

Responses of Muslimat and Fatayat to the Quota for Women in the 2004 Elections

Wahidah Zein Br Siregar
Fakultas Dakwah IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Abstrak

Perubahan sistem politik paska pemerintahan Suharto tidak membawa perubahan yang berarti pada perwakilan perempuan di lembaga politik, khususnya DPR. Padahal kaum perempuan yang notabene separuh dari penduduk Indonesia juga memberikan sumbangan yang sangat penting dalam meruntuhkan Orde Baru. Menghadapi pemilu 2004, aktifis perempuan berjuang keras untuk meningkatkan jumlah perwakilan mereka di DPR baik melalui kuota, memberikan pendidikan politik untuk pemilih perempuan, mempromosikan caleg-caleg perempuan dan memantau pelaksanaan pemilu. Dalam pemilu 1999 hanya 45 orang perempuan yang terpilih diantara 500 anggota DPR RI. Muslimat dan Fatayat, dua organisasi wanita otonom Nahdlatul Ulama, berusaha menambah jumlah anggota DPR perempuan ini, tidak hanya di wilayah Jawa Timur, tetapi juga skala nasional. Dalam pemilu 2004, beberapa pengurus dan anggota ke dua organisasi berhasil menjadi anggota DPR periode 2004-2009, baik di tingkat pusat maupun di wilayah Jawa Timur melalui PKB, PPP dan partai lainnya. Keberhasilan Muslimat dan Fatayat ini menunjukkan bahwa meski kedua organisasi ini bukan organisasi politik, mereka mampu memformat strategi untuk menjadi pelaku politik.

Keyword: women, muslimat, fatayat, election, Indonesia

The fall of Suharto government has changed the political climate within the country. Indonesia is no longer an authoritarian but a democratic country. For women, however, the democratic atmosphere has not yet brought about a significant improvement in their representation in political institutions particularly the parliament. In spite of comprising half Indonesia population and the constitution guarantee of their equal political rights, the 1999 transitional election only resulted in 45 women (9%) out of 500 total members of the national parliament. Furthermore, since the country independence women have never held more than 13 per cent of seats in the Indonesian national parliament

Of course Indonesia is not the only country where this disparity occurs. As Kenworthy and Malami argue, the "representation gap" between men and women in parliaments worldwide is "substantial" (1999:236). According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), at 31 March 2007, the average percentage of women in national parliaments (lower house) around the world was 17.2 per cent (IPU 2007a). Compared to neighbouring countries, Malaysia and Thailand for instance, the percentage of women in Indonesian parliament is higher, however. The percentage of women in the national parliament (lower house) of Malaysia and Thailand are 9.1 per cent and 8.7 per cent respectively. However, other neighbouring countries such as Singapore and the Philippines have a higher percentage of women in their national parliaments, 24.5 per cent in Singapore and 15.3 per cent in the Philippines (IPU 2007b). The percentage of women in the Australian national lower house in 2007 is 24.7 per cent of total members (IPU 2007b) even though Australia was the first country in the world to give women the right to vote and to stand for national parliament (Sainsbury 2001:63; Sawyer and Simms 1984:1). Although the right to vote and stand for parliament was granted to Australian women in 1902, the first women were not

elected to the national parliament until 1943 (Grey and Sawyer 2005:173 -174). In some Arab countries such as Qatar and Saudi Arabia, there are still no female members of their national parliament (IPU 2007b).

Prior to the 2004 elections, women activists from NGOs, mass organizations, universities and political parties strongly demanded to increase the proportion of women in the parliament. They argued that the lack of women representatives in parliament has caused lack of attention toward women's interests. They then struggled to get a 30 per cent quota for women enacted in one of Indonesian political laws because they believed that the quota is a fastest way to overcome the problem of under-representation. In fact, many countries around the world such as South Africa, Rwanda, and Afghanistan have been able to dramatically increase the number of women in their parliaments through using gender quota (Dahlerup 2006:18). After a long struggle, women activists finally succeeded to get a 30 per cent non-compulsory quota for women in party's candidates list mentioned in the Law No.12, 2003 on Elections. Part one of article 65 of this law states that "*Setiap Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu dapat mengajukan calon anggota DPR, DPRD Provinsi dan DPRD Kabupaten/Kota untuk setiap Daerah Pemilihan dengan memperhatikan keterwakilan perempuan sekurang-kurangnya 30%*" (every Political Party in the election may propose candidates for members of the national, provincial and local parliaments for each electoral district with consideration for at least 30% of women's representation). The enactment of the quota, however, did not translate into a significant increase in the number of women in the 2004 parliamentary elections.

This paper examines the impact of the 30 per cent non-compulsory quota for women's parliamentary candidature for the national, East Java province and Sidoarjo district parliaments. It focuses on the role of two women's organizations affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (Muslimat and Fatayat) in the effort to increase women's parliamentary representation in the Indonesian 2004 election, especially in promoting the 30 per cent quota to the wider community. It is based on interviews with leaders of the national, East Java provincial and Sidoarjo district executive boards of Muslimat and Fatayat in April-June 2004. In East Java, these two Muslim women's organizations affiliated with an umbrella organisation FPJ Pol (*Forum Perempuan Jawa Timur untuk Politik* – Forum of East Java Women for Politics) to conduct voter education for female voters and public dialogue with female candidates prior to the 2004 elections. As women form half of the Indonesian population, they potentially have a critical role in the outcome of elections. Muslimat and Fatayat have tried to absorb that potency.

The first section of the paper discusses general feature of the two Muslim women's organizations. The next sections elaborates the role of these organizations in the process of getting the 30 per cent quota for women enacted in Indonesian law as well as in promoting awareness on the quota prior to the 2004 elections. The final section presents the results of the 2004 election, focusing on performance of female candidates at the three parliaments studied. East Java has been selected for this case study because the election result in this province is differs from other provinces in Indonesia. While nationally, the party associated with the former Suharto regime, Golkar won the most votes in the 2004 election, in East Java province the winning party was the Islamic nationalist PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa – National Awakening Party), associated with Nahdlatul Ulama in which Muslimat and Fatayat affiliated with. It was for the same reason that Sidoarjo was chosen for the case study of a local parliament. If in the 1999 elections, PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan – Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) won 17 out of 45 seats in the Sidoarjo district parliament (37.8 per cent), in the 2004 election PKB won the most seats (16 out of 45 seats) while PDIP won only eight seats (17.8 per cent). In this section, organizational background of the elected Women MPs will also be looked to see is there any women MPs from these two Muslim women's organizations.

Muslimat and Fatayat

As mentioned previously, Muslimat and Fatayat are two autonomous women's organizations associated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. According to Fealy (2003:153), since its inauguration in 1926, NU claims that it has more than 35 million members, mainly from East Java and Central Java. NU affiliates adopt an Islamic school of thought of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* means "[t]he followers of the prophet and the consensus of the ulama" (Luken Bulls 1997:137). The followers of NU adopt not only Al Qur'an and Al Hadits but also one of the four *mazhab* (school in Islamic law): Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i and Hanbali as their main guide in their everyday lives and religious practices (Fattah 2006 :7; PP Fatayat 1984).

The structure of these two organizations is similar. Both have five levels of executive board: central, provincial, district, sub-district and village levels. Muslimat has 26 provincial, 350 district, 2,650 sub-district and 26,000 village branches throughout Indonesia (PP Muslimat NU 2004), and Fatayat has 27 provincial branches and 308 district branches, 923 sub -district branches and 14.118 village branches throughout Indonesia (PP Fatayat 2006).

Differences between Muslimat and Fatayat can be seen from age of their members as well as their activities. For example, Muslimat that is targeted at mature women (those who are over 40 years old), while Fatayat is to younger women aged between 20 to 40 years (PP Fatayat 2006). But according to Farida Hanum, the head of East Java provincial executive board of Fatayat, the minimum age of Fatayat members is difficult to define. She stated "the maximum age of Fatayat member is clear, 40 years old, as stated in Fatayat's Basic Regulation. However , the minimum age is difficult to be defined because as long as a woman has been married, she can be a member of Fatayat" (Interview 4 April 2004). Usually, after reaching 40 years, Fatayat members will become Muslimat members. Therefore, it can be said th at Muslimat is the 'mother' of Fatayat. This assumption is furthermore strengthened through the fact that Muslimat was established earlier than Fatayat. Muslimat was established on 29 March 1946 at the 16th *Muktamar* (National Congress) of NU in Purwokerto, Central Java (PP Muslimat 2004), while Fatayat was formed on 24 April 1950 at the 18th *Muktamar* of NU in Jakarta (Affiah 2005:33). In addition, in its structural organization, Fatayat places the leaders of Muslimat as its advisers (PP Fatayat 2006), therefore, positioning itself as a daughter to a mother.

Furthermore, while Muslimat owns some businesses and social institutions such as cooperatives, maternal and child health clinics, hospitals, schools and orphanages, reflecting its main program to address the daily needs of women, Fatayat does not. Its main program, according to Maria Ulfah Anshor, head of the central Fatayat is women's empowerment, especially on reproductive heath. To actualize this program Fatayat has established 26 LKP2 (*Lembaga Konsultasi Pemberdayaan Perempuan* – Women's Empowerment Consultation Institution) which are widespread in 26 regions in Indonesia (Anshor 2005:168), and 11 PIKER (*Pusat Informasi Kesehatan Reproduk-si* – Information Centre of Reproduction Health) in 11 provincial branches. Through these two institutions Fatayat provides women with consultation and assistance (PP Fatayat 2006). Based on the activities of these two women's organizations, it can be seen Muslimat sources on the practical needs of women, while Fatayat pu ts more concern to empower women, to open women's awareness toward their rights.

Activities in Facing the 2004 elections

Following the ruin of Suharto's presidency on 21 May 1998, and the beginning of *reformasi* (reform), institutional designs have been introduced to foster democracy. This particularly happened during Habibie's presidency. At least 50 laws were reformed in this period, including

three fundamental political laws: Laws on Political Parties, Elections, and the Structure of Legislative Bodies (Hosen 2003:2, 113). These laws were enacted to facilitate a multi-party system, free and fair elections and good governance. However, in this law reform process, women activists did not demand quotas for women. According to Blackburn (1999:87 -89), at this time women activists were focused on public debate on the question of whether Indonesia could be led by a female president.

Aware that political parties did not pay any attention to women's representation in the 1999 elections, evidenced by the minimal number of women placed in parties' lists of candidates, some prominent women activists began to argue for affirmative action for women in the form of quotas in party executive boards and parliament (Blackburn 1999:91; 2001:279). This demand became more intense when the 1999 elections resulted in a lower percentage of women in parliament compared to the 1997 elections.

The demand to get a quota for women's representation enacted in law gained momentum in 2002 when the government proposed drafts of new laws on politics, particularly on political parties and elections, as a further step to democratic reform, on the foundations laid in 1999. However, the intention of women activists to get the quota included in the first law enacted (the Law on Political Parties) was not successful, even though they lobbied leaders of political parties and sitting politicians. They then put more effort to get the quota stated in the next law that would be enacted, the Law on Elections. This time they were successful. As mentioned previously that part one of Article 65 of the Law No.12, 2003 on Elections rules that political parties contesting the elections are encouraged to provide 30 per cent places in their candidate lists for women.

Muslimat and Fatayat had enthusiastically welcomed the intention of Indonesian women activists to increase women's representation in the parliament. My interviews with leaders of Muslimat and Fatayat, and information gathered from *Kompas*, the principal metropolitan daily newspaper, expressed their strong intention. All the interviewees said that they strongly support the goal of getting more women in the parliament: More women in the parliament, would lead to better conditions on women. As Maria Ulfah Anshor, the leader of the Fatayat national executive board states:

We have already talked a lot about gender awareness, about equality, but Indonesian laws do not respond to this. Gender awareness supposedly goes hand in hand with legislation. What has happened is that women activists have developed gender awareness within society, but no decision makers, no legislators have gender sensitivity. This situation goes on repeatedly. Every law produced is not based on gender sensitivity but self serving interests" (Interview 7 May 2004).

This statement reflects the need for increasing women representation in the parliament in order to produce gender sensitive laws in aiding the efforts of women activists outside the parliament to address and improve women's conditions. Therefore the greater numbers of women sit in the parliament more gender sensitive laws will be produced. Furthermore, women's issues will be best addressed by women. The absence of women from any political decisions is assumed to be the cause of bias or irrelevant policies for women.

Their agreement to the idea of having more women in the parliament shown through their affiliation with other women's organizations to be involved in the struggle to get the 30 per cent quota enacted in Indonesian law. Statements of leaders regarding the quota from both Muslimat and Fatayat quite often mentioned in *Kompas's* news. For example, Aisyah Hamid Baidlowi, previously headed the central executive board of Muslimat, a female member of the National parliament from Golkar since 1997 (*Kompas*, 3 April 2000), and Erma Lena, former leader of central executive board of Fatayat and MP in the 1997 -1999 national parliament from PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan – United Development Party) (*Kompas*, 1 October 2001), stated that

unlike Indonesian men, Indonesian women have had a late start in the political arena. Quotas could redress the gender difference in a short time. Maria Ulfah Anshor, the present leader of the central board of Fatayat even wrote an article in this newspaper, “*Politik Bukan Hanya Dunia Laki-laki*” (Politics is not just Men’s World), in *Kompas* 23 January 2003, a month before the 30 per cent quota enacted in the Law on Elections. Furthermore, the statement of Khofifah Indar Parawansa, the leader of central executive board of Muslimat, was also cited in *Kompas*, saying Muslimat urges DPR to agree with the 30 per cent quota for women in parliament (*Kompas*, 18 February 2003). Khofifah had actively discussed the possibility to get the 30 per cent quota for women in Indonesian parliament since she was the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment in Abdurrahman Wahid presidency (1999-2001) (Bessell 2005:17).

Particularly in East Java, Muslimat and Fatayat joined FPJ Pol, an umbrella organisation which conducted two activities: voters’ education and public dialogue with female candidates in 24 out of 38 total regions of East Java province. There were 17 organizations affiliated in FPJ Pol. The other 15 organizations were Aisyiah (one of women’s organizations of Muhammadiyah, the second largest Muslim organization in Indonesia), PSW (*Pusat Studi Wanita – Women’s Studies Centre*) of Airlangga University of Surabaya and state Islamic University of Malang, and 12 NGOs. The intention to encourage voters to vote for women in the elections was clearly reflected in the voter’s education program conducted by FPJ Pol, as reflected in its pamphlet and sticker.

Muslimat and Fatayat were not only active in campaigning for the elections and encouraging voters to vote for women but also in encouraging their members to become parliamentary candidates of any political parties they want to. As reflected in Khofifah Indar Parawansa’s statement:

Experiences in Muslimat show that sometimes women are apolitical. I always ask the Muslimat leaders in the regions to make recommendation for their members, who among them might be good for being female candidates. For me recommendation is important because not many women are brave enough to promote themselves (Interview 26 April 2004).

Furthermore, Fatayat, particularly in East Java branch had even tried to negotiate with political parties to place their members in winnable positions on that party’s list. As Farida Hanum, head of East Java provincial executive board of Fatayat stated:

I have tried to contact the PKB selection team to place at least one member of Fatayat in winnable positions [in the first or second positions on the list of candidates]. But PKB did not place any of them.

There were five candidates of PKB for East Java parliament who were from Fatayat. But they were placed in number six, seven and nine on the candidates’ lists (Interview 4 April 2004).

The support of Muslimat and Fatayat’s leaders to their colleagues who like to stand for parliament in the 2004 election may be not really surprising because historically Muslimat had actively engaged in political arena. As Machrusoh (2005:49) stated that in the first Indonesian election in 1955, there were five Muslimat cadres elected to the national parliament. Muslimat’s engagement in political arena was less in the Suharto presidency, because Suharto defined primary women’s roles as mothers and wives, therefore the main place of women is their homes. Furthermore, in the Suharto era engage in politics could mean opposing the government. As a consequence, Muslimat focused its activities in the areas of socio-religious (Machrusoh 2005:64).

Statements of leaders of Muslimat and Fatayat above reflect that some members of these two organizations became candidates for parliaments in the 2004 elections. From party candidate lists, it can be seen that both Muslimat and Fatayat members who became parliamentary candidates in the 2004 elections were mainly nominated by PKB. However, some of them were nominated by other parties such as PPP, Golkar (Partai Golongan Karya – Dedicated Group party), the ruling

party in Suharto era, and PNUI (Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia – Indonesian United Nahdlatul Ummah Party).

The fact that most of members of Muslimat and Fatayat became parliament candidates from PKB is certainly not surprising because PKB was established by leaders of NU. Although there is no structural relation between the PKB and NU, key figures of NU including those from Muslimat and Fatayat become source of candidates for parliaments. As Ida Fauziyah, a member of central executive board of Fatayat and member of national parliament from PKB since 1999 explained:

the relationship between NU and PKB, especially in East Java, is very close. There is unstated rule that PKB asks NU to send their representatives to be parliamentary candidates for PKB. Muslimat, Fatayat and other autonomous organizations got opportunities to send their representatives to be nominated (Interview 29 April 2004).

Furthermore, Mochammad Arif Junaedy, general secretary of East Java PKB stated that PKB nominated some leaders of Muslimat and Fatayat, not only because they sit in the executive board of NU's organizations but because they are qualified. He, furthermore, confirmed that one of the leaders of East Java Muslimat [Masruroh Wahid] become head of PKB fraction in East Java parliament (Interview 2 June 2005).

The willingness of PKB to nominate Muslimat, Fatayat and other NU's autonomous organizations' members to be their candidates, however, does not necessarily mean that PKB would guarantee seats in the parliament for candidates from these organizations. Not all candidates from these organizations were placed in winnable positions. In the 2004 elections, the electoral system used was the semi-open list of proportional representation system. In this system, a voter can vote for a party, or for both the party and a candidate in the chosen party's list. However, a vote for only the candidate without the party would not be accepted. In addition, a candidate, regardless of his/her position on the list, could be elected to parliament if he/she achieved a quota for one seat in the parliament (BPP – *Bilangan Pembagi Pemilih*) – the number of votes divided by seats allocated in each electoral district. If he/she cannot reach the BPP his/her votes will be allocated to candidates according to their order on the party list. Therefore, a candidate's position on the list is very important in determining the possibility of his/her being elected. These rules led to strong competition within the parties for winnable positions on the lists.

Competition to get the winnable positions on the list to some extent led to conflict among these organizations and between these organizations and PKB. PKB can be assumed to prefer one organization over the others. For example, in nominating candidates for East Java parliament, Fatayat assumed that PKB put more attention to Muslimat. As reflected in Farida Hanum's statement, "Muslimat dominated the candidacy. All of the eight female candidates placed in winnable positions are from Muslimat" (Interview 4 April 2004). Meanwhile, when confirming with Aisyah Lilia Agustini, head of PPKB (*Perempuan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* – Women's Wing of the PKB) and one of the selection team, she stated "it was not the fault of PKB if there was no Fatayat members placed in the winnable positions. It was because Fatayat failed to determine their fit representatives to PKB" (Interview 16 May 2005).

In the election for the Sidoarjo parliament, both Muslimat and Fatayat assumed that PKB was not really meaning to recruit Muslimat and Fatayat's members. As Fatmah Assegaf, the leader of Sidoarjo district executive board of Muslimat, said:

PKB often changed the order of candidates on the lists of candidates. I myself was initially placed on number three on the list of candidates of electoral district 1. But in the final version, I was placed in

number four of electoral district 5. The same thing happened with Fatayat. I saw that in electoral district 1, PKB placed one of heads of Muslimat and the head of Fatayat. It is likely that PKB female candidates compete with female candidates. I saw that men were not really kind to women (Interview 8 April 2004).

Furthermore, Nurcholisoh, the leader of Sidoarjo district executive board of Fatayat stated:

I am not sure what criteria are used by PKB in nominating candidates. I also sit in the board of Sidoarjo PKB. I was placed in number three on the candidate list. When I asked the selection team, why did they put me in that position they said that after considering many times, looking and looking again on the candidate list, that was the place that they can put me in (Interview 14 April 2005).

Meanwhile, when confirming Arli Fauzi, general secretary of Sidoarjo PKB executive board about the issue, he said:

Actually PKB has proportionally placed female candidates in winnable positions. Based on parliamentary seats gained by PKB in the 1999 elections, we predicted that from electoral district 1, PKB can gain four seats in the parliament. We have placed one woman in a winnable position [position three in the candidates' list order], even though it was not number one. But what happened was that prediction was not really exact. Our analysis was weak. We are not expert researchers (Interview 25 October 2005).

Therefore in Arli's opinion, positions three and four on the list of candidates for electoral district 1 can be categorized as winnable positions. What happened was that in the 2004 elections, PKB only gained two seats in this electoral district for Sidoarjo district parliament, therefore no female candidate elected.

Statements above reflect interaction between Muslimat and Fatayat with PKB. How was the result of the 2004 election for East Java and Sidoarjo parliaments? How many female candidates were elected to sit these two parliaments? How many of them were from Muslimat and Fatayat? The following section will answer these questions.

The Results of the 2004 Elections

The following tables (Table 1, 2, and 3) show the seats gained by parties in the national, East Java provincial and Sidoarjo district parliaments in the 2004 elections. The tables reflect that although Golkar won the most seats for the national parliament, PKB won the majority of seats in East Java and Sidoarjo parliaments. This reflects East Java is the heart land of NU and PKB. The majority of Muslims in East Java are NU members, and they contributed significantly to PKB's success in this election.

Table 1 show that the 2004 election resulted in 62 women being selected to the national parliament (11.3 per cent). This is a 25 per cent increase over the number of women in the 1999 - 2004 period when only 45 of the 500 members were women (9 per cent). While this might appear to be a significant increase, it is starting at a very low base, and does not meet women advocates' aspirations for the quota system to drastically increase the number of women in the national parliament. The number of women in the national parliament as per 5 February 2007 is 64 (11.6 per cent). Three women were sworn in as new MPs on that date: Maria Ulfah Anshor the leader of central executive board of Fatayat from PKB, R. Kurniati from PDIP and Nuraeni A. Barung from PD (Partai Demokrat – Democratic Party) to replace their male party colleagues. But one

women MP (Zunatul Mafruchah from PKB) was recalled by her party, so the overall number of women only increased by two (*Suara Karya Online*, 6 February 2007; *Gatra.Com*, 6 February 2007). In the 2004 elections, Maria Ulfah Anshor was in the second position on PKB candidate list for West Java VII electoral district. She gained the most votes among candidates in this electoral district but she could not be elected to the national parliament because her votes were less than the BPP. Therefore, her votes went to AS Hikam, the candidate who was in the first position, who was then elected to the national parliament. In 2007 AS Hikam was recalled by PKB and Maria Ulfah Anshor replaced him.

In the East Java parliament, however, the increase in women's representation is slight better (as shown in Table 2). The 1999 election resulted in 11 women sitting in the East Java parliament. In the 2004 election, the number increased to 16, a 45 per cent increase, which is a higher percentage than that of the national parliament. Although this is positive, the percentage of women in the East Java parliament still remains far below 30 per cent. As a consequence, it remains difficult for female members of the East Java parliament to gain a bargaining position among the majority of male members.

The 2004 election failed to increase the number of women in the Sidoarjo parliament, as shown in Table 3.

While the 1999 election resulted in two women in the Sidoarjo parliament, the 2004 election has resulted in only one woman.

Are there any members of Muslimat and Fatayat elected to these three parliaments? If PKB is known as party of NU members, how many female members of parliament from this party come from Muslimat and Fatayat? From the 64 women MPs in the national parliament, five of them are members of Muslimat (7.8 per cent) and three are members of Fatayat (4.7 per cent). Five of the seven female MPs from PKB (71.4 per cent) in

the national parliament are also activists of these two women NU's organisations, strengthening the fact that PKB is party of NU members. The present leaders of central executive board of both Muslimat and Fatayat are members of the national parliament from PKB, reflecting that although both organisations are non-political organisations, they were involve in Indonesian political arena. Table 4 explains party affiliation of these women MPs.

In East Java parliament, as shown in Table 5, seven of the 16 women MPs (43.75 per cent) are members of Muslimat (six from PKB and one from PPP).

One of them, Nour Endah Nizar, is the leader of the East Java provincial executive board of Muslimat. Therefore, like at the national level, leader of East Java Muslimat is involved directly in decision-making of this province. However, none of women MPs in East Java parliament is

from Fatayat. One of the seven women MPs from PKB is from another women's organization of NU (IPPNU – *Ikatan Putri-Putri Nahdlatul Ulama* – Associa-

tion of Female Teenagers of Nahdlatul Ulama). Munjidah Wahab from PPP is the present leader of Muslimat of Jombang district, one of the districts in East Java province.

In the Suharto's presidency, PPP was also recognized as party for NU members. It was one of parties allowed to contest in the elections. PPP was affiliation of four Muslim Parties, including the former Party of Nahdlatul Ulama. In post Suharto government, the majority of Nahdlatul Ulama members in PPP moved to PKB as the new party established by NU's leaders. But some chose to stay in PPP. Munjidah Wahab is one of those who chose to stay in PPP. She informed me that her loyalty to PPP is her strategy to be able to be elected to the parliament (Interview 9 June 2005).

Interestingly, her sister, Machfudhoh Aly Ubaid, MP of the national parliament also informed me that it is also her loyalty to PPP that made it possible for her to be elected to the national parliament (Interview 17 August 2005). Both of them informed me that they have been active in women's NU organizations since they were young. Their father, K.H. Abdul Wahab Chasbullah, was one of the founders of NU.

The only woman MP in Sidoarjo parliament, Anik Maslahah, is not from Muslimat and Fatayat but from IPPNU. But she is also the head of PPKB of Sidoarjo. Therefore, it is her strategic position in PKB that bring her to the Sidoarjo parliament.

Conclusion

This paper has explained the activities done by Muslimat and Fatayat in the effort of increasing women's parliamentary representation in Indonesia in facing the 2004 elections. Both Muslimat and Fatayat were actively engaged in the struggle to get the 30 per cent quota for women enacted in the Law on Elections. Furthermore, the two organisations were very active in the socialisation of the 30 per cent to the wider community particularly to female voters. These organisations have conducted voter education for female voters and public dialogue with female candidates. Therefore, they have contributed significantly to promote the idea 'women vote for women' in the 2004 elections.

In addition to be active in promoting the important of having more women in the parliament, Muslimat and Fatayat also accommodated the political aspirations of their members. They were strongly encouraged their colleagues who would like to compete in the elections, even though their organisations are formally non-political organisations. On the other hand, party for NU members such as PKB and PPP also welcomed members of these two organisations to become its parliamentary candidates.

Particularly for PKB, its openness to welcome Muslimat, Fatayat and other autonomous organisations of NU to be its parliamentary candidates has to some extent brought about conflicts between those organisations and this party especially in the candidate selection process. These conflicts were mostly related to the electoral system used in the 2004 elections, the semi-open list of proportional representation system.

Each organisation would like to have their members placed in the winnable positions on the lists to guarantee seats in the parliament. Meanwhile, for PKB, being active and holding strategic position on the party is an important aspect to be considered in the candidates' selection.

References

- Affiah, Neng Dara (ed), *Menapak Jejak Fatayat NU: Sejarah Gerakan, Pengalaman dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: PP Fatayat NU, 2005).
- Anonim, "Peran Politik Perempuan Dihadang Tembok Budaya," dalam *Kompas* 1 October 2001, <http://www.kompas.com/kompas%2Dcetak/0110/01/dikbud/pera37.htm>. diakses 14 Juli 2003.
- Anonim, "Lemah, Komitmen Parpol terhadap Perempuan," dalam *Kompas* 3 April 2000, <http://www.kompas.com/kompas%2Dcetak/0004/03/daerah/lema22.htm>, diakses 14 Juli 2003).
- Anonim, "Muslimat NU Desak DPR Setujui Kuota 30 Persen Perempuan di Parlemen," *Kompas*, 18 February 2003, <http://www.kompas.com/kompas%2Dcetak/0302/18/nasional/136052.htm>, diakses 14 Juli 2003.
- Anonim, "Nama-nama Calon Terpilih Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Pemilihan Umum 2004," dalam *KPU Online*, <http://www.kpu.go.id/berita/link/calegDPRRI.htm>, diakses 4 August 2004.
- Anonim, "Paham Keagamaan," *NU On-line*, <http://www.nu.or.id/v2/statistik.asp?what=faham&lang=id>, diakses 23 November 2006.
- Anonim, "Women in National Parliaments: World Classification Situation as of 31 March 2007," dalam *IPU Online*, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>, diakses 4 Mei 2007b.
- Anonim, "Women in Parliaments: World and regional Averages Situation as of 31 March 2007," dalam *IPU Online*, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>, diakses 14 Mei 2007.
- Anonim, "Badan Otonom," dalam *NU Online*, 2004, http://www.nu.or.id/badan_otonom.asp, diakses 12 November 2004.

- Anonim, "Kata Pengantar," dalam *PP Fa-tayat Online*, 2006, <http://fatayat.or.id/?q=about/id>, diakses 23 November 2006.
- Anonim, "Penguatan Hak-hak Kesehatan Reproduksi," dalam *PP Fatayat On-line*, <http://fatayat.or.id/?q=node/1>, diakses 23 November 2006.
- Anonim, "Sejarah Singkat Muslimat NU," dalam *PP Muslimat Online*, [http://www.muslimat_nu.or.id/muslimat NU.htm](http://www.muslimat_nu.or.id/muslimat%20NU.htm), diakses 8 November 2004.
- Anonim, *Berita Acara Nomor 139/15-BA/VIII/2004 tentang Penetapan Calon Terpilih Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2004* (Jakarta: Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2004a).
- Anonim, CETRO, "Caleg Terpilih DPR RI 2004-2009: Perolehan Suara Caleg dan Kursi Partai Politik (Berdasarkan Hasil Sidang Mahkamah Konstitusi, 18 Juni 2004)," dalam *CETRO*, <http://www.cetro.or.id>, diakses 14 Juli 2004.
- Anonim, *Perhitungan Perolehan Kursi Partai Politik Peserta Pemilihan Umum Penetapan Calon Terpilih Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi Dalam Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2004* (Surabaya: KPUD Jawa Timur, 2004).
- Anonim, *Perolehan Kursi Partai Politik dan Penetapan Calon Terpilih Anggota DPRD Kabupaten Sidoarjo dalam Pemilu 2004* (Sidoarjo: KPUD Sidoarjo, 2004).
- Anonim, *Sejarah Fatayat NU* (Jakarta: PP Fatayat, 1984).
- Anonim, *Wajah DPR dan DPD 2004-2009* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2005).
- Anshor, Maria Ulfa, "Politik Bukan Hanya Dunia Laki-laki," dalam *Kompas* 23 Januari 2003.
- Anshor, Maria Ulfa, *Pemecah Kebekuan Berpikir* (Jakarta: PP Fatayat NU, 2005).
- Bessell, Sharon, "Indonesia," dalam ---- (Ed.) *Sharing Power: Women, Parliament, Democracy* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).
- Blackburn, Susan, "Gender Relations in Indonesia: What Women Want," dalam ----- (Ed.) *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2001).
- Blackburn, Susan, "The 1999 Elections in Indonesia: Where Were the Women?" dalam ---- (Ed.) *Pemilu: the 1999 Indonesian Election* (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1999).
- Dahlerup, Drude, "Introduction," dalam *Women, Quotas and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Fattah, Munawir Abdul, *Tradisi Orang-orang NU* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2006).
- Fealy, Greg, "Divided Majority: Limits of Indonesian Political Islam," dalam *Islam and Political Legitimacy* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).
- Grey, Sandra & Marian Sawyer, "Australia and New Zealand," dalam *Sharing Power: Women, Parliament, Democracy* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).
- Hosen, Nadirsyah, "Reform of Indonesian Law in the Post-Suharto Era (1998-1999)," Disertasi (Wollongong: University of Wollongong, 2003).
- Kenworthy, Lane & Melissa Malami, 1999, "Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis," *Social Forces*, 78 (1), 1999:232-268.
- Luken, Bulls & Ronald Alan, "A Peaceful Jihad: Javanese Islamic Education and Religious Identity Construction," Disertasi (Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services, 1997).

Machrusah, Safira, "Muslimat and Nahdlatul Ulama: Negotiating Gender Relations within a Traditional Muslim Organisation in Indonesia," Thesis (Sidney: Australian National University, 2005).

Sainsbury, Diane, "Rights Without Seats: The Puzzle of Women Legislative Recruitment," dalam ---- (Ed.) *Election: Full, Free & Fair* (Leichhardt: The Federation Press, 2001).

Sawer, Marian & Marian Simms, *A Woman's Place: Women and Politics in Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984).