

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WEST JAVA PDI-P WOMEN'S CADRES IN THE 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTION

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ABSTRACT. The involvement of women in political parties cannot be ignored. This is because gender equality allows democracy to function properly. PDI-P is the only party that has the highest level of women participation. West Java is one of the crucial provinces in both the 2024 General Election or Regional Election. This study aims to explore how women's empowerment is carried out by PDI-P West Java in each stage of their politics and what the results are. Qualitative research is conducted by collecting primary and secondary data. Primary data is conducted by interviewing selected informants and secondary data through related document. Data validation is conducted by triangulation sources to check the data obtained. The results of the study show that PDI-P West Java has carried out various methods of empowering women, such as setting party rules regarding women's quotas in party membership, and candidates who advance in legislative elections, holding special activities for women, providing financial assistance and campaign training for women, and providing training for women cadres who sit in parliament. The results also show that women legislators from the PDI-P West Java faction are very active in speaking out in parliament.

Keywords: Political Empowerment; Political Parties; Women; Elections; West Java

ABSTRAK. Keterlibatan perempuan dalam partai politik tidak dapat dikesampingkan. Hal ini karena kesetaraan gender membuat demokrasi dapat berfungsi sebagaimana mestinya. PDI-P adalah satu-satunya partai yang memiliki tingkat partisipasi perempuan yang paling tinggi. Jawa Barat adalah salah satu provinsi yang krusial baik pada Pemilu atau Pilkada 2024. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana pemberdayaan perempuan yang dilakukan PDI-P Jawa Barat dalam setiap tahap-tahap politik mereka dan bagaimana hasilnya. Penelitian kualitatif dilakukan dengan mengumpulkan data primer dan sekunder. Data primer dilakukan dengan wawancara kepada informan terpilih dan data sekunder melalui dokumen-dokumen terkait. Validasi data dilakukan dengan triangulasi sumber guna mengecek data yang diperoleh. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa PDI-P Jawa Barat melakukan berbagai cara dalam pemberdayaan perempuan, seperti menetapkan aturan partai mengenai kuota perempuan dalam keanggotaan partai, dan kandidat yang maju dalam pemilihan legislatif, mengadakan kegiatan khusus perempuan, memberikan bantuan finansial serta pelatihan kampanye bagi perempuan, serta memberikan pelatihan bagi para kader perempuan yang duduk di parlemen. Hasil juga menunjukkan bahwa legislator perempuan fraksi PDI-P Jawa Barat sangat aktif dalam bersuara di parlemen.

Kata Kunci: Pemberdayaan Politik; Partai Politik; Perempuan; Pemilu; Jawa Barat

INTRODUCTION

Discussions on politics and women in the international world have been seen from conferences calling for women's equality in politics through the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in the United Nations forum which was approved since 1952 and 1979 (Rahmatunnisa, 2016). The women's voice resulting from CEDAW was ratified in the implementation of The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPfA) in 1995 which produced 12 fields (Komnas Perempuan, 2019). Primarily, the BDPfA results encourage UN member states to ensure women's inclusion in policies and programs at the national, regional and international levels.

Indonesia as a member state of the UN is also firmly committed to providing equal recognition to women and men in national and state life (Kiftiyah, 2019). This equal recognition is carried

out comprehensively without exception where one of the important points is women's rights through accommodating legal instruments (Warjiyati, 2016). The political transformation carried out by Indonesia is quite significant, namely from the birth of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the Election of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning the Election of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, and Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections.

Sinpeng & Savirani (2022) stated that the trend of women's representation in the Indonesian Parliament is moving in a positive direction, although it has not yet reached 30%. However, the position of women council members is still marginalized compared to male council members, so that women cannot have a full voice (Pradipta, 2018). Sibarani (2024) showed that the existing representation of women has not fully addressed women's interests in

political agendas. This can happen because one of the factors is that women's ability to put forward and/or initiate policy proposals is not yet fully adequate and able to provide significant influence in the decision-making process (Rahmatunnisa & Mariana, 2017) (Yunika et al., 2019).

In the context of the 2024 election, it is important to see and evaluate women's political participation. It is often found that women legislative candidates are considered to lack the right capacity to become people's representatives and this is in contrast to male candidates who rarely receive such assessments (Perludem, 2023). As political organizations, political parties play a central role in shaping the political landscape in a country. In the realm of strengthening women's representative participation in politics, the role of political parties is very important. Through political parties, women can voice their opinions on gender-biased policies (Amdimas, 2021). However, in Indonesia the approach and commitment of political parties in efforts to empower women politically often depend on the political party itself. This happens because the patriarchal culture is still strong in society (González-López, 2022). Other research also shows that culture not only influences society's perception of the role of women, but also hinders women from accessing strategic positions within parties (Kasim et al., 2022; Sakina & Siti, 2017).

In the West Java area, PDI-P won the highest number of votes in the 2014 legislative election with a total of 4,159,404 votes (19.63%). In the 2019 election, PDI-P only achieved 3,510,525 votes (14.38%), placing it in second place after Gerindra. In the 2024 election, PDI-P's votes decreased further with 1,273,522 votes (11.03%) and was in fifth place (Maduratmi et al., 2024). In the 2024 election, PDI-P only won 17 seats, placing it in fourth place. The political communication implemented by the West Java PDI-P DPD in the 2024 Presidential Election was very optimal and massive, but this was not enough because the presidential and vice presidential pair they supported were in the last position. The decline in PDI-P votes in the Presidential Election was caused by the "Jokowi effect" factor and the departure of several party elites (Maduratmi et al., 2024). This significant decline in PDI-P made us interested in raising the West Java branch of PDI-P. PDI-P is the only political party that is able to have women representation above 30% of the total seats it has. In 2014, PDI-P's women representation was 30%, in 2019 it was 35%, and in 2024 it was 35.29%. PDI-P is also a political party that is consistent in its Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART)

in adopting 30% women representation in party management.

In the context of this research, the researcher tries to analyze how political empowerment is carried out by the West Java PDI-P DPD in the 2024 Election. West Java Province was chosen as the research location by considering several factors, first, the number of members of the Provincial DPRD throughout Indonesia with a total of 120 members, namely West Java, Central Java, and East Java. Second, in terms of the Gender Inequality Index (IKG) in 2023, West Java Province has an IKG higher than the National IKG, while Central Java and East Java are below the National IKG (BPS RI, 2024; BPS Prov. Jawa Barat 2024). Third, in terms of the percentage of women's representation, the PDI-P West Java is the only political party that has been able to have more than 30% of women from its seat acquisition since 2014, 2019, and 2024.

Quantitative calculations show that the West Java PDI-P has succeeded in delivering women to parliament. However, in an ideal concept, success is not only seen in terms of representation figures but also in terms of the quality produced. On the basis of this, the assumption that is built is that the political empowerment of women cadres of the West Java PDI-P DPD has not been running optimally. Suboptimality here means that the empowerment carried out by the West Java PDI Perjuangan has encountered obstacles and a solution must be sought.

This assumption is based on the thinking of Malhotra & Schuler (2005) who stated that the process and agency are the main things in efforts to empower women. This assumption is reinforced by Eyben's argument (2011) which states that women's empowerment must be supported by organizations (political parties) by providing their members with knowledge, skills, and opportunities to learn to be involved step by step with the national political process. Eyben's argument is in line with Malhotra & Schuler (2005) who stated that without the individual or collective ability of women to recognize and utilize resources for their interests (women), these resources will never realize women's hopes. Ballington's assumption (2011) reveals that the involvement of women in political participation and women's perspectives can contribute greatly to the development of democracy for a country. Specifically, Ballington (2011) wrote that political parties are the main arena for women to achieve political participation. Leyenaar (2004) concluded that representative democracy can experience functional impairment if there is underrepresentation of women in parliament.

Women's involvement in elections has been reviewed in various studies. Women's involvement in the Election has been reviewed in various studies. Research by Mardiana & Lubis (2024) explains women's involvement with the theory of empowerment at the North Sumatra Perindo Party DPW, which resulted in the conclusion that women's empowerment is going well. The weakness of this study is that it only explains political empowerment without explaining women's involvement in each phase of the election.

Research by Haquri & Sahab (2023) discusses the recruitment pattern of women legislative candidates by PDI-P East Java in the 2019 Election. PDI-P prioritizes party cadres to become legislative candidates, by conducting nominations, certification, self-selection, and looking at self-ambition. The weakness of this study is that it does not explain the process when the Election is held.

The background that has been explained makes the author see that the problem of women in politics can disrupt the course of democracy. The gap that is seen from previous studies is how parties can empower women cadres in all phases, both in the election phase and the non-election phase. Therefore, further research needs to be done. This study aims to explore the problem of how to empower women in PDI-P and what are the visible results of women's empowerment by the West Java PDI-P.

This study uses the concept of electoral phase strategies. This study uses the concept of electoral phases. Ballington (2011) explains that efforts to empower women's politics in each electoral phase can be divided into four phases, namely (1) basic strategies in internal party organizations, (2) pre-election strategies, (3) strategies during elections, and (4) post-election strategies. Before going further into election strategies, each cadre must be given a fundamental understanding of the party. The pre-election phase is concerned with candidate recruitment, nomination, campaigning, and financing. The election phase is concerned with campaign techniques and communication with their constituents. The post-election phase is concerned with the evaluation of election results including the evaluation of equality of male and women gains.

METHOD

This research is a study that uses a qualitative method: Qualitative research relies on text and image data, has unique steps in data analysis, and is described in various designs. Qualitative research is research that is used to understand the meaning

and explore the experiences of both individuals and groups related to social and humanitarian problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study collects data, namely the experiences of women cadres when contributing to being PDI-P cadres. Qualitative research uses various types of data sources. This study uses primary data from interviews with women's cadres of the West Java PDI-P who were elected in the 2024 Election. Women's cadres were selected purposively by taking new and incumbent women's cadres. In addition, interviews were also conducted with PDI-P West Java administrators who handle cadre recruitment, election winning, and women's empowerment. Secondary data was taken from the party's AD/ART, internal party letters, and other documents relevant to this research. The author processes the interview results into data that has been categorized according to the established theory. Data reduction is also carried out to select the right interview results to be included in the writing. The author validates by comparing the findings with other sources. The author then links the categorized data with additional theories or references. After these steps are complete, the author concludes the results.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ballington (2011) sees women's empowerment in political parties as consisting of four cycles, namely internal party organization, pre-election, election, and post-election. This approach leads to an understanding of two main elements, namely stakeholders and timing. The following is an explanation of the four cycles.

Party Foundation

What makes political parties operate and function are culture, rules, and internal and external processes (Ballington, 2011). External processes that occur include legal rules regarding the election system, party organization, and party funding. Internal processes that occur depend on the party's basic ideology, historical influence, the influence of party leaders, the level of bureaucracy and regulation, the level of patronage, and the level of decentralization. Therefore, each party must develop a precise strategy to develop women's empowerment in the phase of building the basic foundations of the party.

The party must include gender equality in every party regulation that is drafted. This is because the internal function of the party can run from the legal rules within the party. Adopting a statement of gender equality within the party can make the party responsive and inclusive (Ballington, 2011).

PDI-P regulates the composition of women within the party. Article 60 paragraph 1 and 2 of the PDI-P Articles of Association/Bylaws shows that:

“(1) The overall structure and composition of the Party’s DPP must take into account 30% (thirty percent) of women’s representation. (2) The structure and composition of the Party’s DPD and Party’s DPD must take into account 30% (thirty percent) of women’s representation.”

Apart from the internal party composition, PDI Perjuangan also regulates the composition of women in placement in public office. Article 20 paragraph 1 of the PDI-P Articles of Association/Bylaws shows that:

“Placement of Party Members in political and public positions is carried out through a selection process taking into account at least 30% (thirty percent) women representation.” (PDI-P Perjuangan, 2020)

Parties in the world that have adopted gender equality in their party rules are of course parties that operate with a feminist ideology, for example in Sweden (Feminist Initiative), Germany (Feminist Party of Germany), and Spain (Feminist Party of Spain) (Drozdova, 2021). Informants show West Java PDI-P will give strict sanctions to anyone who discriminates against women in the party environment.

Parties also need to adopt measures of the number of women in decision-making structures (Ballington, 2011). This relates to the number of women present at a particular meeting. Parties must ensure a minimum rule on the percentage of women present to be able to make strategic decisions (Ballington, 2011). This also relates to the number of women filling party leadership positions. A global study examining 1,955 political parties from 169 countries showed that a higher number of women was positively correlated with the strength of party support for women’s issues (Purcell & Nagao, 2023). Of the total 23 administrators of the West Java DPD, there are 8 cadres who fill strategic positions ranging from deputy chairman, deputy secretary, treasurer, to deputy treasurer (DPD PDI Perjuangan Jabar, 2019). For example, with the position of Inue Purwadewi Sundari as treasurer with Nia Purnakia. These two women are not new people, but cadres who have been educated by PDI-P for a long time. However, the leadership climate of the PDI-P in West Java is still strongly patrimonial, which means that women can also occupy the position of chairman.

Parties also need to set participation targets for each of their annual events (Ballington, 2011), because annual events (e.g. congresses) are large gatherings. The minimum women presence threshold can vary. In Argentina, the women quota varies from province to province, generally ranging from 30-50% (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2020). West Java PDI-P has difficulty in meeting 30% because not all women are willing to fight for gender rights and equality. Whereas women’s problems such as stunting, health, education, employment disparities, gender index in employment are less of a concern for men due to the lack of sensitivity among men.

We investigated the informants who were party officials. As a result, we found that the difficulty of finding women willing to fight in legislative elections was due to economic factors. In several regions according to Budiman, who at PDI-P West Java is in charge of the cadre recruitment area, he said that there are several regions in West Java actually have 0 (zero) women candidates. The main cause is that the existing culture ‘forces’ women to be ‘accompanied’ by their husband or partner if they are going to fight. The problem is, if a woman who has a partner forces her to fight without her husband’s consent, it can disrupt their domestic relationship. Of course this becomes a problem if it continues.

The party’s wing organization that works in the women’s sector also needs to be formed and properly developed (Ballington, 2011), because this organization is a place where women cadres gather. People who are active in party wing activities are glanced at by party cadres to be invited to join the party. In a study conducted by Kartini et al. (2023), PDI-P West Java recruited cadres from the party’s wing organization called Banteng Muda Indonesia (BMI). This recruitment targets millennials who are interested in being nominated as legislative candidates. Although BMI can be part of the recruitment of prospective cadres from among millennials, PDI-P West Java has not specifically provided a program or mechanism related to the development of millennials. However, BMI is not a party wing organization specifically for women’s issues. So that, women’s cadres mingle directly with male cadres in party wing activities. As a step PDI-P West Java is to provide space for women to gather, namely in the struggle communities in the regions.

Pre-Election

This stage is one of the important stages in determining how women’s resources are arranged in a strategy to win the election. The two phases in this stage are the cadre recruitment stage and the funding

stage in political parties and election campaigns (Ballington, 2011).

Parties must implement a good recruitment pattern for women cadre candidates. First, they must affirm political party support for women candidate quotas in party regulations (Ballington, 2011). PDI-P West Java always ensures that legislative candidates in each of their electoral districts meet a minimum quota of 30% women. The following is a breakdown of the percentage of women legislative candidates in each electoral district in West Java province.

Table 1. Women Candidates in the West Java Electoral District in 2024 Election

Electoral District	Women Candidates	All Candidates	Percentage (%)
West Java 1	3	8	37.50
West Java 2	3	10	30.00
West Java 3	2	4	50.00
West Java 4	2	6	33.33
West Java 5	3	8	37.50
West Java 6	4	11	36.36
West Java 7	1	3	33.33
West Java 8	3	11	27.27
West Java 9	2	7	28.57
West Java 10	3	8	37.50
West Java 11	4	11	36.36
West Java 12	4	12	33.33
West Java 13	3	8	37.50
West Java 14	2	6	33.33
West Java 15	3	7	42.86
Total	42	120	35.00

Second, they must establish clear guidelines on candidate recruitment in party nomination committees (Ballington, 2011). Each legislative candidate who compete in election through PDI-P has its own mechanism. Our informar said that every candidate, especially in DPD Jawa Barat must have at least two years of being a cadre and have a Membership Card (KTA). These women cadres must be recorded by the party as always active in activities organized by both the PDI-P and party wings in regional fighting communities.

There are three types of people who contribute to PDI-P, namely members, cadres, and honorary members. Honorary members are recruited from figures and other political relations. However, PDI-P's commitment to being open to all Indonesian Citizens (WNI) means that this honorary member has a very small percentage.

In the candidate sequence number mechanism, PDI-P applies special rules regarding the candidate's serial number. The party determines the weighting for each candidate. The weight is differentiated based on several criteria. Our informant said, one criterion is the length of membership, for example 10, 15, 20

years. Another weight is the level of education (high school, undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral). The third weight is the involvement of cadres in becoming congress committee members, which will be given a large weight. PDI-P also determines things that reduce the weight, namely sanctions from the party. In addition, there are criteria that make PDI-P not accept certain cadres at all, namely people who attended the Suyadi congress in 1996. People from Suyadi's camp were banned from joining the party because they were involved in the Kudatuli incident, namely the attack on the PDI-P office before the reform era (Jannah, Mutiara., 2021). The party has its own data on the people involved in the congress.

In many political parties, the selection of women cadres is held separately (Leyenaar, 2004). This is done so that women are willing to join political parties. In this effort, PDI-P has carried out with has set three levels of cadre formation, namely *Pratama*, *Madya*, *Utama*, and *Wanita*. *Pratama* level is a cadre that is accepted by all levels at the initial stage. *Pratama* cadre formation contains the formation of beliefs and basic training on ideology and politics. *Madya* levels is given to party administrators, council members and regional heads. At this level, the elected council members will be given training on governance. *Utama* levels targets all cardres at a philosophical level. The main cadre formation has discussed the philosophy of ideology, even comparative government material. The main cadre formation lasts for 4 days in class and 3 days in people's homes. Treatment in the main cadre formation does not look at the cadre's position or position. Our informats also gave clues that at this *Utama* levels, any position or bacground is treated equally without any differences. For example, officials are not given guard, sleep in the homes of local resident, and so on. Meanwhile, The *Wanita* level was held separately because the party saw that each cadre who takes part in *Pratama* cadre formation must stay for 2 to 3 nights and consists mostly of men, so women's cadre formation is made separately. This method is carried out so that women continue to feel comfortable and safe in participating in carde training.

The party needs to ensure that women cadres are placed to compete in areas that have a high chance of winning. This is used to increase women's participation in becoming politicians (Ballington, 2011). PDI-P tooks steps to ensures that at least one woman fills the numbers 1 to 3 in the legislative elections. So if the weight of a male cadre is higher than that of a women, the man must give in by being shifted to number 4. However, usually, serial

numbers 1 to 3 are chosen by the DPD. In addition, PDI-P West Java also mapping the locations of vote banks. For incumbent candidates, priority will be given to the previous period area. In Indonesia, the candidate's serial number has an important influence on the candidate's victory (Aditya & Halking, 2024). The party will prioritize the lower serial number to get into parliament.

Women can also work together with male cadres to fight for more quotas for women cadres (Ballington, 2011). Eyben (2011) defines this strategy in more detail by stating that parties need to maintain value for money for women's empowerment. This means they implement economic efficiency so that expenses can be reduced. Internally, PDI-P itself is the result of cooperation between women cadres and male cadres to regulate the quota for women legislative candidates.

Another step is to expand the number of women candidates and organize training for women (Ballington, 2011). PDI-P also holds other trainings that are short courses, such as campaign training or survey training. PDI-P also holds socialization and counseling on women's issues such as sexual violence and domestic violence. Training on sexual violence and domestic violence can make women aware of the dangers of such violence and at the same time make cadres agents who disseminate the material. Willis (2021) research shows that the weakening of political institutions in empowering women can increase violence against women. This is what made the West Java PDI-P include sexual violence in their training materials so that the West Java PDI-P would further emphasize their strength in empowering women. Other activities include entrepreneurship so that women can build businesses independently. Entrepreneurship can bring women cadres to financial independence.

Funding is one of the barriers that affect the nomination of women candidates. Our informant also confirmed that the party's funding is quite limited and party spending is used for various purpose. In many developing democracies, lack of money in funding can eliminate women candidates from the race (Ballington, 2011). There are women candidates in PDI-P who have nothing to run for because their daily work is only at home. This is also because women cadres also rely on funding from their husbands, so their room for maneuver is quite limited. Household matters also interfere with women fighting. One of our informant who is also a 5-term incumbent said, for example, if a child gets sick while attending a meeting, inevitably no matter how important the meeting is, the meeting ends up

being abandoned for a while. For some women, they ultimately choose to just be on the successful team.

Parties must set up funding networks for campaigns (Ballington, 2011). In terms of finance, PDI-P has several sources of income for operations. PDI-P West Java does not prioritize nominations based on the contents of their pockets, because funding is done through mutual cooperation (Kartini et al., 2023). One of the income comes from board members and executives with a monthly salary deduction mechanism. However, women cadres must also participate in seeking campaign financing independently. In India, women's wider access to funding networks can increase women's political participation (Prillaman, 2023). Women candidates in the PDI-P West Java occasionally try to raise their own funds for the campaign. However, this funding has always been a worry for the party because there are also women candidates who sell asset in the hope of being elected. Even though the main goal is actually electability, this step is full of risk.

Parties also need to set aside a specific budget to support women candidates (Ballington, 2011). PDI-P is involved in financing recruitment such as psychological tests and health checks. The psychological test in West Java PDI-P was conducted in collaboration with the Indonesian Psychological Association with the aim of finding out how prospective candidates will respond to certain situations because being a legislator is not an easy job (Kartini et al., 2023). The costs borne by the PDI-P are around 5% for women cadres who become legislative candidates. This special funding aims to increase women's confidence to compete in elections while providing financial assistance for campaign operational costs.

In addition, the party can provide certain subsidies and other help for women cadres, especially women cadres who already have families (Ballington, 2011). Each women cadre in West Java PDI-P has no problems with their families, which means their families fully support their candidacy. If there are victims of domestic violence, West Java PDI-P will mediate first. However, if the case is not resolved, the party will work with LBH to resolve the case. Women may also encounter other barriers such as stereotypes and cultural boundaries (Mayrudin et al., 2022). To deal with this, efforts such as cadre schools, outreach and campaigns regarding the existence of women in politics continue to be carried out by parties and current council members.

Even if women are involved in the nomination, it is possible that the party can limit the total number of candidates. This is done so that the costs incurred

during the campaign are not too high (Ballington, 2011). The number of candidates in each West Java electoral district varies greatly, ranging from 4 to 12. The number of candidates is influenced by certain factors, for example the population of the electoral district. For women who were not nominated by PDI-P as legislative candidates, they are still willing to help with the party's management. They can be a campaign team or a recommendation provider for candidates competing in the election. One of them was done by the Head of the PDI Perjuangan DPC for Bandung Regency, Nia Purnakania, who encouraged their cadres to support the Jeje-Ronal pair for the West Java gubernatorial election and the Dadang-Ali Syakieb pair for the Bandung Regency regional election (Suryo, 2024). This step can be part of introducing women to the political space as well as an investment for the upcoming elections.

Election

Political parties and candidates are key stakeholders in elections, as they are the ones who compete and carry out election campaigns. Parties need to develop the right strategy during elections, including for the victory of women candidates (Ballington, 2011). PDI-P always provides support to every legislative candidate's campaign. Each party member is also mobilized to always support party candidates who will compete in both legislative and executive positions. This support is carried out in parallel, namely central, provincial, district, or city candidates in the same electoral district (*dapil*) working together to win the vote.

Political parties need to provide mentoring and training to women cadres on political campaigns, for example, compiling campaign messages, public speeches, and collaborating with the media (Ballington, 2011). West Java PDI-P always provide supervision and training to every legislative candidate who campaigns, by ensuring that every legislative candidate must report. The party also holds special classes for women's cadre formation not only in election. Special classes contain themes on how women can go down to society. This training on women going down to the community is related to PDI-P which always uses the term *wong cilik*. This term is a party slogan that has been shown since the New Order era (Nurfebriansyah et al., 2024). Classes are held once or twice a year. PDI-P continues to ensure that it is grounded in the needs of the people. This class is also seen as a form of campaign training for cadres.

Political parties must also ensure that women candidates they campaign for are visible to the public

(Ballington, 2011). This is related to showing the candidate's self-image. Candidates must clearly improve the impression on voters (Milanese & Manfredi, 2018). PDI-P always tries to make their candidates (especially women candidates) visible to the public. PDI-P calls their campaign as *Perang Darat* and *Perang Udara*. *Perang Darat* is done by campaigning by visiting residents, installing campaign equipment, and attending public meetings. PDI-P also provides campaign props (example banners). Another PDI-P support is that every legislative candidate is invited to visit the communities that are the base of the PDI-P. *Perang Udara* was carried out by creating opinions via social media and the party website. West Java PDI-P has an Instagram social media named @dpdpdiperjuangan_jabar that is used to promote legislative candidates and each region has its own district or city name. Our informant also stated that *Perang Darat* and *Udara* were very important in introducing candidates. For example, with social media, informants said this method could target millennial voters.

Political parties need to ensure themselves and disseminate information that the party's position always prioritizes women's issues (Ballington, 2011). This is shown by the many PDI-P activities related to women's issues. These activities were initiated and attended by women legislators. These activities can be in the form of environmental activities, food alternatives, to food processing. The recent activity was an activity that took place at the Jakarta Expo on a national scale. The activity provided an opportunity for mothers to cook with non-rice food commodities. West Java PDI-P also holds special activities for women, such as *takjil* or *pengajian* in the month of Ramadhan.

Political parties need to ensure that there are no irregularities in the voting and counting of votes. Therefore, each party always recruits agents who serve as witnesses at each polling station. Political parties must ensure that every women witness is not intimidated by men (Ballington, 2011). Witnesses at the polling stations are mostly men, because they have to defend their opinions which sometimes drains their emotions. Women can also be witnesses but are usually found in urban areas because of the ease of reach. This accessibility is intended for the scope of the witness's work area which is relatively smaller than in rural areas, for example TPS located in housing complexes. Actually, the West Java PDI-P management encourages women to become witnesses in the election. However, there are other considerations for the party to place women witnesses in locations where most of them are male.

This is to ensure they are safe and do not experience intimidation. As an effort by the party to ensure its cadres in the election, the West Java PDI-P pays the assigned witnesses. So that legislative candidates do not need to spend money on witnesses. This is a form of support given by the party to the candidates.

Post-Election

This section deals with how women cadres are empowered by the party when they have occupied strategic positions in both the executive and parliamentary institutions (Ballington, 2011). The number of women legislators who fulfill the quota in the PDI-P faction in the West Java DPRD is in accordance with the expected quality. The PDI-P Perjuangan DPD West Java website shows 8 legislator statements made between December 26, 2024 and January 4, 2025. Interestingly, 6 of the 8 statements were made by women legislators. However, this must be a concern for monitoring the 2024-2029 period.

The party must always provide training for every women cadre who sits in government, especially for new members (Ballington, 2011). West Java PDI-P has technical guidance related to the legislature 3 times a year. This legislative training, which takes place three times a year, is useful not only to ensure that legislators carry out their duties properly and correctly, but also to ensure that the issues championed by the party are progressing.

Parties must support inter-party women's networks in parliament and opportunities for women to hold closed meetings (Ballington, 2011). Increasing women's participation in decision-making in parliament is essential to improving gender-sensitive policies. The challenges for women in West Java DPRD come from women themselves, with rivalries between them. In addition, they also have difficulty in building collaboration between parties.

Parties must maintain the retention of women legislators, and ensure that certain positions are filled by women (Ballington, 2011). At the West Java DPRD, Commission 5 in West Java DPRD is a commission that works to discuss Development of Science and Technology, Strategic Industries, Employment including protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, Religion, Social, Health, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment, Transmigration, and Handling of the Disabled and Abandoned Children issues. PDI-P conducted an AKD to place each of its representatives in the commissions in parliament. The informant said that she hoped to be placed in the commission on women. Currently, the number of

women legislators is 6 out of a total of 17 legislators in the PDI-P faction in the West Java DPRD (DPRD Jawa Barat, 2024). Unfortunately, only 2 women PDI-P legislators filled positions in Commission 5.

CONCLUSION

In the end, the issue of women in political parties is something that is never finished. Every party needs to provide special space for women cadres to contribute and show their existence. PDI-P is one of the parties that really provides special space for women. PDI-P stipulates that at least 30% of party members are women. Even in strategic positions, this minimum value still applies. This is proven by the PDI-P West Java which has 8 women out of 23 total West Java DPD administrators. PDI-P also stipulates a minimum quota of 30% for legislative candidates in each electoral district. PDI-P West Java held a separate special recruitment for women cadres. Although PDI-P West Java does not have an operating party wing, they still provide a community for women to gather. PDI-P also provides special activities for women. Women cadres are also placed in potential positions so that they win the election, proven by at least one woman being placed in positions 1-3 for the election of West Java DPRD legislative candidates in each electoral district. West Java PDI-P also provides financial assistance for women legislative candidates, as well as tools for campaigning. Each women legislative candidate is also given training on campaign strategies. When women cadres have become legislators, PDI-P continues to provide regular training and places its legislators in appropriate positions. When in the Java DPRD parliament, women legislators by PDIP were more vocal than male legislators. If the women cadres of the West Java PDI-P do not compete in the General Election or Regional Election, they still try to campaign for each candidate.

But once again, there must still be improvements in efforts to empower women cadres. The formation of a party wing that specifically covers women is important. This will provide a home for future women cadre candidates to understand and deepen the characteristic of the party intensely. Apart from that, this research has not been able to reach fair in looking at PDI-P women who sit in the West Java DPRD considering the limited time for this research. So, it would be very open for further studies to see the existence of West Java PDI-P women in the West Java DPRD 2024-2029.

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