POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: A LITERATURE REVIEW AND FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Rini Archda Saputri[1], Mada Sukmajati[1] and Desintha Dwi Asriani[2]
[1]Departemen Politik dan Pemerintahan, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada
[2]Departemen Sosiologi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada
Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta, Indonesia 55281
Email: riniardhasaputri@gmail.com; madasukmajati@gmail.com; desintha@ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT. Over the past twenty-five years, gender and politics scholars have engaged in extensive theoretical and empirical discussions about women's political representation. This article provides a comprehensive literature review of these studies. This study is divided into three themes: descriptive representation of women, substantive representation of women, and the correlation between descriptive and substantive representation of women. The literature review method is carried out by exploring and compiling studies on women's political representation from various countries, classifying them based on specific topics, and mapping out what has been explored in these studies. The results of the study show that most of the research on women's political representation is in the realm of women's descriptive representation, which generally discusses the factors that affect the level of women's political representation, obstacles and challenges in women's political representation and the strategies used by women candidates in electoral politics. Meantime, studies on women's substantive representation still need to be explored, especially in the context of countries in Asia, especially Indonesia. Then, studies on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women show two debate patterns. Some experts believe a positive correlation exists between increasing the number of women's representation and its substantive effect. Some others find no correlation between the descriptive and substantive representations of women.

Keywords: Representation of Women; Descriptive Representation; Substantive Representation

ABSTRAK. Selama dua puluh lima tahun terakhir, para ahli gender dan politik telah terlibat dalam diskusi teoretis dan empiris yang ekstensif tentang representasi politik perempuan. Artikel ini memberikan tinjauan literatur yang komprehensif tentang studi tersebut. Kajian ini dibagi menjadi tiga tema: representasi deskriptif perempuan, representasi substantif perempuan, dan korelasi antara representasi deskriptif dan substantif perempuan. Metode kajian literatur dilakukan dengan menelusuri dan menghimpun studi-studi terkait representasi politik perempuan dari berbagai negara, mengklasifikasikannya berdasarkan topik spesifik, dan memetakan apa yang sudah dieksplorasi dalam studi tersebut. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa sebagian besar penelitian tentang representasi politik perempuan ada pada ranah representasi deskriptif perempuan, yang pada umumnya membahas mengenai faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi tingkat keterwakilan politik perempuan, hambatan dan tantangan dalam keterwakilan politik perempuan, dan strategi-strategi yang digunakan kandidat perempuan dalam politik elektoral. Sedangkan, kajian tentang representasi substantif perempuan masih kurang dieksplorasi terutama untuk konteks negara-negara di Asia, khususnya Indonesia. Kemudian, studi tentang hubungan antara representasi deskriptif dan substantif perempuan menunjukkan dua pola perdebatan. Sebagian ahli meyakini bahwa terdapat korelasi positif antara peningkatan jumlah perwakilan perempuan dengan efek substantifnya. Sebagian yang lain menemukan bahwa tidak terdapat korelasi antara representasi deskriptif dan substantif perempuan.

Kata kunci: Representasi Perempuan; Representasi Deskriptif; Representasi Substantif

INTRODUCTION

The study of women's involvement in politics has received considerable attention since the beginning of the twentieth century. In general, studies related to this topic have also been carried out by many researchers and academics with very diverse substances in countries worldwide. However, the literature needs to comprehensively review the development of studies in the field of women's political representation globally, what has been explored, what has been under-explored and has yet to be explored. Tracing the studies that have been carried out on this topic is very important to do in order to map what issues have been discussed and have yet to be discussed on the topic of women's political representation and how research findings from various countries are discussed among themselves.

This article surveys the literature on women's political representation in countries worldwide and discusses the findings. The author categorizes studies on women's political representation into three groups: studies on women's descriptive representation, studies on women's substantive representation, and studies assessing the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representations.

As defined by Pitkin, representation is interpreted as "presenting something that is not present" (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin identifies four types of representation: formalistic representation, descriptive representation, symbolic representation, and substantive representation (acting for). *Formalistic representation* is a person›s authority to act (Pitkin,

1967). It means that he (the representative) has been given the right to act, which he did not previously have, while the person represented is responsible for the consequences of that action as if he had done it himself. According to the formalistic view, the essence of representation is the delegation or granting of authority.

Descriptive representation refers to the extent to which representatives "resemble" those they represent. In the case of women's political representation, the 30 percent quota and temporary affirmative action policies are examples of how to encourage and promote women to represent women (Soetjipto, 2011). In the perspective of descriptive representation, what matters is presence; a female parliamentarian represents women simply by their presence (Tremblay, 1998).

Symbolic representation is similar to descriptive representation; both 'stand for' but are different because descriptive representation is based on the similarity of characteristics between the representative and the person being represented, while symbolic representation is more about the emotional connection and belief that is built that a representative is their symbolic representative. Symbolic representation does not emphasize the similarity of characteristics between symbols and their preferences; those who represent and those who are represented may differ in characteristics. Applying the symbolic representation of "*standing for*" is static in political life. He is not the real active force behind policy but a mere agent, so he can easily be used as a symbol, for example, an ambassador.

Next is the *substantive representation* ("*acting for*"). In "*acting for*" representation, a representative must act in the interests of his constituents. The substance of representation is "safeguarding the interests" of constituents. It implies that representatives may stay within the wishes of their constituents. However, this prohibition does not mean that representatives must always act according to the wishes of their constituents. Quite the contrary: leadership, emergency action, and action on issues unknown to the people are some essential realities of representative government. It is not a deviation from accurate representation but its essence. The representative's task is to do what is best for the constituents' interests, not just what the constituents want.

Representation as a substantive act suggests that representatives act in the interests of those represented in a manner that is responsive to them. That is, the representative must act independently; his actions must involve wisdom and judgment; he must be a man of action. On the other hand, it must also be responsive. That is, the representative must act in such a way that there is no conflict; if it does, an explanation is required. He must not constantly conflict with the desires represented without good reason regarding their interests. He must be responsive to public opinion and responsible (Pitkin, 1967).

This article focuses on two dimensions of representation: descriptive and substantive representation of women. In addition, this study also reviews the results of research from various countries on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women. The discussion in this paper will be divided into three parts: studies related to women's descriptive representation, studies related to women's substantive representation and studies examining the relationship between women's descriptive and substantive representations.

First, study on women's descriptive representation explores matters related to the presence of women in politics, such as factors that affect women's electability rates, challenges to women's political representation, and strategies women candidates use to increase their chances of being elected. Many studies in this field have been carried out, both globally and in the Indonesian context (see Aspinall et al., 2021; Budi et al., 2021; Dassonneville & Mcallister, 2018; Hughes, 2011; Kabullah & Fajri, 2021; Mahsun et al., 2021; McDonagh, 2010; Ni'mah, 2021; Novadona Bayo, 2021; Paxton & Kunovich, 2003a; Prihatini, 2019; Sanbonmatsu, 2003a; Sandra Amalia et al., 2021; Smith et al., 2012; Stockemer, 2015; Tremblay, 2007) Kenworthy and Malami, 1999.

Second, the study of women's substantive representation. Studies in this field explore ways of realizing women's substantive representation and analyze the factors that influence the realization of women's substantive representation (see (Beckwith & Cowell, 2007; Celis, n.d.; Celis & Childs, 2008, 2012; Celis & Erzeel, 2015; Chaney, 2016; Cohen Bell & Rosenthal, 2003; Curtin, 2008; Erzeel & Celis, 2016; Gwiazda, 2021; Lowande et al., 2019a, 2019b; Mendelberg et al., 2014; Ojha, n.d.; Osborn, 2014; Sanbonmatsu, 2002a; Sawer, 2012; Swers, 2005; Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000a; Weldon, 2002) Galligan, 2005; Gusta & Madera, 2016). However, so far, most research in this area has been carried out in countries such as America, Europe, Australia and India (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020) while in the Asian context, research in this area has been under-explored

Third, studies examined the relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women. Within this realm, researchers typically ask whether increased numbers of female representatives (women's descriptive representation)

result in increased attention to women's policy issues (women's substantive representation) (see (Campbell et al., 2010; Childs, n.d., 2006; Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020; Reingold, 1992; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005; Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000a; Vega & Firestone, 1995; Xydias, 2007) Tremblay, 1998; Ross, 2002; Childs and Whitey, 2004; (Wängnerud, 2009); Wiener, 2022).

METHODS

The literature review process that we conducted to collect research related to women's political representation is reported in Figure 1. To survey the pertinent literature sources, we executed a search on both Scopus Elsevier and JSTOR; the insclusion criteria are reported in the figure. These searches were aimed at retrieving the scientific papers that had been published in the indexed journals over the last 30 years.

In doing so, we classified the research based on three categories; research related to the descriptive representation of women, research related to the substantive representation of women, and research that examines the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women.
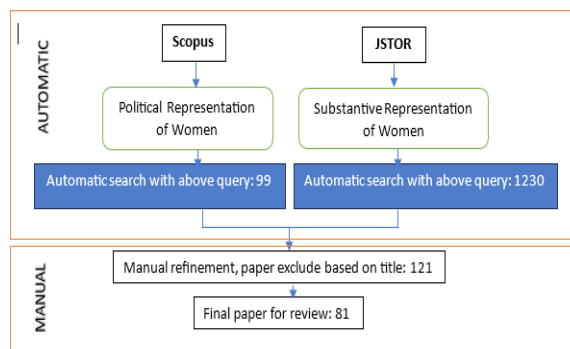
Figure 1

Figure 1. The workflow of search and selection of papers. The syntax of the queries differs for the two search engines used, but the search terms are the same for both the searches. The queries were last executed on Maret 2022.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Studies on Descriptive Representation of Women

Study on women's descriptive representation explores matters related to the presence of women in politics, such as factors that affect women's electability rates, challenges to women's political representation, and strategies women candidates use to increase their chances of being elected. Many studies in this field have been carried out, both globally and in the Indonesian context.

Factors Influencing the Level of Women's political representation

One of the studies that are pretty comprehensive in assessing the factors that determine women's electability in politics was conducted by Lane Kenworthy and Melissa Malami (1999). The research was carried out using the cross-national variation method with more complete variables and a more comprehensive sample of countries than previous studies related to this topic. This research examines the factors that influence women's political representation in 146 countries across Europe, Africa and Asia. The results of this study found that several important factors determine the electability of women in politics: namely political and socio-economic factors, the structure of the electoral system, left-party government, the share of women in professional work, and cultural attitudes towards women's role in politics.

This research shows results that are significantly different from previous studies, which emphasize that only political, socio-economic, and cultural factors are essential factors that determine the level of women's electability. These findings are confirmed by several other studies, which found that women's participation in the workforce does affect the level of representation of women (Stockemer, 2015) and the political characteristics of society are one of the critical determinants that influence women's electability (Smith et al., 2012).

Further contributions were added by research conducted by Paxton and Kunovich. Paxton & Kunovich (2003b) conducted a cross-national statistical study to measure ideology as a structural and political factor influencing women's participation in politics. The research shows that when properly measured, ideology is highly predictive of women's political representation. The research emphasizes that the state's gender ideology dramatically influences the number of women in the national legislature. Furthermore, the level of women's electability in politics is also determined by the political knowledge of women voters. Sanbonmatsu (2003b) says that women will be more supportive in choosing more women to serve if they have the same knowledge as men about the lack of female representation. Here, women's knowledge and awareness about the importance of women's representation plays a vital role in determining the number of women elected to parliament. The results of this study align with research conducted by Dassonneville & Mcallister (2018), who also found that women's political knowledge will impact women's presence in parliament.

In addition, the country's democratic experience also plays an essential role in determining the level of

representation of women in politics. Tremblay (2007) that the proportion of women in parliament highly depends on the country's democratic experience. In countries with relatively short democratic experiences, plurality and voting systems were found to be factors influencing the proportion of women in parliament. However, for countries with an established democracy, the egalitarian conception of gender roles determines and influences the proportion of women's presence in parliament.

Another factor that influences women's presence in parliament is policy support for women. Ellen McDonagh (2010) explains that policy support dramatically determines the level of women's presence in parliament. In her research conducted in America, Eilen (2010) explained that equal rights alone are not enough to ensure equal access to political office. Policy support is needed for women to increase their political representation, however Hughes (2011) stated that the quota policy for women – a form of manifestation of policy support for women – had not significantly impacted increasing women's electability. Research conducted on 300 racial, ethnic and religious groups in 81 countries shows that although quotas are ostensibly designed to promote diversity and inclusivity, the quota policy has not significantly impacted increasing women's electability in national legislatures.

For the Indonesian context, the factor that was found to have contributed significantly to the increase in the number of women's representation in parliament was the kinship relationship between female candidates and heads of local government and other politicians who were entrenched in local power structures (political dynasties). Budi et al., (2021) found that 44% of women in the Indonesian national parliament for the 2019-2024 period came from political dynasties. It is not uncommon for political parties to nominate women from dynasties in constituencies and incumbent women to increase the party's chances of winning one or more seats in these electoral districts. In such cases, it is not uncommon for incumbents to lose their seats and be replaced by candidates from the dynasty. Ultimately, in these constituencies, the number of women elected remains the same, and seats only pass from seasoned female politicians to newcomers, who often have no credentials other than their family ties (Budi et al., 2021).

In addition to the dynastic political factor, simultaneous elections (presidential and legislative elections that were held simultaneously) were also found to influence the increase in the electability of women's legislative candidates in Indonesia. Sandra Amalia et al. (2021) found that simultaneous elections (presidential and legislative elections that were held simultaneously) increased the electability of women's legislative candidates. Simultaneous elections help women legislative candidates by facilitating access to voters who support one of the presidential candidates but still need to decide which legislative candidate they will vote for. Instead of burdening female candidates, simultaneous elections help them (Sandra Amalia et al., 2021).

Obstacles and Challenges in Women's political representation

There are still significant challenges to women's political representation. In Indonesia, recent studies have shown that the most significant challenges to women's political representation are widespread patriarchal attitudes and religious fundamentalism (Aspinall et al., 2021). Although institutional interventions have proven effective in increasing women's political participation, ideological barriers limit women's participation, even before women become candidates. The widespread and ingrained patriarchal culture in most Indonesians' thoughts and attitudes has become a significant obstacle to women's political participation. Apart from that, Islamic political thought is another significant obstacle preventing women from participating in politics (Aspinall et al., 2021). However, Ella Prihatini (2019) argues that Islamic ideology needs to be more explicit in limiting women's participation in legislative elections because Islamic and pluralist parties do an equally good job of recruiting women and placing them in the first sequence (Prihatini, 2019)

The next thing that also becomes a challenge in increasing women's political representation is the electoral system that runs in Indonesia. Research conducted by Azza Karam (2002) revealed that the current electoral system is unfavourable for women's electability. Ani Soetjipto (2011) also revealed that providing affirmative action for women in politics in the form of implementing a 30% quota for female legislative candidates and imposing a "zipper system", which was intended to increase women's political representation became less effective when the electoral system was running is an open proportional model. Prihatini (2019) added that an election system with an open proportional model (open list system) is considered a challenge for women's political representation. This case is because women have to compete freely with men while most have little access to financial resources (Prihatini, 2019).

In addition, the role of political parties also determines the representation of women in politics. Research by Endang Sulastri (2017) found that affirmation policies through party quotas as an effort to reduce discrimination were not strong enough

because parties controlled by oligarchs and women who implemented quotas had to compete in a procedural democracy that was very liberalistic.

The Strategy of female candidates in electoral politics

The means used by female legislative candidates to overcome these challenges are usually to use 'homosocial' capital (targeting women voters and leveraging women's networks) and relying on the political and financial resources of (usually male) relatives (Aspinall et al., 2021). Female candidates can gain strategic advantages when they "execute themselves as women" by leveraging women's networks and focusing on gender issues to target women voters (Mahsun et al., 2021). Thus, women candidates can overcome cultural, institutional, and structural barriers to achieve electoral success despite needing more resources and political connections.

Meanwhile, Kabullah & Fajri (2021) discuss the electoral victory by the wife of the regional head, who relied on the 'neo-mothers of the state' mode. In their research focused on West Sumatra, Ichsan and Fajri found that the wives of regional heads who won legislative victories in West Sumatra not only relied on their husbands' political resources to win but they also used various political networks to reach voters in a way that emphasized their own traditional gender roles and political institutions.

Despite the emphasis on male domination and dynastic power in much of the literature on Indonesian politics, the agency and persistence of female candidates have also proven to be a way for grassroots women to find their way to victory. Research conducted by Novadona Bayo (2021) highlights a sharp increase in the number of women elected in the Province of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Her research suggests that this increase is related to the remarkable persistence of women candidates in building their political skills and reputation. The results of this study confirm that there is still a path to power for women that comes from the grassroots amidst all the obstacles, challenges, and limited resources, that is, with her tenacity.

Another strategy female candidates use in electoral politics to increase their chances of being elected is to carry out political imagery by adjusting their hijab style. Through an in-depth study of female candidates running for legislative seats in the Cilacap Regency in the 2019 Pilkada in Indonesia, Ni'mah (2021) analyzes the political meaning of the hijab style chosen by the candidates as part of their political imagery. In particular, he distinguished between ideological and instrumental use of the veil. Her research shows that while some candidates wear a particular headscarf style to convey a broad ideological vision of Indonesia's future, others are much more instrumental in their use. Women's legislative candidates adjust their hijab style to increase their election chances (Ni'mah, 2021).

Studies on Women's Substantive Representation

Substantive Representation of Women (after this referred to as SRW) is acting to represent women's issues, interests and needs in a way that is responsive to them (Pitkin, 1967). Most studies implicitly assume that the purpose of SRW is to take steps to empower – or at least improve –women's lives as a group (Celis et al., n.d.). Women's substantive representation in parliament can be examined from a process or outcome perspective: the former refers to speaking on behalf of women and raising women's issues during parliamentary debates, legislative proceedings, and question-and-answer times; the latter refers to laws passed that reflect women's concerns (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008 in Gwiazda, 2021). The indicators in SRW are responsiveness, policy results, and the alignment of attitudes of women's representatives and women in society (Lovenduski, 2007).

The traditional approach in the literature assumes that only women can substantively represent women (Celis et al., n.d.). This is because women are considered 'different' in several ways from men (See Cowell-Meyers, 2001). The core assumption in the approach is that numbers matter; "increased descriptive representation of women in parliament – even automatically – translates into an increased substantive representation of women's policy issues (Celis et al., n.d.). However, in developing studies, many factors were found to play an essential role in realizing women's substantive representation. These studies generally explore the substantive representation of women from the perspectives of actors, institutionalists, and social movements.

Actor Approach

Research conducted by Tremblay & Pelletier (2000) found that the best strategy for representing women descriptively and substantively is to choose women who are feminists. In their research, Tremblay and Pelletier said that to achieve substantive representation of women, what needs to be emphasized is the presence of women who are feminists, not just women. This is because feminist awareness has a more significant influence on opinions related to gender issues (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000b). Curtin (2008) also revealed that descriptive representation of women alone is not enough to achieve substantive representation of women; the political role of women activists is needed. In these studies, it is implied that to realize substantive representation of women,

'representing activity' or 'acting for' is required, not just being present. This was reaffirmed through research conducted by Celis & Childs (2008), which argued for the importance of critical actors in the substantive representation of women. Critical actors mobilize individual and collective campaigns for women-friendly policy change: they initiate policy proposals, even when women are a small minority, and encourage others to take bold steps to promote policies for women. Regardless of the proportion of women's representation, women's substantive representation can be achieved with the presence of critical actors. In the substantive representation of women, the most important thing is the existence of critical actors, perhaps not even women (Celis & Childs, 2008).

In addition, the characteristics of representatives (interest, expertise, supportive status) and their autonomy also determine whether women's substantive representation is realized in Parliament. This is because the characteristics of representatives influence their behaviour (Cohen Bell & Rosenthal, 2003). Women's substantive representation will be realized when representatives have the resources, interests, expertise, and supporting status to act substantively to fight for the women's policy agenda. When these conditions are less than optimal, substantive representation will not occur (Cohen Bell & Rosenthal, 2003). Furthermore, other studies add that women's representation can be more substantive when they gain access to strategic positions of power, especially if they are part of the majority party ((Mendelberg et al., 2014; Swers, 2005).

Institutional Approach

In other studies, especially those looking from an institutional perspective, institutional factors were found to be factors that had a significant influence on women's substantive representation. Research conducted by Sawer (2012) found that institutional factors or parliament support the realization of women's substantive representation apart from critical actors and critical points. The case studies in the research demonstrate the role of gender-focused parliamentary institutions in providing a safe space for politicians to meet across parties and engage with external constituencies, enabling networks and trust to grow. That can be a significant leverage for the realization of women's substantive representation compared to the ability of the individual legislators, however, committed the individual may be. Establishing such a parliamentary institution has an independent significance for advancing the agenda after critical actors have moved on (Sawer, 2012).

Next, Cohen Bell & Rosenthal (2003) have also explored how institutional factors influence and limit

the contribution of women legislators to carry out their substantive representation on women's issues. This research reveals that when there is no institutional support for the struggle for women's substantive representation, substantive representation will not occur (Cohen Bell & Rosenthal, 2003). Research by S. Lauren Weldon (2002) also found that to achieve a more substantive representation of women, the role of women's policy institutions was considered more effective than the presence of women's representatives. The research was conducted in 36 democratic countries in 1994 and found that women's policy institutions and movements can provide a more effective way to mobilize women's perspectives than women's presence in legislatures.

Furthermore, other studies look at political parties' role and influence on women's substantive representation. Research conducted by Sanbonmatsu (2002b) found that political parties play an essential role in whether or not a substantive representation of women is realized. Political parties control what kind of women are recruited and elected (Sanbonmatsu, 2002b). Furthermore, Osborn (2014) adds that political parties can increase or hinder the efforts of women legislators through control over legislative and ideological structures.

The Women's Movement Approach

The following perspective is from the women's movement. The women's movement or the role of civil society (an aspect that has so far been rarely explored) played a significant role in realizing women's substantive representation, especially in advancing policy (Chaney, 2016). The role of the women's movement is considered more effective than the presence of women's representatives (Weldon, 2002). This case is because demands from interest groups are considered to make women's representation in parliament more active (substantive) (Cohen Bell & Rosenthal, 2003). Therefore, to achieve substantive representation of women, the relationship between women parliamentarians and women's organizations must be strong and cohesive so that the building of coalitions around the women's rights agenda can be substantial (Clavero, 2005).

Next, apart from the perspective of actors, institutionalists/ institutionalists, and movements, research conducted by Suman Ojha. Ojha, n.d. found that to achieve substantive representation of women, increasing descriptive representation will not have any impact unless there is a change in political culture and substantive policy agendas. So, changing the political culture and policy agenda in a more substantive direction is more important than simply increasing the presence of women. Meanwhile, recent research from (Gwiazda, 2021) sheds light on

an issue often overlooked in the scientific literature on women and politics, namely gender representation. He found that gender representation is an important aspect that can explain the substantive representation of women.

Study of the relationship between Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women

Studies on the relationship between women's descriptive representation (being women's representatives) and women's substantive representation (representing women's issues, interests, needs, and desires) have long been debated among scholars of gender and politics (Carroll, 2001; Young, 2000; Celis et al., n.d.; Phillips, 2003). Researchers usually ask whether increasing the number of female representatives (women's descriptive representation) increases attention to women's policy issues (women's substantive representation). There is debate in this study. Some studies claim a relationship exists between the descriptive and substantive representations of women. Some other studies have revealed that there is no relationship between the two.

In general, feminist literature suggests a relationship between descriptive and substantive representations of women, although not automatically (Childs & Krook, 2009). Feminist political theory, particularly the 'politics of presence' literature, links descriptive representation (representative of women) and substantive representation (representing women's issues, interests, needs, and desires). Of course, there are no guarantees, but it is argued that female representatives who share gender experiences are more likely to act for women than male representatives (Dovi, 2009; Phillips, 2003) Masbridge, 1999; Celis & Childs, 2012). In this case, the sex of the representatives is an essential factor influencing how they act – in the sense that women's gender can be an enabling factor in women's substantive representation (Phillips, 2003).

Several studies confirm this view. Several studies have found that women make a difference in parliament (Sarah Childs & Julie Withey, 2004). They can influence the implementation of politics in parliament and the policy agenda itself (Ross, 2002). The presence of women in parliament increases attention to women's issues because they speak more frequently and substantively in policy debates related to women's interests (Xydias, 2007). Women politicians also contribute to strengthening the position of women's interests (Wängnerud, 2009). Women legislators cause different impacts on political and legislative behavior (Wiener, 2022).

Data generally associate increased women's representation with a higher tendency for women legislators to introduce and pass priority bills addressing women's issues (Thomas, 1991; (Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005). Cross-country studies show that women's representation positively correlates with promoting women-friendly policies (Kittilson, 2008). Weeks (2017) shows how the increase in the fraction of female legislators after the introduction of gender quotas in various European countries positively correlates with policies that promote maternal employment. As the number of women in politics increases, women have more opportunities to advance their priorities, and the effect of women's representation on policy outcomes becomes more visible (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020).

However, there are not a few studies results that contradict and significantly undermine the notion that women's descriptive representation is positively correlated with their substantive representation. Campbell et al. (2010), in their study "*Do Women Need Women Representatives?*" found that an increase in women's descriptive representation had negative implications for their substantive representation. Suppose men and women have different attitudes at the mass level, which are reproduced among the political elite. In that case, the representation of women numerically may harm women's substantive representation (Campbell et al., 2010)

Meanwhile, Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler (2005) stated that the correlation between descriptive and substantive representations is minimal, even less than predicted by theory. Women make a difference, but not significantly (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000a). Several studies have stated that there is no difference in the style and behavior of male and female politicians (see Campbell et al., 2010; Childs, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005; Tremblay, 2000)

Other theoretical contributions come from the political economy literature. One of the most prominent theoretical contributions in the political economy literature suggests that the personal characteristics of officials are not crucial for policy choices (Downs, 1957 in Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020). The median voter theory predicts politicians are flocking to policies that can secure them in the next election. Left and right, black and white, women and men, and politicians unite on a policy platform independent of personal characteristics. In a world where this theory holds, gender is irrelevant to policy (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020).

CONCLUSION

In general, studies on women's political representation have been carried out by researchers and academics in various countries with diverse substances. The findings of these studies are also very diverse and often produce

very contrasting scientific discourses. The various findings in studies on women's representation are inseparable from the context of the research conducted in various countries with different democratic practices. This is because empirical democracy is a complex, heterogeneous and multifaceted phenomenon (Tremblay, 2007), which has significant implications for the descriptive and substantive representation of women (London, 2020). Moreover, parliaments are shaped by the nature of the country, the party system, and the political culture they originate (Salih, 2005). Consequently, an analysis that purports to understand the presence of women in parliament should refrain from applying the indicators uniformly to all countries, where the reality is very different (Tremblay, 2007). There are still enormous opportunities to explore studies on women's substantive representation, especially in the context of countries in Asia and especially Indonesia. Studies on women's substantive representation are still limited to some developed countries such as the United States, several European countries, Australia and India. The apparent path for future research is to gather evidence from other countries.

REFERENCES

Aspinall, E., White, S., & Savirani, A. (2021). Women's Political Representation in Indonesia: Who Wins and How?. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. 40, (1).

Beckwith, K., & Cowell, K. (2007). *Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation*. *5,*(3), 553–565. https://doi.org/10.1017/Si53759270707154X

Budi, S., Wardani, E., & Subekti, V.S. (2021). Political Dynasties and Women Candidates in Indonesia's 2019 Election. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. 40,(1).

Campbell, R., Childs, S., & Lovenduski, J. (2010). Do women need women representatives? *British Journal of Political Science*, *40,*(1), 171–194. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123409990408

Celis, K. (n.d.). *Substantive Representation of Women (and improving it). What is and should it be about?*

Celis, K., & Childs, S. (2008). Introduction: The descriptive and substantive representation of women: New directions. In *Parliamentary Affairs*. 61,(3), 419–425. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsn006

Celis, K., & Childs, S. (2012). The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims? *Political Studies*, *60,*(1), 213–225. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00904.x

Celis, K., Childs, S., Kantola, J., & Krook, M.L. (n.d.). *"Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation."*

Celis, K., & Erzeel, S. (2015). *Beyond the Usual Suspects*. *50,*(1), 45–64. https://doi.org/10.2307/26350362

Chaney, P. (2016). Gendered political space: civil society, contingency theory, and the substantive representation of women. *Journal of Civil Society*, *12,*(2), 198–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2016.1178964

Childs, S. (n.d.). *Women and British Party Politics: Descriptive Substantive and Symbolic Representation*.

Childs, S. (2006). The complicated relationship between sex, gender and the substantive representation of women. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *13,*(1), 7–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806060003

Childs, S., & Krook, M.L. (2009). Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors. *Government and Opposition*, *44,*(2), 125–145. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2009.01279.x

Cohen Bell, L., & Rosenthal, C.S. (2003). From Passive to Active Representation: The Case of Women Congressional Staff. In *Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART* 13, (1). https://about.jstor.org/terms

Curtin, J. (2008). Women, political leadership and substantive representation: The case of New Zealand. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *61,*(3), 490–504. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsn014

Dassonneville, R., & Mcallister, I. (2018). Gender, Political Knowlede, and Descriptive Representation: The Impact of Long-Term Socialization. *American Journal of Political Science*, *62,*(2), 249–265. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/PL2XFD

Dovi, S. (2009). In praise of exclusion. *Journal of Politics*, *71,*(3), 1172–1186. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381609090951

Erzeel, S., & Celis, K. (2016). Political parties, ideology and the substantive representation of women. *Party Politics*, *22,*(5), 576–586. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068816655561

Gwiazda, A. (2021). Analysing the "what" and "when" of women's substantive representation: the role of right-wing populist party ideology. *East European Politics*, *37*,(4), 681–701. https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2021.1873775

Hessami, Z., & da Fonseca, M.L. (2020). Female political representation and substantive effects on policies: A literature review. *European Journal of Political Economy*, *63*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101896

Hughes, M.M. (2011). Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide. In *Source: The American Political Science Review.* 105,(3).

Kabullah, M.I., & Fajri, M.N. (2021). Neo-Ibuism in Indonesian Politics: Election Campaigns of Wives of Regional Heads in West Sumatra in 2019. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.* 40, (1).

Lowande, K., Bishin, B., Butler, D., Coronel, J., Macdonald, J., Merolla, J., Newman, B., & Shah, S. (2019a). Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress: Evidence from 80,000 Congressional Inquiries 0 O. *American Journal of Political Science*, *63*,(3), 644–659. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VJLVYU

Lowande, K., Bishin, B., Butler, D., Coronel, J., Macdonald, J., Merolla, J., Newman, B., & Shah, S. (2019b). Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress: Evidence from 80,000 Congressional Inquiries 0 O. *American Journal of Political Science*, *63*,(3), 644–659. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VJLVYU

Mahsun, M., Zulfa Elizabeth, M., & Mufrikhah, S. (2021). Female Candidates, Islamic Women's Organisations, and Clientelism in the 2019 Indonesian Elections. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.* 40, (1).

McDonagh, E. (2010). It takes a state: A policy feedback model of women's political representation. *Perspectives on Politics*, *8*,(1), 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592709992672

Mendelberg, T., Karpowitz, C.F., & Goedert, N. (2014). Does Descriptive Representation Facilitate Women's Distinctive Voice? How Gender Composition and Decision Rules Affect Deliberation. *American Journal of Political Science*, *58*,(2), 291–306. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps

Ni'mah, Z. (2021). Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs The Political Meaning of the Hijab Style of Women Candidates. In *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.* 40, (1).

Novadona Bayo, L. (2021). Women Who Persist: Pathways to Power in Eastern Indonesia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.* 40, (1).

Ojha, S. (n.d.). Reservation Of Women In The Indian Parliament: Lessons from other countries. In *Source: The Indian Journal of Political Science.* 70,(2).

Osborn, T. (2014). Women State Legislators and Representation. *State and Local Government Review*, *46*,(2), 146–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/0160323x14542441

Paxton, P., & Kunovich, S. (2003a). *Women's Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology.* 82,(1). https://www.jstor.org/stable/3598139

Paxton, P., & Kunovich, S. (2003b). *Women's Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology.* 82,(1). https://www.jstor.org/stable/3598139

Phillips, A. (2003). The Politics of Presence. In *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/0198294158.001.0001

Pitkin, H.F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press.

Prihatini, E.S. (2019). *Challenges to Equal Representation: Female Deputies in the Indonesian National Parliament.*

Reingold, B. (1992). Concepts of Representation among Female and Male State Legislators. In *Quarterly.* 17, (4). https://about.jstor.org/terms

Sanbonmatsu, K. (2002a). Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures. In *Source: The Journal of Politics.* 64,(3). https://about.jstor.org/terms

Sanbonmatsu, K. (2002b). Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures. In *Source: The Journal of Politics.* 64,(3). https://about.jstor.org/terms

Sanbonmatsu, K. (2003a). *Gender-Related Political Knowledge and the Descriptive Representation of Women.* 25, (4). https://about.jstor.org/terms

Sanbonmatsu, K. (2003b). *Gender-Related Political Knowledge and the Descriptive Representation of Women.* 25,(4).

Sandra Amalia, L., Putri Budiatri, A., Sweinstani, M.K., Nur Kusumaningtyas, A., & Ekawati, E.

(2021). Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs Simultaneous Elections and the Rise of Female Representation in Indonesia. In *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs.* 40,(1).

Sawer, M. (2012). What makes the substantive representation of women possible in a Westminster parliament? The story of RU486 in Australia. *33,*(3), 320–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251211

Schwindt-Bayer, L.A., & Mishler, W. (2005). An integrated model of women's representation. *Journal of Politics*, *67,*(2), 407–428. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00323.x

Smith, A.R., Reingold, B., & Owens, M.L. (2012). The Political Determinants of Women's Descriptive Representation in Cities. *Political Research Quarterly.* 65, (2).

Soetjipto, A.W & Adelina, S. (2012). *Partai Politik dan Strategi Gender Separuh Hati*. Parentesis Publisher.

Stockemer, D. (2015). *Women's descriptive representation in developed and developing countries.* 36,(4).

Swers, M.L. (2005). Connecting Descriptive and Substantive Representation: An Analysis of Sex Differences in Cosponsorship Activity. In *Quarterly.* 30, (3). https://www.jstor.org/stable/3598642

Tremblay, M. (2000). *Women, Citizenship, and Representation: An Introduction.* 21, (4).

Tremblay, M. (2007). Democracy, representation, and women: A comparative analysis. *Democratization*, *14,*(4), 533–553. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398261

Tremblay, M., & Pelletier, R. (2000a). More Feminists or More Women? Descriptive and Substantive Representations of Women in the 1997 Canadian Federal Elections. 21,(4).

Tremblay, M., & Pelletier, R. (2000b). More Feminists or More Women? Descriptive and Substantive Representations of Women in the 1997 Canadian Federal Elections. 21,(4).

Vega, A., & Firestone, J.M. (1995). The Effects of Gender on Congressional Behavior and the Substantive Representation of Women. In *Quarterly.* 20,(2). https://www.jstor.org/stable/440448

Wängnerud, L. (2009). Women in parliaments: Descriptive and substantive representation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *12*, 51–69. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.123839

Weldon, S.L. (2002). Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking. In *Source: The Journal of Politics.* 64,(4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/1520080

Xydias, C.V. (2007). Inviting More Women to the Party: Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation in Germany. *International Journal of Sociology*, *37,*(4), 52–66. https://doi.org/10.2753/ijs0020-7659370403