

# Normative, Institutional, And Practical Obstacles In Implementing Women Entrepreneur

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## *Abstract*

*This study wants to explain why the implementation of Women's Quota Entrepreneur policies is hampered. This issue will be discussed through a feminist perspective, using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Through the CDA, researchers are trying to expose the veils of ideology, institution, and interest that hinder the implementation of Women's Quota Entrepreneur policies related to Entrepreneur in Indonesia. Data to support this analysis were obtained through literature studies and interviews. The analysis was carried out at three levels of analysis. First, at the normative level, the normative level, where two ideas of justice were debated: compensatory justice vs. distributed justice. Second, at the institutional level, where these interests were intertwined in an arrangement pattern, as expressed in the formulation of statutory provisions. Third, at a practical level that revealed the interests of actors in the recruitment of legislative candidates.*

*Keywords: woman's quota, entrepreneur, democracy, advocacy*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Simultaneous analysis at these three levels shows that the enforcement of Women's Quota Entrepreneur in Indonesia is hampered because the policy faces conflicts at the normative, institutional, and practical levels. At the normative level, the application of quotas conflicts with the hegemony of the meaning of democracy and the liberal version of representation [1]. At the institutional level, the application of quotas conflicts with the election system and technique (liberal - majoritarian) as stated in the election legislation. At the practical level, the application of quotas creates a conflict of interest between groups that benefit and those who are disadvantaged by the quota policy. This conflict resulted in the marginalization of women which was carried out through the mechanism of selecting legislative candidates, organizing Congress / National Conference participants and conserving gender politics in political party practices. The political reforms that happened in 1998 opened up opportunities for the women's movement to launch Women's Quota Entrepreneur advocacy so that it was finally embodied in article 65 of Law 12/2003 on House of Representative (DPR) Election and revised in Law 10/2008. However, the application of the quota provisions encountered many obstacles, including the decision of the Constitutional Court to change the provisions for elected candidates which is not based on serial numbers so that it was practically difficult to implement quota provisions [2].

The hegemony of liberal norms is characterized by the perpetrators' unconsciousness that there are male biases in the norms, institutionalization, and practice of liberal democracy. This hegemony has been evenly distributed among the executive, legislative, judiciary, and activists [3]. Because the obstacles are hegemonic in nature, efforts to formulate legislation on elections and political parties as well as a system of recruiting candidates who do not use the principles of liberal democracy are very difficult to achieve [4]. As a result, election law in Indonesia which is

built on majoritarian liberal principles actually facilitates male domination in politics. Although in the 2009 election, the representation of women in the DPR reached 18%, in the 10 elections held since Indonesian independence, male still dominated more than 80% of the DPR seats.

The conflict at these three levels presents a dilemma for women. On one hand, the liberal has become a democratic regime in Indonesia so that if women want to be involved in politics they must follow the liberal rules, on the other hand, these liberal rules hinder the enactment of Women's Quota Entrepreneurs and perpetuate male domination in the Indonesian political arena [5]. The Women's Quota Entrepreneurs idea is an emancipatory alternative. Quotas can only be effective if there are conformity with norms, institutions, and practices. Therefore, we need to make some changes. On the normative side, it is necessary to develop alternative democratic and representative principles that emphasize the power of hering and the recognition of women's collective rights. From an institutional perspective, a more pro-women election system and technique can be developed, such as the use of a dual ballot system, twinning system, dual member district, zipper system, group selection of candidates or separate vote counting between female candidates and male candidates. From a practical point of view, affirmative action can be used to reduce the tendency to marginalize women [6].

The quota has been accepted as a fast track to achieve gender balance in a decision-making institution. The use of the quota strategy has been able to increase women's representation by 56.3% in Rwanda (2008), 45% in Sweden (2010), 44.5% in South Africa (2009), 38.5% in Argentina (2008). Although controversial, now more than 100 countries have adopted this strategy. In 2003, Indonesian women activists were successful in fighting for a rule on Women's Quota Entrepreneur in Law 12/2003 on Election and amended in Law 10/2008. However, the application of the quota power encountered many obstacles, including the decision of the Constitutional Court to change the provisions for elected candidates not based on serial numbers so that it is practically difficult to implement the quota provision. This study wanted to explain why the implementation of Women's Quota Entrepreneur policies in Indonesia was hampered [7].

This study used a critical approach, critical discourse analysis methods, and a feminist perspective. Feminist political research is always driven by the desire to solve political problems faced by women. The use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) was caused by this approach can help uncover the veils behind social realities. Through the CDA, the researchers were trying to uncover the ideology and political interests that lie behind the arguments against the Women's Quota Entrepreneur. The characteristics of a critical approach are suspicious and critically questioning the current condition of society [8].

Discourse can be defined as a conversation, the text of a series of interrelated sentences, spoken language - comments, results of interviews, speech and questions. Speech, dialogue, polemic, debate, conversation can also be categorized as a discourse. Therefore, this study analyzed the questions and comments of political actors and the results of the researchers' interview with respondents regarding the quota of women [9].

From various variants of discourse analysis, the researchers chose to use critical discourse analysis (CDA-Critical Discourse Analysis). By using the CDA, this research aims to show how women's ideas, issues of gender inequality are removed from the political concept of democracy, representation, systems and legislation of political parties, elections and the selection of candidates within political parties, even though there are provisions on Women's Quota Entrepreneur in the Election Law and Political Party Law. With the elimination of ideas and women issue, women's interests to obtain a 30% quota of representation in parliament, interests to gain access to decision-making, and interests to achieve equality with male are also marginalized [10].

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) used qualitative analysis and used interpretation as the main basis in interpreting findings. Although the interpretation in discourse analysis was subjective, but by relating it to the context, the interpretation had a strong argument. The analysis was carried out by interpreting the subject (text) under study subjectively. Interpretation was carried out by connecting the text with its context (who is the participant that produces the discourse, social, historical, interests, power, and ideology). In essence, to understand the text, it is necessary to understand the context [11].

Text is all Text that is all forms of language whether printed (written), or all types of communication expressions - speech, pictures, music, images, sounds and others. Context is all situations that affect the text, it can be divided into two, namely discourse participants and social settings. Discourse participants are those who produce the discourse - what is their gender, how old are they, what is their education, what is their social class, and what is their religion. The social setting is the position and the surrounding rules which can be classified in the historical setting, the setting of power and the setting of ideology [12]. Historical setting is by connecting the text with the historical setting, such as how the socio-political situation at the time, why the discourse was developed. Thus, why the language was used. Power setting is by connecting text with political power (control of male's groups over women). This can be in the form of physical control and mind control (hegemony of an idea) - control of discourse structure (groups of men have great power to determine what issues are raised in the Political Party Law/ DPR Election Law). Meanwhile, the ideology setting is that the text and the conversation will reflect the ideology of the subject. From the text, the ideology of the subject can be analyzed (for example: liberal, capitalist, feminist, etc.). Ideology is built by the dominant group (liberal - capitalist group) to reproduce and legitimize its dominance [13].

The analysis is carried out at three levels of analysis. First, at the normative level, the normative level, where two ideas of justice are debated: compensatory justice vs. distributed justice. Second, at the institutional level, where these interests are intertwined in an arrangement pattern, as expressed in the formulation of statutory provisions. Third, at a practical level that reveals the actor's interest in the recruitment of legislative candidates [14].

Simultaneous analysis at these three levels showed that the enforcement of Women's Quota Entrepreneurs in Indonesia is hampered because the policy faces conflicts at the normative, institutional, and practical levels. At the normative level, the application of quota conflicts with the hegemony of the democracy meaning and the liberal version of representation. At the institutional level, the application of quota conflicts with the electoral system and technique (liberal - majoritarian) as stated in the election Law. At the practical level, the application of quota creates a conflict of interest between groups that benefit and those who are disadvantaged by the quota policy [15]. This conflict resulted in the marginalization of women which was carried out through the mechanism of selecting legislative candidates, organizing Congress / National Conference participants, and conserving gender politics in political party practices [16]. The hegemony of liberal norm is characterized by the perpetrators' unconsciousness that there are male biases in the norms, institutionalization, and practice of liberal democracy. This hegemony has been evenly distributed among the executive, legislative, judiciary, and activists. Because the obstacles are hegemonic in nature, to formulate law on election and political party as well as a system of recruiting candidates who do not use the principles of liberal democracy are very difficult to achieve. As a result, the election Law in Indonesia which is built on majoritarian liberal principles actually facilitates male domination in politics. Although in the 2009 election, the representation of women in the DPR reached 18%, in the 10 elections held since Indonesian independence, men still dominated more than 80% of the DPR seats.

The conflict at these three levels presents a dilemma for women. On one hand, the liberal has become a democratic regime in Indonesia so that if women want to be involved in politics they must follow the liberal rules, but on the other hand, these liberal rules hinder the enactment of Women's Quota Entrepreneur and perpetuate male's domination in the Indonesian political arena. Conflicts at these three levels can be described as follows.

## **2. Normative Level Conflict**

At the normative level, the application of quota conflicts with the hegemony of the democracy meaning and the liberal version of representation. Democratic reform in Indonesia cannot be separated from the development of the world democratic regime. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States was increasingly active in promoting the liberal capitalist democratic ideology. Liberal democracy became a universal set of values that are ready to be exported all over the world, especially to countries that were building their democratic systems, including Indonesia. As a result, other democratic models such as social democracy (social welfare

democracy) which emphasized more on the welfare of the people were not heard. Liberal democracy became a hegemonic model which was considered the best model [17].

To support the promotion of democracy, the United States formed the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which funded more than 1,000 projects for foreign NGOs engaged in democracy in more than 90 countries. Most of the NED funds flow to the four major democratic promoter organization, namely the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which plays a major role in funding democracy projects in Indonesia.

However, the existence of normative conflicts between the quota policy and the norms of liberal democracy is invisible so that some activists are not aware of it. Most of the activists have a dual role, as supporters of quotas and also as bearers of liberal democratic norms. Several inter-state advocacy networks (TAN's) such as International IDEA, donor liaison agencies such as the Partnership for Governance, non-governmental organizations such as CETRO and the government of the Republic of Indonesia itself also play a dual role as supporters of quotas as well as supporters of liberal democracy, without realizing any normative contradictions in them. This ambivalence is difficult to avoid considering that most of the advocacy funds for quota and democracy come from the same source, namely foreign donors.

After the reformation, liberal democratic principles that emphasized equal opportunity and individual right succeeded in becoming democratic norms that were believed to be true and held a hegemonic position among the legislature (legislators / DPR-party leaders), the judiciary (the Constitutional Court), and Indonesian democracy activists. This hegemony of liberal norms complicated the idea of Women's Quota Entrepreneur which emphasized the principles of equality and collective right to accept or implement because they were considered contrary to democratic principles. According to the liberal, to achieve gender equality [18], it achieved by improving the socio-economic conditions (empowerment) of women, which was not by government intervention.

The main concepts of liberal democracy such as individual, equal opportunity, and one person one vote one value (OPOVOV) which are used as raw materials for the development of democratic theories and general elections which they claim can explain the "reality" of the world, are proven to be gender biased so they can not be stated as objective. These concepts are gender biased because their understanding of humans, human nature, is based solely on the assumption of masculine human nature. This basis of thinking is not representative, because it turns out that the contents of the earth are male and female humans. It is not just a male.

The use of the individual concept in a liberal democracy is based on a male's experiences in society. What is an individual in the concept of liberal democracy? It is a person who has the character of autonomy (independence), rationality (reasoning), has the ability to make choices and makes contracts / agreements with other parties. These characters are always attached to masculinity. Conversely, most women do not meet the criteria as individuals. Therefore, the abstraction of men and women in the concept of individuals is misleading because it is not in accordance with the society reality [19].

The use of the OPOVOV principle which asks voters to choose only one candidate / party name in an election tends to benefit men. In societies that are influenced by the patriarchal tradition, one vote tends to be given to candidates who are male. If the election system was neutral and not gender biased, the use of this system would not have resulted in a continuous high gender gap in parliament as has happened so far. It was only in the 1990s that there was awareness that the election system was not 'neutral' that feminists began to work in reforming the election system that was more friendly to women.

The use of the equal norm opportunity and impartiality will only benefit the dominant group (men). If all individuals are given equal rights, then the interests of the dominant group will prevail because they will state that their experiences and perspectives on social reality are objective and impartial. Thus, the norm of the dominant group (men) is the standard. In the name of objectivity and impartiality, minority groups, including women, have become marginalized in political life. In the universalism, the original norms that were originally owned by minority groups, including women, have become degraded. In contrast, the male norm becomes the

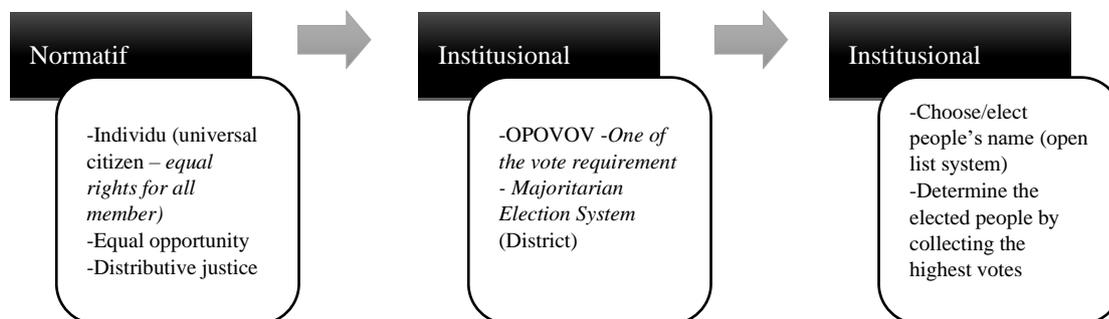
standard. The stability obsession makes the election system tend to be conservative (support the status quo) and marginalize women. In terms of both theory and practice, the election system that is practiced the liberal democracy such as the United States and Western Europe tends to be regarded as a standard (norm). Political actors who benefit from the thought and practice of the election system tend to conserve the system so that election system reform thought is difficult to accept [20].

The use of the OPOVOV principle, for example, tends to lock in the emergence of alternatives / innovations in the election system on a group basis (group right) which allows the use of reserved seats, separation of vote counts for male and female candidates, the use of dual ballots (one ballot to elect female candidates, and one ballot to elect male candidates) or collective election of candidates which requires voters to choose one female candidate and one male candidate. The key of innovation in the election system forces women to fight within the framework of the District, Proportional Representative (PR) election system or a mixture of the two, which tends to be male bias.

### 3. Institutional Level Conflict

At the institutional level, the imposition of quota conflicts with the system and technical elections (liberal - majoritarian) as stated in the election Law, the hegemony of liberal norms in democracy and representation in Indonesia encourages the formation of institutions (Political Party Law and Election Law) and the practice of determining elected candidates that is not based on the quota requirement.

Various countries' experiences such as Rwanda / UK, Canada, New Zealand, India and others shows that the success of increasing women's representation is always preceded by electoral engineering (election system engineering) or more precisely system reform / innovation and electoral techniques that provide greater opportunities for women to be elected. In Indonesia, this kind of electoral engineering has never been carried out. The low representation of women is not seen as a problem that needs to be resolved by reforming the election system, apart from the use



of quota. Political actors who benefit from this system tend to conserve the election system so that there is no the reformation of election system that benefits women. The resistance of the government and politicians to the proposed Women's Quota Entrepreneur at the beginning of reform era and the absence of sanctions for parties that do not meet the quota provisions indicate the attitude of lawmakers who tend to conserve the existing election system because it benefits them (men) [21].

The idea of reforming the pro-women election system is difficult to accept. The discussion of the need for systemic innovation and electoral engineering that is emancipatory in nature and more in line with the logic of this quota is rarely discussed because political experts tend to think that liberal-style elections (diistrict / majoritarian, balanced representation / Proportional Representative) are standards that are difficult to change . Political experts also tend to interpret democracy as a means of identifying and gathering citizens' preferences through “voting / 1 elections” (Aggregate Democracy Model).

As a result of the United States' incessant promotion of liberal democracy, post-Cold War discourse on democracy was hegemony by the liberal democracy model. There is the impression

that liberal democracy is "the ideal form of political organization" so that other forms of democracy tend to have no place. However, there are actually various variants of democracy.

Judging from the working process, democracy can be divided into three models, namely the Aggregative Model, the Deliberative Model, and the Anti-Domination Model. Judging from its attitude towards minority groups, democracy can be distinguished into individual liberal democracy, republican liberal democracy, multicultural democracy, consociational democracy, and ethnic democracy. Judging from the basis of giving political rights, democracy can give political rights to individuals (individual liberal democracy, republican liberal democracy), and democracy that gives political rights collectively (consociational democracy and ethnic democracy). Meanwhile, multicultural democracy lies between liberal democracy and consociational democracy. When viewed from the aspect of democratic economic management, democracy can be distinguished into democracy, capitalist liberalism, and social democracy [22]. Capitalist liberal democracy gives a minimal role to the State, on the other hand, social democracy gives a large enough role to the State in economic and social management.

A brief description of each variant of democracy can be seen in the following tables.

**Table 1** Variants of Democracy based on Work Procedures

	<b>Aggregative Model</b>	<b>Deliberative Model</b>	<b>Anti Domination Model</b>
<b>Conceptualization</b>	Envisioning the illustration of democracy as a means of knowing and gathering citizen preferences.	Envisioning democracy as a means of discussing problems facing society and arguing with each other for solutions.	Envisioning democracy as a means to prevent abuses in the use of power.
<b>Work procedures</b>	This model makes "voting / elections" the most important political tool in democracy.	Democracy must provide access for citizens to express attitudes and ideas.	Power (power) should not be monopolized by an institution / person.
<b>Impact on Women and Minorities</b>	Voting tends to favor the majority (Male - Dominant Ex.)	It is difficult for women to get access	?

**Table 2** Variants of Democracy based on Attitudes towards Minorities

	<b>Individual Liberal Democracy</b>	<b>Republican Liberal Democracy</b>	<b>Multicultural Democracy</b>	<b>Consociational Democracy</b>	<b>Ethnic Democracy</b>
State Nature	Group of Citizens	Civic Nationstate	Multicultural country	Multi-National Countries	Ethnic nation-state.

				have two or more two cultures, languages, nations, which are formally recognized and become the basis for political management.	The main ethnic group controls the State and gets a special status, the minority ethnic group becomes the second class citizen.
Example Recognition of Collective Rights	USA Indonesia ?	France	USA ? Indonesia ?	Belgium	Israel
	Nothing	Nothing	Factually recognized, but the rule of law is not based on collective rights	Recognized in the Law	Recognized in the Law
Attitudes towards Women and Minority Groups	The low representation of women is a matter for women as individuals.	The interests of women must be subject to / under the national interest.	There is an effort to accommodate the fact that there is a diversity of ethnicities, languages, religions. However, there are no efforts to ensure gender representation.	Language, ethnicity, religion are recognized as political identities but gender is not necessarily recognized as political identities.	Ethnicity, religion are recognized as political identities, but gender is not necessarily recognized as political identity.

**Table 3** Variants of Democracy based on State Management of the Economy

	<b>Liberal Democracy</b>	<b>Social Democracy</b>
The role of the State in the economy	Passive	Active
The Role of the State in Gender Equality	Impartiality Modernization Theory: Gender Equality economic development	Active The government encourages and provides jobs for women. The government actively eliminates the dichotomy of gender roles. The government provides child care facilities.
Women's Representation in Politics	Through the process of natural Higher representation for women is supposed to come 'by itself'	Government Intervention Quota

After the 1998 political reform, the character of individual liberal in Indonesian democracy seemed to be getting stronger. This was reflected, for example, in the provisions on Election which ask voters to vote directly on candidates (individuals), the use of the principle of universal citizenship, the use of the OPOVOV principle in election and the use of a majoritarian system (most votes) to determine the elected candidate. In essence, the election is an arena for competition between individuals (candidates).

Post-reform, although formally the Indonesian election system is Proportional, essentially the mechanism in determining the elected candidate is based on a majoritarian system (majority vote). This election system makes it difficult for women [23]. First, in a majoritarian system (most votes), where voters are asked to vote for candidates on a ballot, the women's movement will find it difficult to demand the fulfillment of gender issues in each of candidates (up to ten of thousand of people). Second, with a majoritarian system, election tends to be an individual matter. With an election system that is oriented to individual candidates, the link between voters and candidates is more clientelistic and charismatic. This means that voters choose the candidates because of the consideration of material benefits obtained from the candidates or because of the charisma of candidates.

**Table 4** Variables of Election System that Accommodation for Women

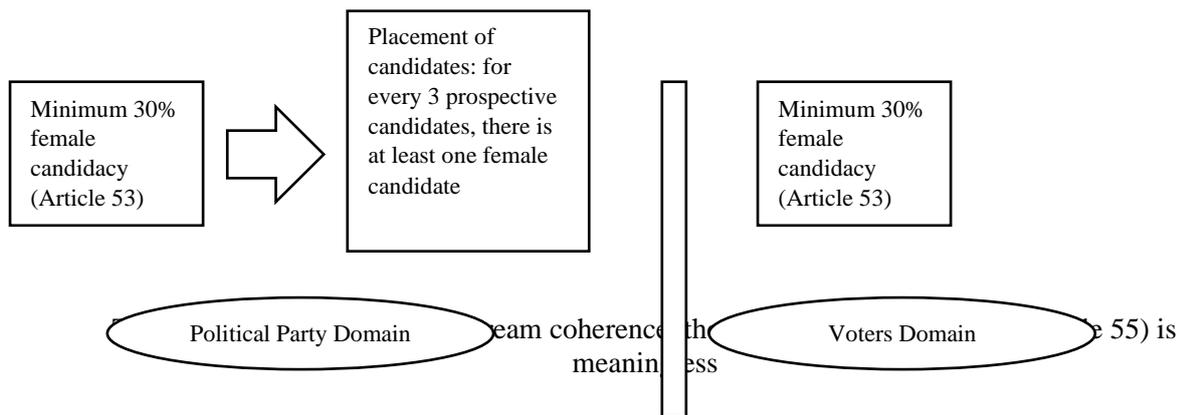
		<b>Accommodating to Women</b>	<b>Condition of Indonesia (2009)</b>
1	Formula for determining the elected candidate (electoral formula)	(Proporsional)	(majoritarian)
2	District magnitude	Luas	DPR : 3-10 DPRD : 3-12
3	Ballot structures	Choosing Party	Electing the candidates
4	Open/closed lists	Closed	Open

According to Kitschelt, there are three patterns of relationship between candidates and voters in a democratic political system, namely the charismatic pattern, the clientelistic pattern, and the programmatic pattern. A charismatic pattern occurs when voters cast their votes based on the charisma of candidates. Clientelistic pattern, occurs when voters cast their votes based on

considerations of benefits (material) obtained directly to them. Meanwhile, the programmatic pattern occurs when voters confirm their votes because the party programs offered are attractive [24].

This dissertation research shows that the Indonesian election system which has led to a majoritarian system (majority votes) makes the Women's Quota Entrepreneur policy difficult to implement. The decision of the Constitutional Court NUMBER 22-24 / PUU-V1 / 2008 which stipulates that the elected candidates must be based on the most votes consecutively makes the clause on Women's Quota Entrepreneurs lose their "spirit" because of women's struggles to "force" political parties to place women in small serial numbers to lose ground as shown in the following illustration.

**Illustration 2 Synchronization between the Indonesian Election System and the Women's Quota Entrepreneur Provisions**



**4. Practical Level Conflict**

At the practical level, the application of quota creates a conflict of interest between groups that benefit and those who are disadvantaged by the quota policy. This conflict resulted in the marginalization of women which was carried out through the mechanism of selecting legislative candidates, organizing Congress / National Conference participants and conserving gender politics in the practice of political parties.

This research shows that despite the provision of quotas, practices within political parties still marginalized women. Marginalization was carried out by practicing gender politics, making rules regarding party congress / National Conference participants that link the legality of participants to party structural positions at each level (DPD / DPW, DPC) so that it is difficult for women to penetrate, and make rules for the selection of candidates using meritocracy-scoring principles. Enforcing quotas in earnest will benefit a group of people (female candidates) and harm another group (male candidates), thereby creating a conflict of interest. These conflicts of interest and power struggles make the aggrieved party try to block the application of quotas and marginalize the position of women in various ways.

Gender politics is carried out by grouping women into women's wing organizations in which the activities tend to follow the gender ideology that has been deeply embedded in society, namely family affairs, children, health and social welfare [25]. This domestication process complicated the Indonesian women to be organized in order to deconstruct the party institutions that discriminated against them. It is not surprising that very few women can occupy the strategic management of the party.

The marginalization of women is also carried out by making rules on party congress / national meetings participants that are difficult for women to penetrate so that the arena is always dominated by men. The congress arrangement that links the legality of participants to the structural positions of the party at every level (DPD / DPW, DPC) has practically marginalized women in the party decision-making process, because it complicated the women to occupy top positions in the DPD / DPW and DPC.

The subsequent marginalization of women was carried out in the process of selecting party candidates. In the process of selecting female candidates, marginalization of women occurs when

parties use the principle of meritocracy-scoring which treats male and female candidates equally. If using the affirmative action, female candidates should be treated differently from male candidates. Even though parties claim to have carried out affirmative action, the norms used in the process of selecting candidates are equality of opportunity, neutrality of the State (selection committee) and individual rights which contradict the logic of quotas. Both parties and society have the view that democratic election places voters and election participants equally.

The mechanism in selecting candidates of various parties can be classified into three groups, namely by using a scoring system (Golkar, PDIP, PAN, PKB), by obtaining votes in Election (PKS), and by Deliberation (PPP).

The Election system and the scoring system produce quantitative figures that will be used as the basis for ranking candidates, both male and female. This means, with this concrete figure, affirmative action against female candidates will be difficult to do, because they can be considered as manipulation of scores or betrayal of democratic mechanisms. Some parties provide a quota system for the selection of prospective candidates at the first level. All levels must be followed by a scoring system. There are also parties that add a special score for women, but the addition is not significant. PAN added a score of 5 (five) for women, with a maximum total score of around 100. The scoring system is often considered the best system. Whereas when the scoring system mixes in one list between male and female candidates, it will invalidate the female quota system. Women who would be legislative candidates generally do not realize that the scoring system means that men and women are treated equally. If using the quota principle, scoring should be separated into two groups, men and women. The quota is the collective women's right. Scoring is based on the principle of equal opportunity, while quota is based on equality of results. The use of scoring can be interpreted as a strategy to cripple the quota system. If the determination of serial numbers is done by deliberation, it will produce a qualitative assessment. With this system, it is actually more possible to have affirmative action for prospective female candidates. But if the deliberation participants are mostly men, then the vote for female candidates will also be very small. The main problem is that women's access to be involved as participants in the deliberation (selection team) is very small, so the opportunity to influence decisions is also very small. Therefore, the physical presence of women in the deliberation team is very important. In Islamic parties, the authority of kyai or religious figures in the deliberation process is also very high. If these religious leaders give their support to the male candidate, the female candidate will also be marginalized.

**Table 5 The Selection Process for PAN-Golkar-PDIP Candidates for the 2004 General Election**

<b>PAN</b>	<b>GOLKAR</b>	<b>PDIP</b>
-Platform parties state clearly about women and politics, which is specifically discussed -Party structure: formed Perempuan PAN (PUAN) as an autonomous women's organization  -Party policies are decided in congress and Rakernas forums, where women's issues are discussed in the	-In 2002 KPPG was formed, namely the women's department - Institutional wings through KPPG and AMPG -The results of the Meeting of the Meeting VI of 2003 determined Golkar's commitment to a 30% quota for women in the first tier of voting  <b>Candidate Requirements</b>  -Members who are actively fighting for 5 years continuously - Participate in cadre training	-Before 2002: PDIP already had an affirmative policy of 20% of female branch administrators   -Recruitment and nomination of candidates starts from the rating   PAC=50%

<p>commission itself. Shows that women are handled significantly</p> <p><b>- Affirmative policy for female nominations:</b></p> <p>Decisions of the general chairperson and secretary general regarding scoring. Female candidates get an added value of 5 points from the total score obtained with the highest score of 100</p>	<p>and education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Through the assignment of functionaries</li> <li>-Has PD2LT</li> <li>-Has broad influence / support</li> <li>-Education quality?</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;">DPRRI: SI / academy / lemhanas / se Diknas.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DPRD / Province: at least Senior High School or equivalent knowledge</p> <p><b>Candidate election procedures</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-DPP Prepares prospective candidates 4 times the number of DPR members 22000 arranged in Dpdicalonkan so that each province and provincial division.</li> <li>-Have four times the number of DPR members</li> <li>-The list of names is sent to the DPP Party to the Provincial DPD</li> <li>-For Provincial DPRD and district</li> </ul>	<p>DPC=45% DPD=5%</p> <p>-Will not take candidates from outside</p> <p>DPR Candidate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-40% of candidates proposed by the Center</li> <li>-30% DPD proposal</li> <li>-30% DPC proposal.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Scoring:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-20% allocation for candidates from outside the party</li> <li>-The value - (minus) 20 divided by candidates who have become legislative and executive.</li> <li>-The formulation for the determination of the elected legislative candidates is <math>1/2 N + 1</math> for those who do not meet the BPP</li> </ul>	<p><b>Scoring:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ability / capability (intellect and experience)</li> <li>-Support constituents and figures</li> <li>-Party interests (PD2LT achievement, dedication, discipline, loyalty beyond reproach)</li> </ul>	

immediately become elected candidates		
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**Table 6 The Selection Process for PBB-PPP-PKB PKS Candidates for the 2004 General Election**

<b>PBB</b>	<b>PPP</b>	<b>PKB</b>	<b>PKS</b>
<p>-Determine women in the first place in a region that has 4 or more constituencies</p> <p>-One of the electoral districts, female candidates are assigned the first place</p> <p>-Contribution to become a legislative candidate: -DPRD II = 1 million -DPRD I = 5 million -DPR = 10 million</p>	<p>-This party is because culture and tradition do not specifically discuss women, because it has always been considered a problem</p> <p>-Women's issue is not popular for sale PPP base in the village (recitation mothers)</p> <p>- Cadre Recruitment: NU, SI PERTI, Indonesian Muslims, HMI, Alwasiah, Muhammadiyah (Because PPP is the fusion of the 4 groups)</p> <p>-Form a party supporting institution (WPP-Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan)</p> <p>- Honest in recruiting and nominating women</p> <p>-Problem: It is difficult for women in supporting mass organizations to enter because of high conflict dynamics, lack of transparency, and lobbying and negotiation arenas that often ignore women</p>	<p>-AD / ART party stated that 30% female representation.</p> <p>-Party structure: formed PPKB (Women's National Awakening Party)</p> <p>-The nomination system uses scoring, quantitative and qualitative systems with a fit and proper test in order to be accepted.</p> <p>-There will be the Mantap Team (Team 5), which will include Gus Dur, Khofifah, Saefullah Yusuf, Alwi Shihab.</p> <p>Procedures:</p> <p>-Have a membership card, enter the existing lines</p> <p>-Support the ability, there are many community / religious leaders</p> <p>-Potential, practitioners / academics also care about</p>	<p>-Nominasi perempuan dilakukan secara internal.</p> <p>PKS</p> <p>-Dewan pendirinya melibatkan perempuan</p> <p>-Perbandingan di pusat dan provinsi dengan nama Departemen Kewanitaan PKS</p> <p>-Memperhatikan kuota 30% perempuan</p> <p>Seleksi Caleg:</p> <p>-Pemilu Internal</p> <p>-Caleg dibuka dari kalangan kader partai</p>

		<p>-In addition to opening up opportunities for outside recruitment</p> <p>-There is no policy that women should be placed no.1</p>	
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## 5. Theoretical Contribution

The novelty that this research offered was the use of three levels of analysis, namely the practical level (the interests of actors in the recruitment of candidates) which are visible, the institutional level (Election Law and Political Parties) which is rather abstract, and the normative level (compensatory justice vs distributive justice) which is abstract simultaneously to reveal obstacles of the quota's application in Indonesia.

The simultaneous use of three levels of analysis to reveal the barriers in enforcing quotas in Indonesia differs this research with Wahidah br Siregar's research which revealed that the 30% quota for women's representation from the institutional level (closed election system vs majority / majoritarian election system) was not achieved. This research is also different with Krook's research which revealed barriers in enforcing quotas from the institutional level (wording, election system) and practical (the power of actors who support and oppose quotas), and also different with Dahlerup's research which revealed barriers in enforcing quotas from the institutional level (quota sanctions).

The author's argument in this study was expected to make a theoretical contribution by showing that the hegemony of majoritarian liberal meanings (norms) in democracy and representation has become the main obstacle of the implementation of Women's Quota Entrepreneur policies because these norms produce institutions (Political Party Law and Election Law) and inappropriate political practices based on the need for quotas and perpetuating male power in Indonesian politics (status quo). By looking at the aspect of norms, these findings can complement a similar theory put forward by Dahlerup and Krook.

The implementation of gender quotas in a country is influenced by three main variables, namely the variable detailing the mandate of the rules or laws regarding the quota itself, the variable of the institutional framework covering the quota and the variable of actors or groups who support and oppose the quota [26].

"The impact of quotas is linked to detail of the measures themselves, the impact of quota is depend on institutional framework in which they are introduces and the impact of quotas steams of the balance of actors for and against implementation"

Meanwhile, according to Dahlerup, a specific quota design is crucial for the success of implementing quotas "... the specific design of the quota system is crucial for the successful implementation of quotas". This means that the quota design must contain sanctions for parties that do not comply.

"In order to be effective, a quota system must be compatible with the electoral system in place and that quota rules — for example, of 30 or 40 per cent women on electoral lists — must be supplemented with rules concerning rank order as well as — in the case of legislated quotas — effective legal **sanctions**."

Meanwhile, the liberal mindset among the legislature (legislators, party leaders), the judiciary (constitutional judges) as well as pro-democracy activists in Indonesia who emphasize politics at the individual level, interpret equality as an equal opportunity, and interpret justice as distributive justice has become an obstacle to quota policies, both at the formulation and enforcement stages.

The effectiveness of the enactment of Women's Quota Entrepreneurs is not only determined by the variable wording, institutional (election system), sanctions and the power of actors who support the quota, but also influenced by the ideology that develops in the country. Even the ideological aspect will determine the formulation of wording for quota provisions, the institutional framework (election system), party policies and the actor's behavior in responding to quota policies. This ideological aspect distinguishes the effectiveness of the application of Women's Quota Entrepreneurs in several Scandinavian countries - Latin America-Australia, Rwanda (social democracy - consociational democracy) and Indonesia-the United States (majoritarian liberal democracy).

In a democratized country, for example Indonesia, the quota policy was taken apart from the very strong pressure of the women's movement as well as an effort to show that the country was democratic. The existence of quota provisions does not mean a guarantee of increased representation of women because the liberal mindset forces women to compete by relying on their individual strength and the rules are designed with the principles of equal opportunity, OPOVOV and single ballot and meritocracy.

Liberal democratic theories are not gender neutral. The norms, institutions (system and technique of elections) and practices related to democracy and political representation in Indonesia are not neutral, but there are full of political interests. The continuous gender imbalance in representative institutions is one proof of this non-neutrality. This fact confirms Critical Theory's statement that theory is also not neutral but tends to benefit strong parties and perpetuates the status quo. The idea of a quota for women is a breakthrough in alternative thinking that is emancipatory [27].

## 6. CONCLUSION

The experience of various countries such as Rwanda, England, Canada, New Zealand, India and others shows that the success of increasing women's representation is always preceded by electoral engineering (election system engineering) or more precisely system reform / innovation and election techniques that provide greater opportunities for women to be elected. Electoral engineering was carried out by making technical innovations in pro-women's elections. The innovation was carried out by Rwanda by introducing the Triple balloting system, Britain introduced the All women's short lists', Afghanistan introduced reserved seats through direct elections, India introduced Dual-member Constituencies at Lok Sabha ( still in the proposal stage) and the Twinning System in Scottist which has proven to be able to accelerate the Women's Quota Entrepreneur policy.

The women participation in Indonesian democratic institutions is under pressure and domination of liberal norms. Women are one of the minority groups such as the elderly (elderly), ethnic minorities and groups of the poor who are prevented from expressing their experiences in political reality because liberals always impose the norms of homogeneity, impartiality, and rationality. Liberal norms that emphasize impartiality, generality, and formal equality tend to be detrimental to women because the belief in these norms makes liberals unable to accommodate differences and particularities that exist in society, including the fact that there are differences of activities between women and men. As a result, liberal norms of democracy can become a means of male political domination over women.

Because each group has different experiences, histories, and perspectives on social life, no single group can represent the experiences, histories, and perspectives of other groups. In dealing with the diversity of these groups, the use of formal norms of equality and impartiality will only benefit the dominant group (men). If all individuals are given equal rights, the interests of the dominant group will prevail because they will state that their experiences and perspectives on social reality are objective and impartial. Thus, the norm of the dominant group (men) is the standard. In the objectivity and impartiality, the minority groups, including women, have been marginalized in political life. In the universalism, the original norms that are owned by minority groups, including women, are degraded. In contrast, the male norm becomes the standard.

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