

Women Leadership: A Comparative Study Between Indonesia And Greece

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Received: June 19, 2017
Revised: September 9, 2017
Accepted: September 20, 2017

for cite this article please refer to:
Kyveloukokkaliari, L., & Nurhaeni, I.
A. (2017). Women
Leadership: A Comparative Study
Between Indonesia And Greece.
Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan, 8(4).

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ABSTRACT

One of the manifestations of women's leadership is their representation in politics. Although the regulation for their participation in the field has been declared, women's representation in elected office is still lower than anticipated. This article discusses women's representation as leaders in strategic positions, the challenges of affirmative action regulation and the cultural barriers they face in Indonesia and Greece. The study was conducted in Indonesia and Greece, with documentation method as data collection technique such as: affirmative action regulation on women's participation in strategic positions and official statistics of the number of women in office. Mix method is employed to analyze the data. The findings show three results. Firstly, there are differences in the representation of women as leaders both in the number and the strategic position they hold between the two countries. The number of women representatives in parliament in Indonesia is lower than that of Greece, with 17% for the former and 20% for the latter. However, the most important position obtained by a woman in Indonesia is state leader, whilst in Greece is merely minister. Secondly, both countries have implemented the legislation for affirmative action concerning the percentage of women candidates, but Indonesia did much earlier. The challenge to Indonesia and Greece is how to ensure a raise on the percentage of women as leaders in strategic positions. Finally, women in Indonesia and Greece still face cultural barriers such as stereotypes, marginalization and sub-ordination for participating in strategic positions. These barriers can be overcome by having political education that provides skills and gender sensitivity on leadership to men and women, informal and formal institutions such as family and community. The conclusion is that there are differences of women's leadership in Indonesia and Greece in terms of number, position, regulation and cultural barriers. This study recommends that both countries should conduct political education and provide new regulation concerning women's representation, not candidacy.

Keywords: affirmative action, Indonesia dan Greece, women representation

ABSTRAK

Salah satu manifestasi kepemimpinan perempuan adalah representasi mereka di dalam dunia politik. Meskipun peraturan untuk berpartisipasi mereka di lapangan telah dinyatakan, perwakilan perempuan di kantor terpilih masih lebih rendah dari yang diantisipasi. Artikel ini membahas representasi perempuan sebagai pemimpin dalam posisi strategis, tantangan peraturan tindakan afirmatif dan hambatan budaya yang mereka hadapi di Indonesia dan Yunani. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Indonesia dan Yunani dengan metode dokumentasi sebagai teknik pengumpulan data seperti: peraturan tindakan afirmatif mengenai partisipasi perempuan dalam posisi strategis dan statistik resmi jumlah perempuan dalam kantor. Metode yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dan kuantitatif untuk menganalisis data. Temuan menunjukkan hasil ketiganya. Pertama, adanya perbedaan representasi perempuan sebagai pemimpin baik dalam jumlah maupun posisi strategis yang mereka pegang antara dua Negara tersebut. Jumlah perwakilan perempuan di parlemen Indonesia lebih rendah dari pada jumlah orang Yunani itu sendiri dengan 17% untuk yang pertama dan 20% untuk yang kedua. Namun, posisi terpending yang diperoleh seorang perempuan di Indonesia adalah sebagai pemimpin Negara sementara di Yunani hanyalah dijadikan sebuah menteri. Kedua, dari dua negara tersebut menerapkan undang-undang untuk tindakan afirmatif mengenai persentase kandidat perempuan, namun Indonesia melakukan lebih awal. Tantangan bagi Indonesia dan Yunani adalah bagaimana memastikan kenaikan persentase perempuan sebagai pemimpin dalam posisi yang strategis. Hambatan ini dapat diatasi dengan memiliki pendidikan politik yang memberikan ketrampilan dan kepekaan gender terhadap kepemimpinan kepada pria dan wanita, di institusi formal dan informal seperti keluarga dan masyarakat. Dengan demikian, kesimpulan yang didapat adalah adanya perbedaan kepemimpinan perempuan di Indonesia dan Yunani dalam hal jumlah, posisi, regulasi dan hambatan budaya. Studi ini merekomendasikan agar kedua Negara harus melakukan pendidikan politik dan memberikan peraturan baru mengenai representasi perempuan, bukan sebagai pencalonan.

Katakunci: affirmative action, Indonesia dan Greece, keterwakilan perempuan

INTRODUCTION

The development of any political agenda that does not include the perspectives, views and experiences of those who will be affected is not credible. This statement stands on a demographic or descriptive politics perspective which implies –that a parliament should be a microcosm of the nation (Bird: 2004). Although superficially neutral, existing political practices function to reproduce existing patterns of social inequality along group lines. Therefore, by the underrepresentation of historically marginalized ascriptive groups in legislative bodies, it is predicted that *in their absentia* is extremely likely that their interests will be overlooked and that policies will be biased against them. Significantly, the idea of group representation appeals to the notion of

deliberation and communicative democracy.

Almost all the top positions in organizations and institutions were occupied by men; a fact that was regarded as something perfectly natural, and was not questioned very deeply until the 1970's and 1980's ([Albelda: 1986](#), [England: 1975](#), [Gross: 1968](#), [Reslin: 1984](#), & [Williams: 1976](#)). Women have always worked, but they have never been represented to the labor market in such large numbers. Their recently acquired worldwide rights of political participation and representation point out to a similar pattern of parity, resulting to a crucial difference of women's access in power¹ ([Billing & Alvesson, 1989](#)).

Twenty years after the Beijing Platform for Action and its call for 30 percent of national legislative seats to be held by women, only 38 countries have reached this critical mass. Many countries are currently conducting some form of affirmative action, particularly quota systems, in order to increase the number of female lawmakers. There are mainly three such quota systems in the political field: reserved seating, candidate quotas, and voluntary quotas by political parties, the latter lacking provisions has been described as a "maybe quota"². Reserved seating is a system of allocating a given number of legislative seats to women, in accordance with the constitution or the law, candidate quotas ensure that a certain proportion of the list of candidate lawmakers are female, and voluntary quotas by political parties are a system in which parties, in accordance with their own party rules, stipulate that a given proportion of their candidate lawmakers shall be women ([Ueno, 2015](#)).

This article discusses about the current (and modern) representation of women in government and as lawmakers in Indonesia and Greece. The cases were selected through Mill's method of agreement, i.e. Most Different Systems Design, which consists in comparing very different cases, all of which however have in common the same *dependent variable*, so that any other circumstance which is present in all the cases can be regarded as the *independent variable* ([Ankar, 2008: 392](#)). In that sense, we

can conclude that human development index (HDI), gender-related development index, gender inequality index, as well as geographical factors, political tradition, etc can be ruled out as independent variables (pointing to the prevailing patriarchal structure and discriminatory culture).

Greece and Indonesia have both legislated candidate quota in order to increase women's representation in both parliament and executive power. Nonetheless, the percentage of women representation as lawmakers is below world's average (22.9%) with Indonesia (17.3%) and Greece (19.7%). Pertaining to executive officers the numbers are still meager where Indonesia leads with 25.7% against Greece's 21.1%. In other words the dependent variable in this research relates to gender gap index with Indonesia ranking 88th and Greece 92nd out of 144 countries. Furthermore, Indonesia has already had a woman as Head of State, Megawati Soekarnoputri, although not elected by general population. The paper aims to illuminate women's representation as leaders in strategic positions, the challenges of affirmative action regulation and the cultural barriers they face in Indonesia and Greece.

RESEARCH METHODS

Research has shown that women's political participation around the world is increasing, but there is still work to be done to enable women pass the threshold in political participation. This study aims to examine the (patterns of) political representation of women in Indonesia and Greece, through comparison. Comparative research or analysis is a broad term that includes both quantitative and qualitative comparison of social entities ([Mills *et al.*, 2006: 625](#)). Its underlying goal is to search for similarity and variance in these selected cross-national perspective. Due to the inherent difficulty in determining universal patterns in social sciences, this study aspires to separate patterns that are more general and isolate regularities from the context-laden environment.

In order to obtain suitable answer(s) to the research questions, this study employs a mixed methods approach. Mixed methods research represents research that involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies that investigate the same underlying phenomenon ([Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2008: 270](#)). According to [Creswell and Plano Clarck \(2007:5\)](#) mixed methods research 'central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems that either approach alone.

It draws from databases of Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), and the Quota Project a joint project of International IDEA, IPU and the University of Stockholm, concerning data on the political representation of women. Quantitative data have also been retrieved from Human Development Report (HDR 2016) conducted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Global Gender Gap Report 2016 conducted by the World Economic Forum. The choice of implementing two types of reports, i.e. HDR and Global GG, is based on the criticism of the indices presented to the former, pointing to their limitations in accurately capturing gender disparities and their weakness in reflecting critical, concurrent gender issues. Despite the inclusion of the new-Gender Development Index and Gender Inequality Index since 2010, HDR still substantially correlates the developmental level of a country with its gender disparity, thus tolerating a bias towards less affluent countries and misrepresenting the current situations. To solve this inconsistency, the two reports are used complementarily.

In addition, this study relies to a number of texts which contemplate and reflect the recent theoretical notions on the relation of women and leadership ([Billing & Alvesson: 1989](#), [Eagly & Carlib: 2003](#), [Appelbaum et.al.: 2003](#), [Ryan & Haslam: 2005](#)), women's representations and participation in politics ([Bjarnegård, E. & Zetterberg, P.: 2014](#), [Anderson, E. S.: 1999](#),

[Kenworthy, L. & Malami, M.: 1999, Htun, M.: 2004](#)) and the launch of quotas as a strategy to strengthen the justice principle. The essay ponders on the issue of equal representation in established democracies, i.e. Indonesia and Greece, by employing concepts set forward from deliberation politics and human rights perspectives and investigates the socio-economic, cultural and political factors that can hamper or facilitate women's access to parliament and government ([Krennerich, 2015](#)).

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Regulation at the international level as well as at the national level has provided room for women to participate in global development, including occupying strategic positions. In practice worldwide women's representation has been limited mostly to the participation at the grassroots level and not a sufficient number of women reached top positions, both in executive and legislative institutions. This study focuses on the effects of the quota policy as a small-N research in two countries whose predominant differences in other fields enable us to implement Mill's Method of Similarity, i.e. Most Different Systems Design, quite effectively. In particular the cases of Indonesia and Greece are found appropriate to demonstrate the ineptitude of the quota project on its own, underscoring the need for further and in-depth analysis of the factors influencing women's participation and representation in politics.

As stated above, Most Different Systems Design is implemented in order to select apt cases for this research. Indonesia and Greece are highly dissimilar in terms of their size and population, geographic position and location, political tradition and history, general level of development (viewed through their Human Development Index) and gender-related development (as indicated through their Gender-related Development Index), as well as women's position and population parity which are intrinsically different. On the other hand, their matching variable is related both to Gender Gap Index and the summation of the

political representation of women, with Indonesia ranking better on the former (88/ 144) and Greece on the latter (19.7%). Additionally, both countries saw a decrease of their female elected members of parliament during their last elections, namely April 2014 for Indonesia and September 2015 for Greece, despite the legislation of candidate quotas being implemented.

According to Human Development Report 2016, Greece scores 0.866 on the Human Development Index which is a composite statistic of life expectancy, education, and per capita income indicators, and it's used to rank countries into four tiers of human development. Hellenic Republic ranks 29th out of 178 countries in total and is grouped among the first 30 most affluent countries worldwide. Because of the levels of gender parity, even within major economies' countries, an additional index of Gender-related Development (nGDI) classifies Greece in the second group. This relates to medium-high equality in HDI achievements between women and men, absolute deviation 2.5-5%, (See NOTE 3). Lastly, concerning the Gender Inequality Index established in 2010, Greece is 23rd among 144 countries, with 0.119 indexes where 0 means parity and 1 equals to absolute imparity.

As for Indonesia, it ranks 7th among medium high development countries and the Human Development Index is estimated at 0.689. To calculate the GDI, the HDI is calculated separately for females and for males using the same methodology as in the HDI. The same goalposts as in the HDI are used for transforming the indicators into a scale lying between zero and one. The only exception is life expectancy at birth where the goalposts are adjusted for the average of 5 years biological advantage that women have over men. Indonesia's GDI is estimated in 0.926 categorizing the country in the third group with absolute deviation between 5 and 7.5 percent. Referring to Gender Inequality Index (GII), a composite measure which captures the loss of achievement within a country due to gender inequality, Indonesia is 103rd out of 178 countries. GII is calculated using three dimensions: (1) reproductive health, (2) empowerment, and (3)

labor market participation.

Apart from their differences in HDI, GDI and GII, Indonesia and Greece are similarly positioned in relation to the Global Gender Gap Report. The Index is designed to measure gender-based gaps in access to resources and opportunities in countries rather than the actual levels of the available resources and opportunities in those countries, i.e. it is constructed to rank countries on their gender gaps not on their development level. In addition, it provides a snapshot of where men and women stand with regard to some fundamental outcome indicators related to basic rights such as health, education, economic participation and political empowerment, whereas country-specific policies, rights, culture or customs are not included. Lastly, the Index ranks countries according to their proximity to gender equality rather than to women's empowerment, therefore it focuses on whether the gap has declined. Specifically, Indonesia ranks 88th out of 144 countries (0.682) and in the same index Greece scores 0.680, i.e. 92nd.

In order to address the scarce numbers of women representatives in their legislative bodies, Indonesia and Greece have legislated candidate quota of 30 and 33 percent respectively. Greece has already established voluntary party quota containing provisions about the position of women on party lists while Indonesia has launched not imperative and non provisional party quota, a type which [Parawansa \(2005:84\)](#) is prompt to refer to as 'maybe quota'. Since its independence, there was no gender disparity concerning their electoral right in the Republic of Indonesia. On the other hand, women in Greece acquired the right to stand for office just by 1952, more than a century after their male counterparts.

Both countries implement an open list proportional representation. Some argue that compared to other systems, proportional representation is more effective in increasing women's parliamentary representation ([Norris, 2004: 187](#); [Kunovich and Paxton, 2005: 515](#); [Matland, 2006: 85](#)). Open list ballot describes

TABLE 1. GENDER INDEX AND WOMEN AND MEN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN INDONESIA AND GREECE

Variable	Indonesia 2016	Greece 2016	Indonesia World Rank	Greece World Rank
Gender Index¹				
❖ Human Development Index	0.689 (medium high S= 40)	0.866 (very high S= 51)	113/ 178	29/ 178
❖ Gender-related Development Index	0.926	0.957	Group 3 ²	Group 2
❖ Gender Inequality Index ³	0.467	0.119	105/ 188	23/ 188
❖ Gender Gap Index ⁴	0.682	0.680	88/ 144 ⁵	92/ 144 ⁶
Political Participation				
1. President/ Prime Minister	2001	-		
❖ The Selection model	Directly	in the parliament		
❖ The number of voters:				
Male:	188,224,161 94,280,151	9,836,997 4,763,084		
Female:	93,944,010 ⁷	5,073,913		
❖ Female candidate(s) selected	1. Megawati	0		
2. Legislative				
❖ The Selection model	Open list Proportional unicameral	Open list Proportional unicameral		
❖ The number of voters	139,573,927 (75.1%)	5,566,295 (56.6%)		
❖ The number of candidates	6,607 (2,465)	2,060 (720) ⁸	(37.3%)	(35%)
❖ The number of candidate selected ⁹	97 (17.3%)	59 (19.7%)	99/193	107/193
Decrease	-1,4	-1,3	(19.8%) ¹⁰	(18.3%)
3. Minister	9 / 35	4 / 19	46 (25.7%)	74 (21.1%)

any variant of party-list proportional representation where voters have at least some influence on the order in which a party's candidates are elected. An open list system can also allow a voter the alternative of voting for the party as a whole without expressing a preference between individuals. Therefore, although one in every three candidates listed on the ballot is a woman, there is no guarantee of a corresponding gender representation. The seats won by a political party will be allocated to the candidates that receive the highest number of votes, regardless of gender.

INDONESIA: OVERVIEW

Political System. Indonesia is a presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the President of Indonesia is both head of state and head of government. Until 2004 the President

was elected by the legislature. In Indonesia's political history one woman served as Head of State, namely Megawati Soekarnoputri when she replaced Abdurrahman Wahid in the Presidency in 2001 and served for three years. During her tenure as Indonesian president she was criticized for her indecisiveness. She has never actually won a presidential election, and hasn't managed to be selected neither through direct elections (candidacy 2004, 2009) nor by the parliament (1999). On the other hand, she still plays a prominent role in Indonesian politics as she leads the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) currently the most popular.

In Indonesia, proportional representation has been used as the only system of parliamentary election since the first one in 1955. According to [Reilly \(1999, 17; 32\)](#), this is because it was practiced by the Dutch in colonial times. People's Representative Council numbers 560 members selected by 77 constituencies; each allocating 3 to 10 members of parliament based on population. Participation in the elections is voluntary. In the new election law for the 2004 general elections a provision requiring parties to 'bear in their hearts' the desirability of 30 percent of nominated candidates being women was formulated. In practice, 14 out of 24 contesting political parties – did attempt to fulfill the requirement to propose 30 percent women candidates in their lists for elected bodies at all levels ([Parawansa, 2015: 87](#)).

Electoral Law. For Indonesia, the Article 55 of Law 8/2012 on General Elections grants that 'the list of nominees of candidates for members of the House of Representatives shall contain at least 30% of women's representation'. The competent electoral authority shall verify the fulfillment of the quota requirement and in a case where the candidate list does not include at least 30% women's representation, it shall provide the political party with the opportunity to revise the candidate list (Articles 58 (1) and 59 (2)). The Article 56 (2) confers that '[a]t least 1 in every 3 candidates included on a political party list should be a

woman¹¹. According to IPU, 2014 elections were the first to be held since the adoption of Law 8/2012, which regulates women's candidacy quota. Political parties that do not meet the said requirements are disqualified from submitting a list in the electoral district where the quota is not met.

Legislative Elections April 2014-Results. Legislative elections were held in Indonesia's multi-party system on 9 April 2014, with 12 nationwide parties plus 3 local (Aceh) parties passing the requirements set by the General Elections Commission (KPU). The candidate list included 2,465 women out of a total of 6,607 candidates—a record-breaking 37.3 percent. Voting Age Population in Indonesia for the elections of 2014 amounts to 188,224,161; the male voters being 50.01 percent and women comprising 49.91% (94,280,151 and 93,944,010 respectively). Participation in the legislative elections was 75 percent (139,573,927), indicating an upsurge since the previous elections of 2009 when voter turnout was 71 percent. From the 12 parties racing during April 2014 legislative elections, 10 managed to secure the 3.5 percent threshold and thus secure representatives in Indonesia's legislative body. Out of a total of 560 members of the parliament only 97 were women, representing a 17.3 percent. The 2014 elections' results indicate a decrease of 1.4 percent from the 2009 legislative elections where 101 women became legislators, in absolute numbers 19.8 out of 100.

Women Ministers. Since the last cabinet reshuffle of July 2016, nine (9) women are serving as Ministers in President's Joko Widodo's Cabinet comprised by 35 ministries in total. Worth noting here, that since the Reformation era and Ministries that are usually managed by women, such as Ministry of Health and Ministry of Female Empowerment and Child Protection, Retno Marsudi leads the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Rini Mariani Soemarno is Minister of State Enterprises.

An interesting case is that of Sri Mulyani Indrawati, an independent, who have served as Minister of Finance, a Ministry whose significance is undoubted worldwide, both during 2004-

2010 under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo since the last cabinet's reform on July of the previous year. She successfully tackled corruption and initiated reforms in Indonesia's tax and customs office and enjoys a reputation for integrity. During her tenure in 2007, Indonesia recorded 6.6% economic growth, its highest rate since the 1997 Asian financial crisis. In August 2008, Mulyani was ranked by Forbes magazine as the 23rd most powerful woman in the world.

GREECE: OVERVIEW

Political System. Greece is a parliamentary representative democratic republic, whereby the Prime Minister is the head of government, and the President of Greece, elected by the parliament is the head of state. Since 1844 elections, Greece has used both majoritarian and proportional systems. According to Article 51(5) of the constitution, the exercise of the right to vote is compulsory and voter's registration is automatic. However, this provision has not been enforced in the past decades ([OSCE/ODIHR, 2009: 4](#)). Women received the right to vote in 1934, and the right to stand for election in 1952. Although no women have served yet neither as President or Prime Minister, two women served as Speakers of the Hellenic Parliament who according to the Constitution acts also as Vice President, namely Anna Benaki-Psarouda (2004-2007) and Zoe Konstantopoulou (2015).

Electoral Law. The Greek Parliament numbers 300 members which are selected by a system of reinforced proportional representation in 56 constituencies, 48 of which are multi-seat and 8 single-seat. Seats are determined by constituency voting, and voters may select the candidate or candidates of their choice by marking their name on the party ballot. However, the party receiving the largest number of votes receives a 50-seat premium, which is filled by candidates of that party not declared elected on the lower rungs. The principle of gender equality was established by the 1975 Constitution, and was further elaborated in the 2001 Constitutional amendment establishing the state's ob-

ligation to take appropriate measures to eliminate all discrimination.

As stated above, Greek Constitution provides that –adoption of positive measures for promoting equality between men and women does not constitute discrimination on grounds of sex. The State shall take measures for the elimination of inequalities actually existing, in particular to the detriment of women (Article 116, (2)). In its electoral law, the Article 34 of Presidential Decree 26/2012 states that at least one-third of political parties' candidate lists, both for national and constituency lists must be filled with candidates of each sex. Any decimal number is rounded to the next whole unit if the fraction is half or more. For example, in an electoral district in which ten members of parliament are elected, at least three of the candidates must be men or women ($10/3 = 3.33$). If the gender quota requirement is not met, the party list is not accepted by the Supreme Court (Article 35 of Presidential Decree 26/2012). In the 2009 parliamentary elections for the first time in Greece, candidate lists of political parties and coalitions had to include a minimum of one third of candidates from each gender. In practice, political parties at the local level indicated that they had difficulties in meeting the one third gender requirement –due to an apparent lack of interest from women', particularly in rural areas.

Legislative Elections Results and the Cabinet. The latest legislative elections in Greece were held on Sunday 20th September 2015 whereby 20 political parties competed with a total of 2,060 candidates on their lists nationwide. A groundbreaking 35 percent of female candidates, translated to a total of 420 women's candidacies, were on the race for the 300 parliamentary seats. Voting Age Population in Greece for the elections of September 2015 amounts to 9,836,997; with female voters being 51.57 percent and men comprising 48.42% (5,073,913 and 4,763,084 respectively). The lowest ever voters turnout in a Greek legislative election since the restoration of democracy in 1974 was recorded, a feeble 56.6 percent, 5,566,295.

From the twenty (14) parties competing for the 300 parliamentary seats during September 2015 legislative elections only eight (8) managed to attain the 3 percent threshold and thus secure representatives in the Hellenic Parliament. Only 59 women were able to acquire the necessary number votes in order to serve as lawmakers, thus encompassing a 19.7 percent of the Greek parliament. The 2014 elections' results indicate a decrease of 1.3 percent from the 2012 legislative elections where 64 women were elected, i.e. 21.3 percent. Since the last cabinet reorder of September 2016, four (4) women are serving as Ministers and six (6) more as Deputy and Alternate Ministers under Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras' Cabinet of 19 Ministries.

DISCUSSION

It has become increasingly important that parties and legislatures be (or appear to be) inclusive and demographically representative of the broader society. While there are some common explanations for the under-representation of historically marginalized groups, there are vast differences within and between countries in the steps that have been taken to increase their political representation (Bird: 2004). The Beijing Platform for Action explicitly called on governments to set –specific targets and implementing measures| including by means of –positive action|, referring both to *affirmative action* initiatives and *gender mainstreaming*.

The latter is the process of ensuring that women and men have equal access and control over resources, development benefits and decision-making, at all stages of the development process and in all government projects, programs and policy. The gender mainstreaming approach recognizes that both women and men benefit from the systematic inclusion of a gender perspective in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development policies and programs. As a strategy, it has the potential to create far deeper forms of change, precisely because it sits at the centre and not the periphery.

The importance of strengthening women's representation in strategic positions is developed from four perspectives, namely (1) the equal opportunities, (2) the meritocratic, (3) the view that women can contribute something special, and (4) the women and alternative values. The first two perspectives stem from deliberative or human rights perception of positioning through an emphasis on the common traits between men and women and contend that women as leaders are not compared in equal terms with their male counterparts, thus having limited chances. On the other hand, some argue that women can contribute something special when access power-positions, especially related to the assumption that in general women do not fully share the interests, priorities and basic attitudes to life common among men. Under that light, women in strategic positions are believed to influence the leadership-style, motivate a social structure less hierarchical, and promote cooperation changing the organizational climate ([Billingand Alvesson, 1989:74](#)). Example of women development ministers in Europe suggests that women tend to be particularly concerned with poverty reduction and investing in human capacity ([Bird, 2004](#)).

The temporary special measures in the form of quotas—reserved seats and legislated candidate quotas have accelerated the strides made in women's political representation ([Okonjo-Iweala, 2014: 23](#)). Even though change has been manifested, in most countries women's representation is just on bare minimal and the 30 percent of women's representation in the legislature and executive political arena is yet to be accomplished. Research and experiences show that when women and girls progress, all of society progresses ([Verveer, 2014:17](#)). Evidence from countries like South Africa and Rwanda, which have increased women's participation in politics, suggests that party and constitutional quotas are the most successful means of increasing women's representation. [Bessel \(2004, 13\)](#) suggests that—a woman-friendly electoral system is one strategy to advocate for women's legislative representation. Until women candidates are nominated at the

party level to contest winnable seats, equity in gender representation will be slow and may be unachievable in the short term.

The idea behind the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in December 1979 by the United Nations, is that traditional divisions of fixed roles between men and women should be abolished, and that basically no distinction between men and women should be made, on grounds other than biological ones. It recognizes that gender equality will not come about so long as traditional divisions of fixed roles for men and women are assumed and, thus, aims to establish practical gender equality by abolishing discriminatory customs. Furthermore, it recognizes positive action as a means of establishing equality.

The assumption behind regulating women's political representation by special measures in the form of quotas arises by the presumption and results of a new emphasis in democratic theory towards a 'deliberative turn' ([Dryzek 2000](#))

According to [Myers and Mendelberg \(2013, 701\)](#) deliberation should be defined –as small group discussion intended to make a decision or to change the content or basis of public opinion that is either prompted by or speaks to a governmental unit or political actor. Citizens civic experiences, alongside with non-civic experiences in other networks, provide their members with a web of available resources for political thought ([Perrin, 2004: 1054](#)). [Perrin \(2004: 1079\)](#) suggests that his findings should spur further research to determine how the contour of microcultures develop and to what extent political-cultural elements developed in one context can be mobilized in another.

In Greece, the recently designed National Program for Substantive Gender Equality 2010-2013 has set four strategic roles and has been informed by best practices and international experience so as to implement legislation and special equality policies in areas where women (or men) are under-represented; as well as horizontal interventions to tackle gender discrimination in all public policy; and gender mainstreaming. The funding for

the program has come from the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007–2013, which constitutes the reference document for the programming of European Union Funds at national level for the period 2007–2013. On the other hand, Greece is going through an unprecedented economic and social crisis that impacts both the private and the public life of men and women.

In this context, gender equality objectives tend to be marginalized in public and policy debates. All gains in the field of gender equality since the 1980s have been put at serious risk by the economic and political developments of the last few years. The state does not seem to be able to safeguard gender equality in the current climate; on the contrary it pursues policies that constitute a backlash to gender equality.¹³ Although women do not show bigger abstention than men in politics, they are less convinced of the importance of their vote for the resolution of everyday life problems and much less interested in parties and the party system. If voting patterns are not significantly differentiated according to gender, on the contrary, Greek political culture is characterized by a massive disparity in the proportion of men and women in public office. Few in Greece comment on the incessant lack of women in the senior cabinet, and the fact that men still dominate parliament. Greece ranks near the bottom in the European Union in the number of women participating in politics, and never has had a female prime minister. In Anastasia Giamali's ([Kakkisis, 2015](#)), Syriza's MP, words: Greece –is still a male-dominated society. It's hard for a woman to be involved in high-end politics, because a woman must be a mother, must be working, must take care of the whole family more than a man would.¶

Indonesian government focused on implementing the gender mainstreaming policy which was then improved to be the Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB). Since the GRB policy is coming into action, civil societies in Indonesia are actively advocating the public and the government for the implementation of

GRB ([Mulyaningrum and Mujibah, 2015](#)). Making Indonesia a unique example, civil society organizations engaged in budget issues have focused mostly at the sub national levels of government. As a result of this local focus, civil society engagement with budget issues is broadened. The National Medium-Term Development plan (RPJMN) 2010-2014 identifies 11 priorities and three cross cutting principles as the operational foundations of overall development implementation. These are 1) sustainable development mainstreaming; 2) good governance mainstreaming; and 3) gender equality mainstreaming. In 2002, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment issued a manual on Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in National Development to support government agencies in the implementation of Inpres 9/2000 (BAPPENAS, 2013).

In Indonesia's modern history, women have mainly exercised political roles through their involvement in women's organizations, particularly since the nationalist movement period of the early 20th century. Indonesian culture assigns women roles in the domestic sphere as mothers and wives, and in turn, voters may internalize the idea that politics is not a suitable occupation or environment for women. The New Order regime reinforced Indonesian women's duties —as wife, as mother, as protector, as financial manager of the household and as a member of society (Davies 2005, 233). During this period, the barriers preventing women's representation in parliament were a combination of the New Order gender ideology (state *ibuism*), religious values and women's stereotypes. Patriarchy negatively impacts on women's participation in politics. Without a proportional representation in institutional structures and lacking adequate political education for women and society, women still feel psychologically unprepared for participation in politics (Seda:2). Furthermore, political parties, which are mostly dominated by men, are unsupportive of including women in their candidates' lists since such an inclusion is unlikely to increase their overall vote share.

CONCLUSION

Chronologically speaking, the first area of investigation concerning the place of women in politics has focused on the theme of women as candidates. As the numbers of women in office has grown, a newer area of research has evolved to look at what happens once underrepresented group members get elected – –who do they speak for, and what impact can they have upon public policy and the quality of democracy more generally?¹. Despite the undeniable progress, much remains to be achieved for women and girls to enjoy full equality—not just on paper, but in reality. This discrepancy that divides rhetoric from reality is not just a women’s issue, but an important part of implementing an equal and sustainable development.

It is necessary for Indonesia and Greece to impose a placement mandate rule to ensure women are placed in a certain percentage of winnable positions. Until such rule is applied, women’s chances of being elected will continue to be scarce. A woman-friendly electoral system is one strategy to advocate for women’s legislative representation. Additionally, gender-sensitive internal parliamentary policies, procedures, rules and practices are the pillars of a gender-friendly, non-discriminatory working culture and environment, which can increase substantive representation in practice by validating the views, perspectives and priorities of both women and men, whether serving as elected officials or as parliamentary staff. Lastly, the acknowledgement of women’s role and contribution to economic and democratic development can be achieved by promoting civic and gender-mainstreaming practices and education.

ENDNOTES

¹ Power in this context “is equated with the holding of formal positions of power” according to Billing, YD & Alvesson, M, 1989: 63-80. Authors are well aware of the implications and limitations of such an approach.

² Parawansa, K. I. (2005) *Enhancing Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia* in Azza, K and Ballington, J. *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: International IDEA: 84

³ Most Data retrieved from UNDP (2016) *Human Development Report*. New York: UNDP

⁴ NOTE: Group 1 countries with high equality in HDI achievements between women and men: absolute deviation less than 2.5 percent; group 2 countries with medium-high equality in HDI achievements between women and men: absolute deviation between 2.5 percent and 5 percent; group 3 countries with medium equality in HDI achievements between women and men: absolute deviation between 5 percent and 7.5 percent; group 4 countries with medium-low equality in HDI achievements between women and men: absolute deviation between 7.5 percent and 10 percent; and group 5 countries with low equality in HDI achievements between women and men: absolute deviation from gender parity greater than 10 percent.

⁵ NOTE: 0 parity, 1 imparity

⁶ NOTE: 0 imparity, 1 parity

⁷ WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM, Gender Gap Report 2016

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Data retrieved from General Elections Commission (KOMISI PEMILIHAN UMUM), Presidential Elections Voters Data (DATA PEMILIH TETAP PILPRES).

¹⁰ This is a guesstimate of the 35 percent of women candidates during the September 2015 elections in Greece.

¹¹ Numbers may vary due to interim replacement of legislators; the elected members of parliament are displayed.

¹² According to Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in National Parliaments World Classification as of May 1st 2017, data collected for Indonesia (09-04-2014) and Greece (20-09-2015).

¹³ The recent restructuring of the General Secretariat of Gender Equality in March 2013 (25 units were reduced to 8, 3 out of the 5 directorates were closed down, 19 departments were reduced to 6 and the post of the Director General was abolished.

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