Evaluation of the Woman Representation in the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District

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Abstract
The Women Representation in the legislative in the 2014 election in Indonesia, nationally and in the region, both provincial and district / city decreased. This condition also occurs in Bojonegoro. The women representation is only 12%, below the national and East Java Province percentage of the woman representation. The situation is particularly ironic, when compared to the election in 2009, whereas the number of women voters increased and the quota system of 30% woman representation with increasingly strict of Zipper System, as stipulated in regulation number 8 Year 2012, about the Election of DPR, DPD, DPRD, and PKPU. And the regulation number 7 Year 2013, about the nomination rules of DPR, Provincial and Regency / City DPRD, by considering affirmative action for woman representation. This evaluation needs to be conducted to determine the barriers of women in legislative elections and provide solutions to develop the woman representation significantly. Using exploratory and descriptive qualitative method, it is found that there are 522,246 female voters and 515,412 male voters, but only 408,115 (78.25 %) females and 372,539 (72.18 %) males use their voting rights. The absence of voters in the election 2014 totals to 24.77%. The Recruitment system of majority candidates for legislative held in closed system. There were 535 (from 12 parties) female candidates, with 190 (35.51 %) female candidates as the woman representation and 345 (64.49 %) male candidates. The election results get 50 seats from 11 political parties, with 6 women (12 %) as member of legislative and the others 44 (88 %) were men. Evaluation results indicate that there is a majority of female candidates without a mass base, so they were unknown. Those who pass to parliament, they are cadres and have a loyal supporter from mass base. This obstacle is a new finding. Other obstacles are financial limitations and psychological obstacles, nominated only to meet the 30% quota rules and using closed system recruitment. As a result, the woman candidates was very minimal, only 12% and it was insignificant. This study recommends increasing woman representation. It still needed to quota and increase the capacity of women through political education, leadership education and economic empowerment. In addition, recommend to the parties to use the open system in recruiting candidates for legislative members to obtain the qualified candidates.

Keywords: Evaluation; Quota of women representation; The woman capacity; Election.

1. Introduction
The last legislative election in Indonesia was last held in 2014, as regulated in Law number 12 Year 2012 on General Election of Members of DPR, DPD and DPRD. The Elections Commission (KPU) also implements regulations for the 2014 election in the Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 Year 2013 on the rules of nominating DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency / City DPRD. This regulation is intended to the nomination of legislative members, drawn up in consideration of the affirmative action of women's representation. However, women's representation in Legislative in the 2014 election in Indonesia, both National and District / Province, has decreased. This condition also happened in Bojonegoro District, representation of woman only 12%, under National and East Java.

In the political world women's representation in parliament / legislative still faces many challenges, both internal and external. According to Karam and Azza. (1999) the issue of women's representation is a problem of all countries in the world. The problem is in the form of psychological, economic, political and media constraints. With these constraints, women's representation in Parliament is still low.

Similarly, the low representation of women in Indonesia is due more to the patriarchy culture in society and in political parties. The condition is reinforced by the results of research conducted by Dewi and Ni (2014) that women representation in DPRD period 2009 - 2014 in Bali is very low, that is only 4 (four) women. Besides the internal problems of women in economic factors and psycho-ideology also due to strong patriarchy culture that exist in the people of Bali and patriarchy culture of political leaders who are still halfhearted in delivering women to the legislative.

The 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District shows the number of 535 candidates, that submitted by 12 political parties participating in the election in Bojonegoro Regency with 190 woman candidates or 35.51 % and 345 men candidates or 64.49 %. Bojonegoro district election results in 50 seats, coming from 11 political parties, while 1 (one) political party does not get a seat. With the composition of women representation in the legislative, there are 6 women or 12% and 44 people or 88% men in legislative members. This condition is very interesting for evaluation of the existence of women in the legislative of Bojonegoro Regency.
The evaluation of women’s representatives in the 2014 Election need to be done in order to determine the cause of decrease in women's representation in the legislative of Bojonegoro Regency, which this condition occurs nationally and regionally. The results of this evaluation is expected to provide inputs to women who want to appear in politics, and to be an input to political parties as bearers of legislative candidates, and to KPU as the organizer of the election. It is hoped, in the next election in 2019, the representative of women in legislative in Bojonegoro district would have increased significantly.

2. Women's Representative Quota

The representation of women in the legislative in Indonesia does not reflect the gender equality in politics. Therefore it is necessary to increase women's representation, one of which is through women's quota of at least 30% in the nomination of legislative members proposed by political parties in the Election through affirmative action. The affirmative action defined as a strategic step to pursue progress in terms of equality and opportunity for certain groups, such as women or other minority groups that are under-represented in strategic positions in the community. Affirmative action emerged in the 2004 elections, regulated in Law number 12, 2003 on Election. The elected candidates were stipulated by the order of the serial number, so those with small serial numbers had the opportunity to qualify as legislators. While in 2004, the majority of women candidates were ranked in large numbers. Based on the 2004 election experience, the 2009 Election has stipulated that the political parties should implement the Zipper System, which includes at least one woman candidate among the three candidates in consecutive serial number. The provision is in Regulation Number 10 Year 2008 regarding The Election, Article 55 Paragraph (20) which states, that in the list of candidates as referred to in paragraph (1), among every 3 (three) prospective candidates shall be at least 1 (one) woman candidate. In paragraph (1) provides that the name of the candidate in the candidate list based on the serial number. But the implementation of the Zipper system also experienced obstacles, because not all political parties apply this system, because this provision does not set the sanctions for political parties that do not apply it. With the existence of PKPU No. 7 year 2013, the 30% quota for women is significant, because this regulation confirms the 30% quota of women in each electoral district and the order of placement of women candidate list with the system in each of three candidates should have one woman candidate. If this provision is not executed by a political party, then the strict sanction of all candidates from the political party in the election areas that do not meet the requirements of the representatives, shall be failed and unable to participate in the election.

From the provisions of PKPU rule No. 7 of 2013, 30% quota in the 2014 election in Bojonegoro regency followed by 12 political parties. All political parties place women candidates in each electoral district and the majority in the order of 3. From the list of candidates remain the number of candidates are 535, consists of 190 women (35.51%) and 345 men (64.49%). On the candidates list, the existence of women fulfilled the quota of 30%, because in this process there is still intervention from the government through the rules made against political parties, but when viewed from the election results of women representation in the legislative only 6 women (12%). At this stage, the existence of women is determined by the electorate, to overcome various obstacles so as to attract votes to vote for and how far the political takes side, as candidates are expected to be or just to meet the rules. This condition triggered to conduct evaluation of women representation in election 2014.

3. The 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District

The implementation of the 2014 election in Bojonegoro district runs according to the Regulation No. 12 Year 2012 on Election of Members of DPR, DPD and DPRD has four steps:

a. The voter registration
b. Fixed the legislative candidates
c. The result of the election
d. Determination of members of legislative

3.1. The Voter Registration

| No | District     | Quantity | Registered Voters |
|----|-------------|----------|-------------------|
|    | Villages    | Male (M) | Female (F)        |
| 1  | NGRAHO      | 16       | 18068 18112 36376 |
| 2  | TAMBAKREJO  | 18       | 21867 22285 44513 |
| 3  | NGAMBON     | 5        | 4693   4728  9499 |
| 4  | NGASEM      | 17       | 23580 23645 47225 |
| 5  | BUBULAN     | 5        | 5930   6125 12055 |
| 6  | DANDER      | 16       | 31394 32302 63696 |
| 7  | SUGIHWARAS  | 17       | 18666 18745 37411 |
| 8  | KEDUNGADEM  | 23       | 34175 34727 68902 |
| 9  | KEPHOHARU   | 25       | 26620 26584 53204 |
| 10 | BAURENO     | 25       | 31628 31420 63048 |
| 11 | KANOR       | 25       | 23714 24066 47780 |
| 12 | SUMBEREJO   | 26       | 27570 28380 55950 |
|    | Registered Voters |
|    | M + F       |          |
This means that the candidates are not people who have a mass base in the area, and not supported by the voters. It is useless to choose the candidate because they do not know the candidates, even though the picture of the candidates are displayed. The legislative candidates in the electoral area are not from around the voters, because the voters do not know. This means that the candidates are not people who have a mass base in the area, and not supported by maximal socialization. The result of the vote is shown in table 3 (below).

### Table 1. The Fixed Legislative Candidate in Bojonegoro Election Year 2014

| No | Party | Electoral District | Number Series of Women Candidate |
|----|-------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
|    |       | M    | W    | M    | W    | M    | W    | M    | W    | M    | W    |
|    |       | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    |
| 1  | NASDEM | 7    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 |
| 2  | PKB    | 5    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 4    | 4    | 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 |
| 3  | PKS    | 7    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 3, 6, 7, 9, 11 |
| 4  | PDIP   | 7    | 3    | 3    | 3    | 7    | 3    | 4    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 |
| 5  | DEMOKRAT | 7    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 6    | 5    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 3    | 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 |
| 6  | PAN    | 6    | 4    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 |
| 7  | PPP    | 4    | 5    | 2    | 4    | 2    | 4    | 3    | 5    | 7    | 4    | 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 |
| 8  | HANURA | 7    | 3    | 5    | 4    | 6    | 4    | 5    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10 |
| 9  | GOLKAR | 6    | 4    | 5    | 4    | 6    | 5    | 4    | 6    | 5    | 5    | 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10 |
| 10 | GERINDRA | 7    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 6    | 3    | 6    | 4    | 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 |
| 11 | PBB    | 2    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 1, 2 |
| 12 | PKPI   | 7    | 3    | 6    | 3    | 7    | 4    | 6    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 |
| TOTAL | 82 | 38   | 56   | 36   | 69   | 44   | 58   | 36   | 70   | 42   | |

Source: Bojonegoro Election Commission, 2014

From the table above shows that the number of candidates there are 531 people who are divided into 341 or 64.22% of men candidates and 190 or 35.78% of women candidates. The position of women in number series 1 there are only 3 women, from PPP, Golkar and PBB, which also happens to party cadres. The majority are in no 3, and the others position of women are above number 4. Even certain political parties have very low number of cadres, both men and women, that is the Moon-Star Party (PBB).

### 3.3. The Result of Bojonegoro District Election

In the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District, not all registered voters used their right to vote. Based on the result of the author interviews, saying that many of them do not know the candidates are installed in the area of his choice, especially for women candidates. It is better not to choose the candidate because the candidates came not from the same district with the voters. While the results of interviews in other sub-districts shows the same reason: it is useless to choose the candidate because they do not know the candidates, even though the pictures of the candidates are displayed. The legislative candidates in the electoral area are not from around the voters, because the voters do not know. This means that the candidates are not people who have a mass base in the area, and not supported by maximal socialization. The result of the vote is shown in table 3 (below).
Table 3 above shows that from 1,037,658 voters who use their rights to vote were 780,654 or 75.23%, consisting of 372,539 male voters and 408,115 female voters. There are 257,004 or 24.77% of voters who do not use their rights.

3.4. Determination of Members of Legislative From Election in Bojonegoro District in 2014

Under the electoral law, Bojonegoro regency has a population of more than 5 million, meaning that Bojonegoro regency has 50 seats in the Legislative of Bojonegoro district as following distribution:

Table 4. The Member of Legislative from Election in Bojonegoro District in 2014

| No | Party | Legislative Candidates Name | Notes |
|----|-------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1  | NASDEM | 1. AHMAD SUYONO | |
|    |       | 2. ALI MUSTHOFA | |
| 2  | PKB    | 1. IMROATUL KHOIROH | Candidate No.1 |
|    |       | 2. NAFIK SAHAL | |
|    |       | 3. ABDULLAH UMAR | |
|    |       | 4. SUTIKNO | |
|    |       | 5. IMAM SHOLIKIN | |
|    |       | 6. AHMAD SUNJANI | |
| 3  | PKS    | 1. MIFTAHUL KHOIRI | |
|    |       | 2. SUWANTO | |
|    |       | 3. GARIMAN | |
|    |       | 4. ALI MAHMUDI | |
| 4  | PDIP   | 1. BUDI IRAWANTO | |
|    |       | 2. NUR YASIN | |
|    |       | 3. BAMBANG SUTRIYONO | |
|    |       | 4. DONI BAYU SETIAWAN | |
|    |       | 5. LASMIRAN | |
| 5  | DEMOKRAT | 1. SUKUR PRIYANTO | |
|    |       | 2. M YASIN | |
From table 4 above, it appears that the majority of women are ranked 1-3, and are occupied by women who are party cadres, so they are well known by their cadres, and have a basis, and have good financial condition and have good psychological ability. While those who are not elected on average have no basis, not pure party cadres, economic limitations and external factors in the form of patriarchy from party leader and culture of Bojonegoro community.

4. Methodology

Qualitative research is used in this evaluation. According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), qualitative method is a research procedure which produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of persons and observed behavior.

The data of this study uses a document of the elections in 2014. After reviewing the document, the respondents are chosen. These are KPU Commissioners, representatives of the proponent party, and representatives of voters. The category of representatives voters are civil servants, students, professional, women and union/businessman. Five (5) persons are taken from each category to be respondents.

In the opinion of Moeloeong (2006) qualitative research is research that produces analytical procedures that do not use statistical analysis procedures or any other quantification method. The analysis used in this study in accordance with the type of data required, and then the method of analysis used descriptive and explorative qualitative analysis methods.

5. The Evaluation of 2014 Election

Evaluation of the 2014 Election of Bojonegoro District is seen from the process of the stages in accordance with the rules, as well as up to the voter registration (Pantariluh).

The use of Zipper System is the good system in election that includes at least one woman candidate among the three candidates and in 2014 Bojonegoro Election, there are 35.51 % women candidate. The party must follow Regulation PKPU No. 8 Year 2013. If the party does not meet 30% of women in the electoral area, the party cannot follow the election.
From the existing data and the use of approaching method, it indicates that the existence of the legislative candidates faced several obstacles:

5.1. Internal Obstacles

a. Financial Obstacle
The financial obstacle they face is, besides the woman must give dowry to the party, she also must prepare budget to campaign herself to society with a long time. Because women are not supported by financial from the party. With limitations of financial resources, making women limited in their campaign process and at some point should prioritize the needs of their nomination process. This is the factor that impedes the women legislative candidates in Bojonegoro. They are educator and not yet stable in their economy, so it is not maximized at their campaign, the most important process in the election.

b. Political Obstacle
The majority of Bojonegoro's legislative candidates are not party cadres, so the political access of internal parties and other parties is very limited. The lack of clarity on the target of the party also becomes part of the barriers of the candidates to qualify for the election. Because the majority of the party's target is to comply with the rules, not to make the candidate enter parliament.

c. Ideology and Psychological Obstacle
That includes gender ideology and cultural patterns, lack of confidence of women, because the majority of candidates are not cadres, but new people who enter the political world to be a legislative candidate of one party. Anxiety about the new thing makes them not focus in the nomination. Women have the perception of politics as a dirty game.

d. Emotional Support/Base Obstacle
If seen from all the women candidates in table 4 above, then those who pass to parliament, they are cadres and have a loyal supporter base, for example from PPP, GOLKAR, DEMOCRAT, GERINDRA. They are cadres who have a mass base. This obstacle is a new finding. Because no matter how strong economically, broad access without mass base support will be difficult for women to get capable votes of delivering to parliament.

5.2. External Obstacles

a. Patriarchy Culture in Party
In the case of the 2014 election in Bojonegoro district, the party's recruitment system is still closed, meaning that only party leaders determine a cadre or an out-of-the-party person who can run for a legislative candidate. The target of the party to the candidates is also unclear, whether it really wants to make a representative of the people or only to meet the rules in order to participate in elections in an electoral area. From the table 3, the majority of political parties place women in number 3. If the party sides with the importance of women's existence in the legislative, then they put women at least 30% at position number 1, not placing women in number 3.

b. Patriarchy Culture of Society
The patriarchal culture of society is visible; people prefer to choose those in the top rank rather than the lower number, because according to the patriarchal understanding is that those in the upper order are the preferred, while the woman candidate of the majority of the position is at number 3 down and up to number 11. These facts are also inhibiting women enter parliament in Bojonegoro.

c. The importance of women's capacity in Parliament.
The substantive problems faced by women are not only to increase the quantity of women in fulfilling quota, but also to improve the quality of women who have occupied the parliament. They can play role and coloring every process of public policy making, from designing process, decision making to policy implementation. They have access to control, not just as an object of development. Therefore, training on gender-based financial budgeting, financial management, political training and leadership must be given to them, so that when they occupy posts as legislators, women are able to occupy certain positions according to their competencies.

6. Conclusion
The government's support can increase women's representation up to 35.78%. It is the best effort of the government to increase the role of women in the development of the country, considering the number of women voters is also increasing day by day.

The results of evaluation show that the obstacles experienced by women legislative candidates are:

6.1. Internal Obstacles
a. Prospective women of the majority do not have a base of mass and this is the new findings, so that they are unknown to voters.
b. Financial and psychological obstacles
c. Political obstacle. The majority is not party cadres, so they do not have political access. They are nominated only to meet the 30% quota rules and there is The Closed Recruitment System. So that the candidate is very minimal by 12% and this is not significant with the existing candidate.

6.2. External Obstacles

a. Patriarchy Culture in Party

The party's recruitment system is still closed, still half-hearted. In applying a minimum quota of 30%, the placement of women just only meets rules.

b. Patriarchy Culture in Society

Voters prefer to choose the candidates in the top number position rather than the bottom number. According to patriarchy culture, candidates in the top position are preferred, while the position of women candidate at number 3 and up to number 11. This positioning makes it difficult for women to enter the parliament in Bojonegoro.

7. Recommendation

With the evaluation of women's representation in the 2014 Election in Bojonegoro District, it is expected that the upcoming Election in 2019, women's representation will increase in both quantity and quality. The recommendations are:

a. It needs the quota system to increase women's representation in parliament.

b. It takes a mass base for women. They need the maturity in ideology and psychology. They need financial ability, political access.

c. Party must use the Opening Recruitment System. Party must set up woman cadres to put in first rank.

d. It is necessary to make a rule that women's representation quota of at least 30% has started from nomination of woman position on the list of the fix candidates, not 30% at no 3 but at least 30% in serial number 1. Increasing the capacity of women through political education, leadership, economic empowerment, and gender-based budgeting exercises, either by the government or by political parties, should result in qualified female legislators to be able to maximally play in every drafting of law, enforce the Act, receive benefits and access to control.

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