



Article

# A Study of Women's as House of Representatives in Central Java, Indonesia

Ari Subowo <sup>a</sup>, Teuku Afrizal <sup>a,\*</sup> and Albert J. Rapha <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, 50275 Jawa Tengah, Indonesia; [arisubowo@lecturer.undip.ac.id](mailto:arisubowo@lecturer.undip.ac.id) (A.S); [albertjehoshua@gmail.com](mailto:albertjehoshua@gmail.com) (A.J.P)

\* Correspondence: [teukurian@lecturer.undip.ac.id](mailto:teukurian@lecturer.undip.ac.id) (T.A)

**Citations:** Subowo, A., Afrizal, T. & Rapha, A.J. (2022). The Analysis of Women's Representation in the House of Representatives of Central Java, Indonesia. *International Journal of Advances in Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(2), 93-98.

**Academic Editor:** Afrizal Tjoetra.

Received: 18 February 2022

Accepted: 24 May 2022

Published: 31 May 2022

**Abstract:** The United Nation (UN) recommendation has been ratified by Indonesian government to produce the guidelines to spur women's political participation through Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative. Nevertheless, the emergence of this affirmative policy has not been able to attain the target of least 30% representation in the legislative institution, including the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024. Further, this research emphasizes about the factual condition of women's political representation and why the women's political representation enhancement policy still yet spur the women's representation rate in the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024. By using descriptive qualitative method and system theory basis, this study tries to scrutinize more deeply about the reality in the field based on four main factors: policy cognition, socio-culture, human resources, and political factor. According to the result, this research finds various hurdles on the policy implementation, including the lingering of patriarchal culture, the lack of women's capability as policy makers, and various political factors.

**Keywords:** affirmative action; women; politics; women's empowerment.



Copyright: © 2022 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

## 1. Introduction

Nowadays, all men and women are created equal, it asserted a deep meaning to the Declaration of Independence proclamation amidst the Seneca Falls Convention in July 1848 (McMillen, 2008). This conference, later, paved the way for an uncanny women's movement to eliminate all the discrimination against women and uphold the gender right living equality across the United States and other nations, including Indonesia. It came to pass in 1928 when several Indonesian women figures spearheaded by Nyi Hadjar Dewantara gathered various women's organizations throughout regions in Indonesia and congregated concomitantly in the first Indonesian Women Congress (KPI) in Yogyakarta. The congregation aimed to encourage Indonesian women to enforce their rights as citizens, including their participation in politics and government (Printina, 2019). The trudged effort to increase Indonesian women's participation in the parliament began in 1955, when the percentage accounted for 6,5%. Then, this phenomenon became an impetus to the determination of Law Number 68 of 1958 on the Ratification of Women's Rights Convention and later, Law Number 7 of 1984 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Sakhiyya & Locke, 2019). The spawned of

this “affirmative action” policy firmly asserted Indonesian government’s commitment to spur women’s empowerment against all the social, economy, and political discrimination (Sowell, 2004).

Nevertheless, it has never been outpacing the UN’s quota (according to the CEDAW) to attain a 30% percentage requirement for women to enact and deploy the gender-mainstream policy on society. Later, in 2013 the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection spawned the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women’s Political Participation in Legislative as a regulatory guidance towards Indonesian women’s participation enhancement in legislative. Nonetheless, the emergence of this affirmative policy has not been able to attain the target of least 30% representation in the legislative institution, including the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024. Further, this research emphasizes about the factual condition of women’s political representation and why the women’s political representation enhancement policy still yet spur the women’s representation rate in the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024.

Beforehand, numerous preceding researches have markedly studied several factors that determine women to attain the 30% targeted-percentage participation requirement in legislative. First, Susanto & Pide (2018) emphasized prominent factors encompassing: (1) Politics; (2) Ideologies; (3) Socio-culture; (4) Self-confident; (5) Negative perceptions towards politics; (6) Mass media intervention; and (7) Socio-economic. Second, Navarro Cejas et al., (2020) scrutinized the social role of women within parliamentary in Ecuador. He found that deep-rooted patriarchal culture, poverty, inept regulation, and less support from the government are affecting women’s efforts to attain the targeted representation percentage. Third, Manor (1999) untangled the case comparisons between Indonesia and India regarding women’s gender role in politics. He found that patriarchal culture is the culprit of Indian women’s marginalization. This embedded mindset constrained Indian women to upskill their capability and broaden their knowledge to deploy impact on society. Explicitly, several root causes are comprising (1) Local tradition and Indian women’s gender role; (2) Men’s domination; (3) Money politics; (4) and the less competent of women who run in political contestation. Therefore, by using the descriptive-qualitative method and Theory of System as the basis, this article tries to scrutinize more deeply the reality in the field based on four main factors: (1) Policy Cognition; (2) Politics; (3) Human Resource; (4) and Social and Culture.

Public administration is perceived as an organizing process of resources to accomplish duties within an organization (Bovaird, 2007; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Public administration is also defined as the whole process of implementation to attain the desired goals (Hill & Hupe, 2002). Commensurately with Keban, (2014) comprehends public administration as a combination of numerous theories and practices that interfere with the management process in delivering public needs. Mackay & Shaxton (2011) define public policy as a government’s effort through strategic programs to aim specific goals and vision. On the other side, public policy is defined as a projection of goals, values, and practices (Eliadis et al., 2005). Also, according to Bullock et al. (1985), public policy is untangled as a policy enacted by government agencies. David Easton examines how a policy is implemented through three prominent processes: (1) input; (2) Throughput; (3) and Output (success/failure) (Nugroho, 2009), as seen in Figure 1:

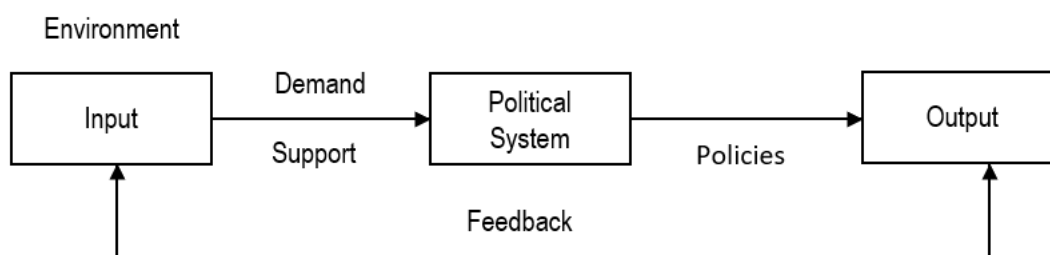


Figure 1. Easton's System Theory

## 2. Materials and Methods

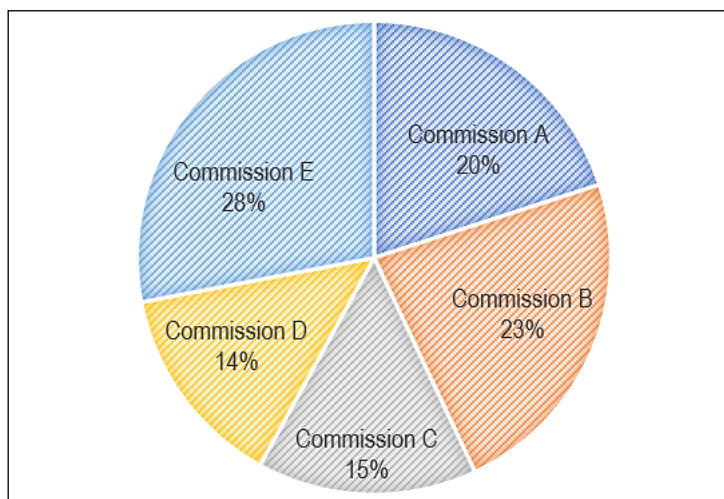
This research used the qualitative method through a comprehensive data collection by conducting in-depth research interviews with various informants (Sutopo, 2006). Besides, this research used primary data through in-depth research interviews by using purposive sampling to determine the relevant informants (Arikunto, 2010) and secondary data which encompass literature reviews, articles, and any related sources.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. The Existing Condition of the House of Representatives of Central Java

By using the document analysis technique to scrutinize the current condition, this research found that women’s participation percentage still yet fulfilled the 30% targeted-percentage participation requirement under Ministerial

Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women’s Political Participation in Legislative (see Figure 2). According to the General Elections Commission of Central Java, it accounts for 20% or 24 women’s legislators of 120 total legislators of the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024. In the past two periods, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) rigorously lead the total amount of women legislators with 10 (37,03%) representatives in 2019-2024 and 11 (26,19%) women representatives in 2019-2024. Besides, the figure below concludes that: (1) from 2014 through 2019, men are holding 96 (76%) seats compared to 24 (24%); (2) and the men’s percentage was increased to 96 seats (80%) amidst the stagnation of women’s seats (24) alongside with inclination on its percentage to 20% from 24%. Explicitly in the commissions, the highest percentage of women are in Commission E (Ministry of People’s Welfare) with 28% representation and concern in the realms of women’s empowerment, child protection, and population control.



**Figure 2.** The Composition of Women Legislators Elect of the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024 Based on Commissions

Subsequently, the legislators from each party will be deployed into House Fittings including (1) Eight male legislators in the Honorary Board; (2) Twenty-six male legislators (83%) and five (17%) women legislators in the Deliberation Board; (3) Eighteen male legislators and five (12%) women legislators in the Regional Legislation Board; (4) and thirty-one (73%) male legislators and six (17%) women legislators in the Budget Committee (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** The Comparison of Legislator-elect of the House of Representatives of Central Java 2019-2024 and 2019-2024

According to the data, First, markedly there is still an unevenness within the role distribution both for men and women legislators. Vividly, women legislators are not yet exceedingly involved in strategic decision-making positions. Second, the representation of women legislators is not yet optimized to fill the strategic positions in the Boards and Committees.

## 3.2 The Analysis of System Theory

Easton's System Theory examines how a policy is implemented through three prominent processes: (1) input; (2) Throughput; (3) and Output. The input phase comprises demands and supports from society.<sup>[15]</sup> On the other side, there is also the environmental factor that determines the actualization of the value within society to deliver both demands and supports. These environmental factors are instilled in women's gender roles based on embedded socio-culture standards. Thus, in order to obtain the output of demand and support in gender role equality in the legislative, the political system becomes a throughput bridge. According to Easton, the political system is defined as an authority to allocate values within society.<sup>[15]</sup> Practically, this political system comprises both policy and appropriate regulation that vigorously spur the attainment of demand and support to obtain the output (failure/success). Afterward, here is the explicit analysis.

### 3.2.1. Input process

Before, the United Nations in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has urged nations to attain the 30% targeted women's representation in legislative to bolster women's right fulfilment within the policymaking process. This research found that both women in society and NGOs are attentively demanding a wider opportunity for women to join the policy-making process by participating in politics. Also, there is an impetus through supports from the Regional Government, the Regional Party, and the Regional General Elections Commission to boost the women's representative percentage in spite of these actions frequently tend to be constrained by the patriarchal culture.

### 3.2.2. Throughput Process

In this process, the political system is actualized through apt policies and regulations. The emergence of the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative aimed as guidance towards Indonesian women's participation enhancement in legislative. Besides, several regulations and policies from the Regional General Elections Commission; the Government Agency of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning; and the internal Party's regulation also take paramount roles to attain the policy goals.

### 3.2.3 Output Process

In the thick of the massive support and demand throughout the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative, though the output of 30% women's representation in legislative still far from the aimed target. Therefore, the output is categorized as an output failure and should furtherly be increased to become an output success.

## 3.3 Impediments Amidst Policy Implementation

Aforesaid, the women's representation in the House of Representatives of Central Java is still yet aimed at the 30% targeted quota. Further, this research will present the analysis through four main aspects (1) Policy Cognition; (2) Politics; (3) Human Resource; (4) and Social and Culture.

### 3.3.1 Policy Cognition

The communication approach of cross-sector stakeholder to ensure the policy implementation is yet synchronized properly. In fact, there are still less consolidation and collaboration to monitor the actualization of the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative in the House of Representatives of Central Java.

### 3.3.2 Politics

Women are frequently finding hardships in political factors, encompass (1) Inept campaign capability; (2) Party's less commitment to win women legislator candidate; (3) and financial prowess to run campaigns.

### 3.3.3 Human Resource

Inevitably, women's legislator capability becomes paramount and indispensable to represent women's interest in the legislative properly. Nevertheless, there are several existing hurdles, including (1) Financial capability; (2) Government's awareness towards gender education; (3) and less sustainable women's empowerment programs to upskill their capability to become legislators.

### 3.3.4 Social and Culture

Amid lingering patriarchal culture and compounded with gender role's domestication, the Central Java society is generally still depicting women only as a "supporting system". Thus, this stigma inclined to inhibits women to upskill their capability and stand firmly to bolster gender equality through the policymaking process in the legislative.

## 4. Conclusions

In conclusion, this study identified that the Central Java Province has implemented the women's political participation enhancement through the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative. Nonetheless, the reality portrays that women's representation in the House of Representatives of Central Java still yet achieved the 30% targeted quota, by only consisting of 24 women legislators (20%) in the period of 2019-2024. Afterward, this research proposes several recommendations to cope with the impediments of women's political participation through the Ministerial Women Empowerment and Child Protection Regulation 07/2013 on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Legislative implementation in the House of Representatives of Central Java. The Central Java Provincial Government should issue Local Government Regulation to oversee the women's political participation enhancement policy implementation in the legislative. The related cross-sector stakeholders obligate to enhance gender education and sustainable women empowerment to enlighten society about gender role equality and women strategic issues. Political parties should invigorate their commitment to not only achieve the 30% minimum of legislator candidates. Further, they should harshly strive to attain the 30% targeted quota of women representatives in the legislative.

**Author Contributions:** Conceptualization, A.S., T.A. and A.J.R.; methodology, A.S., T.A., and A.J.R.; validation, T.A. and A.J.R.; formal analysis, A.S., T.A. and A.J.R.; investigation, A.S., T.A. and A.J.R.; resources, A.S.; data curation, T.A. and A.J.R.; writing—original draft preparation, A.S., T.A. and A.J.R.; writing—review and editing, A.S., T.A. and A.J.R.; visualization, A.S. and T.A.; supervision, T.A. and A.J.R.; project administration, A.S. and T.A.; funding acquisition, T.A. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Institutional Review Board Statement:** Not applicable.

**Informed Consent Statement:** Not applicable.

**Data Availability Statement:** Not applicable.

**Acknowledgments:** The author would like to thank Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia for supporting this research and publication. We would also like to thank the reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## References

- Arikunto, S. (2010). *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktik [Research Procedure: A Practical Approach]*. In *Ke-13*. Rineka Cipta.
- Bovaird, T. (2007). Beyond engagement and participation: User and community coproduction of public services. *Public Administration Review*, 67(5), 846–860.
- Bullock, C. S., Anderson, J. E., & Brady, D. W. (1985). *Public policy in the eighties*. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Denhardt, R. B., & Denhardt, J. V. (2000). The new public service: Serving rather than steering. *Public Administration Review*, 60(6), 549–559.
- Eliadis, P., Hill, M. M., & Howlett, M. (2005). *Designing government: from instruments to governance*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.
- Hill, M., & Hupe, P. (2002). *Implementing public policy: Governance in theory and in practice*. Sage.
- Keban, Y. (2014). Enam Dimensi Strategis Administrasi Publik (Konsep, Teori dan Isu) [Six Strategic Dimensions of Public Administration (Concepts, Theories and Issues)]. *Yogyakarta: Grava Media*.
- Mackay, M., & Shaxton, L. (2011). Understanding and applying basic public policy concepts. *University of Guelph*, 1–5.
- Manor, J. (1999). *The political economy of democratic decentralization*. The World Bank.
- McMillen, S. (2008). *Seneca Falls and the origins of the women's rights movement*. Oxford University Press.
- Navarro Cejas, M., Cejas Martínez, M. F., Vega Falcón, V., & Mendoza Velazco, D. J. (2020). The Social Role of Women within the Legal and Parliamentary Context in Ecuador. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 8, 399–409. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2020.89030>

Nugroho, R. (2009). Public Policy Teori Kebijakan-Analisis Kebijakan-Proses Kebijakan. *PT. Gramedia*.

Printina, B. I. (2019). *Merawat Memori Memupuk Kebangsaan: Komitmen Pada Cita-Cita Kongres Perempuan Indonesia [Caring for the Memory of Nurturing Nationality: Commitment to the Ideals of the Indonesian Women's Congress]*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Sakhiyya, Z., & Locke, K. (2019). Empowerment vs. meritocracy discourses in Indonesian public universities: The case of female leaders. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(2), 198–216.

Sowell, T. (2004). *Affirmative action around the world: An empirical study*. Yale University Press.

Susanto, A., & Pide, A. M. (2018). Optimalisasi Kuota Tiga Puluh Persen Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) Provinsi Sumatera Barat Pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014. *UNES Posgraduate Journal of Law*, 2(1), 1–9.

Sutopo, H. B. (2006). Penelitian kualitatif: Dasar teori dan terapannya dalam penelitian [Qualitative research: The theoretical basis and its application in research]. *Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret*.