
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Feminisation of Indonesia's Political Parties: Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

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| ABSTRACT

The political representation of women in the Indonesian parliament has increased since the implementation of the affirmation policy through quotas, although the number has not yet reached 30%. In addition, the percentage of women placed in the management structure of political parties has also increased. In addition, the percentage of women's candidacy in each election period also showed an increasing trend. This article aims to analyze the feminization process that occurred in PDI Perjuangan and PKS, using the model of feminization of political parties introduced by Sarah Childs. By using a qualitative approach, in which data were obtained from party statutes (AD/ART documents of political parties) and parties' documents of meetings, General Elections Commission (KPU) data, and data sourced from online media, it was found that the level feminization of PDI Perjuangan higher than PKS. The difference in the level of feminization is due to differences in representational dimension and policy.

| KEYWORDS

Feminization, party politics, women representation

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Political parties are one of the instruments of democracy - which are dominated by men - and contribute to the perception that politics is a masculine domain and activity (Lovenduski, 2005). In this context, men dominate decision-making mechanisms in parliament and political parties, albeit to varying degrees (OSCE, 2014; Dahlerup & Layenaar, 2013). This can be seen in party decisions to increase women's political representation in both party structures and parliament.

Male domination in political parties also exists in Indonesia. However, the 1998 reform marked a significant shift in the dynamics of women's political representation. One of the most significant political shifts during the reform era was the rise of the gender equality movement in political parties and parliament. During the transition, many women's organizations took advantage of the opportunity to advocate for affirmative action for women in the form of gender quotas, which have been adopted by governments worldwide. This affirmation policy is also based on Indonesia's ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by Law No.7/1984. The importance of women's involvement in politics is an endeavor to fight for women's political agendas or interests (Phillips, 1995; Childs & Webb, 2012); thus, it is expected that political parties will become more "feminized" (Childs, 2008; Lovenduski, 2005).

This article argues that with the affirmation policy, PDI Perjuangan and PKS experienced feminization during the reform era. PDI Perjuangan, which has a nationalist ideology, is assumed to be more feminized than PKS, which is an Islamic party whose principles

are frequently connected with a culture that marginalizes women. This article examines feminization in PDI Perjuangan and PKS and measures feminization in the feminization model of political parties introduced by Sarah Childs (2008). Why is the feminization of political parties an important topic to research? When it comes to women's political representation, there is a paradox in which political parties, which are considered key role holders in the production and reproduction of "gender effects in politics," are a missing variable and have received little attention in women and politics research (Wylie, 2018). Furthermore, studying the feminization of political parties, particularly in Indonesia, is significant since political parties serve as "gatekeepers" in the candidacy and nomination of legislative candidates, as well as in the regeneration process.

Feminization is the process of integrating women - both number and concern - into formal political institutions (Lovenduski, 2005). In this case, since the enactment of the affirmation policy in Indonesia, political parties have begun to experience feminization. In this article, the measurements to see the feminization of political parties are 1) the integration of women in formal political institutions (party structure and legislative candidacy) and the presence or absence of quota rules in the party constitution (in this case, the party's statute). 2). Political parties' responses to pro-women policy (Young, 2000; Lovenduski, 2005; Childs, 2008). This article focuses on the feminization of Indonesian political parties, specifically the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).

PDI Perjuangan and PKS were chosen as units of analysis based on indicators such as; First, PDI Perjuangan is a nationalist party, whereas PKS is an Islamic party. It is considered that ideological differences lead to various responses to feminization. Second, PDI Perjuangan has increased its representation in the DPR RI since the 2004-2019 elections, whereas PKS has fluctuated in terms of women's representation, which increased in the 2009 elections compared to the 2004 elections, fell in the 2014 elections, and increased significantly in the 2019 elections. Third, from the 2009 to 2019 elections, the PDI Perjuangan and PKS consistently nominated more than 35% of women on the parliamentary nomination list. Fourth, the two parties implement the quota policy outlined in the AD / ART, albeit at different degrees, and fifth, the two parties have opposing political views on pro-women policies, specifically the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (RUU TPKS).

2. Literature Review

A number of studies have described the feminization that occurs in political parties in the United States and Canada (Young, 2000), which involves activism from feminists outside the party to encourage parties in the two countries to transform to become more feminized. The study of the feminization of political parties in the UK (United Kingdom) and European Union countries was also carried out by some scholars, emphasizing the role of the women's movement in political parties to carry out transformation (Campbell & Childs, 2015; Childs & Kittilson, 2016; Childs & Webb, 2012; Childs, 2008; Lovenduski, 2005). Another study also reviews the comparison of the feminization of political parties in the United States and Britain but emphasizes the influence of party ideology in the process of feminizing party politics (Campbell, 2016). The study of feminization in Turkey emphasizes the role of actors and obstacles in the process of feminizing pro-Kurdish parties (Tasdemir, 2013). However, there has been no study that focuses on discussing the feminization that occurs in political parties in Indonesia.

Historically, women have been marginalized from participation in formal political institutions by the state, which limited citizenship in ways that demonstrated the hegemonic masculinity of the time (Squires, 1999). Under these conditions, many women are kept out of politics, and people start to think that politics is a man's area, "politics is a man's business". This perspective creates what Squires calls a "gender gap" between men and women, where this condition arises not only in terms of expressing interests and knowledge but also in matters of decision-making (voting), political priorities, and perspectives (Squires, 1999). Inequality of power relations between men and women occurs not only in parliament in policy making but also in internal political parties.

To overcome these obstacles, it is necessary to have an internal political party mechanism that shows partiality to women, or, to borrow Childs' term, a "feminizing political party," where political parties have a feminist perspective in building and implementing party policies (Childs, 2008). In this context, the feminizing politics that occurs is not only increasing the number of women in political institutions but also how institutions, processes, and procedures are affected by changes in the number of women. Childs defines feminization as a process of involvement, attention, and perspective of women in politics (Childs, 2008). There are two dimensions in looking at the feminization of political parties, namely the representational dimension and the policy dimension, as we can see in picture 1.

	<i>Responsive Party I (feminist both dimensions)</i>	<i>Responsive Party II (feminist 2nd Dimension)</i>	<i>Anti-feminist Responsive (feminist on 1st dimension, neutral on 2nd)</i>	<i>Co-optive Party (feminist on 1st dimension, anti-feminist on 2nd)</i>	<i>Non-responsive</i>	<i>Anti-feminist Party</i>	
1st Dimension	Integration of women parliamentary elites	High/moderate representation; Well designed and fully implemented quotas; or absence of obstacles to women's representation	Low representation; absent or poorly designed/implemented quotas	High/moderate representation; may have quotas	High/moderate representation; may have quotas	Low representation; absent quotas	Low representation; rejects principle and practice of quotas
	Integration of women party members	Parity of members; Quasi Women's Policy Agencies (QWPA) fully integrated into party policy making	Fewer women members; integrated QWPA	Parity of members; auxiliary women's organizations	Parity of members; either anti-feminist QWPA fully integrated into party policy making or organizations 'auxillaries'	Indifferent to representation of women; auxiliary women's organizations rather than integrated QWPA	Indifferent to representation of women; either anti-feminist QWPA fully integrated into party policy making or auxiliary women's organization
2nd Dimension	Integration of women's concerns	Positive and in feminist direction	Positive and feminist	Neutral or where positive, in a neutral direction	Positive but in anti feminist direction	Negative	Positive in an anti-feminist direction

Source: Amended from L. Young 2000.
 NOTE: These are ideal types. Empirical enquiry would need to establish whether they exist in particular political systems.
 Thanks to Adrian Flint for this insight.

Picture 1. Model of Feminization Political Parties (Childs, 2008)

3. Methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach. According to Neuwman, qualitative methods will be able to present a picture of a situation studied in more detail (Neuwman, 2003). Data were obtained from parties statues (AD/ART documents of political parties) and parties' documents of meetings, General Elections Commission (KPU) data, and data sourced from online media.

4. Results and Discussion

The number of elected women in parliament, the number of women in party management structures, and the number of women's candidacies during elections can all be used to interpret data analysis regarding feminization. According to data on women's electability in the DPR RI, PDI Perjuangan has risen steadily between 2004 and 2019. Meanwhile, PKS is experiencing volatility, dropping substantially from 13% in the 2009 elections to 2.5%. However, in the 2019 elections, it increased significantly to 16%, as seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Comparison of the Percentage of Women's Representation in the Parliament: PDI Perjuangan and PKS

PARTY	ELECTION 2004	ELECTION 2009	ELECTION 2014	ELECTION 2019
PDI Perjuangan	11%	18%	19,3%	20,3%
PKS	6,6%	13%	2,5%	16%

Source: kpu.go.id

The increase in women's representation in the DPR RI is inextricably linked to women's election nominations. From the 2009 to 2019 elections, PDI Perjuangan and PKS consistently nominated more than 35% of women on the legislative nomination lists.

Table 2. Percentage of Women Candidates in the 2009-2019 General Elections

PARTY	ELECTION 2009	ELECTION 2014	ELECTION 2019
PDI Perjuangan	35,41% (222 women out of 627 candidates)	35,71% (200 women out of 560 candidates)	37,52% (215 women out of 573 candidates)
PKS	36,61% (212 women out of 579 candidates)	38,82% (191 women out of 492 candidates)	39,77% (212 women out of 533 candidates)

Source: Perludem, 2018

In addition to the increasing number of women elected to parliament and legislative candidacies, feminization in PDI Perjuangan and PKS can also be seen from the integration of women in the management structure, which, in the context of this research, is at the central level.

Table 3. Percentage of Women's Representation in the Structure Management of the DPP PDI Perjuangan and PKS

PARTY	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020
PDI Perjuangan	23,6%	14,8% There was a change in structure in 2008 to 17.24%	14.81%	38,5%
PKS	9,5%	10,53%	28%	42%

Source: (Cakra Wikara Indonesia, 2022; Notary Deed of Improvement of the DPP PDI Perjuangan 2005-2010; Decree of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights on the Structure of DPP Political Parties 2015-2019 period)

According to the data from the three administration eras mentioned above, PDI Perjuangan and PKS had a low female representation prior to the 2009 elections. However, throughout the 2015-2019 management term, both parties hired more than 30% women. PDI Perjuangan placed 38.5 percent of women in the DPP structure, while PKS placed 42% of women. The inclusion of women in political party structures is significant because it represents an early effort to improve women's representation in formal politics. Furthermore, the presence or absence of gender quota restrictions implemented in an effort to provide guarantees for women can be used to assess the feminization of political parties. Not all political parties in Indonesia have gender quota policies, particularly legislative nomination quotas, in their bylaws. Only PDI Perjuangan clearly cites the party's responsibility to nominate at least 30% of women in its Articles of Party Statute (Article 20, 2015). Meanwhile, PKS merely acknowledges prioritizing women's representation in public roles (Article 28 of PKS Statute, 2015).

In terms of nominations for women in the 2019 elections, PDI Perjuangan was able to nominate 37.52 percent of women for the DPR RI. However, if this number is followed further, there are only 13 women who hold the number one position. Meanwhile, PKS nominated 39.77% of women. Of these, only six women are ranked first. The bulk of female applicants are put in numbers 3, 5, and 6, as seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4 Comparison of the Ranking Numbers of Women Candidates of PDI Perjuangan and PKS in the 2019 Elections

Party	Women Candidate Number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PDI Perjuangan	13	22	48	10	15	55	20	19	11	1
PKS	6	24	52	16	36	31	27	7	8	1

Source: Margret, et al, 2023

This data indicates that serial numbers 6 and 3 contain the bulk of the women candidates for PDI Perjuangan. Most women candidates at PKS are positioned in positions three and five.

The data indicates that, despite Indonesia's open proportional election system, which determines the winner by most votes, most elected candidates are those ranked first. Election results from 2014 revealed that 47.42% of the elected female candidates were

in position 1, with 21.65% of the candidates in that position and 15.46% in the third position. In contrast, the percentage of elected female candidates from positions 4, 5, 6, and so forth was a mere 15.46%. Of these, the PDI Perjuangan has eight elected women candidates at position 1, followed by five each for candidates number two and three, and only three elected female candidates at position four, and so forth. PKS, on the other hand, originated from serial number 3 and only received one female seat in the DPR (Cakra Wikara Indonesia, 2022).

Of all the women candidates in the 2019 elections, 48.31% came in first position. The percentage of female candidates chosen from serial numbers 2 and 3 was 24.58% and 12.71%, respectively. In the meantime, 14.41% of voters supported female candidates with serial numbers 4, 5, 6, and so forth. In the 2019 elections, PDI Perjuangan successfully elected 26 women to the DPR RI. Ten of them were serial number one nominees, and five of them were female nominees. In the meantime, four more women from serial number 4 and so forth, as well as seven female candidates from serial number 3, have been elected. In the 2019 elections, PKS saw a rise in the proportion of women elected to office. Three of the eight elected women were assigned to serial number 1, four elected candidates were assigned to serial number 2, and one woman was assigned to serial number 3 (Cakra Wikara Indonesia, 2022). Consequently, women candidates' electability is still influenced by their serial numbers in parliamentary elections.

It is crucial to examine the policy component while examining the feminization of political parties. The policy dimension demonstrates how the party strives for substantive representation. In contrast, the representational dimension focuses more on the integration of women in terms of numbers or percentages (or might be considered descriptive). Regarding the policy aspect, the political stances of PKS and PDI Perjuangan regarding the proposed Sexual Violence Crime Bill (TPKS Bill) are relevant. Regarding the party's stance on the TPKS Bill, PDI Perjuangan supports the discussion process for ratification at the plenary meeting on April 12, 2022, while PKS rejects this Bill in the interim until the ratification procedure is completed.

One of the TPKS Bill's supporters, PDI Perjuangan, emphasized the necessity of the bill's ratification in addition to providing victims with protection from acts of sexual abuse through legal certainty. A member of the PDI Perjuangan, named Diah Pitaloka, stated that the TPKS Bill is crucial to enact because it thoroughly regulates acts of sexual violence and resolves situations involving sexual assault, which are frequently difficult to establish in court.

"Cases of sexual violence do not only involve a normative approach, but also a socio-cultural approach. In essence, the discussion of the PKS Bill is more comprehensive." (Diah Pitaloka's statement quoted from tirto.id, 2021).

In contrast to the PDI Perjuangan, which supports the TPKS Bill, the Prosperous Justice Party faction has declared opposition to the TPKS Bill. Jazuli Juwaini explained why the PKS was rejected, citing issues with the definition and coverage of sexual violence. He believed that the proposed definition of sexual violence and the breadth of sexual violence crimes were still controlled by a liberal viewpoint that was incompatible with Pancasila, religion, and Eastern culture. As a result, the provisions tend to encourage permissive attitudes toward free and deviant sexual activity (Jazuli Juwaini's statement quoted from kompas.com, 2019). The PKS faction's position is consistent with the growing criticism and rejection of the TPKS Bill by religious leaders, experts, mass organizations, and other members of society. They believe that the bill has the potential to promote unrestricted sex and deviant sexual behavior that violates Pancasila and religious traditions. According to the author's analysis, the PDI Perjuangan and PKS's pro-contra stance regarding women's policies stems from Indonesian society's intrinsic patriarchal culture, which influences legislative members' mindsets as policymakers.

To quantify the level of feminization in PDI Perjuangan and PKS, as previously indicated, two dimensions are used: the representational dimension and the policy dimension. The representational dimension is divided into four indicators: 1) whether or not there is a gender quota policy; 2) representation of women in party structures; 3) representation of women in parliament; and 4) whether or not there is a women's party wing organization. However, to complete the measure, the author included an indicator of women's candidacy in the election, as seen in the table below ;

Table 5 Comparison of Feminization of PDI Perjuangan and PKS

Party	Representational Dimension					Policy Dimension
	Quota policy in the party statute	Existence of Women's Party Wing Organization	Women's Representation in Structures	Elected women's representation in parliament	Representation of Women in Legislative Candidacy	Party's Political Stance on the RUU TPKS
PDI Perjuangan	The party statute includes a minimum of 30 percent of women in the nomination and management structure of the party.	None	Less equal*	Moderate**	Moderate**	Positive
PKS	The party statute only mentions "paying attention to women's representation".	None	Less equal*	Low**	High**	Negative

Note 1: *) equal if the representation of women and men is 50%: 50% or 40%: 60%, less equal if the representation of women is between 25-40%, and unequal if the representation of women is less than 25%.

***) high if more than 40%, moderate if 20-39%; and low if less than 20%.

Note 2: although feminization is an ongoing process, in this measurement, the researcher uses party data from the 2014-2019 period to help analyze/measure feminization and used party data for the period 2014-2019 to help analyze/measure

Regarding Childs' feminization measure, PDI Perjuangan falls into the Co-optive party category since it responds positively to the representational dimension. This category is based on the researcher's examination of data indicating that elected women in parliament (DPR RI) from PDI Perjuangan have shown an increase in four elections. Similarly, women account for more than 30% of the party management structure, particularly the DPP of PDI Perjuangan. Furthermore, one of the markers in the representational dimension is the presence of a quota system. In this example, PDI Perjuangan is a party whose bylaws require at least 30% women representation in legislative nominations.

Although the PDI Perjuangan party does not have a women's wing organization, the Health, Women, and Children Division of the DPP PDI Perjuangan handles women's policies. Regarding policy, PDI Perjuangan has responded positively to the RUU TPKS. Meanwhile, PKS's feminization degree is comparable to the Anti-feminist Co-optive Party. This is based on a rather positive appraisal of the representational dimensions but a poor rating of the policy dimension. This assessment is based on the fact that there are more than 30% of women in the PKS DPP's management structure, and there is a clause in the party statute (AD / ART) that states that in legislative nominations, pay attention to women's representation, even though it does not explicitly mention 30%. Furthermore, the proportion of women elected to parliament increased in the 2019 elections. However, in the policy dimension, particularly concerning the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill, the PKS response is typically unfavorable. Although PKS does not have a women's wing organization, the Women and Family Resilience Division and the Indonesian Family House (RKI) oversee initiatives to develop and strengthen women.

Looking at the feminization process of PDI Perjuangan and PKS, it is possible to conclude that, regarding representation, the two parties have included women in formal political institutions within the required quota. However, further investigation reveals that women's positions remain limited. This barrier is seen in the few women holding crucial positions in the party's administrative structure. The majority of women work as secretaries or field members. According to the researchers, this is one of the barriers to decision-making, as women's perspectives may not be heard by a male-dominated group. According to Ware (1996), there are three underlying reasons why women's political party representation remains modest. First, the party favors male politicians over female politicians, affecting women's positions. Second, parties do not want complications when making laws that make it easier

for women to fill positions in the party, resulting in women being positioned as "second-class participants." Third, because women lack position and influence, their ability to participate in politics is limited (Ware 1996).

When examined further in the party's statute, for example, PDI Perjuangan, which merely specifies paying attention to the representation of 30% of women in filling public positions, which in this case is parliamentary candidacy, still causes challenges in terms of women's recognition. The issue stems from the party's commitment to fielding a few women candidates in the election. In three election cycles, PDI Perjuangan could nominate more than 30% of women, but only a few were nominated first or second. Furthermore, PDI Perjuangan remains unequal in placing women in crucial roles in the management structure, particularly at the PDI Perjuangan DPP. Most women who hold the post of Chairperson of the Field are involved in domestic concerns, such as the Chairperson of Women, Health, and Children, the Chairperson of Tourism, and others. Meanwhile, male politicians hold the majority of important offices, such as Secretary General and General Treasurer.

Meanwhile, PKS is a party that does not openly implement affirmative action policy for women. The PKS statute states that women's representation is prioritized when filling public positions. According to the experts, this language demonstrates that PKS does not give women equal opportunities to be nominated. Although affirmation measures have helped to recognize women, the question of political distribution remains contentious. The numbers demonstrate that women's political representation is increasing in parliament and management structures. Still, a closer examination reveals that the number of women is insufficient because they remain in subordinate roles. This is seen in the tiny number of female candidates and the minimal number of women who hold crucial positions in the party's administration structure. In the 2015-2020 timeframe, 15 women out of 39 administrators had management positions, accounting for approximately 38.5%. However, if examined further, there are only 7 women who sit in strategic positions (around 17.94%), namely Megawati Soekarnoputri as Chairperson, Puan Maharani as Chairperson of Politics and Security, Ribka Tjiptaning as Chairperson of Social Affairs and Disaster Management, Sri Rahayu as Chairperson of Health, Women and Children, S.B Wiryanti Sukamdani as Chairperson of Tourism, Dyah Pitaloka as Chairperson of the People's Program Department, and Emmy Lumban Raja. The other women are secretaries and members. In the PKS (2015-2020), of 54 administrators, 23 people were women. The total ratio of women in the PKS organization is 42%. Yet, there is only one chair post for women, the Women and Family Resilience Division Chairperson, held by Dra. Hj. Wirianingsih. The remaining women are just members. In addition, maldistribution happens among female legislators who become commission leaders in the DPR RI. Only two women MPs will serve as Commission Chairpersons in the House of Representatives from 2019 to 2024, compared to six female commission vice-chairpersons. This demonstrates that there is still an uneven distribution of women's political representation.

Based on the description of the feminization of PDI Perjuangan and PKS in the representational dimension, the author may conclude that 1) PDI Perjuangan is more progressed than PKS regarding affirmation policy regulations contained in the party's AD / ART. 2) PDI Perjuangan has elected more women to the DPR RI level in four elections than PKS. 3) The nomination of women in elections impacts their electability. In four elections, the PDI Perjuangan and PKS increased the ratio of female candidates. However, both parties struggle to determine female candidates' serial numbers. The majority of female candidates are ranked third, and so on. However, data show that the majority of elected women from both PDI Perjuangan and PKS are ranked first and second, respectively.

Party ideology is an important factor in the feminization of PDI Perjuangan and PKS. Even beliefs that are interwoven with patriarchal culture make political parties appear more masculine, which can be a barrier to party feminization. The patriarchal culture that still exists in Indonesian society has had some influence on the environment of Indonesian politics. Political parties, which have been male-dominated since their inception, eventually allow a patriarchal culture to emerge inside them. Thus, the transition of political parties to become more gendered is being driven not only by female politicians and activists but also by male politicians, who hold the majority of political party positions.

The PDI Perjuangan, as a nationalist party, has no difficulty with women's roles and positions, particularly in politics. It's just that the inclusive nature of the PDI Perjuangan, which is likewise structurally dominated by men, has impacted the party's acceptance in formal political circles. Meanwhile, while the PKS is an Islamic party, Islamic theology does not impede the feminization process; however, PKS political elites remain committed to a patriarchal culture linked with Islamic principles. Islamic ideals are frequently used to justify limiting women's participation in public life. This issue is exacerbated by the fact that PKS, like PDI Perjuangan, suffers from party masculinity, in which men control the party's structure and decision-making.

5. Conclusion

Referring to Childs' (2008) concept of feminization, which defines feminization as a process of women's involvement, attention, and perspectives in building and implementing party policies, in the context of PDI Perjuangan and PKS, the two parties are still limited to women's involvement but do not fully have their attention or perspectives in politics. This is based on research findings that show that while both PDI Perjuangan and PKS may incorporate more than 30% of women in management and nomination

structures, they are still lacking in terms of power redistribution for women, resulting in maldistribution. The feminization of political parties is aided by ideological considerations. This article clearly demonstrates the idea that PDI Perjuangan, with a nationalist ideology, has a higher level of feminization than PKS, which has an Islamic philosophy. Although Islam does not ban women from entering politics, the patriarchal culture associated with Islamic beliefs is a barrier to feminization in PKS. One of them may be observed in the PKS response, which tends to oppose the TPKS Bill, a pro-women policy.

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