

## Meritocracy and Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu in The Recruitment of Female Legislators in Medan and Deli Serdang

Harmona Daulay and Rosmery Sabri

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of North Sumatera

This study intends to find the current recruitment model for female members of legislative in the concept of meritocracy and the 30% female quota in parliament seat. The issue of money politic, dynasty politic and woman quota are certainly far from the meritocracy concept that selected legislative members based on their skill and merit in politics. This research also intends to look at capital in Pieere Bourdieu perperspective also serve as an important tool for women legislative candidate to succeed in parliament. The intention of this research is to identify patterns in current recruitment process in political parties as it relate to capital and the patriarchy system the permiate the world of women politics. This research uses qualitative paradigm that utilize the researcher as data miner through in-depth interview. also conducted with current women legislative members in Medan and Deli Serdang. Research indicates that there are 3 recruitment patterns for women legislative candidate; they are the close pattern, open pattern and semi-open pattern. Patriarchy system still dominant social political relationship politic experienced by women members of legislative. These conditions include stereotypes, double burden subordination, and marginalization. These gender issues can be seen as advantage or disadvantages for woman in political realm. Women members of legislative have several capitals could be related to Bourdieu concepts such as economic capital, social capital, culture capital and symbolic capital. Other than that, whether they *habitus* or not, they win the election. The combination of *habitus* and four capital of Bourdieu has influenced the existence and dynamic of women in politic (field).

*Key Words:* Meritocracy, Patriarchy, and Pierre Bourdieu

### Introduction


This study intends to investigate the current recruitment model for female members of legislative in the concept of meritocracy and the 30% female quota in parliament seat. The issue of money politic, dynasty politic and woman quota are certainly far from the meritocracy concept select legislative members based on their skill and merit in politics. Women quota in these researched reflect not only the favorable circumstance for women but also the general design on how women fare in politics that run on merit system instead of a non-merit system. This research also intends to look at the current recruitment process for women legislative members in North Sumatra political parties in relation to the concept of meritocracy and *affirmative action* that favors women. The 30% Women quota is just one of the pathway for women to exist in politics, but women quota also need to be complimented women candidate with integrity, competence and able to receive people aspiration. We recognise these aspects reflect application of meritocracy system. This is important to know so that the effort of fulfilling women quota does not stop at 30% but also reflected in the improvement of competence of women in parliament. This research not only focus on the fulfillment of quota by the political parties in

terms of *affirmative action*. Besides that, it is also important to study how far the meritocracy play a role in the nomination of women legislative candidate.

Referring to case in Indonesia based on research by Republika's Research and Development division and The Asia Foundation show that the existence of women in parliament mostly is based on charity instead of fought political will. (Wardani, 1999). Ani Soetjipto (2005) monitor the existence of women in parliament mostly relate to the career of their spouses. The recruitment in parties also based on the willingness to support the career and stature of their spouses. Ani Soetjipto (Women Journal 31, 27) The common rule and logic of masculine politics that exist in today's political parties dictate the recruitment process and members promotion based on nepotism through networking, economic capital, affiliation to certain region, affiliation to certain religious group or popularity.

---

**Corresponding author.** Harmona Daulay Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of North Sumatera, Indonesia

 This article is distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use and redistribution provided that the original author and source are credited.

These factors contribute to making women candidate more vulnerable and having low bargaining power when facing the parties. Women aspiration for political system that is more participative, fair, no monetary oriented and short term goals is hindered by institutionalized political parties that conduct primitive system with politic patron model that does not support organization as shown in today's catch all party type.

Talking about the ideal concept of meritocracy in terms of recruiting women members of legislative become an important challenge for Indonesian political parties nowadays. The meritocracy problems need to be coupled with the attempt to fulfill women quota in parliament. As we know the domination of masculine politic in parliament made the parliament lost the trust of society that they suppose to represent. High number of corruptions in parliament, low output of legislative products and lack of attention to the "ampora" issues that were brought up by parliament members are concrete reason of why there is low level of trust by society. Based on the statement by the winning political party in 2014 PDIP election by their young representative, head of DPP PDI Perjuangan Maruarar Sirait said that political parties must implement the meritocracy politic in the recruitment of women legislative candidates, not simply fulfilling the 30 percent quota of women representatives. "Internally PDI-P party is implementing the meritocracy politic. Every legislative candidate has been assessed based on merit and accomplishment" (<http://aneka.beritamalukuonline.com/2013/11/pdip-perekrutan-perempuan-caleg-juga.html> Jakarta). However, we need to investigate whether Maruarar Sirait's statement reflect what happen in reality or is it just lip service.

The nomination process of women members of legislative also relate to the social capability of legislative candidate. Capability in terms of Bourdieu's social capital concept becomes critical here because the implementation of economic capital and social capital is an important factor to determine the success of legislative members because it relates to the political cost that must be spent. The circulation from the power of a particular legislative candidate's social media becomes an interesting aspect when considering that the merit system also require several supporting components of every capital possessed by women legislative candidate. Based on that the rigorous social process that determine the success of women legislative candidate to become a legislative member in a merit system become a sociological analysis, political analysis and an interesting gender analysis.

### Problem Formulation

1. What is the pattern of legislative member recruitment that is implemented by political parties to the women and men legislative members in 2014 election, is there any significant difference with the men legislative candidate and how does the patriarchy value affect the recruitment process?
2. How does the influence of capital in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of contributing to the success of legislative candidates become members in parliament?

### Theoretical Framework

#### Women quota and recruitment of political party in patriarchy system

World history shows that women generally perform better in parliament level as suppose to the executive level (Women Journal 83). Studying the Indonesia election data in 2014 show that level of representation of women in parliament is far below 30%, even when compared to the 2009 election, the number of parliament seat obtained by women candidate drop from 100 seats to 94 seats. Data from North Sumatera DPRD, from 100 members of parliament, the number of women legislative members is only at 13 members or equal to 13%.

Political parties could determine the participation and representation of women. There are 4 factors in the existence of political party that significantly determine the level of women representation in parliament: First, the structure of the political organizations. Second, Institutional framework. Third, Ideologies of the political parties (progressive ideologies). Fourth, the activist for women political party (Ayu Putu Nantri, 2004:8 in Sri Wahyuni, 2009)

Furthermore, Nazaruddin Syamsudin classified political recruitment system into two methods (Tangkilisan, Hal. 189), they are:

1. Open recruitment that provide and give equal opportunity for all citizens to compete in the screening process. The assessment is based on the predetermined requirements, and considerations based on rational objects where everyone that meet the requirement to fill in the vacant political position has equal opportunity in competing for the political or government vacancy.
2. Close recruitment, that is the opportunity to obtain the political position for every citizen is not equal. That means that only certain individuals can be recruited to fill in political or government vacancy. In this recruitment people usually obtain elite position by shady means such as friendship, family ties, etc.

Patriarchy values that exist in the structure and social system in Indonesia create several effects in

social relation in Indonesian society. This affect the gender issue and the injustice practice of gender including in politics in Handayani and Sugiharti, (2008: 23) see the patriarchy value that favors the role and status of men help create the secondary role for women. This situation in principal is a manifestation and discrimination of social, political, economic, cultural, legal, and religious towards women.

### **The role of capital, habitus and arena concept of Pierre Bourdieu on the successful process to become legislative member.**

Capital is an important factor and the key for women to thrive in political party. Capital was based on power. "Capital" is defined as a resource or quality that is possessed by someone or social position that has influence or social value. There are many forms of capitalism including economic capitalism (wealth such as money), cultural capitalism (knowledge), symbolic capitalism (stature and prestige), and social capitalism (social relationship) (Saifuddin in Fashri, 2014).

Haryatmoko (2010,6) explained that the structure of power is based on the ownership of capital and the composition of those capitals. Economic capital is resource that can be utilized as a production and financial tools. This capitalism is easily converted to other types of capitalism. (Bourdieu, 1994:20,22,31-56). Cultural capitalism could be in the form of school certificate, knowledge cultural code, articulation, writing skill, and demeanors, networking skill that plays a role in social stature. Social capitalism is a network of resources that determine social stature. Symbolic capitalism is a

capitalism that create symbolic power, this capitalism require symbol of power such as position, title, expensive vehicle, prestigious office, glamorous status even family name. (Bourdieu, in Haryatmoko, 2010: 6)

The capability that is possessed by a women legislative candidate is related to a concept that by Bourdieu is called field. Field is a political area that a women legislative candidate is competing in that she can obtain power in that particular area. Bourdieu said that there must be a capability in a landscape. Bourdieu degenerative formula explained about the relationship between habitus, capability and direct field (Rindawati, 2010, 432). These aspect becomes relevant in this research since in the circle of patriarchy system, the capability context and habitus possessed by a legislative candidate could influence the merit system in political arena which is the objective of women participation in politics in the framework of affirmative action in the 30% women quota reality.

### **Research Method**

This research utilizes the qualitative research method. The subject of the research is the legislative member in Medan and Deli Serdang. There are 10 people participate as subject informant. Some research informants are also political party leaders in Medan and Deli Serdang.

### **Result and Discussion**

#### **Research Informant Profile**

No	Name	Age	Status	Formal Education	Working experience	Parliament position
1.	Informant D	48	Married	Bachelor of Economic	Bank staff	Faction Treasurer
2.	Informant M	47	Married	Bachelor of Public Health	Rizki Clinic	
3.	Informant H. U.K	49	Married	Bachelor of Law	Businesswoman	Commission member
4.	Informant H	54	Married	High school	Mandiri Banks staff	
5.	Informant R.S	39	Married	Bachelor of Law	-Former police-woman - Media TV host	- Hanura faction secretary - Vice president Faction B - KPPI Leader in Medan
6.	Informant R.M.	49	Married	MM	Service industry finance, cooperation	Commission A member
7.	Informant A.S.	25	Single	Nursery Diploma	Nurse	
8.	Informant H.R.	51	Married	Bachelor of Law	Lippo Life Medan	-
9.	Informant H.K.	47	Married	S1 / FKIP UISU KTP	Elementary school teacher	-
10.	Informant S.R.	46	Married	High School	Businesswoman	Commission D secretary

The data profile shows that the age range of women legislative members range from 20 to 50 years old. There are only one people with a single status. Number of children data also shows that generally everyone has 3 or more children. Only one women legislative member that has a high school, the majority has a bachelor degree. Many informants have a background of working in a formal sector such as banking and informal sector such as businesswoman. The informant data also show that the circumstances in which women successfully obtain position as members of legislative in Medan and Deli Serdang is those who has a relatively high education background with a working experience. Marriage Status and number of children also show family condition that allows them to have careers. We could assume that the strict values of patriarchy in this family have shifted. The patriarchy values in this family have shifted towards women participation in parliament/politics. The patriarchy value in those families become more flexible and adjusted based on the role of women in parliament. This proves that shift of patriarchy value is an important note in this research.

In the context of a merit system we can note that leaders of political parties mentioned that they select women legislative members based on formal education and the ability of each women legislative members. Formal education data show that selected women legislative members has a higher formal education, but this not as guarantee them to have sufficient political skills. Considering every women legislative member does not have background in political science, law, or any other political education background. The background of active participation in social organization certainly can be an asset come election time. But this is not enough, because their integrity as an elected women representative, their political competence such as negotiation skill, legislation skill and critical skill and issues of gender bias toward women become a requirement for the merit system.

#### ***Recruitment pattern of political party for women legislative candidate in patriarchy system***

Research shows that on paper recruitment of prospective legislative members does not discriminate men and women. Data show that recruitment pattern of women legislative members include open recruitment, close recruitment and combination of both. Open recruitment happens when there is equal opportunity for every woman in every selection process. There are also requirements that are proposed based on rational-objective consideration. This condition is similar to the definition of recruitment based on meritocracy. The findings in this research reveal that the definition of open recruitment for political party leader or director is if the candidate is not from their own party. Search-

ing for prospective members outside of the party is also mostly driven by the need to fulfill the 30% women quota, as mandated by general commissioner elections. In an effort to find prospective women legislative members outside of the party there several aspects to consider including, financial capability of prospective member, strong social awareness and family support. This condition is seen as an opportunity to succeed in becoming a member of legislative. On the other hand, the factor that contribute to successful nomination for women legislative members is not only determine not only by the support of the party but also by the hard work of each legislative candidate. This phenomenon usually happens in big political parties such as Golkar, PPP, and some smaller parties such as PKPI.

Female members of the parliament admit that their male counterparts have more freedom to pursue their career due to their lack of family responsibilities. In the context of this research, the multiple responsibilities carried by the subject do not seem to be an obstacle for them to do their job in the parliament and political party. Argument can be made that quality time with family become first priority during certain time such as holiday or major religious occasion.

The fact is 30% female quota is becoming a law and a framework for affirmative action to increase female role and participation in parliament. The expectation is that the increase of female participation in parliament will correlate to the issue of gender equality and fairness in parliament. On the other side with the increase in quantity of female members of parliament will correlate with the increasing stand on gender bias issue such as women health, domestic violence suffered by women, women healthcare more specifically the mortality rates of mother and children in labor. This research found out that the number of women sitting and working in parliament is not enough to fill the 30% quota. During the candidate process 30% minimum is reached. The actual number of female elected in two district covered by this research is 10%. It is revealed during their campaign female parliament member did not bring up women's issue. This notion is admitted the head of political parties that were interviewed. Issue that was brought up during campaign was instead basic needs such as education and healthcare. Informants also stated that gender bias issues could not be forced into a campaign, where it is better to bring up issues that come up within the electoral district.

Capital Analysis, *Habitus*, Arena, Pierre Bourdieu's Concept of the Female Candidate's Success Circle

*Habitus* Concept of Bourdieu becomes the basis of individual character. *Habitus* is the result of dexterity that becomes practical action or behavior (subconsciously) which then translated into a natu-

ral ability that seems innate and flourish in a certain social environment (Haryatmoko, 2016:41). In the context of female MP candidates, *habitus* demonstrated is correlated to the merit system during the recruitment process and their subsequent success. Research data shows that female MP candidate according to Bourdieu's *habitus* concept has two types. First being the type in which *habitus* goes along with social activities such as those in community and health related organization. Second is the type that demonstrates *habitus* away from community related activities such as in the business and financial world. Both types of *habitus* apparently give relatively equal chance of success for female MP candidates. Research results shows that 4 subjects/informants were successful female MP candidate that exhibit *habitus* within a societal contexts and 6 subjects that exhibit *habitus* outside of it. This data shows that the merit system based on the track record of candidates is not favorable towards candidates that were involved in societal activities and more favorable towards candidate that was from other backgrounds. Even so they were given a chance to run and some were successful. This shows that the merit system is not in full effect. Female MP candidate exhibiting *habitus* within a societal context does not smoothen their candidacy.

Once a societal *habitus* is enough to deliver a winning candidacy, they need social capital. First and foremost of which is economic capital. This is also related to the political cost they have to bear during the administration process of their candidacy until the campaign process and the forming of a campaign team. This notion is supported by the admittance of several political party leaders who said that candidates are active people who have high financial capability (admission of informant B). Generally, female MP does not consider the funds doled out as money politic, rather as the cost of doing politics. The admission of female MP may describe how economic power is an essential prerequisite of obtaining a seat in parliament. "During campaign, we bought T-shirts, hats and accessories. We did not give out cash (interview informant M). "If 500.000 per person that's how many in total? We have 4 sub districts. Isn't that too high of a cost? We cannot sit there without a sacrifice. That's a waste of effort. We should just give 500 thousand for their event" (interview informant H).

One thing to consider is the cultural capital in terms of the candidate's potential. This indirectly is related to *habitus* exhibited by the MP candidate. The speaking capabilities, negotiation skills and the ability to appear confident is cultural capital possessed by successful MP candidates. There has been admission by several leaders of political parties that female MP candidates have better potential than their male counterparts. Such as expressed by the leader of PKPI party of Deli Serdang, "Female

MP candidate is more active in terms of their approach to the people."

Continuing to the analysis of social capital of female MP candidates, it shows that the social capital amassed by female MP candidates is generated from self-built network and those that are built from family connection. Such as informant female MP 'D' who take advantage of her husband's network in gaining votes. Informant A utilizes social capital of her father to gain a sizable amount of votes. So in the context of this research, social capital is not necessarily come from the MP's potential to move the political machine in amassing votes and making a successful entry into politics, but also their social relation in nucleus or extended family. This is different from a political dynasty where the role of the nucleus family is providing a direct channel for political support. Female MP in this research also did not build their own network, or directly/indirectly taking advantage of the network that their husband and extended family built. This condition further strengthen their social capital position in achieving victory

Such as the case with informant D, R, H, A, HR and S where they utilize both symbolic capital from husband and extended family in further advancing social capital that has been built by them over the years. Such as with the context of subject MP 'D' who takes advantage the relations of her husband who is the head of a government office in order to get votes. This also happens with informant H, from Deli Serdang, who utilizes her husband's social capital to amass votes. Her statement further supports this, "My husband happens to be the leader of the Manurungs in Deli Serdang.. If there is a ceremony he can ask to campaign for me."

The conclusion we can draw is that *habitus* and possession of those four capitals is a basic provision for female MP in their candidacy. This is an important factor in their chosen political arena. Capital possessed by these female MPs if synergized with *habitus* within the community will reinforce their existence in the political arena of the parliament. The workings of these four capital factors synergize to secure them a seat in parliament and to do their job to voice their constituent's aspiration. Furthermore, the full support of nucleus and extended family will smoothen the process of getting a seat in parliament.

Economic capital becomes the motor of the campaign and promotion of female MP candidates. Cultural capital becomes essential in the campaign process and in drawing advocates also in improving their bargaining position in the political party. Social and symbolic capital also works in the campaign process. They use social relations of the candidates or their nucleus and extended family, related formal and personal status. The synergy these

four capitals were driver of success in getting a seat in parliament.

Economic and cultural capital obtained from exhibiting *habitus* in a societal context become and internal factor for a successful candidacy. These two forms of capital are inherent in the candidate in order to win a position in parliament. While social capital, even though it is essential for a candidate to possess, can be passed on from family connections in order to gain votes. According to that notion social and symbolic capital is an external factor that determines a candidate's success. That ends the discussion of how capital possessed by female MP candidates works in order to get a seat in parliament. This shows how economic capital have to synergize with other forms of capital and *habitus* in the arena of politics that is the parliament.

The result of the in depth interview shows that from the three factors, for the party leadership as well as the higher-up party members, the most seemingly crucial factor is the problem of funding sufficiency and high social basis. Support coming from families at the lowest level such as getting permission from their spouse or children is considered enough by the party. However, should the candidate lack funding on top the lack of basic society, the party will definitely not consider it. Furthermore, the result of the interview with both small and big parties shows the fact that there is a necessity to recruit female legislative candidate based on the guidelines from general elections commissions. This is shown by the most promising candidates according to the party are those (specifically women) that re not involved in the struggle to win it. The problem will emerge when the elected candidate of the party does not have a lot of experience with society the foundation of their involvement with the political world, because of the focuses being on whether or not the candidate has enough funding and active family support throughout the candidacy. This fact is projected by almost all of the legislative candidates from outside the party. This phenomenon is not only present with small political parties, but also big political parties that were built long ago. From all the informants, only 30% comes from their own parties or simpatico. But the criteria in order to be elected as a legislative candidate show the same as the criteria from legislative candidate that comes from outside the party. For the leader of the party and all the higher up members, potential candidates that they will elect will not be based on the effort of the party for the candidate to win, but they focused more on the objective condition of the candidate that is judged based on the aforementioned three factors, which are funding sufficiency, society basis, and the support of their family, to predict the chance of the legislative candidate to become big.

The close pattern with parties that has a significant number of female member, that they would

not need female member from outside the party to become the legislative candidate. This happens to political parties such as Golkar that has a numerous social organization under their wing. Close pattern, open pattern and semi-open pattern is when the party also searches for female member from within their party while also providing the opportunity for women outside the party to fill the process of candidacy from said party.

The three of model recruitment has become empirical facts that has been happening, therefore making it a moot effort should we see close pattern, open pattern and semi-open as a study of meritocracy or non-merit based system, just because the legislative candidate that comes from member winning process can't be differentiated with the legislative candidate from outside the party. Even if the merit system is to be assumed open pattern the non-merit system to be the close pattern as one of the indication. Legislative candidate that comes from inside the party are not guaranteed to have history of involvement with all of the party's activity. Not including the fact that membership in the party is passive and she is not stay near the constituent. For example, there is a female legislative candidate with gained support from her parents that are acting leaders in a rural area. Wealth, financial influence, as well as political influence from her father becomes very prominent towards the process of winning for the candidate. In this, the role of the father is significant in his position of a government member in a rural area to help the candidate chance to become a legislative member and the party is mostly used as a "ride" to parliamentary membership. Formally, the candidate is a administrator of the party branch, without having her stay at the same location as the branch. On the other hand, it could be said that the party get profit as result of having female legislative members and at their turn is exhibited as a party that uphold the 30% quota of females in parliament. However in this case the pattern of politic pragmatism, transactional politic becomes unavoidable. This picture is aligns with what was said by Priyanto (2012 -168/169), which is, those who uses heritage and make dynasty politic are the people that are ruining the democratic system. As if the spirit and capabilities of leadership could be passed down genetically, they claim they could become leaders of the nation solely because their predecessors had done good deed to the country. In the political party logic, support does not have to be given to the candidate that has a significant chance to lead this nation.

To the candidate that comes from within the party, we could also see the reality that even though they have become the administrator of the party for so long, but a strong basis of society is still needed. So that it could be decided by the leaders of the party to become a legislative candidate. The activity of the legislative candidate outside of their activi-

ity as an administrator party has contributed significantly towards their election as the legislative candidate of the party where they become administrator. Even though we want to see elements of initial political activity which is the factor that is shown by the activity or political experience of the candidate so far clearly insufficient and should it not be followed by their money and society basis. And thus, with the open recruitment pattern and closed does not have significant difference especially to be analyzed as a factor that contributed towards the winning of the informant. For the female legislative candidate that actually contributed significantly towards the establishing and development of the party and then support by said party so that she successfully become a legislative member, however based in the in-depth interview, it shows how the society basis has been built way before the struggle to establish and successfully run said party.

Recruitment factors theoretically said that a few influential elements such as partisan, compartmentalization, Immediate Survival, Civil service reform is still happening in the context of this research. Research shows that the open system is closely related with the merit and non-merit system. According to size of the merit system there are 4 informants that could be categorized as elected as a legislative member because of said system. On the other hand, there are 6 informants that are elected based on the non-merit system.

Patriarchal system is still inherently used as the value and practice of the Indonesian political system. In the context of this research, data shows that the situation of gender stereotype bias, marginalization, and double burden become the situation that is faced by female legislative members in political parties. Quoting from Kusumaatmadja (2007: 4) whom stated that the issue of female in politic will still face the culture of underestimating females and is not considered to be a priority issue in the general public. Women in politic have many challenges like culture and social system that make them feel in male domination in politic.

Politic masculine practice and patriarchal social structure also become empiric and sociological facts from the data of this research. A few patriarchal values issue in the situation with the concept of injustice between genders such as stereotype, subordination, marginalization, double burden, as well as family political issue (dynasty) where role of the main family such as parents and husbands becomes a supporting factor for them to transition between legislative candidate to legislative member, also her effort of females in the world of politics. Stereotype is negative labeling or marking of a certain group or gender. There are a lot of stereotyping that happens in the general public that is mostly targeted towards women that inconvenienced, limiting, poor, and harms women (Nugroho, 2008:12). In the context of female roles in the area

of parliament on two areas of research here shows that stereotype comes from various internal factors in the family that did not happen. This is shown by how all the informants stated that they got support from their husbands, fathers, children and even their whole family. Stereotype of how the political world is not a territory for women and even as an exclusively masculinity world didn't not become the ideology of these female legislative member's family. The legislative candidates even admit to feeling no guilt for being active in the political world because they have support from their husbands, fathers, children, and even their whole family. Not to mention that most of the big legislative members' children are relatively in their teenage years, while the other two legislative members informants are unmarried, therefore mooting the child abandonment stereotype in this context.

The statements made by the party leader and the female legislative members shows that subordination is still the context that is happening in their political participation in the parliament. Most importantly how male legislative members are ahead of the female legislative members in stating opinions and strategy (admitted by the informants B, M, A, J, and H). The emphasis on male domination as super-ordinations, we can see from the statement below:

Male legislative are still dominant and more ahead of the female legislative members if female legislative members are hesitant on spending money that means they are not royal, it could be because the female legislative members are dependent on financial support from their husbands. And then in term of socialization men are able to do 24 hour, while women are inconvenienced by domestic responsibility and held back by their husbands approval. Even when it is acknowledged that women are superior on terms of sensitivity, and when handling women's issue, they will be more fitting while men have more of a supporting role. (Result of the interview with informant A)

## Conclusion

30% women quota is pathway for women to thrive in politics, but the success of women in politics in the two areas in this research show little promise that women could fulfill the 30% quota in parliament. Cooptation of patriarchy system still permeates the selection process of prospective women legislative members to become legislative members. Patriarchy value is degrading in terms of the study of women politic. 30% women quota policy can act as an important factor to boost women numbers and role in parliament. Patriarchy value become an inherent part and come to terms with the evolution of system that allow female member of the family to enter politic. Patriarchy value has a justice component particularly in household not so much in polit-

ical party. The practice of patriarchy value still is male dominant based on this research.

The merit system is actually supported by legislative members performing habitus that relates to social activities. There is a strong correlation between that condition and other social capitalism. This is the foundation to enter the political arena with that practice. The merit system recruitment and the non merit system do in fact need capital and habitus in political arena. The synergy from economic capitalism, social capitalism and symbolic capitalism exist in nuclear and distance family, with the cultural capitalism possessed by women legislative members create a strong foundation for successful nomination for women candidate.

Finally, even though the merit system has yet to become dominant in the recruitment pattern, when this merit system exist and play a significant role in determining the success of prospective members in becoming fulltime members, this is a satisfactory condition. There need to be constant improvement on social capability in several forms of capitalism, habitus in civil society for the elected women legislative members. This also applies to other women in society that aspire to enter politics and parliament in future time. The loosening of patriarchy system in household, habitus in civil society, and the capitalism possessed by women candidate enable them to compete to win legislative seats. This can strengthen the candidacy of prospective women legislative members in a merit system.

According to Ani Soetjipto (Women Journal 31, 27) the common rule and masculine politic logic permeating the political party still dictate the recruitment and promotion of members based on nepotism through networking, economic capitals, affiliation to certain area, affiliation to certain religious group or popularity. These conditions still largely affected the recruitment process, but when habitus of prospective women legislative members in civil society become a recruitment factor in the merit system. Gradually, in the future there will improvement in the number of prospective women legislative members that have civil society root, so the merit system will be strengthen. Of course this will significantly impact the quality of the 30% women quota that does not stop only on quantity but also the ability to successfully recruit women legislative members that care about social issues or even the gender bias issue, hence they are expected to perform well once they are in parliament.

### Acknowledgement

Writers would like to thank the Almighty God for giving us opportunity and such fortune to collaboratively write this paper. We also would like to extent our gratitude and thank to Kemeristek Dikti Indonesia for Financials supporting, University of North Sumatera, Social and Politi-

cal Science Faculty University of North Sumatera. Department of Sociology, as well as the Institute for Research (LP USU), University of Sumatera Utara for facilitating us to conduct research as well as attending the conference. For all informants and all field team we would like say thank you.

### References

- Bystydzienski, Jill, 1992, *Women Transforming Politic*, Bloomington, Indiana University,
- Bogdan, Robert dan Steven J. Taylor 1985 : *Pengantar Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* , Penerbit Usaha, Surabaya,
- Budiharjo, Miriam, 1992, *Dasar – Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta, PT. Gramedia,
- Bungin, Burhan, 2007, *Metode Kualitatif*, Kencana, Jakarta,
- Fakih, Mansour, 1997, *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta
- Fashri, Fauzi, 2014, *Pierre Bourdieu Menyingkap Kuasa Simbol*, Jalasutra, Jogjakarta
- Febriasih, Happy Budi dkk (edt), 2008, *Gender dan Demokrasi*, Averroes Press, Malang,
- Hadiz, Liza (edt), 2004, *Perempuan dalam Wacana Politik Orde Baru, Pilihan Artikel Prisma LP3ES*, Jakarta, 2004
- Handayani, Trisakti dan Sugiati, 2008, *Konsep dan Teknik Penelitian Gender edisi Revisi*, UPT Penerbitan Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Haryatmoko, 2016, *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian Pemikiran Kritis Post-Struktualis*, Kanisius, Jogjakarta
- Hasibuan, Aziarni, 2009 *Perempuan Harus Berjuang Makin Gigih*, harian Waspada 17 Maret 2009.
- Humaidah, Lisa Noor, 2012, *Affirmative action dan Dampak Keterlibatan Perempuan: Sebuah Refeksi*, Jurnal Perempuan 75.
- Inglehart, Ronald dan Norris, Pippa: (2003), *Rising Tide: Gender Equality & Cultural Around the World*.
- Karam, Azza, dkk 1999 *Perempuan di Parlemen ; Bukan Sekedar Jumlah, Bukan Sekedar Hiasan*, penerjemah Arya Wisesa dan Widjanarko, YJP, Jakarta
- Kusumaatmadja, Sarwono (editor), 2007, *Politik dan Perempuan*, Penerbit Koekoesan, Depok.
- Miles, Matthew B dan Michael B. Huberman, 1984, *Qualitative Data Analysis : A source of New Methods*. Sage Publication, London.
- Nahiyah Jaidi Faras, 2003, *Affirmative Action dan Peran Perempuan di Ranah Politik Menyongsong Pemilu 2004*, Tesis Pusat Studi Wanita, Universitas Negeri Jogja
- Nugroho, Rian, 2008, *Gender dan Strategi Pengarusutamaan di Indonesia*, Pustaka Pelajar, Jogjakarta
- Pambudy, Ninuk Mardiana, 2009. *Keputusan MK Meluaskan Jangkauan Ke Luar Zona Aman*, Harian Kompas, 30 Maret 2009.
- Pierre, Bourdieu, 2010, *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, Kreasi Wacana, Jogjakarta
- Ricklander, Louise, 1993 *Women and Politics* dalam Jenny Firth-Cozens and Michael A West (eds), *Women at Work: Psychological and Organizational Perspective*(Philadelphia: Open University Press,



- Sarantakos, 1993, *Social Research*, Melbourne University Press,
- Shanti, Budi, *Kuota Perempuan Dalam Parlemen, Jalan Menuju Kesetaraan Politik* Jurnal Perempuan No. 19
- Scott, A, McEwen, 1986, *Women In Industrialization : Examining The Female Marginalisation Thesis*. The Journal of Development Studies 22.4
- Subono, Nur Iman., 2003 *Perempuan dan Partisipasi Politik* , Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan dan The Japan Foundation Indonesia ( JFI), Jakarta
- Suyanto, Bagong (edt), dan Amal, M. Khusna, 2010, *Anatomi dan Perkembangan Teori Sosial*, Adytia Media Publishing, Malang
- Soejipto, Ani, 2005, *Politik Perempuan Bukan Gerhana*, Jakarta, PT. Gramedia, *Undang – Undang Pemilu : Implikasinya Untuk Perempuan*,
- Surbakti, Ramlan, 1992, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta, PT. Gramedia,
- Tan, Mely G, 1995, *Perempuan Dan Pemberdayaan* (Makalah dalam Kongres Ikatan Sosiologi Indonesia (ISI)), Ujung Pandang.
- W, Dorothy dan Tony Bernay, 1999, *Women In Power, Perempuan dalam Kekuasaan Politik*, Jakarta, , PT. Gramedia
- Wharton, Amy S, *The Sociology of Gender*, Blackwell Publishing, Australia, 2005
- Panduan Pelaksana INPRES nomor 9 Tahun 2000, tentang *Pengarusutamaan Gender Dalam Pembangunan Nasional*, Kementrian Pemberdayaan Perempuan.
- Women Journal* No. 19, Penerbit Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, 2001
- Women Journal* No 75, Penerbit Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, 2012
- Women journal* No 81, Penerbit Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, 2014