pick up the ball through visits by political party teams to activists and communities, and also provided guarantees of politics without dowries (NasDem), to reduce the financial constraints that female candidates were worried about. There was also no obligation to collect identity cards from prospective voters. This open recruitment mechanism explains why the number of female candidates soared higher than previous elections.

Second, from the announcement of the results of the final list of candidates for the DPR published by the KPU, 16 political parties participating in the 2019 election succeeded in surpassing the nomination quota of 30 percent women. The largest list of female candidates was 55%, 77 candidates, by the PKPI out of a total of 140. Meanwhile, the lowest was the Gerindra Party with 36.87%, 212 female candidates out of a total of 5,759 nominated. Based on the analysis of the chairperson of the KKPI, this result was achieved because there was a tendency for party internal mechanisms and the recruitment of party cadres to be women-friendly and some women received political training. This is related to the success of the media campaign carried out by the KPPPA, national research institutes and universities.

Third, the analytical framework of Norris (2006),² which states that there are three stages in a candidate selection process, namely the certification stage, the nomination stage, and the election stage. In the certification process which is in practice carried out by the Garuda Party, the PSI, and Nasdem as an example, at this stage determining the criteria for nomination is very open and makes nomination easier. Various factors that affect the selection stage include party rules and social and informal norms that will determine who is eligible to be selected as a candidate for elected office, factors that meet legal requirements (age, citizenship, education), electoral system and laws (party internal rules, the role of the electoral system) in force.



Therefore, the key according to Norris relates to who determines the nomination. The dimension that concerns the degree of centralization in determining candidates, how far the nominations are determined

² Norris, P. (2006). Recruitment. In R. S. Katz & W. J. Crotty (Eds.), *Handbook of Party Politics*. SAGE Publications.

by party leaders or delegated to the lower levels. The second dimension is the breadth of participation regarding whether the selection involves only a few selectors who select candidates or many people who determine candidates. Participation will increase in response to the number of women in political office.

Fourth, a key element in selection is the number of women activists in the party. This is the experience of the PSI, whose department heads are generally women, and the Garuda Party, whose secretary general is a woman.

This is in line with the findings in this study, more women in office will increase the number of women who make decisions, lobby, negotiate and engage in politics (or at least increase the political interests and attitudes of women's participation in elections). Participation will increase in response to the number of women in political office. More women in office will increase the number of women who make decisions, lobby, negotiate and engage in politics (or at least increase the political interest and attitudes of women participating in elections). Some of the descriptions above tend to support the working hypothesis that according to political party sources, open recruitment of female candidates by political parties increased the number of female candidates above the gender quota of 30% in the 2019 election.

So if we use the Norris framework analysis, we can see that the system of recruitment of political parties in the 2019 election, even if done openly, was the “central patronage” type, this is evidenced by questions from key persons in the PDIP, Nasdem, PSI, and Garuda that at the beginning political parties opened wide the recruitment to both cadres and the general public (Nasdem, PSI, Garuda), on the other hand the PDIP stated that party officials at the provincial and district levels were welcome to submit candidates for the central level but both patterns were carried out by Nasdem, PSI, Garuda, or the PDIP, culminating in a decision at the central level of the party. If we search source-person opinions from this field research, we find that some party's candidacy rules in the 2019 election were very open and made nomination easier.

B.3. Role of Equal Opportunities by National and International Institutions

According to Inglehart and Norris (2003), most international parliaments fail to represent proportionately women voters. Even in established democracies, these tendencies have persisted despite postwar changes in homes, families, schools, and the workforce, and the emergence of multicultural cultures. NGOs, political parties and international organizations often emphasize the need for fair opportunity for all individuals in appointed and elected roles in public life. As many as 163 countries have ratified the 1979

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which prioritizes the principle of equal opportunity in public life.

In addition, Norris (2006) also says that international agencies, countries, parties, and organizations concerned with increasing the presence of women and minorities in public office have promoted various approaches intended to break down barriers. International agencies, governments, parties, and organizations can provide equal opportunity roles, such as training and financing, as part of their support system for women activists pursuing legislative nomination.

Moreover, to explain Norris' equal opportunity roles of eco-system argumentation, we can use field research data from Perludem informants who said that in the 2019 election, most political parties conducted training and provided political education to female cadres on how to work with CSOs such as Perludem or sent their cadres to take part in capacity building training for women candidates organized by state institutions such as the KPPPA, Kemdagri, Puskapol UI or collaborative workshops of the Women's Coalition such as the KPPI and KPI with the support of international institutions such as Partnership, IDEA, IRI, NDI, KAS, WFD and national organizations concerned with women's empowerment, both directly providing training materials and indirectly in the form of funding and facilitating training participants, important factors in increasing the capacity of women in the field of women's empowerment.

Sources from the IRI, Perludem and the KPPI summarized the role of international institutions in supporting women's political training ahead of the 2019 election (UNDP/Partnerships, KAS, IFES, IRI, NDI, WFD), as follows:

- a. The IRI's main program ahead of the 2019 election was women's empowerment. The IRI trained many candidates at the provincial level. The material provided was more of a time-urgent need, namely the preparation of soft skills given to female candidates who had the potential to take part in the 2019 election.
- b. Women's coaching has been ongoing since 2017. The IRI has a PUTIK (Women for Politics) program which is an academy on women's political leadership. In this program, the IRI invited active political party structures or cadres to take part in training. Approaching the 2019 elections, the IRI targeted women activists who wished to run as legislative candidates, the IRI invited them to become participants in the Winning for Women Training, which lasted for two days. The IRI's role was to provide mentoring training and to become devil's advocates for women activists and to become provocateurs so that they had the courage to speak at youth meetings about the needs of women in the

party. In its statement, the IRI said it continued to monitor and assist training participants even after the training was over, in fact 80% of the training participants held the same training within their political parties at the encouragement of the IRI. The following is a recapitulation of training reports conducted by the IRI:

Winning with Women in 2019 Workshops – IRI				
	Aceh	East Nusa Tenggara	South Sulawesi	Yogyakarta
Dates	<i>April 19-20, 2018</i>	<i>May 24-25, 2018</i>	<i>May 11-12, 2018</i>	<i>May 2-3, 2018</i>
Attendees	70 women; 19 political parties	60 women; 13 political parties	65 women; 14 political parties	62 women; 14 political parties
Training Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>General Elections Law</u>: Expert trainers provided WWW participants with strategies on how to campaign under the newly revised General Elections Law. • <u>Electoral Regulations</u>: Members of local election commissions explained the stages of preparation in the run-up to the election and discussed legal campaigning methods. Electoral Commission officials also outlined the vote-counting process and briefed participants on allocation methods for parliamentary seats. • <u>Electoral Mapping & Voter Targeting</u>: IRI staff led participants in an electoral mapping and voter targeting exercise that focused on delivering practical tips to participants on how to identify issues specific to voter groups and how candidates could effectively communicate positions to constituents. 			
Dates	<i>July 26-27, 2018</i>	<i>August 2-3, 2018</i>	<i>Sept. 1-2, 2018</i>	<i>September 12-13, 2018</i>
Attendees	80 women; 18 political parties	71 women; 15 political parties	64 women; 15 political parties	69 women; 15 political parties
Training Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Candidacy and Campaign Regulations</u>: Members from the Elections Supervisory Board and Elections Commission presented an overview of the new regulations being implemented by the commission around social media and campaign donations to ensure candidates were conducting lawful campaigns. • <u>Get Out the Vote (GOTV)</u>: IRI staff discussed the importance of planning and conducting GOTV efforts to encourage voter turnout on election day. Participants brainstormed GOTV activities to encourage unmotivated voters to participate in elections on April 17, 2019. • <u>Communications Strategies</u>: Expert trainers presented the importance of communicating policies through simple yet effective messages that cater to voters in their electoral district. 			

Source: International Republican Institution, 2019.

c. On the other hand, the international B-Trust-KAS institution provided training to nearly 730 participants during 2014-2019 where the training participants were mostly incumbents or new candidates who later advanced as candidates in the 2019 elections. In the findings of this study, B-Trust-KAS said that the training participants also held re-training of the materials they provided for the cadres of their respective political parties.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusion

A.1. The Role of Political Training:

The first research question in this thesis is how did training in women's political participation by multiple stakeholders encourage female candidates to run for election in the 2019 election and increase the number and percentage of women candidates? The main findings of the research thesis are:

A.1. a. Framework Analysis, Perspective and Conclusion

- a. The first working hypothesis of this study guidance was to find data as to whether the intensive efforts of stakeholders to achieve an equal opportunity policy, such as political training, could increase the number of female candidates to more than the 30% gender quota in Indonesia's 2019 election. As evidenced by resource persons from CSO-NGO stakeholders like Perludem and the KPPI it is confirmed that political training was a factor that contributed the increasing number of woman candidates in the 2019 election.
- b. Norris (2004) has helped us to describe how the equal opportunity policy framework is intended and implemented by state and societal stakeholders to equalize the position so that women can pursue the same political careers as men. Typical examples include financial assistance programs to help cover candidate election costs, candidate training in communication, public speaking, networking, campaigns, and news management, and the provision of daycare and childcare by the KPPPA, Kemendagri, several parties such as the PSI, Garuda, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PPP and PKS, national (Perludem) and international organizations (UNDP Partnership, IRI, KAS, IFES, WFD).

A.1.b Party Actors and Women Candidate Activist Perspectives

- a. The findings from this study show that political parties that have schools training women cadres seem to have a significant stock of candidates so that they have no difficulty getting women candidates, while political parties that do not have a mechanism for educating women candidates find it difficult but are helped by the provision of training held by the government and NGOs, both local and international. Thus, the increase in the number of female candidates is the break even point between the high demand from political parties due to being forced by the 30% gender quota system and the

readiness of women who have attended women's political training to become legislative candidates for political parties in the 2019 election.

- b. The training by parties of women cadres, external state training (KPPPA, Kemdagri, University laboratory research such as Puskapol UI), international institutions (UNDP Partnerships, IRI, KAS, IFES, NDI) were an enlightenment process, where the trainees did not just get training materials like in formal classes. During the training, a frame of mind and encouragement was constructed from the results of sharing among participants, getting inspiration from political women's leadership figures who built awareness that women in politics are important, so it encouraged women to take real action in the world of politics, not just as complementary participants.

A.2. The Mechanism of Party Recruitment

Several parties (the PSI, Garuda, Nasdem, PDIP) had open mechanisms in the recruitment of female candidates and this had an impact on increasing the number of female candidates above the 30% gender quota in the 2019 election. The following are some of the main findings and conclusions:

A.2.a. Patterns of Party Recruitment According to The Perspective of Parties

Norris (2006) states that there are three stages in candidacy, namely the certification stage, the nomination stage, and the election stage.

First, the certification process carried out by the PDIP, Garuda Party, the PSI, Nasdem, for example, at the stage of determining the criteria for nomination was very open.

Second, in the nomination stage mature political parties (PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PSI) used scoring to filter the candidates but newer parties (e.g. Garuda) did not use scoring for a candidate.

Third, in the election process, political parties used recommendations of candidates as observed by the central managements. Various things that affected the selection stage included party regulations and social and informal norms that determined who was entitled to become a legislative candidate from a political party, legal requirements (age, citizenship, education), and internal party rules.

A.2.b. CSO Perspective on Recruitment Patterns

In 2019 the KKPI, MPI and Perludem together with the KPI, Perludem Kapal Perempuan (KP) and other CSOs carried out widespread advocacy and took action to achieve an increase in the number of female candidates in the 2019 election. Advocacy by CSOs for women's voices had an impact on internal party mechanisms that became friendlier and empowered female candidates with confidence so that a significant increase in women candidates in the 2019 election was achieved exceeding the 30% quota requirement.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

B.1. Academics

This thesis has several areas of improvement regarding research methods and key conclusions for future study. This is related to the qualitative method and case studies used. The actors studied were limited, so there was an inability in this research to draw generally accepted conclusions while the detailed findings could be presented entirely and relatively in-depth. The key weaknesses of the research thesis in the conclusions drawn are only casuistic and applicable in certain places, locations, and conditions according to the narratives conveyed by the sources. Building general theories or generalizations that can be tested quantitatively regarding their validity and reliability is impossible.

For this reason, further studies are needed on different occasions to use quantitative methods to determine how the findings apply so that they can be generalized and compared. As well as being able to do hypothesis testing in concluding, and at the same time calculating, the strength or weakness of the relationship between the dependent variables, including correlation tests and their validity. One issue that could be further investigated, for example, is related to the synergistic training ecosystem among international, national, and local institutions in terms of explaining the number of female candidates from election to election in Indonesia, the region, or globally.

In addition to further study, this thesis can be developed using the Social Networks Analysis (SNA) method. SNA is one of the most popular methods used to view social networks in an event which is the research focus. Social network mapping captures the structure of private networks and reveals key players. Visualizing informal networks within party organizations to see how work is actually done using the KIMO app (<https://kumu.io/>). It can describe the pattern of network actors in terms of determining

candidates in the 2019 election, density (network density), degree centrality, proximity centrality, and between centrality.

Also, eigenvector, which is an approach to finding the most central actor in the network as a whole. Eigenvector looks at the aspect of distance globally between actors, but simply eigenvector can be described as how important it is for people who have networks with actors and socio-grams to make it easier to understand what is happening related to power relations between actors, which can explain the increase in female candidates in the 2019 election.

B.2. Political Parties

The findings and discussion of this thesis show that external and internal training needs to be institutionalized and the tradition must continue. Selecting female candidates needs to be a policy contained in all statutes/regions of all political parties in Indonesia.

B.3. Parliamentary Actors

The findings and discussion of this thesis show that the DPR is gradually implementing the UN's Planet 50:50 global agenda. Further research can be open to deconstruct and reconstruct the parliamentary system and improve the Law on the Structure and Position of the DPR/MPR, which allows for more women's representation in parliament, not only through the minimum requirement of 30% women candidates, but more seriously thinking that the allocation of seats for women in the DPR must be proportional to the percentage of the total female population in Indonesia. Simply put, because there is around a 50% proportion of men and women in the real world, so should be the allocation of seats for men and women in the DPR.

B.4. Women Activists

The findings and discussion of this thesis suggest that Indonesian women who are interested in joining politics should take advantage of as many opportunities as possible through training, workshops and political schools conducted by various parties. Increased capacity due to political education will make the image and performance of women political activists more meaningful and provide greater potential for women to be trusted and chosen by rational Indonesian voters.

B.5. Indonesian General Elections Commission

The findings and discussion of this thesis show that the KPU regulations regarding the 30% women candidacy requirement needs to be reviewed based on political expert reviews. The KPU needs to study new innovations besides the nomination quota. This regulation is only half-hearted compared with the possibility of Indonesia running a parliamentary seat quota of 50% according to the proportion of Indonesia's population based on gender and the UN Planet 50:50 ideal.

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CURRICULUM VITAE (CV)

A. Name : Hayatun Nufus Hamami

B. Education Background

a. Formal Education

- i. SD Al Azhar, Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan.
- ii. SMPN 2 Bekasi.
- iii. SMA Kornita IPB, Bogor.
- iv. SMAN 9, Bekasi.
- v. IISIP Jakarta, Bachelor of Political Sciences, FISIP.
- vi. Master's degree in public policy from the Indonesian School of Government and Public Policy (SGPP), Indonesia.
- vii. MA in Political Science from the International Islamic University of Indonesia (UIII).

b. Non-Formal Education

- i. Participant in the Women in Politics Course, organized by the Center for Democratic Institutions ANU (Australian National University), Canberra, Australia, 2011.
- ii. The American Council for Young Political Leaders (2018), part of the Young Southeast Asian Leader Initiative, Washington DC, in the USA.

C. Professional Background

1. Worked as a gender consultant and trainer for the Women in Politics course for national and local women candidates, LKPPM with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA RI).
2. Gender Consultant for BKN Gender Mainstreaming Book Profile.
3. Gender Consultant for Kejaksaan Agung RI for Gender Mainstreaming Book Profile.
4. Expert Staff for Member Parliament in Indonesian Parliament (DPR RI).
5. A researcher at the Center for Election Reform (CETRO).

D. Organizational Background

1. Member of Rafflesia Society Foundation (RSF).

E. Publications

1. The Book Profile on Gender Mainstreaming at BKN - RI (2017).
2. Parliamentary Thresholds in Indonesia (2018).
3. The Book Profile of Gender Mainstreaming in Kejaksaan RI (2018)
4. The Law-Making Process of Gender Equality Bill in Indonesia (2020).

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