

# Political Recruitment of Female Candidates in Meeting the Quota Policy in the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*) of DIY Province in 2019

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## ABSTRACT

Political recruitment in the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*/PKS) has fulfilled a 30% quota of female candidates, but they seldom to be elected as legislative members. Political recruitment in meeting the 30% quota of female is inseparable from supply and demand sides. By using qualitative research methods, political recruitment process is analyzed of supply and demand sides, with data collection techniques by documentation and in-depth interview. The research finding showed that there were shortcomings in the supply side of the recruitment of female candidates, namely the low political experience and motivation of women to get power. This is related to the demand side, where there are still few women who have strategic positions in the party management. This cause of policy making in the party office less supportive of women to be elected.

**Key Words:** Political Recruitment, Female Candidate, Supply Side, Demand Side

## ABSTRAK

Sistem rekrutmen politik di Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) telah memenuhi kuota 30% kandidat perempuan, tetapi mereka jarang terpilih sebagai anggota legislatif. Perekrutan politik untuk memenuhi kuota 30% perempuan tidak dapat dipisahkan dari sisi penawaran dan permintaan. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, proses rekrutmen politik dianalisis dari sisi penawaran dan permintaan, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui dokumentasi dan wawancara mendalam. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada kekurangan dalam sisi penawaran perekrutan kandidat perempuan, yaitu pengalaman politik yang rendah dan motivasi perempuan untuk mendapatkan kekuasaan. Ini terkait sisi permintaan, di mana masih sedikit perempuan yang memiliki posisi strategis dalam manajemen partai. Hal ini menyebabkan pembuatan kebijakan pada partai kurang mendukung perempuan untuk dipilih.

## INTRODUCTION

The 30% quota policy for female political representation has been implemented for several electoral periods, but it has not been achieved yet, both at the national and local levels. Several policies have been carried out in reaching 30% female in the legislative institutions such as zipper system nomination policy, and also with the obligation of the political parties to adopt female administrators at national-level of party organizations.

Quota policies in political recruitment process of nominating female legislative members have been carried out by all parties in the election contestation. However, not all political parties succeeded in delivering female candidates were elected to the representative institutions. In the 2009 election, women's representation in the DPR was only 18%, while in the 2014 election it was 17.8%. Unachieving 30% quota has also occurred in DIY. Women's representation in the DIY DPRD also declined. In the 2009 elections, there were 12 women (21%) members of the DIY DPRD, but declined to around 7 (12.73%) in the 2014 elections. Meanwhile, at the Regency /City level in DIY Province, there were 7 seats of female DPRD members (17.50 %) in Kulon Progo Regency DPRD, 3 seats (6.67%) in Bantul Regency , 6 seats (13.33%) in Gunungkidul Regency, 12 seats (24%) in Sleman Regency, and 10 seats (25 %) in Yogyakarta City. From a number of women elected to the Provincial DPRD, none of them came from the PKS either in the 2009 elections or in the 2014 elections. Likewise in the 2019 election, no female candidates were elected to the DIY Provincial DPRD. However, there is only one female candidate from the PKS is elected in 2019 election, namely from Sleman Regency, as shown in the following table:

**Tabel 1. The List of PKS DPRD Members in 2014 and 2019 Elections**

No	Regent/City	2014 Election		2019 Election	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1.	DPRD DIY	6	0	7	0
2.	DPRD Sleman	6	0	5	1
3.	DPRD Bantul	4	0	4	0
4.	DPRD Gunungkidul	5	0	5	0
5.	DPRD Kulonprogo	5	0	5	0
7.	DPRD Kota Yogyakarta	3	0	5	0

Source: Analysis from several resources

This article examines the process of political recruitment of female candidates in meeting the 30% quota in the PKS of DIY Province in 2019. The factor of political recruitment is in terms of supply and demand side. The supply side will be analyzed from the social background (occupation, education, age, political experience and motivation), while the demand side will be analyzed from the political recruitment mechanism, recruitment patterns for female candidates and party policies. Focus of this research is in political recruitment in the PKS DIY because of the percentage of PKS female candidates in DIY always exceeds 30% of quota, even by 40% in the 2019 elections. However, there is none of the female legislative candidates of PKS were elected to be the member of DIY Provincial DPRD in term of several election periods before.

### Research Questions

Based on the background of the problem, there are two research questions that will be analysis, namely:

1. How is the supply side in the political recruitment of female candidates of the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2019 Election in DIY?
2. How is the demand side in the political recruitment of female candidates of the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2019 Election in DIY?

## Theoretical Framework

Quota policy of political representation aims to increase descriptive representation of minority groups (Paxton, Hughes, 2007, 265; Pitkin 1967), includes of women's political representation. Descriptive representation is a form of representation in which the composition of the membership of representative institutions resembles to the community. Therefore women's political representation is an important aspect to be implemented, considering that women are almost a half of the population, but their interests are often overlooked and marginalized.

The 30% quota policy for women in politics can be understood as an effort to increase women's representation so it can more accommodated to the women interests. Thus, quota policy is also an effort to strengthen gender equality (Krook 2009; Trip and Kang 2008), especially in politics and decision making. Women's quota in representative institutions has been implemented in more than 100 countries (IDEA 2007; Krook 2009), but the reality of this quota has not been reached in most countries and has not been reflected in representative institutions (Htun 2004; Reymold 2005). The realization of the quota policy is dependent to the role and effort of political parties in conducting political recruitment.

Political party is a group of people who are united by interest or ideological equality that aims to maintain and seek power in the elections to realize alternative policies that have been prepared (Surbakti, 1992: 116). Therefore, one of the functions of political parties is political recruitment. Political recruitment is a selection or appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of interests in a political or governmental system (Surbakti, 1992: 118). According to Rush and Althoff (Tangkilisan, 2003: 188) the political recruitment system is divided into two ways. First, open recruitment that is providing a fair and equal opportunities for all citizens to participate directly or compete in the selection process. Second, closed recruitment, is the opportunity only for certain individuals to participate or involve in political office.

Generally, political recruitment aims to find and select the best people to hold political positions. Therefore, selection is usually carried out by selecting the best track record and quality of the candidates. The importance of the quality of candidates in the recruitment process was put forward by Almond, Norris, and also Jacobson and Kernell. Almond and Verba (1989: 269-270) said that political socialization and political experience are cumulative, so the more political experience the better the quality. While Jacobson and Kernel stated that the quality of candidate is measured from the previous political experience, both activities in the organization, work experience as well as in party organizations.

Candidate quality in political recruitment must be accompanied by conformity with the needs of the political parties, so that analysis of political recruitment must be viewed from the supply and demand sides (Norris, 1997; Norris and Lovenduski, 1993). The supply side, according to Norris, includes the motivation and political capital possessed by candidates, while the demand side include the political party membership, financial support and also party leaders support. This supply and demand sides will be used to analyze how is the political recruitment of female legislative candidates in PKS DIY Provincial.

## Research Method

This paper is the result of a qualitative research approach. This research is about the political recruitment in the Province of DIY especially in the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Data collection techniques are carried out by in-depth interviews and documentation. Documentation were conducted from the curriculum vitae of candidates, data from the Local Election Commission (KPUD), and the results of the previous studies. Interviews were conducted with PKS internal administrators regarding the curriculum vitae of candidates, political recruitment process, political experience, and factors that hinder and support women in politics. Furthermore, interviews with PKS female candidates regarding the recruitment process and motivation to involved in politics. The analysis was carried out descriptively, by using the triangulation method to check and recheck data for deepening the analysis.

## Result

The discussion in this section consists of two parts, which are the supply side and the demand side.

### D.1. Supply Side

This supply aspect includes the history of legislative candidates, both educational background, work background, organizational experience and political experience.

#### Occupation Background of Legislative Candidates

Within the social background in the recruitment theory there are four aspects. The four aspects are occupation, education, age, and marital status. The author will discuss one by one from these four aspects.

Table 2. List of PKS Candidates Based on Background Occupation

Occupation	Male		Female		TOTAL	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Private Employees	18	54.55	12	54.55	30	54.55
Entrepreneurs	2	6.06	3	13.64	5	9.09
Students	0	0.00	1	4.55	1	1.82
Teachers	0	0.00	3	13.64	3	5.45
Legislative members in Province (Politician) (2014-201	3	9.09	0	0.00	3	5.45
Legislative members in Regency (Politician) (2014-2019)	9	27.27	1	4.55	10	18.18
Housewives	0	0.00	2	9.1	1	1.82
Farmer	1	3.03	0	0.00	1	1.82
Total	33	100.00	22.00	100.00	55	100.00

Source: Processed from Yogyakarta Provincial Election Commission data

Judging from the occupation background, the majority of candidates for the DIY Provincial DPRD from PKS occupation as private employees and entrepreneurs, both male and female. The interesting from the table is that the employment background of male candidates after being a private employee and entrepreneur is as a politician which is 36.36%, both as incumbent members of the Provincial DPRD and as members of the Regency/City DPRD. Whereas for female candidates, only 1 person (4.55%) has a political background. More than 20% of female candidates are teachers and housewives. This shows that in terms of employment background, male PKS candidates have better political experience than women. The occupational background of PKS female candidates has more similarity with women stereotype such as teachers and housewives (22.74%).

### Education Background of the Legislative Candidates

The educational background of PKS candidates is illustrated in the following table.

**Table 3. List of PKS Candidates in 2019 Election Based on Education Level**

Education Background	Male		Female		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Senior High School	8	24.24	7	31.82	15	27.27
D3	1	3.03	2	9.09	3	5.45
D4/S1	18	54.55	11	50.00	29	52.73
S2	6	18.18	2	9.09	8	14.55
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Data processed from kpu.go.id

Based on the education, the level of education of PKS candidates varies greatly from the minimum requirements for high school graduates/equivalent to master degree (S-2). This table shows that the education level of male and female candidates in PKS is different. The proportion of vocational (D3) education for female candidates is higher than male candidates, while in the higher level, the proportion of graduate and post-graduate of female candidates is lower than male. This shows that the education level of female candidates meets the requirements as candidates, but the proportion of higher level of education is lower than male candidates.

### The Age of Candidates

The age of candidates is illustrated in the following table:

**Tabel 4. Daftar Caleg PKS Berdasar Usia Calon**

Age	Male	%	Female	%	Jumlah	%
30 - 40 Years	4	12.12	7	31.82	11	20.00
41 - 50 Years	19	57.58	11	50.00	30	54.55
51 - 60 Years	10	30.30	4	18.18	14	25.45
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Data processed from kpu.go.id

Seen in the age background, it turns out that candidates also vary. The candidates under the age of 40 years have more female than male, while those with are 87.88% male and female candidates are 68.18%. This shows that in the recruitment of PKS candidates, efforts to recruit young female candidates are quite good. The positive aspect of this condition is that female candidates are cadres who have a young spirit. However, if age is associated with political maturity and political experience, this condition also shows political maturity and political experience of female candidates is lower than male.

Based on the tables above, PKS candidates have varying levels of education, employment background and age. Based on interviews with PKS administrators, recruitment carried out by PKS does not limit the social background of the legislative candidates, because in accordance with the applicable Law, there are no restrictions on the type of employment background of education, or marital status. Thus, candidates who have criteria such as the Law have the same opportunity to become candidates. There is even a candidate who has an employment background as a laborer, who is recruited as a candidate because he is active in the community and is a member of the Village Consultative Body (BPD).

### Political Experience of The Candidates

In the resources of the theory of demand and supply recruitment there are four aspects. These four aspects are time, finance, political experience, and support networks.

**Table 6. List of PKS Candidates Based on Political Experience**

Political Experience	Male	%	Female	%	TOTAL	%
Legislative members of 2014-2019 (Politician)	10	30.30	1	4.55	11	20.00
Have been Legislative members of PKS - 2014	5	15.15	7	31.82	12	21.82
Have been PKS Party Administrators	7	21.21	5	22.73	12	21.82
Have no political experience yet	11	33.33	9	40.91	20	36.36
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Data processed form kpu.go.id

Overall, the majority of PKS candidates have political experience of 63.64%, both as legislators in the 2014-2019 period, have been legislative candidates in the 2014 election and are administrators of political parties. Then, 36.36% of PKS candidates have no political experience. Judging from the comparison between men and women, more men have had previous political experience as incumbents, in the amount of 30.30%, while women are only 4.55%. However, judging from the political experience in nominating, the majority of women candidates were 31.82% experienced as previous candidates than men. This is possible because the 30% quota policy requires the nomination of women, but the percentage chosen is still very small. The percentage of candidates with party management backgrounds is almost the same between men and women, but the proportion of candidates who do not have political experience is higher than women.

### Motivation of The Candidates

An overview of the motivation of PKS candidates in the 2019 election as follows:

**Table 7. Motivation of PKS Candidates in the 2019 Election**

Motivation	Male	%	Female	%	TOTAL	%
Worship and Da'wah	6	18.18	4	18.18	10	18.18
Contributing to Developing Country	14	42.42	7	31.82	21	38.18
Does not put the motivation	13	39.39	11	50.00	24	43.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Data Processed from KPUD.

Based on the data in the Curriculum Vitae of Candidates given by the legislative candidates to the Election Commission, the motivation of candidates is quite diverse because the contents of the motivation of the candidates are open questions. Not all candidates write down their motivation in legislative candidacy. Nearly 40% of male candidates did not list their motivations, and 50 female candidates did not list their motivations. The data is indeed multi interpretations, but it can be interpreted as two things, that first; including motivation perhaps considered by some people as a taboo, especially in Javanese culture. This is also because the mechanism for recruiting candidates is not through the candidacy of individuals, but as not to expose personal motivation. Whereas the candidates who listed their motivations, between male and female candidates were almost the same motivation, which are to worship and preach, and for others to contribute to building the country. This may have become a platform for every legislative

candidate to adjust to the party platform, namely as a da'wah party, as expressed by one of the female candidates:

*"..Kalau di PKS itu partai yang tidak hanya berpartai dalam politik ya. Partai PKS itu bisa dikatakan partai dakwah. Kesempatan berdakwah itu kan berbagai bidang. Sementara saat ini memang kita itu melihat kondisi negara yang seperti ini sudah saatnya kita ikut berperan. Para perempuan ikut berpartisipasi, kalau kita tidak masuk dalam politik otomatis kita nanti tidak bisa memberikan kontribusi yang kaitannya dengan Undang-Undang dengan peraturan. Karena disitu motivasi kami adalah satu beribadah dan dakwah.."*

*("... PKS is not only a political party, isn't it? PKS can be said to be a da'wah party. There are many ways to preach. We are seeing the condition of the country now, and this is the time for us to take part. Women also participate in politics, , because if we are not involved in politics we will not be able to contribute policy making. Because there are our motivation to worship and da'wah ..")*

Thus, the level of internal competition for each individual is less felt even though it uses the most votes mechanism, because it is more motivated for the interests of the party institutionally.

## D.2. Demand Side

This aspect of demand in political recruitment is seen from the mechanism of recruitment carried out by political parties, suitability of candidates with the needs of political parties and party policies in the recruitment of candidates.

### The stage of recruiting PKS DIY female candidates

Recruitment of candidates in PKS is done through several levels, such as the selection process and the screening process. This screening process is carried out through public testing and then determined to become candidates. The process of selecting candidates is conducted at all levels of management, where party managers and cadres have the right to propose names to be nominated as candidates for the legislature. In this process, the proposed candidate can come from internal and external cadres. Internal cadres are cadres who have participated in coaching and cadre, while external. those who are outside the PKS who have not participated in cadre and are not yet members of the PKS. Thus, this screening process is open to cadres and non-cadres.

The names included in the screening process are then subjected to administrative selection related to the requirements required in accordance with the provisions of the law. For candidates who are declared to pass administrative selection then enter the screening process. In this screening process, candidates are deployed to the community in carrying out activities that are needed by the community and at the same time socializing to the community. This prospective activity in the community is at the same time a form of public testing in which candidates through their activities are assessed by the party or by the community. From the results of this public test, the candidates will be appointed by the PKS.

### Policy of Party

Since 30% of female candidates must be adopted by political parties participating in the election, all parties are required to fulfill them, including PKS. PKS candidates who have passed the selection process as follows:

**Table 8 List of PKS Candidates Per Election in the 2019 General Election**

Electoral District	Male		Female		TOTAL	
	Total	%	Total	%		
D.IY 1	4	57.14	3	42.86	7	12.73
D.IY 2	4	57.14	3	42.86	7	12.73
D.IY 3	4	66.67	2	33.33	6	10.91
D.IY 4	3	42.86	4	57.14	7	12.73
D.IY 5	6	66.67	3	33.33	9	16.36
D.IY 6	5	62.50	3	37.50	8	14.55
D.IY 7	7	63.64	4	36.36	11	20.00
<b>Total All Electoral District</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>60.00</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>40.00</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Data processed from kpu.go.id.

The data shows that PKS has accommodated the policy of 30% of women in the process of scrutiny. The average number of female candidates is 40%, and even for DIY Electoral District 4 there are more than 50% female candidates.

The sequences number of candidates is also an important aspect in political recruitment. Even though by using the most votes, the sequence number is not too significant, but for voters who do not know their candidates, they tend to choose candidates with the number one from the party they choose. List of PKS candidates based on Sequences Number as follows:

**Table 9. Comparison of Male and Female PKS Candidate Sequences Numbers in the 2019 Election**

Electoral District	Sequences Number 1 dan 2				Sequences Number 3 dan 4				Sequance Number >4				TOTAL			
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%
DIY 1	2	6.06	0	0.00	1	3.03	1	4.55	1	3.03	2	9.09	4	12.12	3	13.64
DIY 2	1	3.03	1	4.55	1	3.03	1	4.55	2	6.06	1	4.55	4	12.12	3	13.64
DIY 3	2	6.06	0	0.00	1	3.03	1	4.55	1	3.03	1	4.55	4	12.12	2	9.09
DIY 4	1	3.03	1	4.55	1	3.03	1	4.55	1	3.03	2	9.09	3	9.09	4	18.18
DIY 5	2	6.06	0	0.00	1	3.03	1	4.55	3	9.09	2	9.09	6	18.18	3	13.64
DIY 6	2	6.06	0	0.00	1	3.03	1	4.55	2	6.06	2	9.09	5	15.15	3	13.64
DIY 7	1	3.03	1	4.55	2	6.06	0	0.00	4	12.12	3	13.64	7	21.21	4	18.18
TOTAL	11	33.33	3	13.64	8	24.24	6	27.27	14	42.42	13	59.09	33	100.00	22	100.00

Source: Data processed from KPUD.

The table above shows the difference in the sequence numbers of male and female candidates. Nominally, female candidates who are placed in category number 1 and 2 are very few, which is 13.64%. None of the data from female candidates was put on number one, but in sequence number 2. This condition would result in the small number of women being elected as legislative members. Likewise for sequence numbers 3 and 4, the number of female candidates is fewer than male candidates, but in sequence number > 4, there are more female candidates than men. This shows that party policy accommodates women's policies in recruiting 30% of women in the nomination process and also accommodates zipper system policies by placing one female candidate from the three candidates. However, the absence of female candidates positioned in number one shows that political parties do not trust yet women to sit in representative institutions.

In party management, PKS has adopted women. PKS female cadres are not only active in women's particular fields but they are involved in all fields in the PKS. From the results of the interview, it was pointed out that the PKS included women in the fields in the party, both in the fields of politics, economic, education, and so on. Judging from the management structure of PKS, there were 40 people (26.5%) female administrators from 151 administrators. Even though there are quite a number of women administrators, most of them are in positions related to domestic affairs such as cadres' deputy coaching, women's deputies and family resilience, family resilience and child protection, deputy capacity building for female cadres, women's study deputies, children and family, as well as several other positions related to institutional relations and economic empowerment.

Table 6 also shows that candidates with party management backgrounds are still small at around 22%. In the recruitment process, the low number of female candidates in party management will have implications for party policies that are less favorable to the position of female candidates and will also affect the strength of female candidates in election contestation. 2019 election results finally PKS won 7 seats in the DIY DPRD, but none of them were women. Of the seven PKS candidates selected, 3 of them were candidates with sequence numbers 1 and 4 coming from sequence number 2.



## CONCLUSION

In the recruitment of candidates, PKS has implemented a 30% quota policy, with 40% of candidates for DIY Province. However, there are a number of notes from the supply side of female candidates, such as: Judging from the background of work, the background of female candidates as politicians is that women are still low compared to men. In terms of the education of candidates, the level of education of male and female candidates is relatively balanced. However, when viewed from age and political experience, more female candidates are young, which also shows less political experience than male candidates. Motivation of individual candidates is less visible because in general they have normative motivation for da'wah as PKS platform as a da'wah party. However, more female candidates do not mention their motivations, which can mean that female candidates lack motivation to be elected as legislators.

From the demand side, PKS has implemented zipper system in determining the sequence number of candidates, but the low number of women in party strategic positions makes party decisions less than encouraging women to be elected legislative members, in the absence of women in number 1 on the electoral list in DIY.

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