
Women's Wings of Organization and Political Representation Study of Garnita Malahayati's Involvement in the 2019 Legislative Candidate Selection Process

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ABSTRACT

The results of the 2019 election show an increase in women's representation in parliament, from 17 percent in 2014 to 21 percent in 2019. One major factor in this increase is the Nasdem Party, where women's representation reached 32 percent. This study examines the role of Nasdem's women's wing, Garnita Malahayati, in the recruitment and selection process of female legislative candidates at the national level, which is believed to contribute to this rise. Using a qualitative approach, the study reveals that Garnita Malahayati plays a crucial role in meeting the 30 percent quota for women in party management and the candidate list. Garnita is responsible for recruiting women with adequate competence, capability, and social, political, and financial capital. However, Garnita's role is limited to submitting and recommending candidate names and does not include participation in the selection team. Once the female candidates are selected by the Nasdem Party's central board (DPP), Garnita's role continues by supporting and empowering them during their campaigns.

Keywords: Garnita Malahayati, Affirmation Policy, Women's Wing Organization, Nasdem Party, Candidate Selection

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INTRODUCTION

In general, political rights for women in elections consist of two parts, namely the right to vote and the right to stand for election. (Shedova, 2002). Over time, many countries have fulfilled both political rights for women in elections. However, now the next problem is the right to be elected. Reporting from the Inter-Parliament Union (IPU) in 2022, only three countries have more female MPs than men, Rwanda with 61.3% women in the 2018 elections, Cuba with 53.4% in the 2018 elections, and Nicaragua with 50.6% in the 2021 elections. In addition, there are two countries where male and female members of parliament are equal, namely Mexico in the 2021 elections and the United Arab Emirates in the 2019 elections. Furthermore, referring to the 30 percent figure women's representation in parliament, there are

61 countries out of 193 countries that have successfully passed this threshold (Inter-Parliament Union., 2021)

Based on IPU data, Indonesia is ranked 105th with 21.9 percent based on the last elections in 2019. Indonesia has not succeeded in passing the 30 percent figure of women's representation in parliament. Even so, the number of women's representation in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) increased in the 2019 election after being stagnant in the two previous elections at 17%.

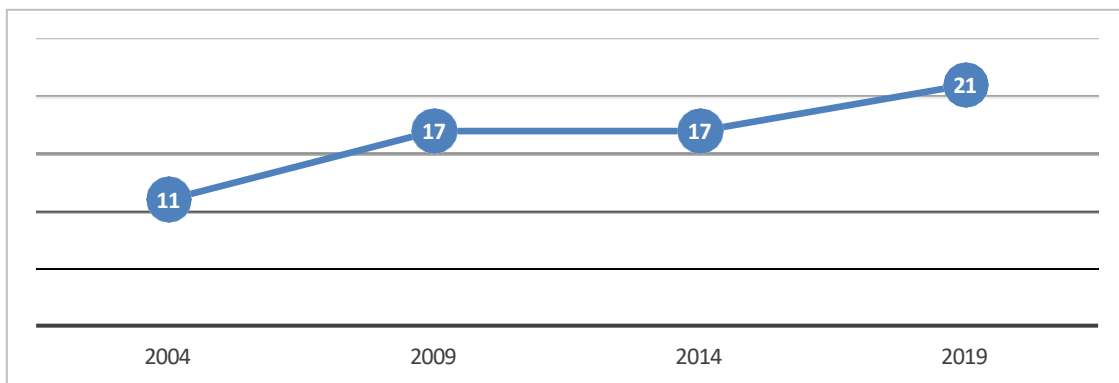


Figure 1. Development of Women's Representation in the Indonesian Parliament in 2004- 2019 (in %)

Source: (Kata Data, 2021)

The 30 percent figure for women's representation in parliament is the minimum number for women to be able to play an important role and participate in formulating policies in parliament. Basically, in a democratic country, decisions are taken by majority vote based on voting. Therefore, the amount becomes an important thing (Mariyah, 2002). Furthermore, according to Anne Philip (2003), it is important for women to have representation in parliament because the initial stage of presenting women's interests in parliament (political of ideas) is the presence of women themselves (political presence). This starts from the assumption that it is unlikely for men to carry women's interests because men and women have different perspectives and interests (Phillips, 2003).

Many efforts have been made to achieve 30 percent women in parliament, one of which is through the implementation of affirmative policies. According to Ani W. Soetjipto (2005) in her book *Politics of Women is Not an Eclipse*, affirmation policy is a pro-active action to eliminate discrimination based on gender or race. The form of the affirmative policy implemented in Indonesia is through a quota system that is applied to the fixed list of candidates (DCT) for political parties (Soetjipto, 2005).

The affirmation policy in the form of legal candidate quotas was first implemented in the 2004 election. Until now, the last affirmative policy used was based on Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional

People's Representative Council which are began to be implemented in the 2014 elections. The following table shows the development of affirmative policies in the laws on Elections and Political Parties.

Table 1. Development of Affirmative Policies in the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties

Election Law		Political Party Law	
Law development	Affirmation Policy Content	Law development	Affirmation Policy Content
Law 12/2003	Limited to a 30% quota for women's candidacy in elections. However, its nature is a recommendation to political parties to consider a minimum of 30% representation of women.	Law 31/2002	There is no affirmation policy yet, but there have been considerations of the need for aspects of gender equality.
Law 10/2008	The provisions of the parties participating in the election included 30% female administrators at the central level. 30% for the candidacy of women in elections, with non-binding administrative sanctions. Semi-zipper system, namely a minimum of 1 woman out of 3 legislative candidates on the list, with no sanctions.	Law 2/2008	The affirmative policy is limited to the provision of a 30% quota for the establishment of new parties and management at the central, provincial, district and city levels. Administrative sanctions are given to parties that have just registered themselves as legal entities

Law 8/2012	The zipper system is maintained, political parties must show 30% representation of women in the party's national executive board.		
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Source: (Hidayah, 2019)

Even though the affirmation policy has been implemented, the figure of 30 percent of women's representation in the DPR RI has not yet been fulfilled. This means that there are other issues besides the affirmation policy so that the figure of 30 percent women in the DPR RI has not yet been fulfilled. Hidayah (2021) says that apart from going through laws and regulations, the commitment of political parties is the most important thing in presenting women in parliament (Hidayah, 2019). Therefore, this research looks at how political parties present women in parliament. The following is a comparison of the representation of women and men based on political parties:

Table 2. Comparison of Women's Representation in the 2014 and 2019 DPR RI based on political parties

Political Parties	Men		Women	
	2014	2019	2014	2019
Nasdem	88%	67,8%	12%	32,2%
PKB	78%	79,4%	22%	20,6%
PKS	97,5%	84%	2,5%	16%
PDIP	80%	81,5%	20%	19,5%
Golkar	82%	77,7%	18%	22,3%
Gerindra	84%	74,7%	16%	15,3%
Demokrat	78%	81,5%	22%	18,5%
PAN	81%	84,1%	19%	15,9%
PPP	74%	73,7%	26%	26,3%
Hanura	87,5%	0%	22,5%	0%

Source: (Cakrawikara, 2019)

Based on table 2 above, one of the interesting things to see from the increase in the representation of women from the Nasdem Party is that of the 19 women Members of the Indonesian Parliament from the Nasdem Party, six of them are registered as members or administrators of Garnita Malahayati, the women's wing organization of the Nasdem Party. This means that 31.5 percent of women in the

DPR RI from the Nasdem Party are currently administrators or members of the women's wing of the Nasdem party, Garnita Malahayati.

The presence of women's wing organizations such as Garnita Malahayati is a form of political party commitment in presenting women in practical politics. This is in accordance with the argument of Magdalena (2013) who said that the birth of the women's wing organization of political parties is a form of awareness of the importance of women's representation in parliament (Magdalena, 2013). Furthermore, according to Baghir Manan (2019), the important role of political party wing organizations is as a means of expanding community participation in running the organization and as a means of fighting for and channeling the interests represented by the wing organization (Manan, 2019).

According to Hurriyah and Delia (2019), women's wing organizations in political parties have been established not only in Indonesia but also in various countries over the past centuries. These organizations aim to promote women's interests in party policies and increase women's representation in nominations and decision-making processes. However, their effectiveness in promoting women's representation is still limited due to unfriendly internal party conditions and strong patriarchal cultures. Research by Hurriyah and Delia (2019) indicates that the relationship between women's wing organizations and political parties in Indonesia remains informal, with minimal involvement in strategic decision-making, especially regarding women's representation agendas (Hurriyah & Delia, 2019).

The absence of women's wing organizations in the strategic positions of political parties also influences the recruitment process for female legislative candidates in terms of placing serial numbers and electoral districts. Today's conditions illustrate that in the 2019 simultaneous elections, the placement of serial number of female candidates was mostly in serial number 3 as much as 24.4%, and serial number 6 as much as 17.9% (Perludem, 2018). This is also due to the zipper system rule which requires that out of three candidates there is one woman, so that more women are placed in serial numbers 3 and 6. Meanwhile, female candidates in serial number 1 are 7.3%, and female candidates in serial number 2 are 11.6% (Perkumpulan Untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi, 2018). Even though the Puskapol UI study shows that the percentage of elected candidates in the 2014 election was in serial number 1 (62.2%) and serial number 2 (16.9%) (Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia, 2014). Therefore, the placement of serial numbers becomes one of the important things because women are often overlooked in the strategic determination process.

Even though it appears that the involvement of women's wing organizations with political parties is still minimal, the facts show that 36.8 percent of women in the Indonesian Parliament from the Nasdem Party currently have a background as administrators or members of Garnita Malahayati. This means that the women's wing organization of the Nasdem party, namely Garnita Malahayati has a more significant role so that its representation is quite high. Therefore, this research will

look at the involvement of the women's wing of the Nasdem Party, namely Garnita Malahayati in the recruitment and selection process for Nasdem Party legislative candidates in the 2019 elections.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach to examine Garnita Malahayati's role in the Nasdem Party's recruitment of female candidates. Data were gathered through literature reviews and in-depth interviews with key figures, such as Irma Suryani Chaniago, Chairwoman of Garnita Malahayati, Ivanhoe Arthur Robert, a member of Nasdem's election committee and Willy Aditya (National Democratic Party DPP election winning body for the 2014-2019 period). Purposive sampling was used to select informants directly involved in the recruitment process. Concepts of political recruitment and organizational connectedness were employed to analyze Garnita's influence on the recruitment and empowerment of female candidates.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study explored the involvement of Garnita Malahayati, the women's wing of the Nasdem Party, in the recruitment and selection process for female legislative candidates during the 2019 Indonesian general elections. The findings reveal several important aspects related to both the role of Garnita and broader issues of women's political representation.

One significant finding was the increase in female representation in the Indonesian Parliament, which rose from 17% in 2014 to 21% in 2019. The Nasdem Party made a notable contribution to this rise, with 32% of its elected representatives being women. Of these women, a considerable portion were members or administrators of Garnita Malahayati, reflecting the party's effort to empower women through its wing organization.

This study uses the concept of political participation, defined by Huntington & Nelson as activities aimed at influencing government decisions. In Indonesia's democratic context, women's political participation, particularly within political parties, is vital for public policy decisions (Huntington, 1994). Cantor & Bernay emphasize that women must work hard to achieve higher party positions (Cantor & Bernay, 1998).

This study explores whether Garnita Malahayati, the women's wing of Nasdem, participates in the formal candidate selection process and acts as a gatekeeper. Using the concept of organizational connectedness (Hurriyah & Delia, 2019), the study assesses formal and informal bonds between political parties and wing organizations, examining Garnita's involvement in recruitment during the 2014 and 2019 elections.

One of the important functions of political parties is political recruitment. Miriam Budiardjo (2009) explains that the function of political recruitment is closely

related to the issue of leadership selection, both internal and national leadership. By recruiting qualified cadres, political parties can develop and have the opportunity to enter the national leadership market. In addition, political recruitment is also a way to recruit and train prospective leaders (Budiardjo, 2009). The Nasdem Party is one of the parties that has carried out the function of political recruitment. This is stated in the AD/ART of the Nasdem Party, as follows:

Table 3. The 2013 Nasdem Party Statutes/Bylaws (AD/ART) Regarding the Recruitment and Selection of Party Members and Candidates for Legislative Members

Source	Chapter - Article - Points	Text
Articles of Association	Chapter V - Article 10 - Points 3	Provisions for Rights and Obligations as well as membership recruitment are regulated in the Bylaws
Bylaws	Chapter II - Article 4 - Points 3	Every Indonesian citizen who has been approved to become a party member will be given a membership card issued by the Central Leadership Council through the official structure where the person concerned registers
Bylaws	Chapter IV - Article 19 - Points 1F	Screening and determining temporary candidates for members of the DPR RI, Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates
Bylaws	Chapter V - Article 25 - Points 5	Screening and assigning temporary candidates for members of the Provincial DPRD, Candidates for Governor and Candidates for Deputy Governor
Bylaws	Chapter VI - Article 31 - Points 3	Screening and establishing temporary candidates for members of the Regency/City DPRD, Candidates for Regent/Mayor and Candidates for Deputy Regent/Mayor
Bylaws	Chapter VII - Article 33 - Points 4	Propose temporary names of candidates for Regency/Municipal DPRD members, to be submitted to the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) for further selection

Source: AD/ART of the Nasdem Party

The Nasdem Party's recruitment process for legislative candidates consists of two channels: internal (party management) and external (general public). Internal

recruitment invites party members to register through forms available at various party offices or online, involving the submission of administrative documents. Additionally, recruitment through Nasdem's wing organizations like Gemuruh and Garnita Malahayati Nasdem is included (Hidayah, 2019).

The external channel, called "Indonesia Calls," includes voluntary public registration, recommendations, and talent scouting. After collecting candidates' names, the party conducts regional surveys to prioritize candidates, with top survey results influencing serial number assignments. Final decisions are made by Bapilu and the Chairperson, followed by validation and issuance of a decree, officially changing candidates' status.

Despite no change in the selection model from the 2014 and 2019 elections, the party emphasizes gender equality. Ivanhoe Arthur Robert stated that women are given equal opportunities based on competence, not just as quotas. The party's selection model, which avoids fees, attracts qualified women candidates, providing financial support if needed (Hidayah, 2019). The Nasdem Party's selection model is exclusive, with decisions made by the General Chairperson and Bapilu. The process is classified as "Patronage" and "Informal" due to elite compromises and lack of explicit mechanisms for candidate selection and serial number assignments (Hidayah, 2019).

Table 4. Portrait of the Election of Women DPR RI Members of the Nasdem Party in the 2019 Legislative Elections

Number	Names of Members of the Republic of Indonesia DPR Women from the Nasdem Party	Serial Number in the 2019 Election	Garnita Member
1	Lestari Moerdijat	1	Central Garnita Trustees
2	Hj. Sri Wulan, S.E	1	No
3	Eva Yuliana, M.Si	1	No
4	Sri Wahyuni	5	No
5	Yessy Melania, SE	1	Management of Garnita Kalbar
6	Ary Egahni, SH	3	No
7	Kristiana Muki, S.Pd., M.Si	7	No
8	Ratu Ngadu Bonu Wulla, ST	6	No
9	Ina Elisabeth Kobak, ST	6	No
10	Ratih Megasari Singkaru, MSc	3	No
11	Drg. HJ. Hasnah Syam MARS	3	No

12	Eva Stevany Rataba	5	Head of North Toraja Garnita
13	Dra. Hj. Tina Nur Alam, M.M	2	Management of Garnita Southeast Sulawesi
14	Felly Estelita Runtuwene, SE.	5	No
15	Hillary Brigitta Lasut, SH	2	North Sulawesi Garnita Advisor
16	Hj. Lisda Hendrajoni, SE., MMTr.	3	Chairman of Garnita West Sumatra
17	Hj. Percha Leanpuri, B.Bus., MBA	5	No
18	Hj. Sri Kustina	6	No
19	Delmeria	3	No

Source: processed from KPU data and Garnita Malahayati

Based on table 4 above, there are six women affiliated with Garnita Malahayati, namely Lestari Moerdijat, Yessy Melania, Eva Stevany Rataba, Tina Nur Alam, Hillary Brigitta Lasut, and Lisda Herdrajoni. In addition, the table above can also explain that of the four women selected to get serial number one, two of them, namely Lestari Moerdijat and Yessi Melania, are affiliated with the women's wing of the Nasdem Party, Garnita Malahayati. In addition, three other people also received quite strategic numbers, namely Tina Nur Alam and Hillary Brigitta Lasut who received serial number two, and Eva Stefany Rataba who received serial number five, which is the serial number of the Nasdem Party in the 2019 elections. Practically, only Lisda Hendrajoni, the woman elected by the Nasdem party who is affiliated with Garnita Malahayati who got serial number three.

By looking at the portrait of the electability of women from the Nasdem Party as shown in table 4, it indirectly illustrates that by being affiliated as administrators of the women's wing organization Garnita Malahayati, it can have an impact on a stronger bargaining position to get strategic serial numbers. That way, it can increase the percentage of women elected in elections. To look further into the involvement of the women's wing organization Garnita Malahayati in the recruitment and selection process for Nasdem party legislative candidates at the central level will be explained in the next section.

Garnita Malahayati, as outlined in its articles of association, aims to build solidarity among women, advocate for proportional representation, and promote gender equality in all aspects of life. According to Matland (2002), self-selection is a crucial step for women entering politics, influenced by factors such as winning chances, political environment, and campaign resources. Garnita Malahayati supports creating a friendly environment for women in politics (Matland, 2002).

Garnita Malahayati assists in implementing Nasdem Party policies and serves as a mass base and recruitment source. It participates in major party meetings but does not make strategic decisions. Garnita plays a key role in meeting the 30% women representation quota by recruiting competent women with significant social, political, and financial capital.

Before the 2019 elections, nine women, including five Garnita administrators, switched to the Nasdem party. However, Garnita's role is limited to submitting or recommending names, with final decisions made by the Nasdem Party's General Chairperson and Bapilu. Irma Suryani Chaniago confirmed Garnita's involvement in recruitment and candidate strengthening, but not in the selection of legislative candidates. Amelia Anggraini's election as a legislature member was due to her strategic position and support from Garnita Malahayati. Garnita provides training and support for female candidates after selection. In summary, Garnita Malahayati recruits and recommends women candidates but does not determine their candidacy. Once selected, it focuses on strengthening their capabilities.

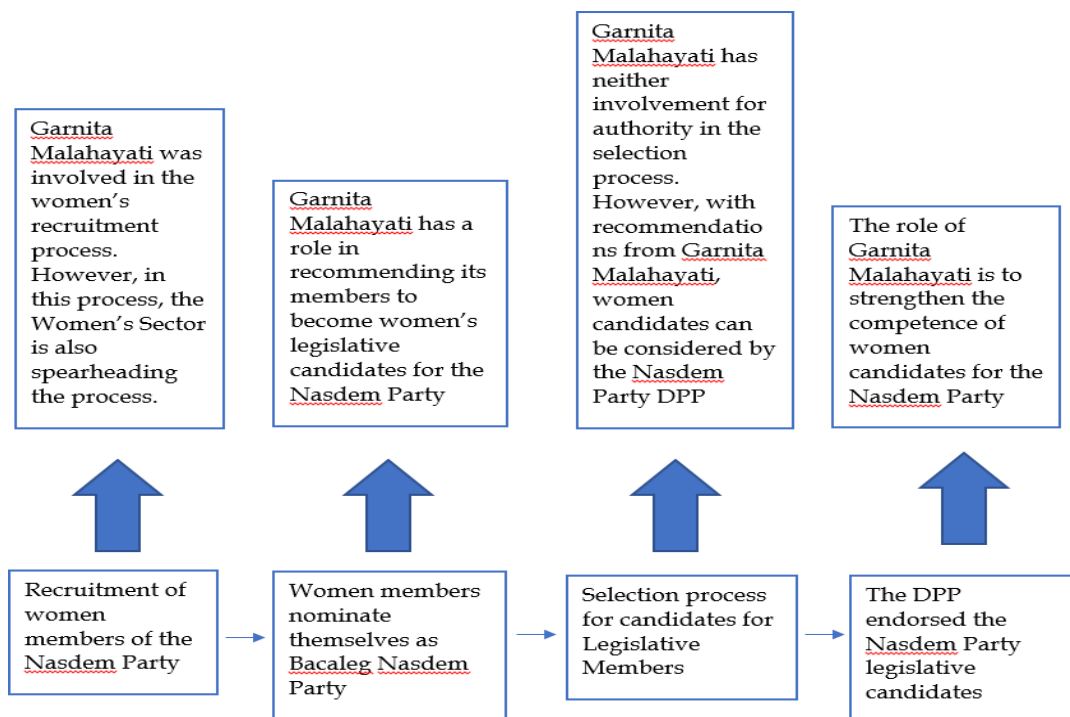


Figure 2. Garnita Malahayati's involvement in the Nasdem Party Legislature Selection Process

Source: Results of interviews with informants

Based on figure 2, from the four stages of the selection process for female Nasdem Party legislative candidates, it can be seen that Garnita's involvement was in the recruitment stage, submitting prospective female legislative members by providing recommendations, as well as strengthening the capacity and competence of female legislative candidates after being approved by the Nasdem Party DPP. In

determining female candidates, Garnita Malahayati was not involved. In this process, those who have authority are the General Chairperson of the Nasdem Party together with Bapilu.

CONCLUSION

The study reveals that out of 19 women DPR RI members from the Nasdem Party, six (31.5%) are affiliated with Garnita Malahayati, Nasdem's women's wing. This affiliation strengthens the bargaining position of female candidates, helping them secure strategic serial numbers, such as Lestari Moerdijat and Yessi Melania, who were both listed as number one on the ballot. This suggests that being part of Garnita Malahayati can increase the chances of women being elected.

Garnita Malahayati plays a crucial role in recruiting qualified women, meeting Nasdem's 30% gender quota. However, its involvement is limited to recommending candidates, with no participation in the final selection process. After candidates are selected, Garnita continues to support and empower them.

Recommendations from the study include reviewing the affirmative 30% quota policy to improve women's representation, encouraging political parties to form women's wings, and expanding their decision-making roles in candidate selection. Specifically, for Nasdem, Garnita Malahayati should be involved in all stages of the recruitment and selection process to further boost female political participation.

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