The Obstacles of Women's Parliamentary Representation in Indonesia

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Abstract—**Women's representation in the legislature as the subject of national development is still underestimated, this is indicated by the small number of women who are members of the legislature as at both the central and regional levels. The purpose of this research is to examine the factors that cause the low representation of women in the legislature. Using a quantitative approach, the survey was conducted toward members of the Regional House of Representatives of West Java Province. A total of 72 respondents were selected by simple random sampling method which was further analyzed using exploratory factor analysis. The results show that of the 12 variables tested, 4 new factors were formed that caused the underrepresentation of women in the legislature. These factors include knowledge, the environment, discrimination and political parties.**

Keywords—women's'role, exploratory factor analysis, legislative elections

I. INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in politics is far from what is expected [1]. The low representation of women in legislative institutions resulting the lack of role and participation of women in policy making especially on issues related to welfare and the problems they represented [2].

The progress of women's participation in the democratic process in developing countries could be assessed from the affirmative adjustments made to accommodate women in political and administrative power structures [3]. Indonesia as a nation that upholds women's democracy and political rights, has made a political decision to provide women with 30% representation in the legislature. The affirmative policy that guarantees women's representation is also stipulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 and in Law Number 10 of 2018 concerning general elections which states that women have opportunities in party management and becoming members of the legislature. Affirmative action policy is a policy in which an institution or organization is actively involved in efforts to increase opportunities for groups that have historically been excluded in society or under-represented, such as women and minorities [4].

Despite the affirmative policies are exist, the various backgrounds, both cultural and customary still shackles women to get involved in the political arena in Indonesia. The number of women represented in the House of Representatives of Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) in 2019 are 118 people or around 20% [5]. Similar condition is occurred in West Java Province where the representation of women in 2019 are 23 people out of 120 members of the West Java House of Representatives [6].

Thus, the situation of women in political life in Indonesia is not ideal. Women's efforts to get out of these conditions and obtain equality should be a feature of politics. Based on the background description above, the purpose of this study is to find out the factors that cause the low representation of women in the legislature in Indonesia.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study used a quantitative approach. There were two stages in this study, the first was conducting interviews with informants related to women's representation in the legislature. The purpose of the interview was to explore the factors that influence the underrepresentation of women in the legislature.

There were 12 factors which were further tested, including: formal education; ability; political education; stereotypical views; existence of domination; patriarchy; confident issue; lack of opportunity; domestic role; public role; political party membership; and political participation.

The second stage was the distribution of questionnaires to 72 respondents using a simple random sampling method. The number of respondents considered using the Slovin sampling technique, from 243 women members of the Regency or City House of Representatives in West Java in the period of 2019-2024 as population. The data was then processed using exploratory factory analysis and with the help of SPSS 22 software.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. KMO and MSA

The first step of exploratory analysis is feasibility test to maintain all assumptions required namely Kaiser Meyer Olkin coefficient (KMO) and the Bartlett's Sphericity test. In KMO test is necessary to see the sampling adequacy. The score is obtained by comparing the magnitude of the observed correlation coefficient with the magnitude of the partial correlation coefficient. The KMO test results are presented in Table I. KMO value and the Bartlett Test shows 0.624 (> 0.5), and the significance value is 0.000 (<0.05), thus, the factors are eligible for further analysis using factor analysis.

TABLE I. KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		0.624
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	157,258
	df	66
	Sig.	0.000

B. Total Variance Explained

This stage is carried out to determine the number of new factors formed. The result of total variance explained is shown in Table II. The results show the factors that have eigenvalues greater that one, namely factor 1, factor 2, factor 3 and factor 4. Thus, there are four new factors are formed.

TABLE II. TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED

Factors	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.673	22.273	22.273	2.673	22.273	22.273	1.896	15.796	15.796
2	1.920	16.002	38.276	1.920	16.002	38.276	1.811	15.088	30.884
3	1.456	12.134	50.410	1.456	12.134	50.410	1.787	14.888	45.773
4	1.090	9.086	59.496	1.090	9.086	59.496	1.647	13.723	59.496
5	0.911	7.593	67.089						
6	0.879	7.326	74.415						
7	0.754	6.284	80.698						
8	0.618	5.150	85.848						
9	0.503	4.191	90.040						
10	0.473	3.942	93.982						
11	0.407	3.389	97.371						
12	0.316	2.629	100.000						

C. Rotated Component matrix

To ascertain which variable belongs to which factor group, it is determined by the value of the largest correlation between the variable and the factor (component) formed which is called the rotated component factor stage. The magnitude of the correlation is shown in the Table III and indicated by the value namely loading value.

TABLE III. ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
stereotypical views	-0.125	-0.640	0.240	-0.146
formal education	0.178	-0.780	-0.047	0.160
political party membership	0.028	-0.163	-0.016	0.860
political participation	0.135	0.248	0.078	0.804
public role	0.288	0.375	0.209	0.349
lack of opportunity	-0.738	0.063	-0.042	-0.018
confident issue	-0.731	-0.023	-0.004	-0.270
ability	0.471	0.359	-0.540	-0.063
political education	0.631	0.446	-0.144	-0.017
domestic role	0.164	0.475	0.230	0.113
men domination	0.111	0.025	0.805	0.048
patriarchy	-0.083	0.077	0.813	0.021

D. Interpretation Of New Factors

Based on the test results above, it turns out that the variables included in the new factor are not the same as the factors predicted earlier. Thus, new factors are formed, and each factor needs to be given a new name or label. The grouping and naming of new factors is presented in Table IV.

TABLE IV. NEW FORMED FACTORS

No		New Factor
1	a. formal education b. ability c. political education	knowledge
2	d. public role e. the lack of opportunity	the environment
3	f. stereotypical views g. confident issue h. men domination i. patriarchy	discrimination
4	j. political party membership k. public role	political party

Factor 1 is knowledge which contains of formal education, abilities and political education that affects the underrepresentation of women in the legislature. Education is one of the important factors in representing women's politics where ability and good education will lead to an understanding of good political participation [7], due to low education and ability, causing obstacles to women's political development [2]. Formal education up to a higher level is the most common measure of politician's "quality" and "competence" in academic literature [8]. Political education is important for women because in addition to their role as voters they also have the right to be elected.

Factor 2 is environment which contains public roles, lack of opportunities and domestic roles that affects the underrepresentation of women in the legislature. The existence of a dichotomous understanding of public space and domestic space, for most women, especially where most

women live, politics is often perceived as a taboo public space for women [9]. Public space is a space that is generally dominated by men, from generation to generation men get authority to legitimize their presence and deeds [2] . Women are considered to only be able to work in domestic roles and take care the household, even though women could actively participate in political life [10]. Women tend to submit decisions to be taken by men, thus, that the movement space is very conventional and often deemed unfit to be a politician, it should be a great opportunity to provide opportunities for women to contribute their thoughts and opinions.

Factor 3 is discrimination that contains stereotypical views, lack of confidence, men domination and patriarchy issues. Discrimination often occurs especially at work environment, even patriarchal values and domination have rooted in the socio-cultural community [11]. In formulating policies tends to pay more attention to the role of men than women, of course it can cause women difficulty entering the political sphere and developing their political career [12]. Stereotypical views emphasize the large number of voters who tend to prefer male candidates over female candidates, because men are more associated with politics [13]. The patriarchy culture that is deeply rooted in some regions of Indonesian society, places women under the authority of men, women are both imaged and positioned as parties who do not have autonomy [14] and independence in all fields including politics.

Factor 4 is political party which contains party membership and political participation. Political parties are the main structure and most effective policy practices and their values can have a profound impact on women's political participation and representation. It cannot be denied that low political participation of women impedes women's political life [15]. There is a limited path for women to be members of political parties, the ability to join political parties is highly dependent on the support of senior party leaders, the value of public profile, finance and skills, most party leaders assess candidates for female members based on popularity background [16].

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results using factor analysis, it can be concluded that there are 4 new factors that have been formed, including: the knowledge factor, the environmental factor, the discrimination factor, and the political party factor. Political party factor is the most dominating and influential factor that affect the underrepresentation of women in the legislature in Indonesia.

This study suggests a movement to increase political knowledge for women. The movement can be initiated by

campuses that collaborate with popular political activist communities in Indonesia. The role of social media in raising women to participate in politics as well as media to increase public awareness about affirmative action in politics will have a significant impact on changing political life in Indonesia, especially changing the culture of political parties.

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