Conference Report 2002:

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Strengthening

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Women’s Political

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Participation in

Indonesia

International IDEA
Conference Report: Strengthening Women's Political Participation in Indonesia
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Graphic design: Ami Rependi, Ameepro, Jakarta, Indonesia
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Preface

International IDEA is an intergovernmental organization with member states across all continents which seeks to support sustainable democracy in both new and long-established democracies. International IDEA's work in Indonesia started in 1998, providing strategic advice to national actors in government and civil society on options relating to electoral systems and the management of election management bodies. As from 1999 International IDEA developed specific initiatives to strengthen women's political participation, evolving into focused gender activities as part of the Indonesia Programme from 2001.

In line with International IDEA’s approach to democracy assistance, the gender-related activities in Indonesia seek to stimulate a dialogue between different groups of society, nationally as well as internationally, about options to increase women's political participation. By working with parliamentarians, political party members and civil society at the national as well as provincial levels, an important aspect of this work is to increase knowledge about comparative experience from abroad among the groups working with gender issues to establish more representative and participatory decision-making bodies.

The purpose of this report is to give an overview of the debates and discussions that resulted from International IDEA's gender activities in Indonesia in 2002. These events were timely and contributed to general discourse on the issue of women's political representation and participation in politics that dominated much of the political agenda. This included the debate on the adoption of quotas for women in the electoral process, a debate which culminated in the passage of a new Electoral Law in February 2003, which carries the provision that political parties should consider including women as 30 per cent of all electoral candidates.

A number of important activities were organised by International IDEA in partnership with Indonesian and regional organisations, including an Asian Study Visit of Indonesian politicians and activists to India, Thailand and the Philippines in August 2002. The Asian Study visit was followed by a National Conference on Women in Politics in Jakarta in September 2002, and two Provincial Workshops in South Sulawesi in September and in North Sumatra in October 2002.

These activities provided a forum to gather national, provincial and international experiences on three themes: increasing women's political participation through constitutional and electoral reform, including quotas; looking beyond numbers to strengthening women's political participation inside parliament; and creating links between civil society and political institutions. This report is structured around these three themes, drawing on the information that was gathered during the Asian Study Visit, the National Conference and Provincial Workshops. In this way, it is hoped that the report will serve not just as a record of activity but also as a reference and information document for ongoing discussions and planning regarding women's political participation in Indonesia.
International IDEA’s gender activities were supported by many individuals and organisations in Indonesia and the region, and we are grateful to them for their enthusiasm and expertise. The co-organisers that made the Asian Study Visit possible are the National Centre for Advocacy Studies (NCAS) in India, Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) in Thailand and the Centre for Legislative Development (CLD) in the Philippines. International IDEA's partners for the conferences and workshops in Indonesia were the Centre for Legislative Reform (CETRO), the Women's Political Caucus in South Sulawesi, and Hapsari in North Sumatra.

We thank the authors who made this report possible with their contributions: Julie Ballington, Cecilia Bylesjö, Smita Notosusanto, Francisia SSE Seda and Ani Soetjipto. We are also grateful for the input of Indraneel Datta, Sakuntala Kadirgamar-Rajasingham and Toni Sanders, and for the work of Cecilia Bylesjo, IDEA’s gender specialist in Indonesia, who pulled the report together. Lastly, we would like to thank International IDEA’s member states, as well as the Embassy of the Kingdom of The Netherlands, for support which made these activities possible.

Karen Fogg
Secretary-General, International IDEA
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<td>Association of South East Asian Countries</td>
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<td>AV</td>
<td>Alternative Vote</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>BPK</td>
<td>Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan</td>
<td>The Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia</td>
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<td>Biro Pusat Statistik</td>
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<td>BV</td>
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<td>CAPWIP</td>
<td>Center for Asian Women in Politics</td>
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<td>Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<td>CETRO</td>
<td>Centre for Electoral Reform</td>
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<td>CGEO</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil society organization</td>
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<td>CLD</td>
<td>Center for Legislative Development</td>
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<td>Depdagri</td>
<td>Departemen Dalam Negeri</td>
<td>Ministry of Internal Affairs</td>
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<td>Supreme Advisory Board</td>
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<td>Regional Representative Council</td>
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<td>Regional Representatives Council</td>
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<td>Democratic Socialist Women of the Philippines</td>
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<td>FPTP</td>
<td>First-past-the-post</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>GDRI</td>
<td>Gender Research Development Institute</td>
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<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Golongan Karya</td>
<td>Functional Group Party in Indonesia</td>
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<td>Federasi Serikat Perempuan Merdeka Sumatera Utara</td>
<td>United Federation of Independent Women of North Sumatra</td>
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<td>HoR</td>
<td>House of Representatives</td>
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<td>IDEA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance</td>
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<tr>
<td>KKN</td>
<td>korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme</td>
<td>corruption, collusion and nepotism</td>
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<td>KPU</td>
<td>Komisi Pemilihan Umum</td>
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<td>LCG</td>
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<td>List PR</td>
<td>List Proportional Representation</td>
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<td>MA</td>
<td>Mahkamah Agung</td>
<td>Supreme Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMP</td>
<td>Mixed member proportional</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMR</td>
<td>Maternal mortality rate</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of parliament</td>
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<td>MPR</td>
<td>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</td>
<td>People’s Consultative Assembly</td>
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<td>NAWO</td>
<td>National Alliance of Women</td>
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<td>NCAS</td>
<td>National Centre for Advocacy Studies</td>
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<td>NCRFW</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government organization</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>National Perspective Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCHC</td>
<td>Provincial Constitution Hearings Committee</td>
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<td>PKB</td>
<td>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)</td>
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<td>PDIP</td>
<td>Partai Demokrasi Indonesian Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)</td>
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<td>PPKB</td>
<td>Perempuan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (Women of the National Awakening Party)</td>
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<td>PPP</td>
<td>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (National Development Party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Proportional representation (system) (Representasi Proporsional)</td>
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<td>PTUN</td>
<td>Peradilan Tata Usaha Negara (Administrative court)</td>
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<td>PUG</td>
<td>Pengurus Utamaan Gender (Prioritizing Gender Requirement)</td>
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<td>RUU</td>
<td>Rancangan Undang-undang (Draft legislation)</td>
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<td>SNTV</td>
<td>Single Non-transferable Vote (SNTV)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOT</td>
<td>Training of trainers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCN</td>
<td>Women and Constitution Network</td>
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Conference Report
"...the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields."

UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979

Background

The UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979. Today, after more than twenty years since the signing of the Convention, more than 170 countries have ratified the agreement. The Convention provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men by ensuring women’s equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life, including the right to vote and to stand for election. Governments agreed to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, these measures have not been put into practice in many countries around the world.

Indonesia ratified the UN Convention on Political Rights for Women under former President Soeharto in 1968. CEDAW was ratified in 1984. The Habibie government later ratified the Optional Protocol of the Women’s Convention. In recent years the Indonesian government has also taken steps to adopt measures aimed at best practices in gender policies, in particular gender mainstreaming, which is an important strategy included in the Beijing Platform for Action. Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 directs all sectors of the Indonesian government to implement gender mainstreaming. Despite these ratifications, there are many critics of the current government who are unwilling to pass new legislation or amend existing laws to meet the requirements of the Convention.

During 2001, the debate concerning women’s political representation and participation in politics increased and dominated much of the political agenda, being fueled by active and outspoken civil society organizations and activists. One of the critical issues was the adoption of a 30 per cent quota for women in the electoral process. The ongoing and sometimes controversial debates on gender and democracy were the result of three factors in Indonesia’s recent past. The first is the historical and continuous underrepresentation of Indonesian women in all levels of decision-making. In the national parliament, women constitute 9.2 per cent of the total members of parliament, which is less than the 12.5 per cent in the previous parliament. The second factor is related to the current political reform. The transition to democracy has created increased
opportunities for women and other sectors of society to express their views and to formulate and articulate their demands for greater gender awareness and sensitivity in government policies, legislation and in electoral politics. The third factor is related to the economic crisis in 1997 which triggered an increased demand for representation of women in all levels and in all aspects of political life. The crisis led to a lowering of women's living conditions, prompting women to take a stand to voice their needs and defend their rights. All these factors have created an environment in which civil society organizations, NGOs, activists, politicians and international agencies have been able to articulate and collectively affect the discourse and the direction of government policy regarding the inclusion of women in Indonesian public life.

**International IDEA Gender Activities 2002**

Since 1998, International IDEA has provided strategic advice to national actors in government and civil society on options relating to the electoral system and on the administration of election management bodies. In 1999 IDEA also began sponsoring initiatives to strengthen women's political participation, involving women members of the national parliament. Through a dialogue with dynamic and progressive groups in civil society, parliament members, political party members and academics, IDEA developed a gender track in Indonesia during 2002. The gender activities focus on women's political participation, with the main aim of strengthening women's participation within Indonesian politics. The gender track therefore seeks to stimulate a dialogue between different groups of society, nationally as well as internationally, to increase the knowledge among the groups working with gender issues, including parliamentarians, political party members and the general public at the national as well as provincial levels.

As part of the 2002 activities, International IDEA's gender track included an **Asian Study Visit** of Indonesian politicians and activists to India, Thailand and the Philippines in August, with the aim of sharing knowledge and experiences, but mainly to increase the dialogue between the participants and their counterparts in other countries. The Asian Study Visit also aimed to increase networking and exchanges between the Indonesian participants themselves. A total of 15 women and men took part in the Asian Study Visit, representing key sectors of the government, political parties and civil society. Furthermore, participants were included from different provinces in Indonesia, including East, Central and West Java, West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, and North Sumatra.

The Asian Study Visit was followed by a **National Conference on Women in Politics** in Jakarta in September 2002, in partnership with the Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO). The objective of the National Conference was to share the newly gained knowledge from the study visits with other Indonesians, but also to act as a forum to gather national, provincial and international experiences on the issue of increasing women's political participation. The turnout at the National Conference was high, with approximately one hundred participants ranging from politicians, NGO activists to academics and members of the media.

The National Conference was followed by two **Provincial Workshops**. The first was held in Makassar, South Sulawesi on 30 September 2002, jointly organized with the Women's Caucus in Politics. The second provincial workshop was held in Medan in North Sumatra on 2 October.
2002, and was organized with the United Federation of Independent Women of North Sumatra (Federasi Serikat Perempuan Merdeka Sumatera Utara, Hapsari). The provincial workshops had the same goals as the National Conference, but aimed to deliver its findings and create a forum for discussion at the provincial level. The provinces were selected according to their geographic location, their level of development in terms of gender equality, and the dynamic and productive discourses emerging in these regions. There was an exceptionally high level of interest among the groups working in the field of gender and politics, as well as among the general public.

During 2002, International IDEA also produced an Indonesian version of the handbook Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers. The Handbook focuses on the political representation and participation of women in decision-making bodies. It highlights the ways and means through which women may seek to increase their political representation, and identifies the specific needs of women parliamentarians and how they can be effective in parliament. The Handbook does not suggest one particular solution to the difficulties women face in public life, but rather presents information on various methods that have been used in different regions and contexts. The original English version was produced in 1998, and in 2002 it was ‘regionalised’ for Indonesia by including additional case studies from South East Asia. The purpose of the regionalisation was to make the Handbook directly relevant and applicable to those working to enhance the political representation and participation of women in the regions. The handbook was launched at the National Conference and at the Provincial Workshops.

This report details the findings of the Asian Study Visit, the National Conference and Provincial Workshops conducted during 2002.

Aim and Objectives

The themes discussed during the National Conference and Provincial Workshops included:
1. Increasing women’s political participation through constitutional and electoral reform;
2. Looking beyond numbers to strengthening women’s political participation in parliament;
3. Creating links between civil society and political institutions.

The activities aimed to create action plans highlighting priority areas of work, identifying key strategies and stakeholders in the continuing struggle for gender equality ahead of Indonesia’s election in 2004.

The National Conference and Provincial Workshops provided dynamic, progressive and productive discussions among the participants and the expected outcomes were reached. This report provides an overview of these discussions, the problems identified, the strategies developed and the stakeholders involved in ensuring an effective increase in women’s participation in politics in Indonesia. The discussions are summarized according to the themes identified above, drawing on the information that was gathered during the Asian Study Visit, the National Conference and Provincial Workshops. The report will therefore provide a brief overview of some of the issues highlighted in the gender political debate in Indonesia during 2002. It also aims to serve as a background document for ongoing discussions and for planning future work in the field of increasing women’s political participation in Indonesia.
Outline and Focus of Chapters

The following chapters provide an overview of Indonesian developments in the specific field of interest. The authors provide a summary of the discussions that took place at each event, focusing on the obstacles identified, strategies created, target groups identified and recommendations for follow-up work in this regard. The chapters also include an outline of the action plans created under each of the topics and provides recommendations for further work in the field.

In Chapter 2, Increasing Women's Political Participation through Constitutional and Electoral Reforms in Indonesia, Ani Soetjipto explains the political structure and the background factors leading to the demands for systematic reforms to the political system to incorporate gender issues. She also provides an overview of how the electoral environment directly affects women's political representation. Sutjipto concludes by highlighting the importance for political players to take responsibility and to construct political institutions that create an arena in which gender equality can be incorporated.

In Chapter 3, Francisia SSE Seda focuses on Beyond Numbers: Strengthening Women's Political Participation. She addresses the extent to which women can be effective in politics, looking at the impact women have when participating in the political arena, how the political agenda is developed, and the issues that are being raised through their involvement. Seda also outlines obstacles faced by women at the national and provincial levels. While being careful to distinguish between the particular political context faced by women at the national and provincial levels, Seda emphasises that the dominance of a patriarchal culture affects women at all levels in the Indonesian political system.

Chapter 4, Creating Links Between Civil Society and Political Institutions, highlights the importance of close cooperation between all facets of government and civil society to achieve a greater impact on the political agenda. The author, Smita Notosusanto, underlines the importance of actors in civil society, including CSOs and NGOs, to work to develop a clear structure and division of labour in order to reach out to the politicians and the general public. She also stresses the importance of keeping political parties in the loop, as they are effectively the 'gate keepers' to the advancement of women. Civil society actors should therefore approach these institutions to increase their awareness of gender concerns, and to seek to change the existing internal structure, i.e. the recruitment processes, the selection of candidates and the financial system to support women candidates to stand for election.

The report outlines the discussions among the groups involved in IDEA's 2002 gender work to increase and strengthen the participation of women in the Indonesian political system. It seeks to create a basis for furthering discussions, and to act as a useful tool when reviewing different options for furthering gender Developments in Indonesian politics, as well as planning future activities to promote an increased gender sensitive political agenda. The report also highlights the importance and possibilities of different groups in Indonesian society to mobilize and work jointly to reach specific goals, not only among the political players, but also among members of civil society.
Chapter II

Increasing Women’s Political Participation through Constitutional and Electoral Reforms

ANI SOETJIPTO

Context

Increasing the number of women in politics was a highly debated issue in Indonesia in 2002. The discussion focused mainly on the 30 per cent quota to be implemented in the electoral or political party law. There is a near consensus among political activists, women in political parties, academics, and the NGO community for the need to increase women’s political participation in Indonesia.

There are several reasons why this issue is the subject of increased debate in Indonesia. Firstly, women continue to be under-represented in elected positions in Indonesia both at the national and local levels, with approximately 9.2 per cent of the seats in the National Parliament (DPR), 5.2 per cent at provincial level (DPRD I) and even a lower number at district level (DPRD II) (see Tables 1, 2 and 3 below).

The second reason is related to the difficulties in Indonesia’s transition to democracy. The transition provided for an opportunity to demand an increase in women’s representation. Many politically active women’s NGOs started to strive for and to enhance women’s political awareness. Political institutions were therefore put under pressure to consider gender issues as an essential part of the democratisation process. 1

During the year 2002 gender issues received wide public attention in political debate in Indonesia as the 2004 election drew nearer. Problems such as the implementation of quotas for women in various political institutions at different levels, issues regarding the impact of the general election systems for women and also the implication of the increasing representation of women for political parties were widely discussed.2

The economic crisis in 1997 affected the lives of women and children adversely. Some of the consequences of the crisis were higher mortality rates among mothers and infants, worsening health conditions among children, increasing numbers of women migrant workers, an increasing school dropout rate, and a higher unemployment rate. These consequences have led to a heightened awareness for the need to devise a more gender sensitive political agenda. The presence of more politically engaged women is a prerequisite toward a more gender equal society.

In short, the need to increase women’s political representation in Indonesia came from the realization that political priorities and agenda setting had to be changed and that the traditional political system was not able to achieve this. Only if women take a higher profile and assume more positions in the public sphere will they be able to prioritise and secure different social and economic values which are to their interest. Increasing women’s political representation is about increasing women’s effectiveness in influencing policy decisions that will secure the rights and entitlements for women, the community, and allocate resources to improve the quality of human security.
Obstacles to Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia

Discussions during the IDEA-CETRO National Conference for Women’s Empowerment “Strengthening Women’s Political Participation”, held in Jakarta, 24 September 2002, and the provincial workshops concerning the need to increase the number of women in politics, were initiated as an exercise that sought to identify problems and obstacles concerning women’s political participation.

Participants identified factors that restrict participation, and proposed strategies to reduce their salience and where possible, to eliminate them. These factors may be categorised in the following areas: political, socio-economic, ideological and psychological factors.

The political factors include lack of support from political parties. More specifically, the participants thought that the Indonesian political system and the political parties were not gender sensitive. This resulted in a disregard of women and issues related to them. The topic of the electoral system was discussed with great interest at a time when the provision concerning women in relation to the election law was being debated in parliament. The types of systems discussed during the workshops and conference were: the majority system, the proportional system and the mixed system. The participants viewed the proportional system as most favourable for women, provided that a number of safeguards were instituted. Even though these were issues that had been tackled in several workshops and were of great interest, a further discussion of this issue may be considered as knowledge among the participants varied across sectors.

Another factor affecting the political system is the perception of women primarily as housewives rather than as citizens or political actors. This view limits the chances for women to be active in the political arena. The way political parties operate is seen to be one of the biggest obstacles to women's participation. Many of the participants believe that the nomination and recruitment of women in political parties is often restricted. The political structure is built upon a highly exclusive ‘old boys network’. The leadership within this structure is dominated by men. Furthermore, the lack of transparency in leadership selection gives few opportunities for women to position themselves as viable candidates. Personal loyalty, nepotism, corruption or collusion was cited by the participants as some of the ills confronting the current political system. The unwillingness of political parties to include a women’s agenda was mentioned as an obstacle.

The lack of women’s participation in politics, particularly in political institutions, alludes to underlying ideological and psychological factors. The participants in all the workshop events underscored the importance of these factors. The women participating themselves were reluctant to take leadership roles as they viewed political parties as being an arena where masculinity prevails. The conflict-ridden party conventions, where physical violence sometimes occurs, the prolonged internal struggles for positions and power, were deterring to them. They preferred to stay away from such politicking.

The lack of a support system and support base for women and women’s groups was also emphasised as a great hindrance to women’s participation. Also, no organisation has the capacity to take an overall role in coordinating the establishment of this support base.

This lack of support also affects the quality of women’s work in political institutions as well as the sourcing of women recruits. Moreover, the lack of coordination between different groups
working in the field of gender also affects their levels of preparedness for the upcoming election, where an important prerequisite is the identification of women candidates.

Many questions concerning the pool from which women candidates may be recruited were asked in the national conference and workshops. Political parties summarily mentioned that ‘it was difficult to find “qualified women” at all levels for nomination’.

In contrast to the view taken by political parties, women activists and participants point out that there is in fact, an abundance of qualified women who have the commitment and willingness to run at all levels. What is missing is the political will and desire from parties to nominate women.

These women also point out that almost all political parties have women’s divisions. In addition, political parties also have affiliated organizations from which they can recruit women. For example, the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) have Women of the National Awakening Party (Perempuan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PPKB) as its women’s wing, and the Fatayat NU and Muslimat NU as its affiliate organizations; the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) has Wanita Persatuan as its women’s division; and, the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) also has the Perempuan Amanat Nasional (PUAN) and Aisyiah as its affiliate organizations.

Apart from women’s divisions and affiliate organizations, women candidates can also be recruited at the grassroots level. These women may not yet be members of political parties but already have the commitment and willingness to work for women’s empowerment and willingness to take up party positions. Many NGOs such as the Movement toward Education of Women Voters (Gerakan Pemberdayaan Swara Perempuan GPSP), the Indonesian Women’s Coalition for Justice and Democracy (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan dan Demokrasi, KPI), the Network of Women and Politics (Jaringan Perempuan dan Politik, JPP), and Women’s Solidarity (Solidaritas Perempuan, SP), work for women’s empowerment. These NGOs have an extensive network and their activities cut across provincial and district levels in many areas in Indonesia. But their participation depends on the political parties’ willingness to recruit these ‘potential women’ from outside their respective traditional bases.

Other potential sources of recruitment are professional organizations of lawyers, doctors, teachers, business women, accountants, economists, and the like. These groups make up potential target bases that political parties may tap into. Women belonging to these groups possess ‘qualifications’ in terms of skills, good education and economic independence.

The discussion on quotas led to a passionate debate at both the national and provincial levels. This discussion has dominated the area of gender in Indonesia in the year 2002 and has attempted to elaborate two kinds of quotas for women. One kind of quota targets actual candidacy by political parties and another targets the manner of how seats are to be filled in parliament. Many of the participants held the view that quotas established by law aimed at ensuring that a certain percentage of seats in parliament would be held by women as being the paramount goal in the 2004 elections. The group was however divided in their approach toward the achievement of this goal. One group stressed the importance of quotas stipulated by law as the most effective way of achieving women’s representation. Another group held the view that quotas do not really create real political space for women in parliament because in the end they will create a ceiling. Instead, this group espouses the adoption of an informal, and therefore, more flexible quota. Although a
consensus on ‘the right way for Indonesia’ was not eventually reached in the workshops, the participants took the opportunity to engage in a lively discussion.

Participants observed that these obstacles that work against women being elected to parliament are not unique to Indonesia. Participants who had the opportunity to visit India, Thailand and the Philippines have noticed similar problems in these countries. In their opinion, learning from the experiences of these countries may facilitate the achievement of greater women’s political participation in Indonesia.

The workshops in Makassar and Medan identified similar obstacles but with regional variations. An obstacle noted by participants in Makassar relates to the socio-cultural barrier of patriarchy, reinforced by a religious perception that circumscribes the role of women in society. These perceptions are based on interpretations of the Qur’an, the Hadith, and teachings of Islamic scholars that reinforce the view that women belong to the domestic, and not to the public sphere. This partially explains women’s perceived lack of interest in being politically involved. In Medan, the low representation of women is linked to poverty and the lack of education. These are some of the key factors explaining the absence of women in all levels of elected offices in North Sumatra.

**Strategies Identified**

The workshops also examined what kinds of strategies might to be employed to substantially increase women’s political representation in Indonesia.

The discussions among the participants revolved around lessons learned from an IDEA-organized study visit to India, Thailand and the Philippines. The discussion focused on the possibility of introducing an affirmative action program by establishing a quota to increase women’s political participation. The discussions also explored ideas about giving assistance to women so that they may gain relevant experiences which will hopefully enable them to compete for leadership positions within parties and electoral seats. Although Indonesian women already have voting rights and the Constitution enshrines equality between men and women, it is widely recognised that a gap exists in practice. One step toward gender equality proposed by the participants is to lobby for quotas in special commissions and to press for the inclusion of similar quotas to be included in the draft bill on elections which may be considered by political parties as part of their legislative reform package.

Quotas are introduced in order to ensure that women acquire a minimum share of seats in the legislature. Rules that establish quotas in political parties and government institutions aim to assist women to overcome the barrier of under-representation in these areas of decision-making. In order to be effective, the adoption of affirmative action programs and the establishment of quotas have to be accompanied by definite timetables with clear targets. India was an example cited by several participants who observed that the target of reaching 33% of seats to be reserved for women at the district level (panchayati raj) is made possible by the 74th Amendment to the Constitution in 1989.

Clearly, finding ways to make the system conducive and supportive of women entering politics cannot be separated from the aim of substantially reforming the Indonesian electoral system. After discussing different options, participants agreed that an open list PR system is most desirable and that there is a need to lobby members of parliament to include this system in the electoral
law. There is also a need to continue discussions and to expand the present network to include women in rural areas.

Although there was a great interest in discussions about different types of electoral systems, general knowledge about these systems is limited. Specifically, very little is known about how different systems work and how differences among systems hold different implications for women's representation. For instance, different electoral systems, nomination and recruitment processes and the size of district have strong influences on the opportunity for women to be nominated and elected. These differences in mechanism were however, not deeply examined in the national conference and regional workshops.

The role played by political parties in nominating women in the electoral process should not be underestimated. The adoption of a closed list PR system allows political parties to determine the rank ordering of candidates on party lists for election, and in this process women may be placed in 'electable' positions on the lists. However, even if quotas were to be adopted in the closed list PR system, without corresponding changes in the party mechanisms, such as rules that assure the naming of women as board members or appointing them to key positions in the party hierarchy, then it will still be difficult to achieve an increase in women's political participation.

Many participants were uninformed about a government proposal submitted to the Parliament that seeks to establish an open list PR system. The argument presented by the government is that Indonesia's transition to democracy requires a new election system that combines popular representation as well as accountability. Although the Mixed system (a hybrid between Majority and PR systems) is considered most desirable, implementation would entail a long period of preparation. Given time constraints, the government has come to the conclusion that Indonesia would not be ready to implement a Mixed system (MMP) or a Majority system in 2004. The pragmatic alternative is that of an open list PR system.

Unfortunately, the discussion on the impact of an open list PR system on women's representation did not get much attention. Participants were more focused on the goal of adopting quotas through the election law and political party law.

To sum up, participants mentioned several points to be considered in the electoral system debate and the possibility of introducing a quota law. The most crucial issues to be addressed in these laws should be:

- Women-friendly criteria in recruitment of members to political parties.
- Transparent, measurable and accountable criteria for election to party leadership positions.
- Affirmative action policies in the election of party leaders.
- Affirmative action policies in nominating of MPs at the national and local levels.
- Adopting an election system with proportional representation rather than an election system with a dominant first-past-the-post, single-member district features.
- Introducing 'zipping' methods to insert women alternately with men in the lists of candidates for MPs on the ballot paper.

There is also a need to build networks and caucuses among political party members, parliamentarians and civil society activists. Indonesia may learn a valuable lesson from Thailand where political parties are made to be accountable to their constituents. These two actors are able to work closely together in their efforts to improve the status of women through changes in
public policy and legislation. This cooperation has resulted in a Constitution drafted in 1997 through a democratic process involving the citizens. This momentum in citizen involvement was seized by women activists in their struggle to enshrine gender equality in the constitution. The Thai experience points to the need for Indonesia to reform its political parties. New systems to select candidates and new mechanisms in policy-making that assure transparency and accountability have to be devised.

There is also a need to develop networks of mutual support which may act as a strong base for collaboration among women in Indonesian society. This could be done either through a main body or a network of women's caucuses that may serve as a voice calling for greater recognition of their role in the political arena.

Strategies for changing religious interpretations on the role of women were also discussed. The participants highlighted the importance of engaging religious leaders to discuss and dialogue around the issue of gender equality and its implications for traditional interpretations of religious texts.

Enlisting the cooperation of the media is another strategy of importance raised during the discussions. The media should be encouraged to cover events that highlight gender issues. Women should also realise the importance of using the media to push their agenda, by appearing in talk shows, serving as resource persons, commenting on issues and writing articles.

Action Plan Developed

An action plan was developed from inputs gathered during the course of the national conference and provincial workshops. The aim of this action plan was to outline possibilities for further work and to pursue greater levels of effectiveness among groups that focus on gender issues. The idea behind this exercise was to gain an understanding of what is needed and expected from all groups represented and to identify individuals who may serve as coordinators for upcoming activities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lobby for a 30% quota for women in leadership positions of political party in all levels (political party law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the Parliament, Women’s Caucus in the political parties and political parties.</td>
<td>Started May 2002-November 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lobby for a political party law to establish mechanisms to recruit women legislative candidates who are committed to accountability and transparency (political party law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the Parliament, Women’s Caucus in political parties, and political parties.</td>
<td>May 2002-November 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lobby for a political party law to contain provisions that will impose sanctions on political parties that do not implement quotas for women (political party law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the Parliament, Women’s Caucus in political parties, and political parties.</td>
<td>May 2002-November 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lobby for an electoral law that adopts an open list PR system for the 2004 elections for members of the DPR, DPRD I and DPRD II (electoral law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the Parliament, Women’s Caucus at the political parties, political parties.</td>
<td>May 2002-December 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lobby for an electoral law that allows independent candidates to become members in DPD (electoral law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the parliament, Women’s Caucus in the political parties, political parties.</td>
<td>May 2002-December 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lobby for an electoral law that requires parties to nominate at least 30% women candidates, and have their names placed in alternate order with the names of men in the top list of candidates so as to ensure women’s inclusion recruitment to the DPR, DPRD I, DPRD II (electoral law).</td>
<td>Women’s Caucus in the parliament, Women’s Caucus in the political parties and political parties.</td>
<td>May 2002-December 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Prepare a database on potential women candidates in the legislature.</td>
<td>Centre for women studies, NGOs, political party bureau, social organizations.</td>
<td>2002-2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Provide political education, capacity building workshops, and public speaking training for women candidates.</td>
<td>NGOs, political parties, religious organisations.</td>
<td>2002-2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Developing and strengthening networks and relations among NGOs and women political leaders.</td>
<td>NGOs, the media, women’s caucus, women in Parliament.</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Develop cooperation with the media.</td>
<td>NGOs, women’s studies centres, women’s Caucus, women’s wing in the political parties.</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion: Lessons Learned

The discussions on women's political participation in Indonesia during 2002 focused on how to increase the number of women holding positions in political institutions. This focus was apparent in the national conference in Jakarta and regional workshops in Medan and Makassar. The strategies proposed in both venues of discussion were intended to open up opportunities for increased women's participation particularly in the upcoming 2004 elections. What results have been achieved through these efforts and strategies?

Despite strong protest from women's groups and a number of legislators who had demanded the adoption of a 30 per cent quota for women, the political party bill was nevertheless endorsed in November 2002.

The legislators who protested included Eka Komariah Kuncoro of the Golkar Party, Ida Fauziah from PKB, Chodijah Soleh from PPP, Nurdiati Akma from PAN, Ahmad Farchan H amid of PAN and Samuel Koto of PAN. Their protest drew applause from women activists from the balcony of the assembly hall.

Later on female legislators joined the women activists to urge the special committee deliberating the bill to include a specific clause mandating a quota of 30 per cent for women in the recruitment of candidates at all levels of party leadership.

Following are some of the lessons learned:

• A critical number of women in parliament is important to ensure the passage of the bill. With only two women in the special committee that deliberated the political party bill, it was almost impossible to win support for proposals pushing for a quota.

• Women's issues need to be represented by women. Given the low number of women in decision-making bodies, and the reluctance of men to take up 'women's issues', women need to be present to articulate their demands.

• Political processes for the passage of bills in the parliament do not always follow procedures. The agreement on article 13 (3) of the Political Party Law on gender equity was reached during the break when no women were in the room.

• Networking is very important inside and outside parliament in order to achieve common goals defined by women activists, women legislators and members of women caucuses. The quota proposal, for instance, had to be closely monitored, required constant lobbying by women's organisations. Doing otherwise ultimately results in its dismissal from the agenda.

• The media plays an important role in the advocacy of issues. Pressure from the media can work effectively. Political parties and members of parliament are concerned about their image in the media and therefore tend to support popular issues. Enlisting the help of the media can therefore sway the actions of political actors.
Vigilance is of utmost importance. Workshops on women’s empowerment need to be continued, strategies have to be defined and redefined according to the exigencies of the political milieu. The road to women’s empowerment in Indonesia may be fraught with delays, disappointments, and setbacks, but the ultimate goal of gender equality must be constantly articulated.

**Women in Political Institutions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9,2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>90,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPR</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8,8</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>91,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14,8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>85,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>95,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPU</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18,1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>81,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>98,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants rank IV &amp; III</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>7,0</td>
<td>25110</td>
<td>93,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>16,2</td>
<td>2775</td>
<td>83,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTUN</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23,4</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>76,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Women and Elections Division CETRO, 2001
Note: see List of Acronyms for the names of institutions in Table 1.

Women’s representation in the National Parliament is approximately 9,2 per cent. The percentage of women’s representation in local parliaments is even lower and stands at approximately 5,2 per cent.
Table 3: Women’s in Parliament at the Provincial Level in Indonesia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aceh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>94,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sumatra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>96,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Sumatra</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6,8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>93,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riau</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>95,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sumatra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12,7</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>87,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengkulu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>95,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampung</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DKI Jakarta</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7,9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Java</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Java</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,8</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>95,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>94,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Java</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10,6</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Kalimantan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>94,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Kalimantan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kalimantan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10,1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>89,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kalimantan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10,2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>89,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>96,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>96,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sulawesi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8,2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Sulawesi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Sulawesi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Sulawesi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>97,4</td>
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<td>Maluku</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>93,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Women and Election Division, CETRO, 2001
* There is no available data from the new provinces Bangka Belitung, Banten, Gorontalo & North Maluku
Table 4 presents data of women’s representation at the district level from the selected provinces of South Sulawesi and North Sumatra. South Sulawesi is the most populated and developed province in East Indonesia, while North Sumatra is its demographic equivalent in West Indonesia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Sulawesi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidrap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinrang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pare-Pare</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8,7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>91,3</td>
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<td>91,3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>91,3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Makassar</td>
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<td>7,1</td>
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<td>92,9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gowa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8,1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>91,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takalar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8,1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>91,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>94,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North Sumatra</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nias</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>100</td>
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Sources:
* Gender empowerment measures by district, BPS and UNDP 1999
** Documentation on the Election, Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1999
(Dokumentasi Penyelenggaraan Pemilu tahun 1999, Depdagri 1999)
Democratic societies generally uphold that the representation of a group's interests must have two dimensions: 1) it requires the presence of its members in decision-making arenas, and 2) it requires that their interests are actually considered. It is important for assemblies to take into account the interest of all its constituents. Women in Indonesia compose more than 50% of the populations. Their interests and concerns have to be reflected in legislations.

During the period of transition, efforts have been made to restructure the political system, to redefine the roles of different political institutions and to empower civil society. There were discussions that broached the idea of introducing direct presidential elections, checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches, the two chambers of parliaments, change in the electoral system, securing an independent and non-partisan Electoral Commission, and others. However, the transition to democracy in Indonesia also provided the opportunity to demand an increase in women's political representation.

Some types of electoral systems tend to favour women. As pointed out during the event, the PR system tends to provide the opportunity for women to be elected if political parties include them in the top portion in the list. The PR system provides the opportunity for the adoption of affirmative action mechanisms through the composition of party lists which may encourage the election of women candidates. However, open and closed list methods may have a different impact on the number of women elected. Under the closed list method, the party determines the rank ordering of candidates on lists, and the voters choose the party. The number of women elected depends on where women are placed on political party lists. In the open list method, voters are able to choose from the list of candidates presented by the party. There is a possibility that the voters will not necessarily vote for women under the open list system. The Philippines have adopted a semi-proportional (parallel system) where 20% of the members of parliament are elected through the party list method and 80% through majority vote. The Philippine electoral law does not have a quota system. However, the Philippine Constitution allows the provision of seats for marginalised groups such as women, peasant, fisherfolk, etc., as long as they receive at least 2% of the popular vote.

Context

Discussing the issue of strengthening women's political participation in Indonesia requires viewing it in context of the current transition to a more democratic political system. Democracy attempts to secure political equality for all citizens, including marginalized and minority groups. Although women in Indonesia demographically constitute the majority, they are a silent majority - marginalized politically, socially, culturally, economically - largely absent from the decision-making processes. For example, women's representation in the National Parliament (DPR) decreased from 12.5% in 1992 to 9.2% in 1999. The impact of this decline is that laws and regulations enacted and implemented as well as the prioritisation of national and local development programs neither reflect principles of political equality and social justice, nor the interests of women.

The need to increase the number of women in politics and to strengthen their power-base were two critical issues raised in the UN Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. The Indonesian government's active participation in this conference resulted in several workshops, seminars, and conferences for women political party members and women parliamentarians sponsored nationally by the Indonesian State Ministry for the Empowerment of Women. The objectives of these activities were to strengthen women's networking and to lobby for the inclusion of gender issues, as well as quotas for women in legislation. The increased political participation of women both locally and nationally will influence the nature of Indonesian democracy, for all citizens.

To move 'Beyond Numbers' means looking beyond simply increasing the number of women participating in the political arena, to address the extent to which women can succeed in politics, looking at the impact that women have when they participate in the political system, monitoring how the political agenda is developed, and observing the issues that are being raised through their involvement.

This issue concerning women's empowerment has not yet reached the same level of discussion as the topic of increasing the numbers of women in parliament. However, the discussions that took place during the events of the conference and workshops have taken us a step forward in raising awareness.

Problems Identified

In the discussions it was apparent that women from different socio-cultural, economic, and regional backgrounds encounter different problems. Similarly, women representatives from various levels of government (national, provincial, and municipal) face different obstacles. Furthermore, women from different economic classes, urban and rural origins, ethnic and religious backgrounds, have
specific problems and obstacles to overcome, and therefore require specific solutions.

Prof. Farida Nurland, Head of the Gender Research Centre at the University of Hasanuddin, Makassar, South Sulawesi, has identified the following problems and obstacles: first, Indonesian culture is both feudalistic and patriarchal; second, society has adopted a very conservative understanding and interpretation of various religious teachings; third, state hegemony is still dominant, which is reflected in state institutions which perpetuate a patriarchal culture at all levels.²

It is clear that at the national and provincial levels, the patriarchal culture and the political system negatively affect women who try to assert their right to political participation. In traditional Indonesian society, women are not encouraged to take active roles in the public domain; their talents and skills are recognised only in the private domain of the household. This dichotomy is often still maintained even in the present Reform Era. Indonesian women therefore face obstacles at two levels. Over and above their struggle against patriarchal culture, they have to overcome discriminatory and gender-blind practices in the electoral process, in legislative bodies and also in political parties.

These cultural norms are so deep-seated that they have been internalised by most Indonesian women. This has made them psychologically unprepared for political participation. Many women have developed a sense of inferiority and believe that they do not have the requisite skills for political issues. This has caused women to adopt a passive approach to politics, many perceiving politics as being negative, preventing women from developing and identifying strategies for themselves. In addition, the act of political campaigning is not seen by many as an appropriate activity for women.

The issue of women’s ‘dual role’ as mothers and housewives, and as members of the labour force was highlighted by many participants. This reality constrains many women, limiting the time they can allot to political activities. Stereotyping of women creates other problems. For example, women who focus on their careers are often judged for going against the norm. They have to excel in both roles in order to be perceived as ‘successful’ women.

The practices in political parties and organizations do not recognise and accommodate the ‘dual role’ of women. For example, important political decisions are frequently made during marathon meetings held from night to dawn when it is virtually impossible for many women party cadres to attend because of household responsibilities.

In addition, mechanisms for women to support women hardly exist. There is a lack of coordination not only at different levels (national and provincial), but also across groups operating in the same field of interest, geographic area, and political levels. The absence of unity through coordination and networking results in a weakened position for women in asserting their rights. Furthermore, the inability to mobilize across groups and at different levels lessens women’s chances to win in elections.

More specifically, within political parties, there are several obstacles or barriers confronting Indonesian women who try to advance themselves and increase their effectiveness and influence in the party system. First, the level of political socialization of women is low; few women are active as party cadres. Second, leadership in political parties tends to be male, and in turn they tend to nominate male candidates whom they believe have a greater potential to win. Third, there is a tendency to select female candidates who are closely connected to men in power.
Fourth, general elections are costly and require access to funds. Few women have independent resources to commit to this. Political parties rarely assist women candidates in raising funds. Fifth, women’s lack of mobilization and inability to support each other places them in a vulnerable and disadvantaged position when they need to take an active stand in asserting their rights.

**Strategies Identified**

The strategies identified during the national conference and provincial workshops focus on a combination of governmental action through legislation and civil society activism (the matrix in the end of this chapter sums up the activities and strategies planned at these events to be conducted by the groups represented).

The first strategy involves political socialization through political education. It is necessary to provide training in organizational development to women candidates, to train women’s groups to highlight gender issues, and to establish networks among women’s groups in civil society, political parties, the parliament, and the media.

The second strategy concerns strengthening the position of women who already hold public posts by giving them training in effective lobbying, successful campaigning, and identifying resource persons. Increasing institutional capacity by investing in skills development for staff members, capacity building, and expanding the support-base of elected women. Suggestions were made to conduct these activities through collaborative activities among women parliamentarians, party members, academics and activists.

The third strategy underscores the importance of providing assistance to political parties which are committed to the promotion of gender equality through their platforms and internal political structures. This assistance should come in the form of training programs and financial assistance or incentives through election management bodies.

The fourth strategy explores the development of a database to identify women with leadership potential at the national and local levels. The purpose of this database would be to profile MPs and potential candidates from political parties, as well as leaders from the executive, judicial, and legislative branches, and individual personalities from women’s political caucuses, civil society organizations (CSOs), and other groups. This database would identify key persons who could be involved in the campaign to strengthen women’s political participation, as well as women who may be recruited in public life.

The fifth strategy aims to initiate programs that help develop political awareness and expand knowledge among potential female cadres who are not yet active in the public sphere. The media was identified as one of the key players in the task of educating the public and spreading information on gender equality.

The sixth strategy seeks to develop and strengthen the networks among women members in political parties, parliament, CSOs, and media. The cooperation of the media should be enlisted in the goal to present women as credible political actors.

The last strategy relates to the overall structure of politics. The participants stressed that women’s empowerment should pervade not only formal structures of politics, but also people’s organisations, social movements and other civil society groups.
Recommendations and Conclusion

Along with implementing an action plan designed specifically to increase women's political participation, it is important to secure broad changes in the political system. This could be done through internal political party reforms to achieve higher levels of transparency, justice and gender equality.

These broad movements towards greater democratization should also factor the importance of establishing real autonomy in the various political, legal, and social institutions of Indonesia such as political parties, parliament, the Supreme Court, and the mass media. These institutions must be insulated from political pressure. Only then can public trust be gained. It is particularly important for women as a constituent group to trust the political system to be able to participate in its processes.

In this context, there are several recommendations to be made on how to go beyond numbers in strengthening women's political participation in Indonesia:

First, it is important to focus on political parties, in assisting them to become more gender-sensitive in order to increase the number of women within party ranks and to provide them with equal opportunities to participate in decision-making. Concretely, this would include making changes in the way party meetings are scheduled, in order to accommodate the dual role played by women in the domestic as well as public spheres, and in providing assistance in campaign finance and in developing leadership skills.

Second, there is a need to cultivate a critical mass of CSOs committed to improving the status of women, and to help them develop a feeling of shared causes with women in politics. Ways of doing this work could include increasing the number of cooperative activities among groups, strengthening the networks between CSOs and women in politics, and assisting these groups in influencing government through the parliament and political parties, taking appropriate affirmative action measures to fast-track women's political empowerment, strengthening the link among international organizations with CSO components, and assisting CSOs in organizing citizenship training for both women voters and candidates.

Third, using existing cultural and religious institutions such as religious women's organizations like Fatayat, Aliyah, etc., in order to facilitate socialization in communities, is highly recommended. This approach is especially most appropriate among rural people to increase their awareness and consciousness of the importance of women's role in political life.

Fourth, an important focus related to increasing women's involvement would be to conduct work related to village affairs in order to influence the decision-making at this level and to encourage the emergence of grassroots pressure aimed at higher levels of government. Training women cadres at the village level increases the prospects of women playing a greater role in regional representative councils and later, also at the national level.

Fifth, recommendations were also made to organize women's groups so that they may be able to respond to the needs of the community in the areas of reproductive health, provision of clean water, and sanitation, and link these initiatives as part of a broader strategic effort to increase the political participation of women.

Sixth, there is a need to encourage CSOs to organize public debates, advocacy campaigns to promote women's political participation, and to provide organizational management and campaign
training, and avenues for campaign finances for the women who become members of social and political organizations.

To summarise the recommendations, political participation should be assessed not only in terms of representation in national and local parliaments. Participation in political parties and in national and local political campaigns must also be considered. While there are many efforts being made to increase the critical mass of women in politics, the efforts to strengthen the quality of women’s political engagement are also significant. These efforts depend on a multi-strategy approach over time that links ministries, parliamentary secretariats, political parties and CSOs. In the current transitional period, this is a key challenge that has to be faced by Indonesians, both women and men, who truly believe in democracy and social justice for all.

### Action Plan-Beyond Numbers: Strengthening Women’s Political Participation

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Executors</th>
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<td>Preparing database on legislative candidates from political parties, executive, judicial, legislative (and non-public: social organisations, NGOs, caucuses).</td>
<td>From the present (November – December) and onwards.</td>
<td>NGOs, political parties, PP bureaus, social organisations, women’s caucuses, centres for women studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Enhancement of women holding public posts.</td>
<td>3 months.</td>
<td>Academics, centres for women studies, women’s caucuses, political parties, PP bureaus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Political awareness and education for potential non-public female cadres.</td>
<td>Pre-election.</td>
<td>NGOs, social organisations, political parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Empowerment of mass media to have gender perspective.</td>
<td>December 2002</td>
<td>NGOs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Providing information, etc., for the media.</td>
<td>Ongoing.</td>
<td>NGOs.</td>
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### Endnotes:

1. Nurland, F., Strategies for Improving Women’s Participation in Politics and Social Life, presentation at the Provincial Workshop, Makassar, 2002
Context

Despite their majority in numbers and the contribution they have made in society and the economy, Indonesian women are underrepresented in existing political institutions. In the national parliament, women currently constitute only 9.2% of the total members of parliament, a decrease from 12.5% in the previous period. Historically, women's representation in the legislature has always been below 10%. The highest rate of representation was achieved between 1987-1992, when women constituted 13% of the national parliament. The numbers are even lower in the local legislatures where women make up less than 5% of provincial parliaments and less than 1% for district level parliaments.

In the executive branch, the situation is not much better. Although Indonesia has a woman president, currently, the cabinet only has only two women ministers: the Minister of Trade, and the Minister for Women's Affairs, which is a ministry without portfolio. Traditionally, women ministers only held 'soft' posts such as that of Women's Affairs and of Social Welfare. Historically only three women held posts outside these soft offices: there was a Minister of Labour during the Soekarno presidency, a Minister of Public Works during the Wahid presidency, and currently a Minister of Trade during the Megawati presidency.

Moreover, women's representation in top decision-making positions in all government ministries is also very low. Although women make up the majority of public servants in large and vital ministries such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Home Affairs, they mostly occupy mid to lower level bureaucratic positions. Most of the high echelon (Echelon 1 and 2) are occupied by men. The same situation prevails at the local level offices where there are only three women governors and three women district heads.

Indonesia ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discriminations against Women in 1984, but to date, both the government and Parliament have yet to pass new legislation to implement the Convention or to adjust existing laws to meet the requirements of the Convention. The lack of public pressure on the state to adopt measures in keeping with the Convention is a reflection of public ignorance about the Convention as well as the indifference of the nation's political elite towards fulfilling its obligations under international law. Implementing the Convention tends not to be regarded as a politically rewarding initiative by the political elite. The political elite, both at the national and local levels, tends to scoff at recommendations to adopt affirmative action policies to increase women's political representation. They tend to view these policies as fostering reverse discrimination against men and worse, as a zero-sum game targeted to 'take over' political institutions from the hands of men. Many also believe that affirmative action policies will reduce the quality of male participation in exchange for the quantitative achievement of increasing women's political participation.
The underrepresentation of women in political institutions can have dire consequences on the lives of women in Indonesia. Most policies or legislation that directly affect the lives of women are mostly made by men who have neither empathy nor understanding of the experiences of women. In certain sectors such as health and labour, this can have grave implications for women. One example is that Indonesia still has the highest maternal mortality rate (MMR) among ASEAN countries - an appalling condition given Indonesia's more advanced status compared to Cambodia and Laos, two of the poorer ASEAN members. Yet to date, there has not been a specific policy targeted to deal with the issue by the Ministry of Health, such as allotting a specific budget line for the improvement of pre-natal health as well as to improve natal and post-natal care for poor women.

Another urgent issue is the plight of women migrant workers who often undergo physical abuse such as maltreatment and unsafe travel and working conditions. Recently, the issue of migrant workers dominated national headlines when Malaysia, one of the biggest host countries of Indonesian migrant workers, deported thousands of Indonesian migrant workers - mostly women. The workers were placed in temporary shelters in Nunukan, East Kalimantan where unsanitary conditions, shortage of food, and meager health support prevails. Despite high media attention and the outpouring of public sympathy and aid, the government, was slow to respond and until this date, no specific guidelines have been produced to prevent such a similar situation.

Another example of lack of support for women within the legislature is reflected in the rise of support for the implementation of a conservative interpretation of the shari’a law in several provinces in Indonesia. In the Province of Aceh, the protracted war with the separatist movement finally forced the central government to pass a law allowing the province to implement shari’a law. The substance of the law became controversial as early drafts indicated that many of the provisions will limit the participation of women in public life. In other provinces, the renewed popularity of shari’a law also prompted local legislatures, which have virtually no women members, to consider the passage of night curfews for women - ostensibly aimed to reduce prostitution. Vigorous protests from women's organization have, to date, prevented such regulations from being passed. However, with very few women in legislatures to prevent such provisions from being proposed again, it is likely that similar initiatives will come up in the agenda of legislatures in other provinces.

Achieving women's political representation at the local levels, especially at the district level, has become critical with the advent of regional autonomy. Greater authority and powers are now granted to the district government and legislatures making them the most strategic policy-making institutions at the local levels. Given that most of the policies dealing directly with the lives of women and children are made at the local levels, it is alarming to see that this is where women are mostly under-represented.

As a rule, the media can play an important role in increasing public awareness and generate public pressure on the state. This has been true as can be seen in the case of pro-reform agendas supported by the media during the transition. However, certain women's issues have not made significant inroads into mainstream media. In general, the media tends to view women's issues as being too limited and narrow to deserve more coverage. The problem is compounded by the fact that most editorial board members of mainstream media take the same negative position of the political elites on the issue of affirmative action.
In this context, it is therefore important that all parties committed to strengthening women’s political participation make a concerted effort towards increasing women’s representation in political institutions. Civil society organizations (CSOs) working on women’s issues as well as women’s studies centres in many public universities have an in-depth understanding of the issue and are therefore better positioned to take the lead. Many CSOs focusing on women’s issues have made significant achievements in advocating their respective causes such as eliminating domestic violence, improving the status of women migrant workers, ensuring women’s reproductive rights, and dealing with the plight of women refugees in conflict areas. However, at the policy level, the response to these advocacy efforts has been dismal. Most of these CSOs tend to emphasize increasing public awareness of their specific causes and directly try to provide temporary solutions without determining long-term policy alternatives. One of the reasons for this is that there is a lack of significant partners in government who the CSOs can engage and lobby for long-term solutions. The very few women who are in government and the legislatures both at the national and local levels, are politically too weak to adopt a strong stance on women’s interests. Their small numbers make it even more difficult for them to constitute a formidable faction within the legislatures.

There is a general distrust of public institutions, including the legislatures, which is an obstacle towards developing cooperation and partnerships between actors within the CSOs and within public institutions. Social organizations are reluctant to cooperate with parliamentarians and other public officials because of the long tradition of CSOs performing the role of opposition against state authority in Indonesia. This stance was adopted during the authoritarian regime of Soeharto. State officials, including parliamentarians and political party leaders, also tend to share a similar distrust and suspicion towards CSOs. Many hold the assumption that CSOs are generally radical and opposed to any government policy.

It is also important to add that Indonesia is still in the midst of a very difficult political transition from authoritarianism to democracy. It is a very daunting task for women’s organizations to push for their agenda against high-profile items such as anti-corruption, human rights, financial sector restructuring and anti-terrorism.

**Problems Identified**

In this context, the struggle to achieve political representation for women is an uphill battle. A well-defined and well-planned strategy is needed to foster effective measures to achieve significant representation for women.

In principle, there are several problems that can be identified and need to be dealt with in order to achieve greater political representation for women:

1. Political parties show little understanding for the need to recruit more women and have little commitment to enlist more women into their ranks and appoint more women to decision-making positions within the parties. Most women who join political parties assume regular membership positions. Even if appointed or elected to leadership positions, they only occupy minor decision-making posts such as that of the secretary or organizer of the party’s women’s wing.
The leadership of most political parties assert that their recruitment policy does not specifically discriminate against women. However, if one looks closely at some of the criteria for membership, for leadership positions, or for nomination as MPs, implicit discrimination against women does exist. For one thing, most parties establish ‘organizational experience’ as one of the criteria for membership or for leadership positions. For most women, this is a barrier. Most women in Indonesia do not have documented experience in organization compared to men because their participation in public life is severely limited by marriage and family life. Usually, older women or those whose children are relatively grown up can devote more time outside their homes to participate in organizations, such as religious or neighbourhood associations. If these are the objective qualifications required, then it is difficult for women to compete with their male colleagues to occupy leadership positions, let alone be nominated as MPs.

There is also no concerted strategy to attract more women into political parties. Women are seldom encouraged to join political parties, and there are no programs to socialize and train women party members to become highly skilled and qualified party cadres. Existing organizational activities arranged by political parties shows a lack of consideration for women’s needs and interests.

This is also the reason why, as most party leaders claim, there is no abundant supply of qualified women to occupy leadership positions in their parties or to be nominated as MPs. This is so despite the fact that educational attainment of women has risen significantly in the past decade. However, many women are not interested in joining parties partly because of the implicit discrimination in the recruitment criteria, as well as a certain stigma that society places on women in politics.

2. Participants also highlighted the importance of establishing a legal basis for ‘affirmative action’ policies in order to gain significant inroads for women in existing political institutions, notably the legislatures. The problem is, how could affirmative action policies be passed when most of the members of the legislatures are men who generally view ‘affirmative action’ as discrimination?

3. The problem is especially acute among the political elite who make crucial decisions that affect the lives of women as well as among members of the media who more often than not stigmatize public participation by women.

4. There are no concerted efforts by actors who are committed to the cause of women’s rights in crafting an effective strategy to increase women’s political representation. The problem is two-fold: first, disagreements remain among women’s organizations or NGOs on whether an increase in women’s political representation is the key to alleviating general discrimination against women. Secondly, even if there is an understanding for the need to increase women’s political representation, CSOs tend to work separately and are reluctant to collaborate with politicians in political parties and the legislatures.
**Strategies Identified/Action Plan Developed**

To address the above-mentioned problems and challenges, there is an urgent need to devise a concerted and effective strategy to increase women's political representation:

1. **Meeting of minds among CSOs with an interest in women's issues**
   
   Prior to planning strategies, it is important for CSOs to meet and discuss the issues at hand, in order to determine the approaches and strategies to be taken. Differences in strategies and viewpoints should be tolerated and viewed as enriching the division of labour among the participating CSOs.

   This coordination meeting should also involve regional CSOs. The meetings may also be replicated at the provincial levels so that strategies most appropriate to local conditions may be determined by the groups themselves.

2. **Identify women with leadership potential**
   
   There is a need to establish a database of women with leadership potential at the national and local levels, with the help of CSOs and NGOs. This is elaborated in Chapter III.

3. **Strengthen the capacity of women to occupy leadership positions**
   
   Organize workshops with a specific curriculum devised to strengthen women's leadership qualities especially their ability to work in public and political organizations. Women need to be trained to be aware that they will be working within a political environment that is generally hostile to their inclusion. The curriculum may be drafted to address this specific context, and will include specific case studies or situations likely to be faced by women.

   The capacity-building programs should include the following:
   - Drafting of curriculum and training manuals to address the specific context in which women's political participation must be increased and strengthened.
   - Training of trainers to encourage women's political participation.
   - Establish criteria for training participants.
   - Conduct capacity-building workshops with participants who are members of political parties, parliaments, the academic community, CSOs, and government institutions.

4. **Draft legislation allowing affirmative action policies**
   
   The most strategic legislation that influences women's political participation is those that pertain to political parties and elections. This point is elaborated in Chapter II.

5. **Assertive lobbying of Parliament**
   
   A well-planned and effective lobbying effort must be established by CSOs, NGOs and MPs if real change is to be achieved. Steps to be prepared for lobbying are among others:
   - Carefully select lobbyists with a good understanding of the parliamentary process, familiarity with important MPs and leaders of the Parliament, and who have the ability to negotiate with parliamentarians on an equal footing.
• Identify key allies in the Parliament, and establish a strategic partnership with these allies by providing them with support in terms of written arguments, reports and other documents needed to strengthen their negotiations within the Parliament.
• Identify key opponents in the debates, and study their basic arguments in order to prepare counter arguments in a subtle and diplomatic manner.
• Study both the ‘official’ and ‘unwritten’ legislative calendar in order to enable close monitoring of the legislative process. Also, investigate all changes made in the venue of legislative meetings, especially closed meetings among leaders of factions in the Parliament.
• Prepare compromise points or ‘worst-case scenario’ positions that are acceptable to all.

6. Establish a caucus or strategic network among protagonists
Cross-sector networks should be established to provide more stable alliances that would make the movement stronger and continuous. These networks may be established among ‘protagonists’ from the parliament, CSOs, academics community, religious organizations, and the media. This network should establish regular strategy meetings and maintain contact among its members.
This caucus should also be established at the provincial, and if possible, at the district levels to strengthen the movement.

7. Media campaign
Media campaigns can be used as effective tools during the legislative process. The media campaign can serve the following functions:
   a. Increase public awareness on the issue of women’s political representation.
   b. Rally public support for gender equality policies.
   c. Exert pressure on the Parliament to pass gender equality legislation.

Media campaigns should be run both at the national and local levels through print and electronic media (especially radio), and by producing campaign paraphernalia such as posters, banners, stickers, and buttons.
Other effective media campaign strategies include holding public discussions with large numbers of participants in big cities and to link them with high-profile events that draw media attention.
It is also important to approach the editorial board members of the mainstream media organizations in order to get support for coverage of the issue.
The National Conference and the Provincial Workshops provided a forum for productive and sustained discussions and dialogue among the major participants on the issue of increasing women's political representation in the Indonesian legislature. In the context of the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic political system since 1998, these discussions and dialogues are crucial not only for Indonesian women but also for the positive evolution of Indonesian democracy.

The dynamic interaction at both the above events focused on three major themes: increasing women's political participation through constitutional and electoral reforms; looking beyond the question of numbers on how to strengthen women's political participation, and creating links between civil society and political institutions. The themes were discussed in the Indonesian context: the obstacles women face, the strategies identified for reform, and the development of an action plan to support the representation and political participation of women in the country. For ongoing discussions and planning regarding women's political participation in Indonesia, it is hoped that this report will serve as a reference point on lessons learned from recent experiences in working on the three general themes.

In Chapter II, Ani Soetjipto extrapolates from both the National Conference and Provincial Workshop on the issue of increasing women's political participation through constitutional and electoral reforms. She highlights the need to increase women's political representation through a specific action plan which takes into account the effect of the electoral process, political institutions, and political actors. For future strategies and action plans to be successful, they should take into consideration several important factors. First, it is apparent that a critical number of women in parliament are required to ensure the passage of a particular bill through the parliament. Second, women are in the best position to represent the problems faced by Indonesian women in their lives. Third, women activists and women legislators should seek to work hard in their networking activities to achieve this. Fourth, public campaigns, both through print and electronic media should be sustained in order to raise public awareness and to influence policy decision-making.

The theme of looking beyond numbers to strengthen women's political participation indicates the importance of focusing on the internal organisation of political party structures in order for them to become more gender-sensitive and gender-oriented. In Chapter III, Francisia SSE Seda notes that the conference and workshop recommendations point to the need to build a critical mass of civil society organizations (CSOs) committed to improving the status of women and help them develop a common cause with women in politics.

It is therefore crucial to increase the cooperation and networking between these different groups. The linkage between Indonesian CSOs and international organizations working on this specific issue can become beneficial in organizing citizenship training both for the female electorate and for female candidates to parliament. Existing cultural and religious institutions such as religious women's organizations can play a facilitating role in socializing local communities on the need for
increasing women's political representation. Training of women political cadres at the village level increases the prospects of a greater political role for women in the local legislatures. The linkage between women's initiatives to improve major community needs such as reproductive health, provision of clean water, and sanitation within a broader strategic effort to increase women's political participation needs to be established. CSOs also need to be more active in advocacy campaigns; further, the organizational capacity of women has to be increased. The challenge for the future is to have a multi-strategy approach over time that links the bureaucracy, parliament secretariats, political parties and CSOs in a joint long-term effort to increase women political representation in the legislature at all levels.

On the theme of creating links between civil society and political institutions, in Chapter IV Smita Notosusanto stresses the importance of a close cooperation and a division of labour within the CSO community working on the issue of women's interests at the local, provincial, and the national levels. One strategy is to establish a caucus or network among the parliamentarians, CSOs, academics, religious organizations and the media in order to provide more permanent alliances that would strengthen and sustain the women's movement. Identifying women with leadership potential, strengthening the capacity of women to occupy leadership positions, drafting legislation to allow affirmative action policies are also strategies that need to be comprehensively developed for the long-term prospect of increasing women's political representation. Assertive lobbying of Parliament and an informed media campaign are important strategies to ensure the successful passage of gender-oriented laws including laws or policy interventions on increasing women's political representation.

After the National Conference and the Provincial Workshops were held, two major landmarks occurred related to Indonesian women's political representation. On 28 November 2002 and 18 February 2003, two bills were passed through parliament, respectively the Law on Political Parties and the Law on General Elections. However, the Law on Political Parties did not adopt the 30 per cent quota for women in the recruitment of the candidates at all levels and in leadership positions of political parties that was so vehemently demanded by the Indonesian women's movement. It only specifies the importance of taking into consideration the principles of gender equality and gender fairness. Despite the minority report noting the protests of several female and male legislators from various political parties during the full plenary session, the Law on Political Parties was passed. While this was perceived as a defeat for the Indonesian women's movement, nevertheless the debate on the 30 per cent quota was a means to bring a gender issue into the political arena, in a way that it had never been done before. In fact, the inclusion of a gender consideration in the Law on General Elections is considered as a major breakthrough for providing the legal basis to increase women's political representation despite the lack of legal sanctions for political parties. Article 65 (1) states that:

“Each political party contesting in the General Elections may nominate candidates for DPR (National Parliament), DPRD Propinsi (Provincial Parliament), and DPRD Kabupaten/Kota (Local Parliament) for each electoral district with considerations on the minimum 30 per cent of women representation”.

For the first time in the history of Indonesian political legislation, a legal basis is provided for increasing women's political representation with a specific percentage stated within the article of the law. The challenge for both women and men inside and outside the political system who are
committed to increasing women's visibility is how to ensure that political parties will implement article 65 (1) of the Law on General Elections both in the short and the long terms. In this regard, the suggested recommendations and strategies discussed in the National Conference and Provincial Workshops are still highly relevant and significant. This will be an uphill struggle, but not impossible, if women parliamentarians, members of political parties, academics, activists, and the media are willing and able to work together. It is also important that this is done in partnership with men. This kind of inclusive and participatory decision-making will serve to benefit Indonesian society in its transition towards a more democratic future.
Openning Speech by the State Minister for Women’s Empowerment*

Greetings,

With special acknowledgement to Dr. Sakuntala Kadilgamar-Rajasingham, Senior Executive of International IDEA, Francisia SSE Seda, Director of the Women and Elections Program at CETRO, and conference participants,

In God’s grace and with His blessing, we are together here today to attend a national conference held by International IDEA and CETRO to discuss the efforts and mechanisms to increase the presence of women in legislative bodies. The Ministry of Women’s Empowerment welcomes this initiative and would like to express its profound appreciation as the momentum and conditions currently being experienced by women today are not just relevant at the national level, but also at the international level.

In Indonesia, women’s participation, particularly in the political arena, has been formally guaranteed through the 1945 Constitution and the Broad State Guidelines outlined by the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR). The government has also stated its commitment internationally with regards to equal rights and the duties of men and women as stated in Regulation No. 7 of 1984 which ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and in Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, which states in section 46 that elections, parties, selection of legislative members and the selection system for the executive branch must guarantee the representation of women, also as outlined in Law No. 26/2000 on human rights. Nevertheless, despite this legislation, the de facto participation of women is still quite low, and a great cause for concern.

Data shows that at the national level, beginning with the period of parliamentary democracy, women representatives in the People’s Representative Assembly (DPR) increased from 3.8% out of 237 legislators to 6.3% in the 1955 elections, to 7.8% out of 460 legislators in the 1971 elections, and reached its peak of 13% out of 500 members in the 1987 elections. This number has declined since then through the 1999 elections with 8.8% of the legislators being women. At the level of the provinces, urban municipalities, and regencies, where the process of regional autonomy is being implemented, the number of women represented is alarmingly low, generally below 5% and actually 0% at the level of regencies and urban municipalities.

With these figures in mind, the Ministry for Women’s Empowerment has been focusing on increasing women’s participation and involvement in the political arena in the following ways:

* Delivered at IDEA-CETRO National Conference Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Jakarta, 24 September 2002
1. Improving the quality and quantity of women in strategic positions in political bodies as decision-makers and policy-makers through political education.

2. Socializing strategies for gender equality and justice sectorally through the Prioritizing Gender Requirement (PUG) strategy as described in Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000.

3. Socializing strategies for gender equality and justice to the public in order to create a society and culture that is more conducive for women to have a role in influencing national policy as underlined in the 1999 Broad State Guidelines, which is a guide for national policy as well as for the implementation of regional autonomy.

The need to improve the quantity and quality of women as decision-makers and as key figures in the process of drafting and coordinating policy based on their experience and knowledge, both in the formal as well as traditional sense, is a pressing issue, particularly at the legislative level. As we see, many concerns affecting women have emerged, such as violence, rape, exploitation and trafficking of women and children, the spread of drugs/HIV, pornography and the use of television to broadcast images that degrade our culture and values.

These conditions have been caused by socio-cultural and economic factors affecting the population who do not yet have a sense of the importance of equal rights for men and women - what we call 'gender bias' - as well as a political culture that is tied to regulations and laws that still allow human rights violations in the form of violence, discrimination and abuse of power to happen.

The Broad State Guidelines for 1999-2004, which constitutes MPR Decree No. IV/MPR/1999, clearly states the need to guarantee the representation of women, in order to support a development process that is founded on justice. The Guidelines have established the following policy directions:

1. Increase the representation and role of women in national life and in national culture through national policy.

2. Develop a national political system based on the people's sovereignty that emphasizes the principles of equality and anti-discrimination in all aspects of the national culture and in national life.

3. Increase political education to be more intensive and comprehensive in order to develop a democratic political culture that respects plurality, and to underscore the supremacy of the rule of law and of human rights based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

4. Implement a national legal system that fully recognizes and respects religious and traditional law and that revises the laws inherited from the colonial era and the other laws that are discriminative and that perpetuate gender inequality, and that are not consistent with reform demands, through legislation.

In keeping with the theme of this conference, Strengthening Women's Political Participation, the Ministry for Women's Empowerment hopes that it can produce programs and strategies that will
accelerate the creation of fair and equal positions and conditions for women and men, particularly in the field of politics. A need can be seen for a kind of ‘special interim action’ or ‘affirmative action’ to increase women’s representation by choosing candidates to serve in the legislature based on basic standards that are outlined and guaranteed through national legislation in order to increase the participation, role and position of women in the national and regional decision-making process. Such action would be instrumental in creating development based on justice, through a democratic and non-discriminative process, that also respects the hopes and dreams of a plurality of voices.

I hope that these points are of use. I thank you for your attention.

HJ. Sri Rejeki Sumaryoto SH
Minister for Women’s Empowerment
Appendix I: Conference and Workshop Reports India
Increasing Women’s Participation Through Constitutional and Electoral Processes*

EKA KOMARIAH KUNCORO

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO National Conference Strengthening Women's Political Participation in Indonesia, Jakarta, 24th September 2002

It is believed that only when women in reasonable numbers can become decision-makers, will they be able to endeavor to make a difference to the lives of other women, particularly those in the weaker sections of society.

Introduction

The experience gained from the study visit to India will help us understand and analyse women's efforts in the policy-making process in order to increase women's political participation through constitutional and electoral processes. From this we can also get a sense of how far cultural and patriarchal values persist in society and what can be done to eliminate them.

Political participation involves an active role of the citizenry in the political processes of the state with the objective to bring about desired changes in the form of policies and decisions. There are two kinds of political participation: (a) mobilized participation, and (b) voluntary participation. The former is characteristic of authoritarian political systems, and the latter of open and democratic systems.

Since the Indian system claims to be open and democratic, voluntary political participation seems to be a phenomenon which lends vibrance to the political culture of India. However, mere physical participation in formal political institutions like elections of political parties, social movements and demonstrations is not enough. Even an expanded level of participation by way of increased numbers or percentages may not lead to the advancement of the cause of a social group. Many studies on the participation of women in the electoral process that look at voting or candidacy seem to mainly concern themselves with this type of statistical package. Equally simplistic have been the studies which deal with the participation of women in the executive, administrative, judicial and local governmental (panchayati raj) machineries. Obviously, the theoretical premise of these studies is that women would promote women, would be easily approachable and would be better in formulating and implementing policies for women. This may however, not always be true. Equally significant is the level of political consciousness, and in this case, also gender consciousness.1

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APPENDIX I

The Indian Electoral System

India is a constitutional democracy with a parliamentary system of government. At the heart of this system is a commitment to hold regular, free and fair elections. These elections determine the composition of the government, the membership of the two houses of parliament, the state and territory legislative assemblies, and the presidency and vice-presidency.

Elections in India are events involving political mobilization and organizational complexity on an amazing scale. In the 1996 Lok Sabha (Lower House) elections, there were 1,269 candidates from registered national and state parties, 1,048 candidates from parties that were registered but not recognized, and 10,635 independent candidates. A total number of 59,25,72,228 people voted. The Elections Commission employed almost 40,000,000 people to run the election. A vast number of civilian police and security forces were deployed to ensure that the elections were carried out peacefully. The direct cost of organizing the election amounted to approximately Rs. 5,180 million.

The country is divided into 543 parliamentary constituencies, each of which proposes an MP to the Lok Sabha. The Constitution puts a limit on the size of the Lok Sabha. There are 550 elected members, apart from two members who can be nominated by the President to represent the Anglo-Indian community. There are also provisions to ensure the representation of castes and tribes conducted in turn, with reserved constituencies where only candidates from these communities can stand for election. There was an attempt to pass legislation to reserve one third of seats for female candidates but the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in 1998 occurred before the bill was passed in parliament. Reserving seats for women in legislatures is an issue which has brought most women members of parliament (MPs) together from across the political spectrum. Only a few felt the move would be counterproductive. Therefore, it was decided that reform should be started with the panchayati raj bill amendment with an understanding that it would be pursued at other levels later.

Women's Representation in Legislatures

The Indian Constitutional provision of equal rights and opportunities for all citizens are in direct conflict with the reality, customs and tradition of the society. Gender division of roles does not remain confined within the four walls of the family but extends to the world outside where certain spheres of activity seem to be demarcated strictly for men. While women are increasingly becoming visible in so called male professions, they seem conspicuously absent from political decision-making at all levels. Somehow this area has remained untouched. Though women have actively participated in and made valuable contributions to national movements, and later on in several mass movements, they have not emerged as women leaders in the sense of holding positions of authority either in legislature or within political parties. Although it is true that with the passing of the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution that reserved one third of seats for women in the three tiers of local self-governing bodies, and several hundred thousands of women have come into public life, politics still remains a male stronghold.
It is now 52 years since the constitution was adopted in 1950, but the representation of women in politics is still very low. Though women form nearly half the total population, politics has all along been the domain of men. The report of the Inter-Parliamentary Union says that Indian women hold only 7.2 per cent seats in the Lower House and 7.8 per cent in the Upper House. Their representation never exceeds 9 per cent in the parliament, 10 per cent in the state assemblies and 15% in the council of ministers. Women have failed to find space in representative and decision-making bodies.

Further analysis of the background of elected women indicates that almost all of them are from families that are politically connected or economically well off. Lack of political experience and dominance by male relatives have led them to understandably depend on male assistance. But there are also some women leaders who made their mark and people approach them irrespective of their gender because of their ability to take up and articulate people's concerns. Some of them are now fighting for the establishment of a reservation system in parliament and in state assemblies after they have achieved 33 per cent reservation for women in panchayat raj institutions (village and district level).

**Experience of Panchayats**

The experience of women in panchayats and local bodies is as varied as it is for male members. Not all male members in panchayats are active. Many social factors like poverty, caste discrimination, community-based oppression ensure that a large majority of panchayats function only as a rubber stamp for the richer sectors in the rural areas. Naturally, women entering this system will face tremendous barriers apart from gender discrimination. Women's role in public life often depends on the attitude of the men in the family. Often, husbands or sons try to take her role even if she is the elected member. This is the phenomenon of the panch pati or the sarpanch pati, that is, the husband of the elected female member taking over her position. Instead of taking stern action against such men, governments in many states in North India where there are many panch patis, have allowed this type of proxy politics. This is a sure way of sabotaging the reservation system. But what is remarkable is that even in these states where there has been no tradition of social reform movements and where women are in many ways still socially and culturally in feudal bondage, women panchayat and zilla parishad (district council) women members have in numerous areas overcome the barriers and are functioning as efficient peoples representatives.

The 73rd Amendment assures women's representation by mandating a minimum one-third reservation for women in the membership as well as in the chairpersons of panchayats at all levels. The law to reserve one-third of the total number of seats for women was implemented at the panchayat and zilla parishad levels without any opposition from any political party whatsoever in all states of India.
Increasing women's political participation

The result of Panchayati Raj Bill implementation, after three years since the states passed legislation as required by this constitutional amendment, is the election of one million women to local bodies. In many states they have even exceeded the quota. For example, in Karnataka, women constitute 47 per cent of the elected panchayat members. Actually the one-third reservation for women in legislatures is part of a great change in the system. India has a success story at panchayat levels. Hopefully soon, the Parliamentary Committee for the Empowerment of Women will promote this kind of a bill for the state and national levels.

The women's reservation bill, already pending for four years, seems to be going nowhere. The simple suggestion of the Election Commission that each political party be required to apportion a fixed percentage of tickets to women as an alternative to the 33 per cent reservation provided in the bill has not drawn an encouraging response. The political parties are not truly enthusiastic over seats for women even though a lower percentage was arrived at through compromise. Critics dub the strategy of the political parties as hypocrisy. But their dilemma is obvious. Whatever the moral justification for having more women in legislatures may be, there is always intense pressure for inclusion into the ticket from men. Furthermore, the chances of women candidates winning are commonly rated lower than that of men.

The phenomenon of women not rising as high as men in politics should cause no surprise. This is the situation prevalent world-wide. To change this phenomenon is an important thing to do, but it is not easy. Men and women need political education to have proper understanding and respect for each other. The main barriers to change are social and patriarchal attitudes that have conditioned women to accept male domination in politics as the norm.

Conclusion

1. India is successful in increasing women's political participation through the constitutional and the electoral processes at the panchayat level.
2. The women's Reservation Bill has been presented before the Parliament. However, it seems to be going nowhere.
3. The main obstacle faced by women in the area of political participation is the social and cultural system. Political education is needed for both women and men.
4. The one-third reservation strategy seems to be an effective way of increasing women's participation in politics.
Increasing Women’s Political Participation through the Electoral Process and the Constitution*

EKO DARWANTO

Introduction

India is a country with a population of 1,029,911,145 making it the second most populated country in the world. India gained its independence from Britain on August 15, 1947. After independence, India worked hard to determine its political system. Its strong nationalist sentiment fueled its desire to be the world's largest democratic country. Political parties, NGOs, and the media grew rapidly to become democratic pillars.

India has a democratic political system. The constitution guarantees all citizens the right to participate in the democratic process. At the same time, the social-economic reality of the country exposes gross inequalities and social injustices resulting from the caste system, class differences, women's subordination, poverty, and the domination of parents. Being a democratic country, India has an independent election commission which is provided for in the Constitution. India also established a commission for women which has a structure that extends from the central to the local government.

Efforts to increase women's political participation met with success when the panchayati raj, a local body, pressured Parliament to pass a bill to reserve 33 per cent of seats for women. As part of the effort to support reservations for women, together with a number of NGOs, the Indian government also supports gender sensitivity programs. The political will and initiatives of political parties are also instrumental in empowering women, even though many feel they have 'bigger interests' and often tend to be defensive and passive when it comes to gender issues.

Socio-cultural Conditions of India

As a big country with a huge and diverse population, India has unique cultural and social problems. Around 35% of the people live below the poverty line (1994). There are Hindus (81.3%), Muslims (12%), Christians (2.3%), Sikhs (1.9%), and other groups include Buddhists, Jains, Parsis 2.5% (2000). The caste system deeply influences Indian life, creating constraints in all sectors: political, economic and social, all related to inequalities and injustices against women. Violence against women also results from the caste system: sexual harassment, often followed by rape which is triggered by religious hatred. The structure of the caste system is made up of

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brahmins (priests), kshatriyas (warrior class and the aristocracy), vaishyas (traders and cultivators) and sudras (low-class workers and peasants). There is even a group called dalit which is too low to even be considered part of the caste system.

The caste system strongly influences political party recruitment. Indian politics today is still dominated by the high caste group whose members randomly nominate someone from the same caste.

**Electoral System**

India is a constitutional democracy with a parliamentary system and a government which is committed to running fair, regular and free elections. Elections determine the composition of the government, the membership of the two houses of parliament, the state and union territory legislative assemblies, and the presidency and vice-presidency. It is also a federal republic with 28 states and seven union territories. The government is structured with three main branches: executive, legislative, and judicial.

**National Commission for Elections**

Under the constitution, an independent national commission for elections is empowered to regulate, run and execute all aspects of elections, including dealing with problems among political parties. Indians have a good history in appreciating their own constitution.

**Panchayati Raj**

The panchayati raj means council or assembly of five (from panch which means 'five', and yat which means 'assembly'). The word raj means 'rule' and refers to local self-government. The members of the panchayati raj are usually older and more experienced people of the community. In India now there are around 1.3 million women out of the 5 million members of the panchayati raj.

At the local levels the panchayati raj is called the gram panchayat (village council), the panchayat samittee (block council) and the zilla –parishad (district council).

**Reservation (Quotas) for Women’s Political Participation**

The political geography of India is divided into 543 parliamentary constituencies. Each is represented by a member of parliament (M P) in the Lok Sabha (lower house). The shape and size of the parliamentary constituencies are determined by an independent commission called the Delimitation Commission which considers factors like population, geographical factors, boundaries of the state and administrative areas.
The reservation system was achieved through a long process involving the women's movement in India which finally succeeded in applying the reservation of seats for women in the local bodies partly because of the constitutional obligation to involve women in decision-making at the village level. In 1987 an independent commission was appointed by the central government to study the problems of self-employed women and women in the informal sector. In 1988, the commission issued a report called Shramashakti in which all political parties were found guilty of not dealing with women's issues and of not giving them enough importance in the party platform. This report led to the establishment of a National Perspective Plan (NPP) for women in the same year which demanded an increase in women's political participation through a 30 per cent quota.

In 1989, the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi introduced the 64th Constitutional Amendment Bill which failed in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) due to a lack of majority. The 9th Lok Sabha passed the National Women's Commission Act (30th August 1990). Finally in December 1992, the Parliament passed the 73rd and 74th Amendments, reserving 33 per cent of seats in the panchayati bodies for women. There is also a reservation quota for lower castes, especially the dalit group, provided in the amendments.

Below are a number of activities which attempted to socialise the amendments:

1. Analysing party platform manifestos for the inclusion of a gender perspective.
2. Reformulating political party platforms which include women's representation.
3. Conducting campaigns and disseminating information on the issue of political participation.
4. Conducting training and orientation programs for newly elected representatives of the panchayati raj in an effort to give confidence and to educate them about their own role and potential in decision-making.
5. Thousands of NGOs, social activists, and voluntary groups should campaign in international forums to urge the government to handle the issues concerned. This kind of forum is very important to create networks and linkages with groups and individuals. India is the first country to adopt the full text of the Platform for Action of the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing. India committed itself to ensuring the full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, and social life.

The Role of NGOs in Strengthening Women's Political Participation

Training for gender understanding
In an effort to fully contribute to the understanding of gender, the government of India together with NGOs, social groups, women's organizations and voluntary activists have held training programs on gender. Participants include bureaucrats, members of the private sector and members of political parties at the grass roots level. It aims to achieve gender sensitivity among women and men. In this manner, it is hoped that they would be able to include a gender perspective in the policies they formulate and the actions they take.

This training, which was conducted using participatory methods, was meant to help participants achieve skills and change attitudes, including the rejection of the stereotyped image of women in society.
Pressure Group

To achieve the above goal, many NGOs and social activists work hand-in-hand as a pressure group to achieve the set target. A women's coalition was formed with the aim to focus on the program and to anticipate issues that could arise.

Statement of the Charter

A charter was drawn up and circulated in connection with women's demand to achieve reservations in parliament. The points in the charter consist of:

1. 33 per cent up to 50 per cent reservation at all levels from the panchayat until the Lok Sabha
2. 33 per cent to 50 per cent membership in political parties for women.
3. Putting an end to the criminalisation of politics and the politicisation of crime.
4. The declaration of candidates' assets publicly.
5. The separation of politics from caste, class and religion.

Political Parties and their Role

Political behavior in India

Being a country with a parliamentary system, India has a multiparty system with a Prime Minister as the top executive figure. Usually to gain a majority, the biggest party must build a coalition with other parties to run the government.

India has often experienced the difficulties of passing a bill in parliament which is often related to the political party's political will to accommodate women's issues. By way of an example, the 73rd and 74th amendments concerning panchayati bodies were initiated by the late Rajiv Gandhi who was at the time, Prime Minister and the leader of the Congress Party.

The Reservation Bill in State and National Assemblies is now pending in the House, which shows that political will and initiative are of great importance. If a majority group in parliament wants to pass a bill, the probability is greater that it will happen. As we all know, political parties have a hidden agenda in passing a bill at the right time to get political benefits.

Cadre recruitment in political parties

The role of political parties in India as pillars of democracy is very pronounced. Indian society believes that political parties are the gateway to increase people's participation in policy-making. Although they are made up of many ethnic and religious groups, Indians realise that the only way to participate in the political process is by joining a political party.

This is one of the indicators of the maturity of Indian political thinking. On the other hand, many political parties still recruit their cadres only from their own group. It is an open secret that cronyism and favouritism is prevalent in Indian politics.

The Constitutional Approach for Quotas

a. The networking of women in parliament, political parties, the media and social groups give life to the campaign to demand quotas for women. Persistent and continuous efforts are needed to pressure political parties to accept women as their political constituents.
b. The building of networks and developing communications through personal contacts, visits, disseminating information and making use of strategic events such as International Women's Day, etc.

c. Establishing a Women's Commission in Parliament in an attempt to coordinate and have a deeper grasp of women's issues.

**The Media and Women Journalists**

The media has an important role in propagating ideas to inform the public to induce them to think more critically. During elections, for example, the Indian media conducts full coverage for all political groups and the electorate. Women's issues are given good coverage due to the fact that in general journalists have a good understanding of gender issues.

**Conclusion**

The Indian state has been able to project a positive image of itself as a democratic state. It has a multi-party system, and the state is led by a president, vice-president and a prime minister. The state shares its power with political parties in running the government both at the central level as well as at the local levels (state, district, block and village levels). The pending of the bill for the reservation of seats at the Lok Sabha in Parliament indicates that there are short-term interest related to the general elections. This may be instigated by the fear of having to share seats and power with 'others', or the fear of losing positions that have been held for a long time.

The structure of a discriminative socio-cultural system resulting from a caste system has forced political parties to engage in cronyism or favouritism in the recruitment of political cadres. This is truly a negative point for a country that in principle abides by democratic principles.
Some Impressions from India:  
A Lesson on Reservation Seats and Gender Issues*

In India, the method applied is the reservation seats system in which there is a rotation of one-third of parliament seats allocated for marginalized groups including women. This seat reservation system, has only been applied in the rural areas (anchayat) and is not applied at the regional, states or national levels.

The positive impacts of the reservation seats system in India are as follows:

1. Indian democracy in its entirety becomes more participatory.
2. Self-perception of Indian women undergoes a positive change.
3. Indian women's movements become more influential in India's political system.

In general, it can be said that the reservation seats system for women in rural areas has an empowering impact on Indian women. There is even a proposal to extend the term of office for women in rural areas so that they can obtain more experience and enhance their capability.

The negative impacts of the reservation seats system in India are as follows:

1. Other persons (husbands or brothers) often hold and carry out women's positions and tasks in rural areas (the proxy phenomenon).
2. Many political parties allocate parliament seats that will certainly not be won by parties, in particular rural areas, to women.
3. There have been cases where female candidates compete with each other for the same parliament seats.
4. Certain groups cite this as a justification for not applying the reservation seats system in the state or at the national level.

The background for the application of the reservation seats system in India goes back to 1992, when the administration of the late Rajiv Gandhi (Congress party) approved and applied the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution concerning the reservation of 33 per cent of seats for Indian women in rural areas (panchayat). These amendments to the Constitution later became laws upon being approved by the Lower House (Lok Sabha) and Upper House (Raj Sabha) of the Indian Parliament.

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO Provincial Workshop Strengthening Women's Political Participation in Indonesia, Makassar, 30th September 2002
The reasons for proposing and approving these amendments to the Constitution are as follows:
1. Gender injustice and inequality experienced by Indian women in the social structure, political, economic and cultural systems of the Indian community.
2. Women in rural areas need incentives in order to participate in local politics.
3. To raise the political awareness of women in rural areas in handling the traditional hierarchy of men in rural areas who often oppress them.
4. To increase the welfare of the community in rural areas.

On the other hand, there are obstacles following the application of the reservation seats system for women in rural areas:
1. Funding for female candidates is not easily obtained compared to that for men.
2. Women must enter political parties in order to compete in the general elections.

The proposals to overcome such obstacles are as follows:
1. The Indian women's movement need to establish a Women's National Fund to assist funding for female candidates.
2. It is necessary to support political parties having a gender equality agenda and platform.
3. It is necessary to have a conceptual framework and an implementation strategy for policy in local governance for women.
4. It is necessary to have a national policy for the empowerment of Indian women.

Up to this moment, such proposals are still at the level of being pursued and fought for by various parties and groups as well as by Indian women's organizations.

The rotation process presently applied in India for the reservation seats system for marginalized groups (including women) is determined through lottery. This means that the group that will obtain 33 per cent of the parliament seats in a certain period will be determined by drawing lots because the reservation seats system is not intended only for women, but also for ethnic and religious minorities as well as casteless people. This reservation seats system is only applicable for a one period and cannot be extended.

The effects of this type of rotation process are as follows:
1. There is a misconception in assuming that if 33 per cent of the seats are allocated to women, then automatically the remaining 67 per cent are allocated to men, thus men tend to underestimate women sitting in the parliament.
2. Educated and skilled women often are not nominated.

To overcome such effects, the following are proposed:
1. To apply a 'sustained reservation' system for women in the parliament in rural areas.
2. This sustained reservation system should not only be applicable for one period (of five years) but should be extended to two periods (totaling ten years).
3. The operation of such a mechanism should be left to the respective states.

These proposals are still being pushed for by the Indian women's movement.
There are several criticisms concerning the reservation seats system for women in the parliament in rural areas currently in effect in India:

1. The lottery system applicable in the rotation of reserved seats' election is not good for women's interests.
2. The implication of such a lottery system is that one-third of men and one-third of women are taken from the constituents.
3. Public accountability of the candidates is absent.
4. The problem of men actually holding and carrying out the positions and tasks of female candidates (usually their husbands or brothers), or the so-called proxy problem arises.
5. Female candidates compete among themselves for the same constituents.
6. Democratic processes (i.e. public debate) in electing female candidates that will sit in the parliament are absent.

The strategies proposed to overcome such problems are as follows:

1. A certain percentage should be allocated to political parties because women possess a higher level of success in being elected if one considers that now the Indian people have shown their willingness to elect female candidates.
2. A certain standard figure for reserved seats in the parliament is absent.
3. For general elections at the national level, the votes should be calculated at the regional state level and not at the national level.
4. For general elections at the state level, the votes should be calculated at the village group level (comprised of three neighbouring villages) to avoid the granting of 'lost electoral districts' to female candidates.

Such strategies are currently being pushed for through an alternative draft law proposed by a group of Indian NGOs to the Indian parliament.

Generally, there are several obstacles in increasing women's political representation in India:

1. The level of political socialization for women is still low.
2. Political parties only nominate candidates having the potential to win, and therefore, favour male candidates.
3. There is a tendency to elect female candidates having close connections with men in power.
4. Participation in general elections costs are high and requires funds.

At this point, we need to realize that the electoral process is very important in a democracy. After observing the reservation seats system and gender issues in India, are there any lessons that we can learn in Indonesia?

There are several lessons that can be gleaned:

1. There is a necessity to reform political parties and the political system.
2. There is a necessity to establish relations between social movements, especially women's movements with political parties.
3. The existing political system (including political parties) is still one that is trusted by society, including by female activists.

4. In order to succeed in increasing women’s representation in the political system, stable and democratic political institutions are required.

5. The independence of various political, legal and social institutions (such as political parties, the parliament, the supreme court and mass media) is the most decisive factor in increasing women’s representation in the parliament.

6. Social and cultural factors in the context of the community and its history must be taken into account considering that women, both in India and in Indonesia, are not homogeneous.
Introduction

India? That was the first question that came to my mind when I was sent to observe women's positions and roles in that country. At the time, my picture of India was based on Bollywood movie descriptions. Until the day I arrived, the image of this country and the conditions faced by its women were still very vague. It started to become clearer on the first day, during a meeting with Mr. Malhoutra, M.D. Ministry (Secretary General of the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation). He brought up various matters regarding the importance of women's involvement in politics. Women's position in India became even clearer to me when we visited institutions handling women's issues (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, CEDAW, the National Alliance of Women, NAWO, etc). Based on those meetings and field trips, it can be concluded that political, social and cultural structures strongly determine women's participation in politics.

Women's political participation is a challenge that should currently be met and studied to see whether it has improved in quality and quantity or in fact has become worse. There are several obstacles to women's struggle to improve participation, including:

a. The Psychological Factor

The psychological factor is responsible for women's sense of inferiority and their opinion that political issues are not their business. This has been the cause of women's passive behavior in politics, besides the perception that politics is cruel, corrupt, bad, etc. Women's hesitance to participate in politics, let alone lead organizations, has diminished their role in national development.

b. Socio-cultural Factors

Socio-cultural factors in a community most definitely influence the women's movement. The 'parental culture', for example, which places leaders as the parents and the community as children have made people hesitant to criticize their leaders since it is seen as disturbing the harmony of the parent-children relationship. The same applies to women, where men's treatment of women as weak creatures that must be protected has oppressed and marginalised them. In practice, many women play double roles, as housewives and career women which requires also a double effort. These conditions of discrimination should be eliminated from the existing structure of the community.

The two factors pose significant obstacles to women in gaining equal position with men in politics. This condition is indicated by the small number of women in the parliament, both at the central as well as the regional level. Moreover, there are still people who consider women's struggle as a nonsensical, or worse, going against what is considered 'natural' and therefore a threat to men. Such opinions have triggered the women's movement to strive for equality with men in all areas. The women's movement only intends to achieve a synergy, and does not aim to replace men's position. The fact that women are marginalized in politics is also caused by the lack of access and space that can be used to improve women's participation. As an illustration, in India, in an effort to improve women's participation in politics, women have demanded the application of a quota system, namely 33 per cent of the seats in the parliament. This has had the following effects:

- the quota system demanded is an attempt to obtain seats allocated for women, but has had the unintended result of women politicians competing for seats.
- there is no solidarity in the form of a coalition among female politicians.

Another problem revolves around the readiness of the existing political parties in preparing their platform to give ample room and opportunities for women to participate. Because the existing political parties do not function effectively, many female activists are struggling through NGOs outside the existing political system. Fortunately, the women's movement in India is in fact supported by the government.

In Indonesia, the move towards improving political participation is different from the women's movement in India. Even though there has recently been significant increase in women's empowerment, the number of women in the parliament is still very small. Nevertheless, women's struggle has currently obtained a place in politics. This is indicated by the fact that we have a female president, female heads of regions, and female legislators. Unfortunately, in Indonesia, there is poor cooperation between political parties and other institutions striving for women's rights, despite the fact that political parties have a strategic function to articulate their interests. In contrast with India, the Indonesian government has not given much real support at all to the women's movement.

**Promoting the Role of Women in Politics**

As the tool for articulating interests, political parties need to be supported by women activists so that efforts to promote the political role of women can be done formally and legally both in the constitution and in the general elections. This is not intended to downplay the role of NGOs, social and religious organizations, etc., but to emphasize the importance of a strong synergy between state and non-state actors to achieve the objectives of the struggle of the women's movement.

Based on their experiences, there are several matters causing women movements in India to be met with strong opposition even though there exist laws and an electoral system that provide space for women. However, cultural factors in the community such as the existence of strong caste and patriarchic systems have strong influences on the participation of women. These two factors affect the electoral process and the drafting of laws regulating women. For example, how
can a dalit (caste below sudra) woman associate with people from a higher caste? Although India consists of various states, the representation of women in parliament can only be found at the panchayat (district level) and not at the state and Lok Shaba levels.

In Indonesia, the historical roots and socio-cultural environment is relatively conducive to the promotion of women's role. In the period of the Hindu kingdom, we have known the figures of Dewi Sinta and Queen Tribuwana Tungga Dewi. During the colonial era, there were many female figures involved in the struggle against the colonial oppressors such as Cut Nyak Dhien, Martha Kristina Tiahahu, R.A. Kartini, etc. However, gender issues become marginalized when development policies prioritize economic growth which often serves to further limit the role of women. Efforts to improve the role of women in the process of development are opposed by both men and women. In daily life, many women possess double professions, both as housewives and workers which is a burden that needs to be alleviated. How socio-cultural conditions in the community affect the magnitude of women's role in development is yet to be properly observed. To change such matters will require a long process.

**Constitutional and Electoral Processes in Favour of Women**

The political participation of women should be promoted by getting them to be involved in political parties. The electoral system in Indonesia results in having elected candidates from political parties serving in the parliament. Without women's representation in political parties, it would be very difficult to formulate a party platform for women. This condition clearly affects the composition of women serving in parliament.

Based on observations in India, although the role of political parties is not significant in struggling for the interests of women, there are several factors that have contributed to the political empowerment of women. Among others, they are: the enormous attention of academics who care about the problems of the women's movement; the existence of a constitution regulating and protecting women's rights, and the presence of a government willing to support women's participation. Conversely, a factor contributing to the weakness in the Indian women's movement is caused by bad relations between women activists serving in the parliament and those serving outside. This results in a discrepancy between what is expected from women promoting women's political participation inside and outside the parliament.

Several strategies may be applied in Indonesia such as:

a. Conduct social education through the existing cultural and religious institutions such as Fatayat, Aliyiah, etc., especially among rural people so that awareness and consciousness of the importance of women's role in development is created.

b. Lobby women activists in political parties to strive for women's interests to be included in the parties' platforms/broad outlines.

c. Women's struggle as a movement requires representatives who will become candidates to serve in the parliament. Up to now, there are still many activists struggling outside the existing political system and serving only as pressure groups but do not have any power to legalize women's interests.
**Closing Notes**

Based on observations in India, especially concerning the women’s movement, the barriers existing in Indonesia are not the same. However, the removal of various obstacles to the promotion of women’s political participation through the constitution and the electoral system needs to be proactively supported by all sectors in the community.
Appendix II: Conference and Workshop Reports Philippines
Comparative Study on Women’s Political Participation in the Philippines*

HINDUN

Introduction

In the context of improving Indonesian women’s participation in the politics, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in cooperation with the Center for Electoral Reform (CETRO) sponsored visits to three countries, namely the Philippines, India and Thailand from August 31 to September 7, 2002. The purpose of the visits were to learn from the experiences and knowledge of female politicians in these three countries and to learn about various difficulties and challenges they face as female politicians. As one of the participants who went to the Philippines, I would like to share the stories and experiences of various parties that I learned from during the visit, particularly about strategies to improve women’s political participation, the challenges they face and the possibilities for us in Indonesia to improve women’s political participation in our own country.

The Philippines is an archipelagic country with a Republican form of government, Manila being its capital. The country has around 7,100 islands, including three major ones, namely Luzon, Mindanao and Palawan. These three islands and also several other smaller ones are prone to earthquakes. The Philippines has 73 provinces with a population of approximately 72,841,518 (estimation of July 2001) comprising of Christian Malays 91.5%, Moslems 4%, Chinese 1.5%, and others 3%. The religions are Roman Catholic 83%, Protestant 9%, Islam 5%, Buddhism and others 3%. The literacy rate for the age of 15 years and older reaches 94.6%. The means of livelihood of the population is comprised of various sectors: agriculture, industry and services.

Under the 1987 Constitution, the government of the Philippines consists of three branches, namely, the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. The legislative is divided into two, namely, the Senate having 24 members and the House of Representatives having a maximum of 250 members.

Women’s Political Participation

Quantitatively, women’s political participation in the Philippines is higher than in Indonesia. In the Philippines, among the 24 Senators, three are women, whereas among the 212 members of the House of Representatives, 38 are women. Among the 727 members of the Provincial Assemblies, 120 are women. In the executive branch, among the 24 members of the cabinet, five are women, among 74 governors, 14 are women; and among 1,635 mayors, 132 are women (see table 1).

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO Provincial Workshop Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Medan, 2nd October 2002
The high number of women holding strategic positions in the Philippines is supported by several factors, among others: political education and awareness, and the women's own motivation to be involved in politics. The history of their struggle and the challenges they faced to reach those significant positions varies. Those coming from families with political backgrounds or from rich and famous families, such as most female members of the House of Representatives who are either wives of Senators or relatives of officials in the executive branch, do not experience any significant obstacles. However, those starting their career from the bottom of the ladder experience huge challenges from various parties. The obstacles and challenges faced by female politicians in the Philippines in improving and strengthening women's positions in the politics are generally as follows:

a. The system:
The direct general election system requires a large amount of funds, popular candidates and political support from various parties. Female politicians often not have sufficient funds or support (as stated by the Governor of Bulacan). Funds are required for a campaign, done mainly through printed and electronic media as well as direct campaign and by conducting training for prospective voters. In this case, female politicians often do not have sufficient funds.

b. Culture:
The gender stereotype of women as housewives who supposedly have a lack of managerial skills and leadership qualities is the most common means to attack female candidates. Further, there is a lack of work support for women who are actively involved in politics.
The direct election of members of the Congress (Senate as well as House of Representatives and Provincial Assemblies) and other political positions in the executive branch, does not provide sufficient opportunities for women to compete, because in the end, women holding significant positions are mostly rich or popular women coming from families with political backgrounds. For that reason, female activists and parties who are aware of women's issues such as Akbayan, a party established in 1998 concerned with women's issues, proposed to introduce a quota system for women.

The fact that famous women are elected certainly has an impact on the quality of women's political participation in the Philippines, because they do not really have any sense of crisis. The female members of the House of Representatives coming from families with political backgrounds, for example, stated that they do not face any problem in being female politicians. However, those starting their career from the bottom of the ladder such as Vicki Vega (Councilor in Angeles City), who started her career through a long struggle, experienced structural and cultural obstacles in being female politicians. To become a politician, Vega performed her political campaign using posters, she visited the voters one by one, she went to community centers, and she was fair and realistic in giving her political promises. Ever since she was elected, she has been actively striving for women’s rights by means of training and advocacy for female candidates in her region. The Governor of Bulacan, Josephine de la Cruz, clearly explained the obstacles faced by female politicians, among others: the political structure that is dominated by men, discrimination in terms of cooperation, lack of support from political parties, limited access to leadership process and managerial skills, as well as lack of support from the men and fellow women, limited funds and lack of popularity. Therefore, in order to become leaders, it appears that women need to work twice as hard to prove their capability as key officials either in the parliament or in the executive branch. In the context of improving women's participation in politics, Governor de la Cruz also identified women's strategic needs, such as constantly monitoring the enforcement of law and providing advocacy so that there are certain positions for women in the local government. In order to support women's empowerment activities, Governor de la Cruz also established the Women's Empowerment Commission led by her at the provincial level. It has among its duties the task of giving input to the government regarding women's empowerment programs, monitoring the implementation of women's empowerment activities in each department and cooperating with NGOs in promoting women’s issues to be included as an agenda.

In order to provide more opportunities for women to participate in politics, Akbayan, together with the Center for Legislative Development (CLD), are of the opinion that the general election law should be amended. Akbayan and CLD propose a quota of 30 per cent or more for women. Direct elections mostly relies on popularity and lacks mechanisms to test the candidates’ capabilities. This disadvantages not only female candidates, but all other candidates, due to the neglected factor of capacity in leadership, as stated by Prof. Emmanuel A. Loyco from CLD.

In implementing activities to improve women’s participation in politics, cooperation with NGOs is quite an important thing to be conducted by female members of the House of Representatives and also by women’s empowerment bureaus in the Philippines. They are cooperating in:
1. Identifying women's needs.
2. Determining priority issues to be included as part of the agenda of the legislative and the executive branches in formulating policies.

The support for strategies to strengthen women's political participation also comes from civil society groups in the form of:
1. Civic education.
2. Training for candidate female members of the legislative/executive or female political cadres on gender and gender perspectives in the policy-making process as well as campaigning skills such as through the media, how to act and organize a campaign using one's own funds.
3. Support for female legislators in identifying issues to be included in the agenda of legislative sessions through research.

According to Prof. Emmanuel A. Leyco, the candidates must bear in mind that it would be more effective if the campaign raises issues about the community's practical needs, such as the economy, job opportunities, etc., rather than women-specific issues such as rape. It would gain the sympathy of various actors including men, because the economy is everyone's concern. Integrated activities of practical (economic) needs and strategic (advocacy) needs of women in order to strengthen women's position in the community are also conducted by the Democratic Socialist Women of the Philippines (DSWP), an NGO having more than 100 branch offices throughout the Philippines.

In strengthening women's position in politics, both in the legislative as well as executive branches, the central government of the Philippines has allocated 5% of its budget for women's empowerment in all ministries. In addition, in order to provide input to the government and to monitor women's empowerment program in all departments using the government's budget, in 1975 the central government formed the National Commission for Women's Role. This commission only exists at the central level. However, in the Philippines, it seems that women's issues would get more attention if the leaders/policy-makers are women. This is shown in the case of the Governor of Bulacan Josefinna de la Cruz. She also has the responsibility of chairing the Central Commission for Women's Empowerment at the provincial level, which has the duties of identifying women's issues, monitoring women's empowerment in all departments in her province and cooperating with NGOs in strengthening women's participation in politics through training, dialogue and research.

**How about in Indonesia?**

Politics in a narrow sense is the media/instrument/facility for expressing the demands and interests of women, namely equality and fairness; for obtaining equal protection and treatment before the law. For this purpose, women's political movement is not only about striving for the number of female members in the parliament, but more importantly about striving for their interests to be expressed. In Indonesia, women's political participation is very low compared to the Philippines.
The indirect general election system gives a strong role to political parties dominated by men as the centre of political power to express the community's interests, including that of women. A process is required to enable the sharing of the same or similar perceptions on women's issues, women's interests related to gender unfairness faced by women and also the same commitment to settle such problems as a part of the democratization process. On the other hand, women's traditional role/stereotype, the structure of political parties dominated by men and women's limited access to information regarding their political rights as citizens have made women isolated from their public role, specifically their political role. Therefore, a process is required for the empowerment of women with respect to their political participation, the empowerment of political parties so as to give ample room for the women in parties through amendments of laws regarding the general election, the empowerment of women's role bureaus at the provincial and regional levels in order to better identify women's strategic needs in politics by cooperating with NGOs concerned about women's issues, and also the empowerment of female legislators to enable them to be more vocal in expressing women's interests in the legislature.

1. The empowerment of women in politics can be conducted through the following steps:
   • Identifying female cadres concerned about gender and political issues.
   • Organizing and improving their capabilities with respect to women's political rights by using gender as the instrument of analysis.
   • Forming a group comprised of trained participants and making it as the center for women's political empowerment.
   • Cooperating with NGOs in sustainable empowerment for those having many activities including economic empowerment as an effort to meet their practical needs.

2. The empowerment of political parties through the following steps:
   • Workshops with the aim to synchronise perceptions on women's interests in politics.
   • Advocacy on amendments to the general election laws so that a quota for women in the parties may be established.
   • Empowerment of male and female candidates of political parties so as to have gender sensitivity.

3. The empowerment of the executive branch
   • Assistance to women's empowerment bureaus at the regional and provincial levels under the local Social Bureau so as to be more sensitive with respect to women's strategic interests specifically in politics.
   • Conducting advocacy so that there be more women holding strategic positions through regional regulations.
Developing Government’s Responsibilities through the Empowerment of Civil Society*

SALVIAH IKA

Introduction

Like Indonesia, the Republic of the Philippines is also an archipelagic country consisting of about 7,100 islands, with a population of approximately 82 million people, according to the estimate in July 2001. Its social life is also varied, a result of the different ethnic cultures in the society. In terms of religious composition, Christians predominate by far at 91.5% of the population, while Muslims make up 4%, Chinese 1.5% and others make up 3% of the total.

The Philippines also boasts a high literacy rate, with 94.6% literacy for the whole population (15 years upward), with 94.3% literacy for women and 95% for men. The large percentage of the literate female population, which almost equals that of men, significantly affects women’s role in Philippine regional and national politics. This is due to their ability to access information and to take part in public decision-making processes, and more particularly, to be involved in campaigning and in competing for seats or appointments in the legislative, executive or judicial branches of government.

The latest data from the Centre for Legislative Development (CLD) in Metro Manila states that three (13%) out of the currently existing 24 senators, 37 (17%) out of the 211 House of Representatives (HoR) members, 2,198 (17%) out of the 12,665 city council members, 10 (13%) out of the 77 deputy governors, 192 (12%) out of the 1,548 deputy mayors, 15 (19%) out of the 74 governors, 241 (15%) out of the 1,635 mayors, and one (6.7%) out of the 15 chief prosecutors, are women.

The great number of women holding strategic positions in the three institutions is a sign of the progress of women’s political participation in the Philippines. In general, the political participation of the Philippine people can be seen during elections, whether for mayors, regional and national representatives, governors, or the president. They welcome this particular democratic process joyfully, holding hope for changes after a candidate has been elected.

Political participation is also seen in the supervisory activities of the work of the executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. The social groups actively carrying out this supervisory activity include labourers, farmers, youth, and women, as well as professionals, educators, NGOs and the Church. They also have representatives in the legislature.

The Philippines is still a part of the Asian region and has many similarities to Indonesia, in terms of their very pluralistic and multicultural societies. Obstacles for women’s participation in politics among others come in the form of cultural barriers, most notably the stereotyping of

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* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO National Conference Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Jakarta, 24th September 2002
women with their domestic roles and responsibilities, the Church’s influence that places women as good mothers, obedient and loving wives, and the negative perception of politics. Structural obstacles faced by women come in the form of the electoral system, economic barriers and educational factors.

Besides the similarities between the two countries, there are also differences, for example, in the electoral systems. In Indonesia, the prevailing electoral system is the PR system, or representation through the legislative institution. In contrast, the Philippines uses a parallel system (FPTP) of PR where candidates compete fiercely with one another.

The similarities and differences found during the study visit were analyzed by every participant, the clusters of similarities and differences were then discussed and summed up to obtain a final conclusion whether they could be applied or not in the context of Indonesia.

**Field Facts**

Previously, it was mentioned that women’s political participation in the Philippines could also be seen from the activities of overseeing the process of formulating public policies, whether through the executive or the legislative institutions. For example, the passing of the bill on anti-violence and anti-trafficking cannot be separated from the role of social groups, particularly NGOs. They actively lobbied the Senate and the HoR to ensure that the bills were promptly ratified. Prior to this, they actively approached various other social groups by promoting their ideas about those bills through group discussions. After receiving support from the public, they then pressured the legislative bodies. Finally, the HoR ratified those bills. The NGOs involved among others were Pilipina, one of the women NGOs existing in the Philippines since 1981, and the Democratic Socialist Women of the Philippines (DSWP).

The close cooperation between NGOs and other social groups is quite significant in influencing public policy-making in the Philippines. This requires responsiveness of the government to public aspirations and needs which also applies to addressing women issues. Although there is no Ministry for Women’s Empowerment in the Philippine administration, the 1975 government established the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW). This national commission functions to give counsel to the President and help the cabinet in policies and programs for women’s development. Its main interventions in policy are channeling particular acts like the Act on Anti-rape, influencing the legislative agenda to become more gender-responsive and to prioritize legislative agendas for women. It also tries to increase public awareness on Gender and Development (GAD). The mechanism works by organizing the legislative groups, whether in the Congress or women NGOs as lobbyists.

To take a concrete example, the Bulacan Province is led by Josefina de la Cruz, a female governor. She is one of the 15 female governors among the 24 governors in the Philippines. Governor de la Cruz’ concern about women issues in her region prompted her administration to establish a Women’s Centre. Operating under the supervision of the National Commission, it is the only women’s institution established at the local level. The selection of people - mainly from NGOs - to be involved in the Women’s Centre was very tight. Out of the 200 NGO activists who registered themselves, only 24 were selected. These 24 people were further reduced to 12, and it
is these people who are now involved in the Women's Centre. The duty of this institution is to
directly serve the public, especially women, including offering medical aid.

Creating a relationship between civil society and political institutions in the context of
developing a responsive government, as has been illustrated above, can be achieved by strengthening
cooperation among social groups. With close cooperation among those social groups, civil society
can reinforce its bargaining position vis-a-vis the government. In this way the government will
heed and consider voices that constitute the aspirations of the public before making or launching
a public policy.

Sharing the same vision before submitting a concept to the government or the legislative
institutions is the root of all advocacy activities, thus the importance of close cooperation among
social groups. Why? Because both the executive, i.e. the government and the legislature will only
make a public decision after careful consideration. Whenever there are two different streams of
opinions concerning an issue, revolving around a bill for example, then that will hinder and block
its ratification. This happened in the Philippines when there were two different streams of opinion
concerning a bill on reproductive rights and a bill on anti-rape. In the former, one of its points
mentioned abortion, and the Church opposed this. In the latter, the point of contention was that
of domestic violence. Some felt that the bill applied only to those who are married, while others
felt that the law applies also to couples who are not officially wed. In the end, both bills were
delayed in their ratification.

On the one hand, when certain social groups fought for a seat-quota of 30% in the legislative
institution, they did not receive a positive response from female legislators who felt they did not
need any special treatment. These women MPs felt they could achieve their goals following
‘normal’ procedures, by relying on their individual capacities and competing with their male
colleagues.

On the other hand, outside of the party and among NGO activists they feel that Philippine
women's lack of opportunity to stand and compete in elections is due to several factors, among
others: local culture, resistance from the Church, and the image of politics itself. In particular,
the main obstacle was the direct electoral system whereby those who possess popularity and
wealth are able to obtain many votes. For those owning neither capital, popularity nor wealth,
they are beaten in the middle of the competition, even though they may be sufficiently capable.

Unsurprisingly, female politicians holding positions in the legislative institution in the
Philippines are artists (who can bank on popularity gained in the entertainment sector), and
those who come from wealthy families, etc. In general, it can be said that the success of these
female politicians is also derived from the fact that they hail from certain powerful and wealthy
clans, even if they claim that their success was due to their capabilities. It is thus understandable
that the issue of quotas was not considered important for these socially privileged female
politicians.

However, several women NGO's and political parties continue to actively fight for quotas,
despite the fact that 12 years of struggle have failed to make it a reality.
The Reality of the Context In Indonesia

The dynamics of public empowerment in Indonesia through the strengthening of social groups has much in common with the conditions in the Philippines. Many NGOs have emerged and conducted advocacy and empowerment for the public. These include their goal to affect the public policy-making process. They contend that they are truly on the side of the people.

Considering that the conditions are not too different from Indonesia, the success and weakness in the advocacy activities of civil society groups in the Philippines could be used as comparative material for learning. The successes can add to their strategic tools as steps that could be adopted, whereas the weakness can be used as a means for introspection.

In the context of creating a relation between civil society and political institutions to develop a responsive government, helping social groups to avoid internal conflict is much needed to avoid that these conflicts becoming obstacles in determining central issues and strategies in advocacy.

This does not mean that these kinds of strategies have not been applied in Indonesia because Indonesian NGOs have also adopted similar struggles in strategies. Although advocacy takes a long time in the Philippines, at least by finding common conditions, it can become a mirror for reflection about the importance of a united vision of social groups to bring down the absolutist power of the state. In conditions of weak social solidarity, toppling the absolute power of the state becomes impossible.

Conclusion

In the Indonesian context, the following measures could be taken to empower social groups:

- Conduct a program on building awareness of civil society’s political rights in the form of advocacy and campaigns.
- Conduct political discussions, training and workshops.
- Mobilize civil society groups to organize themselves into a unified and independent community to struggle for their rights and to resist State domination.
- Formulate a united vision among social groups.
- Create alliances for advocacy and to reduce state power.

The next stage would be to attempt to induce transparency in the government for the purpose of involving the community in public policy-making. It is this kind of public involvement that can develop a public sense of belonging and help unify people in facing societal and political problems.
Increasing Women’s Political Participation from the Perspective of the Constitution and the Electoral Process

SRI UTAMI

Background

The increasing complexity of problems faced by women nowadays demands them to increase their participation in political decision-making. The belief that it is women who truly know what they really need makes the above demand a necessity. When a policy related to women is made without consulting a sufficient number of their representatives it could affect them adversely and produce counterproductive results. Take for example, the forced use of female contraceptives that are dispensed without due consideration of the users’ health. Women’s groups also believe that hostile decisions and policies such as war, etc., are a result of the dominance of ‘macho’ power structures which are devoid of a ‘feminine and motherly touch’.

The fact that women make up over 50 per cent of the entire human race is another reason why their equal representation in decision-making institutions should be attained. One agenda of paramount importance in the women’s movement today is to increase women’s political participation. This makes it possible for them together with their male counterparts to formulate decisions at the legislative, executive and judicial bodies at all levels. A number of policies and action plans have been designed to achieve this end, such as the increasingly popular discourse on the need to achieve a ‘critical number’ which is often referred to as women’s quota for legislative seats.

In connection with this growing discourse, the author had the opportunity to take part in the Asian Study Visit program to the Philippines from 31 August to 7 September 2002. The visit was aimed at enabling the participants to closely observe women’s political participation in the Philippines, the process of drafting and enacting laws, the electoral process, the obstacles encountered, and the role played by both the government as well as NGOs in addressing the need to enhance women’s political participation. The author would like to present some of her findings from the Philippine study tour, and will try to adopt them, wherever relevant, to the Indonesian context.

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO Provincial Workshop Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Makassar, 30th September 2002
Filipino Women’s Political Participation: Findings from the Field

1. Table I below illustrates the political representation of Philippine women:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of women</th>
<th>Total number of seats</th>
<th>Percentage of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legislative bodies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Senate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House of Reps.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Executive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cabinet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Majors</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Majors</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial bodies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High court attorneys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Elizabeth Angsioco, Information Pack on Women’s Political Participation and the Quota System, DSWP Forum 10 April 2002, Quezon City, Manila, Philippines

2. The Philippine Constitution provides a bicameral legislature which is directly elected. Compared to Indonesia, political parties in the Philippines are less dominant: any candidate can go directly to the public and run for, say, president. In order to win, a candidate needs money, close relations with political figures, and above all, popularity. Anyone having these ‘qualifications’ is likely to be the next winner. A number of women politicians and public officials that we met had these qualifications.

3. The Philippine Party List Law reserves 20 per cent of seats in the House for marginalized groups such as peasants, fishermen, women, youth groups and disabled people as long as they are able to obtain a minimum vote of 25 for each seat reserved. In 1998, the Adbanse Pinay, a feminist political party, won one seat, but lost support during the 2001 elections.

4. The 30 per cent quota for women is still debated heatedly in the Philippines. Most women House members that we spoke to, still disagree on this topic, asserting that women deserve seats in the legislature for their eligibility and capability, and not because of a reservation or a quota system. On the other hand, such groups as Akbayan Muna and Adbanse Pinay (both new parties), the NCRFW (the National Commission in the Role of Filipino Women, a government organisation), the DSWP (Democratic Socialist Women of the Philippines), Pilipina and Gabriela, two feminist NGOs, are aggressively fighting to achieve this quota.
5. Women candidates have a fair chance of being elected as local officials. Councillor Vicky Vega was elected by an absolute majority as a member of Angeles City Council. Several other women made their ways to Barangay Kagawad seats (equivalent to the kelurahan village council in Indonesia). These women gained victory due to their concrete action in the community where they live. Prior to their political service, they had worked as midwives, schoolteachers, and church activists. It was due to their past activities that their local constituents fully supported them and even helped finance their campaigns.

**The Relevance and Implementation of the Study Visit Findings to the Indonesian Context**

1. **The Political Participation of Indonesian Women**
   In comparison to the figures for Filipino women's political participation in Table I, the number of Indonesian women in parliament is far lower in comparison with their Filipino counterparts. This fact indicates the serious need to politically empower Indonesian women. We should however not take a narrow view that women's political participation can only be measured by their number in institutions and ignore their 'political participation' in other sectors. Women acting as mothers who give birth to their children, nurture them and prepare them as future leaders should also be considered to be engaged in a form of political participation. The bravery demonstrated recently by Indonesian housewives protesting against the increase of the cost of electricity should also be seen as a form of political activism. Women's political participation should be seen from a wider perspective, so that the quest to improve their image, to boost their intelligence, and to make them more aware of their vital role that will improve their lives, the lives of the family and the community, should be supported by everyone.

2. **The electoral law passed in February 2003 by the Indonesian House of Representatives indicates that the future elections will feature PR open list system.** This means that political parties still retain their role as 'kingmakers' in the legislature, even though nowadays voters can directly access and contact their favourite candidates. Similar to their Philippine colleagues, many Indonesian women politicians enjoy advantages brought about by their close connections to popular politicians and their access to wealth. Women candidates need to process this reality and make use of it if they desire to come forward and win in the competition.

3. **The demand to have a quota system implemented for women in parliament is conditional on the capability of the political parties to support each candidate.** A major political party may not find it difficult to reserve 30 per cent of seats for women in their party structure, but there is the danger that the women could be manipulated in the prevalent practice of corruption, collusion and nepotism (korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme, KKN) in Indonesia. Small political parties may only be able to allocate 10 to 15 per cent of seats for their women candidates. What is more important is how the aspirations and interests of women can be understood and fought for by all parties, not just women legislative candidates. Problems faced by women should be seen as being the problems of humanity, so that everyone should feel called upon to find a solution, whatever their sex or gender.
Another challenge related to the quota policy is the need to improve the quality of women parliamentarians. Often we hear people complain about the limited ability of women parliamentarians who are unable to deal with ‘hard’ problems in the area of state management and the economy. To make sure that this quota scheme does not act as a boomerang against women, women parliamentarians should be given time to increase their knowledge and hone their skills so that they can perform as qualified politicians ready to give their very best for the country. Another point that should be noted is the fact that women leaders do not always support women’s causes. This is something that our Philippine friends deplored. Thus the crux of the matter is not the mere existence of women officials in state institutions, but how they fight for the interests of the women they purport to represent. In light of this reality, training women politicians, officials and parliamentarians to adopt a comprehensive gender perspective is of paramount importance. In fact, possessing knowledge and an understanding of gender issues should be considered a criterion of political recruitment.

For local and regional elections, women should be encouraged to show their true abilities and achievements to gain support from the people who would then defend, choose and even campaign for them because of their belief in their candidates’ abilities. To achieve this, women should attempt to learn as much as they can about the conditions and problems of the locality where she lives. Borrowing from the Philippine experience, it is best to adopt a PR system or mixed method for choosing a village head ( lurah ) or sub-district head ( camat ) elections in Indonesia. There have to be guarantees that the whole process be conducted in a fair and transparent manner and which also allows room for criticism. The elected leaders should be the best candidates who have the ability to solve problems faced by the people regardless of their sex.
The Political Participation and Empowerment of Women*

YANE RAHMA BHIRAWATI

Introduction

Many Filipino women have just began to realize their political rights. Although the increase in the number of women holding positions in the government has yet to reach a significant amount in numbers, the political participation of women has begun to emerge. They realize that the political rights they own do not only make them voters but also potential political candidates. This can be proven with the existence of government organizations or non-government organizations which are beginning to care and think of the importance of the political participation of women at policy-making level, among others: the Center for Legislative Development (CLD), the House of Representatives (HoR), the Senate, the Akbayan Party, the Center for Asian Women in Politics (CAPWIP), the National Commission in the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW), the Governor of Bulacan Province, Councilor Vicky Vega and female officials at the local levels, specifically in Angeles City. Last but not least is the enthusiasm of village women to participate in the political arena is present even though they commence at the lowest level, namely, the village.

To empower women, Filipino women have exerted various efforts, among others:

- Educate voters and citizens;
- Train female candidates;
- Improve the political participation of women through the media, namely in the form of training them on how to make news imbued with a gender perspective and training women to speak, particularly through the mass media;
- Organize women in communities, especially young women;
- Advocacy skill and public speaking training for organization members in all regions;
- Establish relations with other parties (with various professions) to become aware of gender perspectives, for example with physicians, teachers etc.;
- Raise various gender issues in forums/seminars;
- Promote the 30 per cent quota through forums/seminars;
- Disseminate information related to gender balance.

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO National Conference Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Jakarta, 24th September 2002
Seen from the data above, it is evident that men dominate politics in the Philippines. Women serving in policy-making positions are not more than 10 per cent though the majority of the voters are women. Issues on violence against women (not only physical violence, but also sexual violence and economic exploitation), on the trade in women and children and on reproductive health, have instigated the majority of Filipino women to join forces to attempt to influence policy makers so that public policies made do not discriminative against them. This is proven by their perseverance in proposing several bills five years ago concerning women problems such as trafficking. These proposals are scheduled to be approved no later than the end of this year. Subsequently, the Anti-rape Law and the Domestic Violence Law are also being currently proposed.

### Strategies Used to Obtain a Gender-Sensitive Regulation

- The Akbayan Party, being the only party that still maintains its goals for the achievement of the quota of 30 per cent for women, puts forward its aspirations through one of its members serving in the legislature. Although the representative of Akbayan is not a feminist, the party can still channel its aspiration through that person by way of giving materials on the importance of increasing the number of women in the legislature.

- The CAPWIB, being an NGO existing at the national level, has its own strategies, namely, by way of gathering persons or groups from different backgrounds to understand their problems. Subsequently, the problems are included in their agenda. Basically, they work first at the local (field) level and then put forward women’s aspirations at the legislative level.

- The issues raised do not concern women problems only, but also general public ones such as economic problems.
The Biggest Barriers Faced in the Empowerment of Women’s Political Role

1. Cultural Barriers
   • Although the majority of women play roles as mothers and wives, the decision-making in families is still dominated by men. In the political realm, women politicians are also often harassed by male politicians. Relations in patriarchal culture reduce the women to inferior beings.
   • The existence of a negative perception toward politics is also a barrier. Some women do not want to participate in politics because politics is deemed to be full of nasty games.

2. Structural Barriers
   • To become a politician one must have popularity.
   • Politics is expensive and consequently women must possess a lot of money in order to engage in it.
   • The existence of family/dynastic relations also poses problems.
   • Most politicians are men and the majority of them oppose the representation of women because they are often seen as threats.

Successful Strategies/Campaigns

• Women must show their capability.
• Put up posters along the roads to attract attention.
• Approach women door-to-door.
• Develop a good personal image in the community.
• Always improve the level of professionalism and increase self-confidence.
• Get in touch with fellow activists in NGOs to get moral and material support.
• Seek funding support by making a list of names of those who can be contacted. This is conducted by directly meeting the person concerned or by sending an SMS and lobbying over the telephone.
• Use funds to the best of their ability and by being selective.
• Always shake hands with the community members they met.
• Aim to be popular.
• Always give good service to the community. This could be done by performing direct social service in all sectors of the community (women, the handicapped and youth).

Lessons Learned from Unsuccessful Strategies and Efforts

• Do not neglect constituents.
• A good relationship with the community must always be developed for the public to base future interactions on.
• There is not much support for women, hence it is necessary to seek support by lobbying and approaching key persons at the grassroots to jointly put forward their aspirations to the policy-making level.
• Genuine and strong lobby and advocacy skills.
• Women are very often defeated in a campaign due to money problems. A special strategy needs to be devised in seeking and regulating finances.
• Effective fund raising is a priority for success.
• Women need to always improve their own capabilities and professionalism, so that men do not denigrate their existence in politics.
• Need to constantly upgrade skills.

**Efforts to Empower Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia**

Culturally, the barriers for women in the Philippines to participate in political decision-making are almost the same as those in Indonesia. However, viewed from political culture, it is rather different. In the Philippines there exists a party that consistently pushes for the quota of 30 percent for women in the legislature. Political parties in Indonesia, especially those having strong support among the masses in villages, do not push for this. Though the majority of the Indonesians are in villages and most of them are women, political parties in Indonesia do not see them as voters who need to be wooed.

This matter is based on two assumptions. First, the votes of the masses in rural areas very much depend on public figures who can be emulated. In this way, attracting their votes is easily assured by approaching them. Second, the political knowledge of women is deemed to be low in general and the votes of women still depend on the votes of men. Therefore in the campaign process, only a few political parties direct their campaign targets at women.

The experiences of NGOs in the Philippines to devise strategies to integrate women issues into public policy-making, to organize women at the local level and to push forward their aspirations at the legislature, are also relevant in the Indonesian context. Specifically, the efforts included in this framework are as follows:

1. Increasing women’s involvement in villages in the context of influencing political decision-making in the village government in particular and at higher government levels in general through village discussions in an attempt to define problems and forward them to the Regional Development Planning Board (Badan Pembangunan Daerah, Bapeda), of the Regional Representative Councils (DPRD).
2. Organize women to respond to tactical needs (in the areas of reproductive health, clean water, sanitation, etc.), accompanied by efforts to establish women’s organization at the local level as a strategic effort to improve women’s political participation.
3. The organization of public debate, advocacy, organizational management, campaign training with gender-perspectives among women who are members of social and political organizations.
Increasing Women’s Political Participation Through Constitutional and Electoral Processes*

YULIANI PARIS

Introduction

In discussions about electoral systems, two questions need to be asked: what electoral systems actually are and why are they important to the participation of different groups in society, including women?

Electoral systems may be categorised into three broad families:

a. Plurality Majority
b. Semi-proportional
c. Proportional

Plurality-Majority

First-Past-the-Post (FPTP), Block Vote (BV), Alternative Vote (AV) and Two Round systems all belong to the Plurality-Majority system.

Single-member districts are used in the Plurality-Majority system. In a First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) system the winner is the candidate with the most votes but not necessarily an absolute majority of the votes. The same principle applies to the Block Vote (BV) system but the difference is that the latter uses multi-member districts where voters have as many votes as there are seats to be filled and the candidates with the most number of votes fill the positions regardless of the percentage of the vote they actually achieve. The Alternative Vote (AV) and the Two-Round system try to ensure that the winning candidates receives an absolute majority (i.e., over 50 per cent).

Each system in essence makes use of voters’ second preferences to produce a majority winner if one does not emerge from the first round of voting.

Semi-Proportional System

Under the Semi-Proportional system, the Parallel system and the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) is applied.

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO National Conference Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Jakarta, 24th September 2002
In the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV), each elector has one vote but there are several seats in the district to be filled and the candidates with the highest number of votes fill these positions. This allows for the election of minority party candidates, for example, women's parties. In general, this system can increase and improve parliamentary proportionality. The Parallel system uses both the Proportional Representation (PR) lists and Plurality-Majority (PR, winner-takes all).

**Proportional Representation**

Reducing the disparity between a party's share of the national vote and its share of the parliamentary seats can be done by applying the PR system. Proportionality is often seen as being best achieved by the use of party lists where political parties present lists of candidates to the voters on a national or regional basis. It can be achieved just as easily if the proportional component of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system compensates for any disproportionality which comes out of the Majoritarian district results. In the Single Transferable Vote (STV), voters rank the order of candidates in multi-member districts.

Electoral system are shaped by the structure of society in terms of the ideological structure, religion, class hierarchies, regional conditions and the history of how democracy was established in the country (traditional or new democracy, the level of 'party seriousness', in terms of the number of members and the distribution of party followers).

The next issue revolves around the constitution. The questions that emerge in connection with this is, does the constitution exist, and if it does, what are the advantages and benefits it can give to women in terms of opening the door to decision-making positions and equal rights for women in the legislature?

**Objectives**

The objectives of the Asian Study Visit are:

1. To learn from the experiences of the Philippines in overcoming the challenges to strengthen women's political participation through the constitutional and electoral processes.
2. To learn the best strategies to establish and strengthen women's political participation.
3. To learn how to build links between civil society and political institutions as a means to ensure responsive governance especially in addressing women needs.
4. All experiences and findings from the field are to be presented and discussed in the National Conference and Provincial Workshops to see how they can be applied in the Indonesian context.

**Findings**

**Electoral System in the Philippines**

The Philippines practices a Semi-Proportional Parallel System which uses a combination of PR and Plurality-Majority districts which means that some members of parliament are elected by
PR system (20 per cent) and the remainder by the PM system.

In the Philippines, the reform of the electoral system is of critical importance for the following reasons:

a. In day-to-day political practice, people often argue that the easiest political institution to be manipulated for good or for bad is the electoral system.
b. People always translate the votes cast in general elections into seats in the legislature.
c. The choice of electoral systems can effectively determine who is elected and which party gains power.
d. Systems sometimes lead to coalition governments.
e. Systems can be used as a tool for conflict management within a society.

Constitutional Reform

Although the status of women in the Philippines is not solely determined by the Constitution, it is clear that legislation can obstruct or accelerate the achievement of full equality between women and men. The development of the legal status of women under Philippine law is evident in the history of the electoral law. It was only in the 1930s that women were allowed to exercise their right to vote and be elected. Under the 1987 Constitution, the status of women has changed. The role of women in nation-building is now expressly recognized. The list of laws below is related to the political rights of women:

Act No. 4112 (Signed December 7, 1933)
"An act to amend Section 431 of the administrative code, meant to granting the right of suffrage to women and making them eligible to all public offices, and for other purposes" (This law, recognizing women's right to vote lapsed without having been signed by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines).

Republic Act No. 7160
"An act providing for a local government code of 1991". Also known as the Local Government Code (LGC).
The local Government code has been amended to provide representatives for women in all of the local 1,600 local legislative assemblies (Sangguniang Panlalawigan, Sangguniang Panlungsod, Sanggunian Bayan and Sanggunian Barangay) nationwide. This is consistent with the spirit of the 1987 Constitution recognizing women's vital role in nation-building.

Republic Act No. 7491
"An act providing for the election of party-list representatives through the party list system, and the regulation for the acquisition of funds therefore."

This Act is also known as the 'Party-List System Act' and was ratified on March 3, 1995.
The 1987 Constitution provides that there shall be party-list representatives and the women sector is to be allocated a seat therein (Art VI, Sec. 5 : 2). Before the enactment of Republic Act No. 7941, the sectoral representative for women was appointed by the President. This law now provides for the election of party-list representatives through the party list system including the allocation of seats for women.
Although the Philippines already has the above acts, according to the policy paper on promoting gender balance in political representation which was issued by the Center for Legislative Development (CLD), there are still political barriers. The electoral system and campaign finances are among the structural barriers to women's political participation. For example, Vicky Vega (a woman councilor from Angeles City) spent around 200,000 pesos during her campaign to become councilor. The amount of money needed to win an election is the single biggest disincentive for women to run for parliament as is also the case with men. It is therefore not a surprise that most women who run successfully for public office are those who belong to wealthy, propertied families or who have legions of fans ready to support them in any way. In this instance, the single-member plurality system such as what the Philippines has is generally unfriendly to women.

On electoral politics, the only provision of the 1987 Constitution that touches directly on women’s political participation is that of the party-list system. This provision is found in Article VI (on the Legislative Department) which states:

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of not more than two hundred and fifty members, unless otherwise fixed by law, who shall be elected from legislative districts apportioned among the provinces, cities and the Metropolitan Manila area in accordance with the number of their respective inhabitants and on the basis of uniform and progressive ratios, and those who as provided by law, shall be elected through a party-list system of registered national, regional and sectoral parties or organizations.

2. The party-list representatives shall constitute twenty percent of the total number of representatives including those under the party list. For three consecutive terms after the ratification of this Constitution, one-half of the seats allocated to party-list representatives shall be filled as provided by law, by selection or election from the labour, peasant, urban poor, indigenous cultural communities, women, youth and such other sectors as may be provided by law, except the religious sector.

Twenty bills on the subject of ‘increasing women’s political representation’ have been introduced. One of the most significant was the Women’s Empowerment Act which was the act seeking to reserve for women one-third of the following positions:

- Cabinet Secretaries;
- Undersecretaries and positions of comparable salary grade or at least one in every line department, government-owned and controlled corporations, government financing institutions, state colleges, and universities and local government units;
- Assistant secretaries in every department; and
- Directors in every department.

However, only 29 legislators out of 215 supported the Women’s Empowerment Act. Some of the points of disagreement on the act are as follows:

- Women should be appointed not on the basis of ‘reservation’ but on their qualification.
- The bill provided a ceiling rather than a beginning. It had no provision whatsoever to move towards gender balance, 50/50 in women’s representation and participation. The number of women might be nailed down to 30 per cent which is a limitation rather than a jumpstart.
The Realities of Women in the Philippine Public Life

- The first reality pertains to sources of political power. The political system is based on wealthy political dynasties which use politics as a means to gain more wealth. It is elite and male-dominated with no clear party system.
- Candidates often rely on personality, popularity, charisma and the personal relations rather than capability.
- Voting is often based on pragmatism and immediate gains which leads to wealthy candidates always being reelected.

Many NGOs in the Philippines are engaged in negotiations and lobbies regarding requirement policy reforms: affirmative action, electoral system and campaign finances. One proposed policy reform is that of a quota for women of at least one-third (33 per cent) in all appointive and elective national and local decision-making positions in government by 2005 and when that has been achieved, to move towards gender balance and achieve 50/50 not later than 2015, the target date of the Millenium Development Goals laid down in the Millenium Summit in 2000.

Another reality of the election process in the Philippine is massive fraud using the 3 Gs (guns, goons and gold – the use of violence and intimidation, and vote buying). Voting is often based on practically and immediate gains and the voters lack awareness concerning their rights and responsibilities.

How Can the Philippine Case be Applied in Indonesia

A look into Philippine political practices seems to reveal that many disadvantages still exist with regards to increasing women's candidacy since they have to finance campaigns which tend to be very expensive.

Based on numerous studies of electoral systems, PR tends to be more favourable to women. In PR systems, parties have the chance to compete for and win several seats, allowing them to go further down the party list where women usually are. Through PR, political parties can be pressured to balance the candidates by including women. Logically, if political parties have 30 per cent women candidates, then this will result in about 30 per cent women membership in parliament.

Although PR as an electoral system tends to be more favourable to women in terms of increasing their political representation, there are other contributing factors to consider such as the type of PR system, the political environment and local culture. Sometimes, PR systems that use closed lists where women's names cannot be striked off or demoted are preferable to women. In Indonesia, we can introduce ‘zebra rule’ where ‘every second seat is allotted to women’.

A question should be addressed to political parties: how can women have access to the structure of parties? In most political parties in Indonesia, women are still very rare in high decision-making spheres. Because of this condition, parties must declare pre-electoral commitments about the percentage of women they are fielding.
Women are often discouraged to enter politics because of various costs they have to shoulder. Many women who decide to join elections are forced by the prevailing political culture to spend huge amounts to compete with male candidates who in most cases have a solid financial base. There is a need in Indonesia to have a regulation which monitors and regulates the amount of funds that candidates are allowed to give to the party that supports them.

Many party leaders in Indonesia especially at the provincial, district and sub-district level do not realize that women can be an electoral asset. In order to increase the chances for women, the party has to incorporate a gender dimension by taking one or all of the following steps:

- Establish a committee on gender equality or a gender focal point with a mandate to scrutinize the party's policy in that connection.
- Reorienting the party's women's wing so that it promotes women's vision and secures support for women within the party and not just offering women's support to the party.
- Reviewing rules and practice for internal elections to ensure equality of access by women and men to the leadership positions in the party and to local and national elective mandates.

**Points to Consider in Increasing Women's Political Participation**

**a. Promote awareness of electoral rules and regulations**

The rule and regulations of the electoral system as well as for candidacy should be clear and well articulated in the community, especially for women. By increasing the awareness and knowledge of women about electoral laws and changes in structure and process, automatically this will increase women's political participation.

**b. Organizing women to be candidates**

Whatever the electoral system, women should be prepared to be candidates. Women need to organize themselves within and outside of political parties. Continuous awareness-raising activities such as leadership training/seminars are necessary to develop women's skills and knowledge to prepare them for their political career.

**c. Organizing women's groups and strengthening networks**

Strengthening networks and continue to empathetically pressure various sectors. A resolute women's movement translates memberships into votes, which means major parties which are mostly male-dominated, will be moved to include women in their list of candidates.

**d. Advocate for change in the structure of the party organization**

The number of men in strategic positions within the party are always higher than what women can achieve. This means that men are always in the list of party candidates. Women should be allowed easy access to resources and accurate and up-to-date information which can act as inputs for making decisions and as evidence to push for gender-equal legislation.

In Indonesia today, political parties are predominant in political life and in the running of institutions. They can mobilize considerable support and logistics for electoral campaigning.
This contrasts with the situation in the Philippines whereby the chances of independent candidates (including women) are determined by their own efforts in nominating themselves and raising funds and support, the greatest difficulty for women in Indonesia is how to obtain nomination through a political party. For this reason, the internal regulation of the party should state that a minimum percentage (e.g., 30 per cent) of parliament candidates should be women.
Appendix III: Conference and Workshop Reports

Thailand
Learning from Thailand’s Experience in Building Inter-Organization Cooperation to Change Gender Equity-Oriented Policies*

DWI RAHAYU

One of the most difficult struggles for the women’s movement is to gain widespread acceptance of the need for the integration of gender equality and justice in the constitution and in legislation, and obtain guarantees that this will be done. However, the constitutional amendment in Thailand explicitly does this, proving that this struggle is not impossible. The success of women’s NGOs as a pressure group has been made possible by good cooperation with other political institutions and social organizations, and has been fully supported by a majority of women in Thailand. Reflecting on this success, this paper attempts to study the strategies that can make gender equality a part of political practice and to see their applicability to Indonesia. The two cases quoted as the ‘success stories’ of Thailand are the inclusion in the Constitution of a clause on Gender Equality, and the enactment of the Maternal Leave Act.

In order to achieve collective goals, the collaboration of women’s NGOs with other organizations, institutions, the media and political parties, should be encouraged. This is the lesson to be learned from Thailand. When the constitutional amendment process started in Thailand, various women’s organizations formed the Women and Constitution Network (WCN) that served to channel women’s aspirations as input. When the constitutional amendment started, WCN also developed a cooperation with the media and political parties by involving women’s groups in overseeing the amendment process. This network did not hesitate to join in the pro-amendment movement that was striving not only for women’s issues in the constitution, but also for other social issues such as the environment and social economy.

The Participatory Process as a Precondition for Democracy

The integration of a gender equality clause in the amended constitution of 1997 in Thailand is inseparable from the practice of an open, democratic and participatory system. The membership and process of the Constitutional Drafting Assembly (CDA), an independent commission formed to amend the constitution, is open and transparent. For the first time, the people of Thailand could directly participate as members of CDA. It was in this early, critical stage that women’s organizations played an important role, because the political education of the public was started by women’s organizations. They engaged in ‘guerilla tactics’ in each province, by socializing the idea of the necessity for women to join in the constitutional amendment process.

* Paper presented at IDEA-CETRO Provincial Workshop Strengthening Women’s Political Participation in Indonesia, Medan, 2nd October 2002
The second most important step is to support women who wish to be involved in constitutional reform. This process is done by cooperating with governmental and legislative institutions at the provincial level, the mass media, private institutions and other NGOs, to support women who wish to become members of CDA. Support is given by promoting women candidates in the mass media and helping them to actively join social organizations. Governmental and legislative institutions collaborated to prepare a list and profiles of women from their respective institutions to promote them as members of CDA. In an attempt to identify potential women to become members of CDA, the WCN engaged in 'talent-scouting' in educational institutions and in the private sectors. The promotion of qualified women candidates is then done by distributing post-cards containing their qualifications and profiles to members of the parliament who select members of CDA. During the selection process, the WCN does not stop at the stage of 'ushering in' these women candidates, but also provides assistance and supervision.

The various stages in forming the independent CDA commission demonstrate that transparency and participation are fundamental to the success of the legislation amendment process. This encourages people to join in the process of policy making and creates space for women to participate in the political process.

The Importance of Research and Advocacy Institutions

Most policy-making institutions are still dominated by men. However, this has not lessened the drive outside the parliament and ministries to represent voice women's aspirations that have not been sufficiently voiced in these bodies. Various activities to support this drive include the development of databases containing facts about women and their condition in various social sectors. This data functions as 'arsenal' to engage in advocacy to amend policies related to women's daily lives, and was one of the means that led to the enactment of the Maternal Leave Act policy for woman workers.

Statistical data illustrating the high level of women's participation in the workforce and their contribution to state revenues were used by women's NGOs in cooperation with the Gender Research Development Institute (GDRI) to conduct advocacy within the parliament and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Facts about women's contribution to the economy of Thailand were sent through post-cards to members of the parliament, so that when the Maternal Leave Act was discussed, women had a high bargaining position because the empirical facts were readily available.

Good cooperation with the media also needs to be emphasized. The media is involved in each stage of advocacy in a supervisory role, effectively creating public awareness in the process.

The Relevance of the Thai Experience to Indonesia

The experience in Thailand points to an urgent need in Indonesia to develop cooperation among social organizations and institutions to advocate for policy amendments and to raise public awareness on gender issues. Cooperation with the media and the private sector could certainly be practiced in Indonesia. Nowadays, women-related issues have been marginalized in the news.
It is therefore of paramount important to establish an alliance with women journalists or editors interested in women's issues.

Empirical facts are difficult to deny. Yet, the use of data and information for advocacy is far from being maximised in Indonesia. For this reason, there is a need to encourage cooperation between organizations to obtain comprehensive information and build databases about women, and to make use of this information. This is also true of information about women who have the potential to sit in the legislature or to be governmental candidates, which would also have the effect of deflecting assertions that there are few women who have the potential to sit in decision-making institutions.

The struggle to change policies that fail to accommodate women's interests is still a very challenging one as long as the number of women who sit in decision-making institutions remains insignificant. Therefore, cooperation with women legislative members needs to be continued, because after all, policies are formulated in the legislature.
Creating Links Between Civil Society and Political Institutions to Ensure Responsive Government*

MARIA ULFAH ANSHOR

An Overview of Women’s Participation in Politics and Governance in Thailand

In Thailand, women were only given the same opportunities as men to vote in 1933. Currently, women’s participation in politics is still very low, even though developments in the last 10 years show that the figures have doubled. For example, between 1990-1996, the proportion of women senators rose from 11 to 21 women out of a total of 270 seats. In the year 2000, at an election of senators where a new system was used, 19 (9.5%) of the 200 seats being fought for went to women. Meanwhile, in the 1996 parliament elections, a total of 22 women or 5.6%, were elected out of the total 393 members, but in the 2000 general elections the number rose to 9.2% out of the total of 500 seats.

Women’s low participation rate in the executive or in high offices in the Thai government is not too different from that of Indonesia. Of the 37 positions in the cabinet of PM Thaksin Shinawatra’s government, only two are filled by women, the Minister of Health, Mrs. Sudarat Keyuraphan and the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Mrs. Laddawan Wongsriwong. Apart from that, women’s participation as high-ranking officials within government department or ministries is also relatively low. For instance, in the Office of the Prime Minister, there are only 13 women among the 75 officials; in the Ministry of Finance, five women out of the 32 top officials; in the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, three out of the total of 51; in the Ministry of Commerce, nine women officials out of 33; in the Ministry of the Interior only one woman out of its 37 high-ranking officials, and also one in the Ministry of Health out of its 31 officials. In the Ministry of Justice there are no women officials, although 18.6% of all 2,410 judges are women, and 11.5% of all 1,692 prosecutors are women. The same applies to the Ministry of University Affairs, where there are absolutely no top women officials.

Similarly, women’s participation at the provincial and local levels is almost the same as that at the national level. There is not a single woman governor in any of the 75 provinces. Women make up only 1.8% of the 167 deputy provincial governors and 11.2% of the 5,685 district officers. In local governments women provincial council members make up only 6.3% of the 2,230 members, 6.0% out of the 1,896 municipality council members, 1.8% out of the 7,245 sub-district heads and 2.1% of the 69,127 village heads.

The differences between Thailand and Indonesia can be seen in the strength of NGOs and civil society organizations (CSOs) that form a network which acts as a pressure group to the Parliament, the Government and parties, to push them to revise and make laws that protect

women’s interests. This network is called the Constitution Drafting Assembly (CDA) which operates nationally at all levels and is very persistent in fighting for women’s rights.

**Efforts Made and Strategies Employed by Civil Society Organizations in Building Networks with Political Institutions**

The CDA is just one of the networks set up by the public in Thailand. When first formed, it was made up of only 7 NGOs, and now it has a membership of 55 organizations each focusing on different issues.

They began their activities by building public awareness on the need for women’s participation in politics to produce laws and policies that defend women. There will be no laws that protect women’s interests if these are not fought for by women themselves. The public view that “politics is a man’s world” must be changed to a new one that “politics is not only a man’s world but is also a woman’s world”. The Green Movement, the name that the CDA and its supporters call themselves, is opposed by the Yellow Movement, a group that fights to maintain the status quo.

Another strategy taken up by the CDA is to advocate against laws and policies that discriminate against women. The advocacy process consists of reviewing laws and collecting opinions from CDA members and their constituents, preparing draft laws and then publicizing them in the mass media to make the public familiar with them, and by lobbying members of parliament and political parties.

The CDA works very well with the mass media - every move it advocates is always publicized in the media. It is equally active in its lobbying efforts, where CDA members are reputed to be persistent and work professionally. As Mrs. Sunee, one of CDA’s leaders puts it, “not a day goes by without lobbying different people”.

Their activities also include a signature campaign to mobilize support for the amendment of article 24 of the Constitution. Around 3,100 leading public figures, together with 90 members of Parliament and a number of senators signed this petition, which was then handed over to the Speaker of Parliament and the Prime Minister. Apart from this, they held numerous meetings with members of parliament, specifically those in the Commission on Youth, Women and the Elderly.

A support campaign was also carried out by women’s leaders at the grass roots level by writing postcards asking members of parliament and senators to support amendments to the constitution on women’s rights. This campaign was launched through a gender-watch group network in all regions. After the amendment was passed, representatives from the GDRI (Gender Development Research Institute), the Gender Watch group and other organizations presented roses to all members of the House and senators as a token of appreciation for their support in including the words “men and women have equal rights....” in article 24.

This draft amendment to the Constitution was first proposed in 1987, but failed because it did not get enough support. Then in 1991 they finally succeeded in including provisions on equal rights for men and women. Article 68 contains several clauses on equal rights between men and women, pronouncing that “the state is obliged to promote, designate and strengthen the system of equal rights for men and women”. Going further, article 84 states that “the state shall
guarantee there is a plan for social and economic development included in state policy guidelines”. These articles clearly acknowledge the principle of equality between men and women.

After the clause on equal rights was explicitly included in the constitution, the status of women advanced considerably. Many laws that benefitted women were passed. A law that forbade women to become judges and prosecutors was withdrawn, a law that barred trade in women and children was passed, and another law on domestic violence is currently being processed.

**Thailand’s Experience that can be Developed in Indonesia**

Even though Thailand and Indonesia are both developing nations with traditions dominated by patriarchal cultures, there are several aspects that are strikingly different. These include:

1. Political parties in Thailand are very concerned about the welfare and social problems faced by their constituents. Elected representatives from parties have close emotional ties with their constituents because they cultivate a relationship with them on an ongoing basis, not just during campaigns or before a general election, as is the case with parties in Indonesia.

2. There is openness in Thailand between civil society, political parties and members of parliament as well as with government institutions, that facilitates the formation of a collaborative network to fight for laws and policies that are to the public’s interest. This contrasts with Indonesia, where there is mutual suspicion, each group feeling it is stronger and more powerful than the other. Holders of public offices are closed to criticism from the press, NGOs and mass organizations.

3. The CDA, which is an independent and open organisation, works for women’s interests professionally. The council has the support of all sectors of the public including women’s activists, NGOs, academics, public figures as well as mass-based social organizations. Their advocacy network is very strong both at the national and provincial levels, and has links with civil society organisations at the local level. In Indonesia, advocacy for the amendment of laws that accommodate women’s interests is done by individual organisations. There is no strong coalition that is nationally supported by all sectors of the nation.

**Recommendations**

To ensure the participation of women in civil society groups several things need to be done, among others:

1. Strengthening the coalition network as a pressure group for advocacy so that affirmative action will be in place for the 2004 general elections, and getting all existing political parties to adopt a system that benefits women. For instance, the ordering of party candidates for the legislature must correspond to “one man and one woman,” so that women are not placed at the bottom of the list, or the so-called shoe-size order.

2. Preparing a database on women who are able to candidate for a seat in the legislature, either in the Indonesian House of Representatives, or in level I or II of the local legislative councils, as well as in executive institutions at all levels.
3. Building up a strong advocacy alliance that is supported by all components of the public, both at the central and local levels.

4. Strengthening civil society institutions and women's organizations at rural district, district and village levels, so that they can criticize the law, policies and local regulations that do not benefit women. Without this initiative, regional autonomy will have an adverse impact on women, because women's organizations at the grass roots will again be coopted by the interests of those in power.
The Reinforcement of Women’s Political Participation

Naimah Hasan

Introduction

The position of women in Thailand, particularly in the field of politics and decision-making, does not differ greatly with that of Indonesia. Even though the opportunity to vote for Thai women was given in 1933 (when the Royal Constitution was implemented), currently the participation and representation of women in politics is still not encouraging. At the national level, the last election results in January 2001 show that women gained only 9.2% (42 persons) of the total 500 membership of parliament.

Under this new system, in the Senate women obtained 10% (21 persons) out of 200. Women as ministers were only 8.3% in a 36-member cabinet, namely three posts. The local level appears to present a similar picture. Women's representation is still under 10%. Thai women only obtained 6.3% of the total provincial council seats, 6.0% of municipality council seats, and only 1.8% of the total heads of sub-districts, and 2.1% of the village heads.

Although there are more women in the civil service than men - about 54% - most of them are in the lower ranks. The higher the position, or level, the fewer the number of women. At the 11th level, out of a total of 25 people (5.3%), only two are women (0.42%), while 23 are men (4.87%). At the 10th level, out of a total of 198 people (41.95%), 24 are women (5.09%) and 174 are men (36.86%). In 1988, for the first time, a woman was appointed Permanent Secretary of the Prime Minister’s Office (the highest non-political position) and in 2000, also for the first time, a Thai woman was appointed to a political position as the State Audit Governor.

Strategies Applied for the Reinforcement of Women’s Political Participation

From various findings obtained during the visit to Thailand, it can be concluded that in the effort to reinforce women's political participation, some of the following steps may be taken:

1. Constitution

To reinforce women's political participation, one important matter that requires attention are constitutional guarantees that give women the broadest possible opportunity to participate in various fields. These guarantees constitutes a strong foundation for anyone advocating the rights

of women as citizens who have the same rights and duties as those of men. Therefore, new provisions in the constitution and regulations that offer more space for the participation of women are required. Amending old laws or regulations so that they can now guarantee gender equality is another strategy.

2. Networking
Women members of parliament naturally cannot work effectively without the support of a network. This experience could be seen when Thai women established a strong network for the inclusion of several elements in the new constitution that are more gender-sensitive.

3. Data/Information on the Status of Women
Having concrete and orderly data and information is necessary for women's political participation. This does not only give direction in initiating new regulations/laws, but also improves their bargaining position when submitting a proposal. If women have complete data, it will be easier for them to convince other parties to accept their proposals and ideas.

4. Parliament Women Must Become Role Models
As is the case of Indonesia, there are still many Thai female parliament members who lack gender sensitivity. Therefore, a serious effort to broaden their gender perspectives is needed. Activities such as seminars, workshops, and discussions should be intensified to open up the minds of female members of parliament, to induce them to constantly think and advocate for the interests of women. Female parliamentarians should also become resource persons for various matters, particularly related to issues of women and society. It is for these reasons that the quality of female members of parliament needs to be improved continuously.

5. Awareness of the Needs of Constituents
A strength that should be possessed by female parliamentarians is to gain the trust of their constituents. Therefore they should attempt to establish closer relationships with them which can be developed in several ways, among others:
• frequently meeting their constituent members.
• trying to understand the needs of their constituents and responding well, which in turn will make the latter feel that they have given their vote to the right person.

6. Ensure that Government’s Policies have a Gender-Perspective
This can be achieved through working meetings with the government. Female members of parliament have to be very concerned about policies, mainly in their effort to implement regulations or laws that are already gender-sensitive.
Recommendations

1. International organizations and NGOs should be able to support a movement that is focused on raising public awareness on women's role in politics and decision-making.
2. Some sort of 'blueprint' is needed for a women's empowerment program in the field of politics and decision-making, which can be implemented at all levels.
3. Efforts to succeed in establishing a quota-for-women policy should be intensified. In line with this, high-quality of women and gender-sensitive women need to be trained.
The Role of Civil Society in Increasing Women's Participation in Thai Politics*

NUGRAHENI PAN CANING TYAS

Introduction

Since 1932, Thailand's form of government has been a constitutional monarchy. The Head of State is King Bhumibol Adulyadej, while the Head of Government is Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra from the Thai Rak Thai Party. Normally, the Prime Minister is chosen from the party that wins the election or from the leadership of a coalition of majority parties.

The legislature is divided into two chambers, i.e. the Senate, made up of 200 seats, and the Parliament, made up of 500 seats. The two chambers form the National Assembly. The Senate is elected once every six years. Senators represent each province (one province may have one up to five seats), with an election system based on a Majority vote. Members of the Senate may not hold office in or become members of political parties, hold office in the government, and may not be a member of Parliament at the same time. Elections of members of Parliament are held every four years.

Women's Representation in Political Institutions in Thailand

The situation of Thai women is similar to that of their Indonesian counterparts. The level of education of men is higher than of women, with women making up 63 per cent of the population who are illiterate and aged over six. The majority of working women are employed in agriculture, while the rest work in manufacturing, handicrafts and tourism. Half of the women in the workforce have only primary level education.

One of the factors affecting women's relatively poor welfare compared to that of men is that they are not given the opportunity to participate in decision-making institutions. Women already face cultural impediments to enter the political arena, because the world of politics is assumed to be the domain of men and because of the prevailing view that politics is dirty. The separation between the public and domestic spheres fosters the assumption that the most appropriate and right place for women is in the domestic sphere, and that politics is not a matter for women to be involved in on a daily basis.

Thai women won the same rights to vote as men in 1933. Women make up 9.2% of the members of Parliament, while of the 200 Senators, 20 are women (10%), and of the 36 members of cabinet, two are women (5.5%). The level of women's participation in the 2000 provincial

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level general elections to elect Provincial Councils was 52.2%. Of all elected representatives, 7.7% of elected members of Provincial Councils are women; 6% of the 1,896 members of municipal councils are women, while 1.8% of the 7,245 sub-district heads are women, and 2.1% of the 69,127 village heads are women.

There are a number of strategies adopted to increase women’s representation in decision-making institutions, among others: the inclusion of a guarantee of the equality of women and men in the constitution; the incorporation of the various experiences of women members of parliament with other women in the community on campaign techniques for the general election; preparations to become a member of parliament; the holding of seminars on the importance of having women in decision-making institutions; capacity-building trainings for women leaders; visiting outlying regions to give information on what is currently being discussed in parliament, and to organize and stage public awareness campaigns.

The current increase in women’s participation and representation in Thai politics is linked to the New Constitution promulgated on 11 October 2002. The reason for this is because the women’s movement was united in their struggle to have a gender perspective as well as various provisions for workers, youth and the elderly incorporated in the Constitution. The success of their joint effort can be seen in Article 5 of the Constitution that provides the same protection under the law to all its citizens, irrespective of gender, Article 30 that grants equal rights to women and men; Article 53 that requires the government to protect children, youth and family members from violence and unfair treatment; Article 54 where the State is obliged to provide assistance to senior citizens over the age of 60 who cannot provide for themselves; Article 80 that affirms the State’s duty to promote equality between men and women and and improve the standard of living for all its people, in particular for the elderly, traditional communities, and the disabled; Article 86 that obliges the State to ensure the availability of work for its citizens, and to protect all workers, specifically children and women, to provide a system of labour relations, social welfare guarantees and a system of fair wages; Article 190 that requires Parliament to set up an ad hoc committee to discuss issues involving children, women, the elderly and disabled, with one third of its members to come from NGOs concerned with these issues.

The new constitution, however, does not provide a guarantee of women’s representation in political institutions, e.g., the adoption of a quota for women. It proved too difficult to have this included, even though women in political parties and NGOs worked hard for it. Due to a lack of gender perspective among members of parliament, and the claim that quotas were against the party line, politicians were reluctant to adopt it.

**Initiatives by CSOs and Community Organizations to Develop Networking with Political Institutions**

When Thailand began drafting its new constitution, women’s organizations and women politicians worked side-by-side to integrate gender perspectives into it. Various initiatives were taken, among others:

1. Building up a network of women’s organizations

   This network was called the Women and Constitution Network (WCN) which initially had...
the objective of pushing women to participate in drawing up the new constitution. In the beginning WCN was made up of seven organizations; this number then increased to 35 organizational members, and by 2001 it had increased to 45 members. Members of WCN represented organizations from the national to the local level, and from different backgrounds in terms of culture and issues. Despite this fact, they all had the same aim: the drafting of a new constitution. WCN also encouraged, affirmed and assisted other women to be selected as members of the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDA), a committee tasked with preparing the constitution. WCN members also supplied data and information to women members of CDA. Their members took turns to picket every day to watch over the process of the ongoing constitutional discussions.

2. Training the trainers (TOT)
The training was aimed at raising awareness of the importance of a gender perspective in the new constitution. The trainers produced by this TOT in turn trained other women in the community, creating a snowball effect.

3. Public awareness campaigns
Apart from opening up public discussion, these campaigns also had the objective of encouraging women to register as members of the CDA. The CDA has 76 members, six of them being women, all chosen by the Parliament. WCN, together with other elements of the community, carried out a ‘green movement’ campaign to support the new constitution. Thousands of Thais took to the streets to support this action.
Their activities included:
- Distributing thousands of pamphlets with the NCW logo to encourage women from all social levels to register as members of the CDA;
- Staging 120 folk theater performances in outlying areas that illustrated the causes of discrimination and violence against women. After the performances were over they distributed questionnaires to audiences on their views on the importance of a gender perspective in the constitution;
- Airing a Women’s Voice Program on three radio stations as a medium for communicating with other women and to widely publicize gender issues;
- Sending letters to 76 governors throughout Thailand, and to the heads of private institutions and NGOs for them to encourage women to register as CDA members;
- Promoting women CDA candidates and gender issues on TV and in newspapers;
- Collecting names and biographies of candidate women CDA members, to be sent on to members of Parliament on post cards;
- Distributing newsletters with information about candidate CDA members, current issues, and basic gender issues to be raised as well as issues that had been successfully included in the constitution;
- Distributing daily press releases on the progress of drafting the constitution and
- Holding seminars and workshops to collect input on gender issues that were to be integrated into the Constitution, and to develop joint strategies.
4. Becoming volunteers in the CDA Secretariat
   This activity is intended to develop good, close relations with CDA members, as well as to
   find out the very latest available information on progress made in drafting the constitution,
   and to try to influence the policies issued by the CDA Secretariat's.

5. Holding meetings with academics
   Monthly meetings with academics are held to brainstorm for ideas and to discuss final proposals
   on issues such as affirmative action and discrimination. Constitutions from other countries
   and gender-related documents are also collected and translated into Thai to back up these
   proposals.

6. ‘Flower-power’
   Giving flowers as a token of appreciation to every member of CDA who supported the inclusion
   of a gender perspective in the new constitution. WCN members lobbied different
   parliamentarians every day.

7. Lobbying Parliament
   Jointly lobbying Parliament with other civil society groups to get approval for the establishment
   of the Provincial Constitution Hearings Committee (PCHC).

**Lessons learnt for Indonesia from the Thai study visit**

a) Networking
   A network is needed at national and local levels of women's organizations with women in
   parliament and in the media, women leaders and women in political parties. The network
   should hold regular meetings to discuss gender issues. This network is needed to exchange
   information on various issues, including those on which bills are being discussed in
   Parliament, and what can be done by civil society groups to help members of Parliament
   ensure that the bills submitted take into consideration a gender perspective.

b) The importance of persistence
   It is important to remain persistent on an issue and be serious about tackling it. A division
   of labour was set up in Thailand among women's organizations so there was no replication
   of activities undertaken at the same time and with the same targets. Care should also be
   taken to avoid the tendency to get carried away with a 'hot' issue so that focus on other
   issues that are being brought to the fore dissipate because of being too involved with a
   'trendy' issue.

c) Connecting with the media
   There is a need to develop a strategy to approach the media, as it is an effective means to
   widely publicize ideas on gender issues.

d) Compilation of gender-segregated data
   There is a need to compile gender segregated data. To date it has been difficult to obtain
   definitive data on the number of women voters, the number of legislative council members/
parliamentarians from village to provincial levels, the number of women in the workforce and the kinds of work they do. This data can be used as a lobbying tool with policy setters.

e) Directory on women
Preparation of a directory on women that can help induce community change, because the writing of history have so far never highlighted women's role in this regard.

f) Chief Gender Equality Officer (CGEO)
This is a pilot project in six Thai ministries. The CGEO is tasked with evaluating and checking whether every policy issued by ministries includes a gender perspective.
About the Contributors

JULIE BALLINGTON is the Gender and Political Participation Project Manager at International IDEA based in Stockholm, Sweden. Prior to joining International IDEA in 2001, she was a researcher and Gender and Elections Project Manager at the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) based in Johannesburg, South Africa. She has written widely on issues relating to the political representation and participation of women, voter turnout and electoral politics. She is currently completing a Ph.D. on the participation and representation of women in South African elections since democratization in 1994.

CECILIA BYLESJÖ is the Gender Project consultant for International IDEA's Indonesia Programme, based in Jakarta, Indonesia. Prior to the assignment for International IDEA in 2002, she has worked as a researcher in the South East Asian region (primarily in Malaysia), with a focus on women's political representation and political parties. She is interested in studying ideologies, goals and strategies to increase women's political participation and heighten their synergies. She has M.A. degree in political science from Umea University in Sweden.

DR. FRANCISIA SSE SEDA is a member of the faculty of the Department of Sociology, School of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia and is a member of the faculty of the Graduate Program of Department of Sociology and Graduate Program of Women Studies at the same university. She also works as chief sociologist for the division of women and politics at CETRO (Center for Electoral Reform). She received her M.A. degree from Cornell University and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is now focusing her work on issues concerning the sociology of development, social change, women representation in formal politics and sociology of gender.
ANI SOETJIPTO is a Lecturer at the Department of International Relations Faculty of Social and Politics Science, University of Indonesia as well as a Lecturer at the Graduate Women’s Studies Program at the same university. She is also a Board member of the organization CETRO (Center for Electoral Reform) in Jakarta, Indonesia.

SMITA NOTOSUSANTO is now Vice Chair of the Board of Directors of Yayasan TIFA. She is currently the Executive Director of CETRO (Center for Electoral Reform), which strives to reform the existing electoral system in Indonesia. The organization is instrumental in opening the debate on a Constitutional Reform to adopt a Direct Election for President in 2000. Prior to working at CETRO she organized an election monitoring organization, the University Network for Free and Fair Election (UNFREL), which recruited close to 90,000 volunteers among students and academics to observe the 1999 General Election. Aside from being an electoral reform activist, she was the founder of the National Commission of Violence Against Women, and Women for Peace and Justice in Aceh. She is also a lecturer at the Women’s Studies Programme and at the Department of International Relations of the University of Indonesia.
List of Study Visit Participants

NUGRAHENI PANCANINGTYAS
Working Group Coordinator for Member Recruitment,
Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and
Democracy. (Koalisi Perempuan)
Jl. Siaga I No. 2B, RT 3 RW 5
Pejaten Barat - Pasar Minggu
Jakarta Selatan 12520
Tel: (021) 9100076
Fax: (021) 7985110
E-mail: koalisip@uninet.net.id

YANE R BHIRAWATI
Chairperson, Mataram Women's Solidarity
(Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram)
Jl. Alpa Raya No. 2 BTN Sandik
Kec. Batu-Layar, Kab. Lombok Barat
Nusa Tenggara Barat
Tel: (0370) 628258
Fax: (0370) 637017
E-mail: yane_rb@yahoo.com

SALVIAH IKA PADMASARI
Working Committee Member,
Sulawesi Legislative Watch Committee
Perumahan Sudiang Indah Blok L 9 No.4
Makassar 90242
Sulawesi Selatan
Tel: (0411) 555 758

ZUNATUL MAFRUCHAH
Vice Secretary, National Awakening Party
(Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa - PKB)
Jl. Kalibata I no.12
Jakarta Selatan
Tel: (021) 797 43 53

NAIMAH HASAN
The Chairperson
The Women's Organisation Coordinating Board
Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam
Jalan Tgk. Abu Lam U No. 5
Banda Aceh
Tel/Fax: (0651) 21898
SRI UTAMI
Chairperson, Women's Institutions' Network,
The Justice Party (Partai Keadilan - PK)
Jl. Mampang Prapatan Raya, No. 98 D-E-F,
Jakarta Selatan
Tel: (62-21) 7995425
Fax: (62-21) 7995433

EKO DARWANTO
Deputy Secretary of Central Board Manpower
Development Institute Nadhatul Ulama
Jl. Kramat Raya No. 164,
Jakarta 10430
Tel: (021) 323 033
Fax: (021) 390 84 25

MARIA ULF AH ANSH OR
Executive Secretary,
Puan Amal Hayati Foundation
Jl. Warung Silah No. 30 Komplek A1 Munawarah,
Ciganjur, Jakarta Selatan 12630
Tel: (021) 9191258
Fax: (021) 7866960
E-mail: mariaulfah@hotmail.com

YULIANI PARIS
Secretary of Provincial Board
National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional -PAN)
South Sulawesi
Jl. Sultan Alauddin no 259 D
Makassar 99240 South Sulawesi
Tel: (0411) 886125
E-mail: fvnnii@indosat.net.id

HINDUN
Director,
Karisma Pertiwi Indonesia Foundation
Monjok Pemamoran Rt 04 gang Badak 1
Mataram, 83122
Mataram
Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB)
Tel: 0370-625545
Fax: 0370-627386
E-mail: kpiksi@yahoo.com, kptksi@hotmail.com
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Contact Information</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| EKA KOMARIAH KUNCORO        | DPR Member, Fraction of Golkar Party                                          | Jl. Anggrek Neely Murni Slipi                                           | Tel: (021) 530 2222  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Fax: (021) 530 33 80  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Homepage: www.golkar.or.id |
| DWI RAHAYU                  | Program Assistant, CETRO                                                      | Jl. Sungai Gerong No. 19                                               | Tel: (021) 3190 7468  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Fax: (021) 31907467, 322442  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | E-mail: cetro@dnet.net.id; cetro@cbn.net.id |
| FRANSICIA SEDA              | Coordinator of Programme on Women and Election CETRO                          | Jl. Sungai Gerong No. 19                                               | Tel: (021) 3190 7468  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Fax: (021) 31907467, 322442  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | E-mail: cetro@dnet.net.id; cetro@cbn.net.id |
| RUSTRININGSIH              | Regent of Kebumen Regency, Central Java                                       | Jl. Veteran No.2 Kebumen Kepulauan Jawa Tengah                         | Tel (0287) 381 728  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Fax: (0287) 381 423 |
| ERMALENA MUSLIM            | Executive Secretary and National Project Director IFPPD                       | Gedung DPR-RI Nusantara I, 23th floor, room 2327 Jl. Jendral Gatot Subroto, Senayan | Tel: (021) 575 63 66  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Fax: (021) 575 63 66  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | Mobile: 0811 820 331 / 0817 43 43 42  
                                    |                                 |                                                                                      | E-mail: ifppd2802@yahoo.com |