

Women's Participation in Politics and Government in Indonesia

A Policy Paper





UNDP Indonesia

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Women's Participation in Politics and Government in Indonesia

**United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Indonesia**

May 2010

FOREWORD



It is a great pleasure to introduce this publication on women's participation in politics and government in Indonesia. While Indonesia has made great strides in increasing the representation of women in political parties and as elected officials, as well as in civil service, ministries, commissions and the judiciary, there is still progress to be made. Experience demonstrates that the low participation of women in politics and government affects the quantity and quality of gender responsive public policies that concern both men and women. And while an increase in the numbers of women involved in creating gender responsive policies is crucial, it is also important that the capacity of all policy makers to create these types of regulations is developed.

To this end, this publication serves as a part of the on-going dialogue which has been taking place in Indonesia – amongst the government, civil society, academics and numerous international agencies. In the preparation of this report, a number of rich and dynamic workshops, roundtable discussions and meetings were held. Consultations focused not only on understanding the challenges or impediments to women's participation in public life, but also drew on the abundant experience of key individuals and organisations in order to formulate ways of overcoming these barriers.

This publication therefore serves to act as catalyst. It forms part of an on-going need to compile and analyse data. It provides a valuable contribution to a discourse which is clearly not only needed, but wanted in Indonesia. It also acts as a tool for policy makers – and for those that hold policy makers accountable. Finally, it serves as a series of recommendations to enhance the role of women in public life.

It is hoped that the wider project from which this publication has emerged will continue this important dialogue. "Women's Participation in Politics and Government: A Support Initiative for the Women of Indonesia" was initiated by UNDP Indonesia in 2008. It has comprised a series of activities, including an opinion poll, carried out across Indonesia, to gauge perceptions around women's social, economic and political participation. The project has also undertaken the building of a database on women's participation in politics and government, as well as a number of dialogues with relevant stakeholders. The publication is another step in an ongoing process, which aims to continue this dialogue through a series of roundtables with key actors, as well as to undertake a series of

capacity assessment exercises with women parliamentarians and members of the executive.

We hope that you find this report useful to your work, as well as a valuable contribution to the debates currently ongoing across the country.



El-Mostafa Benlamlih
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GLOSSARY

AKI	: Angka Kematian Ibu (Maternal Mortality Rate)
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BAPPENAS	: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
BAKOSURTANAL	: Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional (National Coordinating Agency for Surveying and Mapping)
BKKBN	: Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (National Family Planning Program Coordinating Agency)
BKN	: Badan Kepegawaian Negara (National Civil Service Agency)
BMKG	: Badan Meteorologi Klimatologi dan Geofisika (Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency)
BPK	: Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (Supreme Audit Agency)
BPPBK	: Badan Pengawas Perdagangan Berjangka Komoditi (Future Commodity Trading Monitoring Agency)
BPPT	: Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (Technological Assessment and Application Agency)
BPS	: Badan Statistik Nasional (National Statistics Agency)
BSN	: Badan Standarisasi Nasional (National Standardisation Agency)
BUMN	: Badan Usaha Milik Negara (State Owned Enterprises)
CALEG	: Calon Legislatif (Legislative Candidates)
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DCT	: Daftar Calon Tetap (List of Legislative Candidates)
DPD RI	: Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia (Indonesian House of Regional Representatives)
DPR RI	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (Indonesian House of Representatives)
DPRD Kabupaten/Kota	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kabupaten/Kota (District/ Municipality House of Representatives)
DPRD Provinsi	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi (Provincial House of Representatives)
GDI	: Gender Development Index
INPRES	: Instruksi Presiden (Presidential Instruction)
Kejaksaan Agung	: Attorney General's Office (National)
Kejaksaan Tinggi	: Attorney General's Office (Provincial)
KEMAG	: Kementerian Agama (Ministry of Religious Affairs)
KEMBUDPAR	: Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata (Culture and Tourism Ministry)
KEMDAG	: Kementerian Perdagangan (Ministry of Trade)
KEMDAGRI	: Kementerian Dalam Negeri (Ministry of Home Affairs)
KEMDIKNAS	: Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional (Ministry of Education)
KEMDM	: Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral (Energy and Mineral Resources Ministry)

KEMERIN	: Kementerian Perindustrian (Ministry of Industry)
KEMHUB	: Kementerian Perhubungan (Transportation Ministry)
KEMHUKHAM	: Kementerian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia (Law and Human Rights Ministry)
KEMHUT	: Kementerian Kehutanan (Ministry of Forestry)
KEMKOMINFO	: Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika (Communication and Informatics Ministry)
KEMKP	: Kementerian Kelautan Dan Perikanan (Ministry of Marine and Fisheries)
KEMLU	: Kementerian Luar Negeri (Foreign Affairs Ministry)
KEMNAKERTRANS	: Kementerian Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi (Manpower and Transmigration Ministry)
KEMPAN	: Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara (State Ministry of Administrative Reform)
KEMPU	: Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum (Public Works Ministry)
KEMTAN	: Kementerian Pertanian (Ministry of Agriculture)
KHN	: Komisi Hukum Nasional (National Law Commission)
KNPA	: Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak (National Commission for the Protection of Children)
KNPP&PA	: Kementerian Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection)
Komnas HAM	: Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (National Commission for Human Rights)
Kompolnas	: Komisi Kepolisian Nasional (National Police Commission)
KP	: Komnas Perempuan - Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan (National Commission on Violence Against Women)
KPI	: Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission)
KPK	: Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission)
KPPU	: Komisi Pengawasan Persaingan Usaha (Fair Business Competition Monitoring Commission)
KPU	: Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Elections Commission - National)
KPUD Kabupaten/Kota	: Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Kabupaten/Kota (General Elections Commission - District/ Municipality)
KPUD Provinsi	: Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Provinsi (General Elections Commission - Provincial)
KY	: Komisi Yudisial (Judicial Commission)
LAN	: Lembaga Administrasi Negara (State Administration Agency)
LETKOL	: Letnan Kolonel (Lieutenant Colonel)
LETTU	: Letnan Satu (First Lieutenant)
LPSK	: Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban (Witness and Survivor Protection Agency)
LSI	: Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute)
MA	: Mahkamah Agung (Supreme Court)
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
MK	: Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court)
PAN	: Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
Partai Demokrat	: Democratic Party
Partai GERINDRA	: Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Great Indonesia Party)

Partai GOLKAR	: Partai Golongan Karya (Functional Groups Party)
Partai HANURA	: Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (People Conscience Party)
PDI-P	: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle)
PEMDA	: Pemerintah Daerah (Local Government)
PERDA	: Peraturan Daerah (Local Regulation)
PERPUSNAS	: Perpustakaan Nasional (National Library)
PKB	: Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
PKS	: Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PNS	: Pegawai Negeri Sipil (Civil Servants)
PPP	: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
SPN	: Serikat Pekerja Nasional (National Labour Union)
SUPAS	: Survei Penduduk Antar Sensus (Inter-Census Population Survey)
UKM	: Usaha Kecil Menengah (Small-Medium Enterprises)
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	: United Nations Population Fund
UNIFEM	: United Nations Development Fund for Women

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Just as Indonesia varies geographically, culturally and socially, so do women across the archipelago. Women's roles have become increasingly public; women today enjoy many of the same educational opportunities as men and make up a significant proportion of the labour force. Women make up just under half of the civil service, and there are now more women than ever sitting in parliament.

The Government of Indonesia is committed to upholding women's rights through a number of legal provisions, and is signatory to several commitments and covenants regarding gender equality. While a Presidential Decree issued in 2000 mandates gender mainstreaming as a task to be undertaken by the government, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment has drafted a new law on gender equality, which they hope to have passed this year, and implemented by 2011. The law would replace the Presidential Decree in order to ensure gender sensitive policies are implemented across all ministries and local governments, and would have the legal jurisdiction to do so.

There remain numerous barriers to women's participation in public life, which this paper aims to address through an analysis of the challenges and opportunities and a series of policy recommendations. There are no legal barriers to women's participation in politics and government, and while their numbers are increasing, they are still low. A quota for women to make up 30 percent of political candidates has recently been passed – this percentage is considered the critical mass required for women to participate meaningfully in politics. Women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) is 18 percent, and while political parties have mostly adhered to nominating 30 percent women, their positions within central boards has not been made clear. While women constitute 45.4 percent of the labour force in the civil service, they are concentrated in the lowest echelons (2, 3 and 4). Only 9 percent of those working in the first echelon are women.

Indonesia has undergone significant political changes in its history, including large scale decentralisation. This devolution of power from the central government to the provinces and down to districts and municipalities has come with large scale institutional and regulatory policy changes, and combined with parallel judicial systems, creates a complex environment in which women must find their way into and around.

This paper sets out a series of recommendations for increasing women's participation in politics and government. These strategic areas aim to be not only holistic, but also to address both structural and functional barriers for women.

First, in order to change social attitudes towards women's participation in public life, greater public awareness is required. This should take a long term approach, and include public awareness raising around gender, knowledge of democratic values and practices, the roles and responsibilities of voters as well how to hold elected officials accountable.

Second, while there are many regulatory frameworks favourable to women, the reform of legal, political, electoral and institutional policies could assist in creating an even more gender sensitive environment. A number of electoral laws enacted in the recent 2009 elections could be built upon, including making mandatory the 30 percent quota of women candidates. This quota could also be extended beyond parliament to all government related institutions.

Third, the strengthening of those organisations mandated to address gender issues is a priority. A national gender capacity development plan should be developed for civil servants, elected representatives, political parties, commissions and ministries. At the local, provincial and national level, this type of training should be change focused, and based on regular follow ups and impact assessments.

Fourth, the mobilisation of the vast and varied groups of organisations, parties, caucuses and representatives already active in Indonesia would serve to build networks and coalitions that could come with a collective voice to undertake advocacy work. This would also function as a means of strengthening the capacities and strategies of these various groups.

Fifth and finally, the need for research and statistical evidence is critical for effective lobbying and policy change. While data on women's participation in politics and government exists, it is not being collected in a central data base, or being regularly updated. Many ministries and institutions do not disaggregate their data by gender, which is also a challenge. The data base currently being developed by the United Nations Development Programme in Indonesia can be used as a baseline, but the Ministry for Women's Empowerment, along with other relevant ministries should take a lead role in further developing this data base, and in disseminating it widely.

These policy recommendations are not exhaustive, but they do aim to contribute to a growing discourse on this topic, which is of integral importance.

1 INTRODUCTION

The gender gap in politics and public life is a global challenge that the world continues to face in the twenty-first century. Despite numerous international conventions, covenants, and commitments, there are only 18.4 percent women on average in world parliaments.¹ Out of 190 countries, women have only served in seven countries as presidents or prime ministers. Women's presence in the world's cabinets and as city mayors does not exceed 7 and 8 percent respectively.²

Indonesia stood at number 80 out of 156 countries on the Gender Development Index (GDI) in the year 2007. In 2009, this figure had fallen to 90, meaning that the women of Indonesia are still not enjoying the same rights and standards as men. The GDI measures human development, but also takes into account gender disparity - the components of the GDI are the same as those used in the Human Development Index, but are adjusted to capture the disparity in achievement between men and women; three indicators are used, including longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment, as measured by a combination of adult literacy and mean years of schooling; and standard of living, as measured by per capita expenditure. That women are still lagging behind in these areas indicates that there is still a ways to go for women to be truly equal in Indonesian society.

Women in Indonesia are lagging behind in public life - the persistent gender gap in social sector indicators is a national challenge. Indonesia has a adult high literacy rate of 92 percent, however women constitute 63 percent of its 7.7 million illiterates. There is also a high maternal mortality rate of 307 per 100,000 live births, which is one of the highest amongst ASEAN countries. Life expectancy in 2008 was 71 years for women, and 67 years for men.³ Only 49 percent of women participate in the labour market, as compared to 80.2 percent of men. Amongst the women working in the government, less than 1 percent is working in the upper echelons and their representation in the national legislature stands at only 18 percent.

Indonesia is committed to the principle of gender equality through numerous national and international commitments. The Constitution of Indonesia (1945) guarantees equality between men and women and gender mainstreaming has been adopted as a policy to integrate gender perspectives into policy, planning and budgeting. Affirmative action has also been introduced in the Law 10/2008 on General Elections to ensure that at least 30 percent women are nominated on the list of parliamentary candidates to address the gender deficit in the politics of the country.

While women in Indonesia actively contribute to the national and household economy through their productive and reproductive labour, they are still excluded from many decision-making structures and processes at the family, community and state level. Women's lack of representation in decision-making positions in the public sector has led to the development of economic and social policies that privilege men's perspectives and interests, along with the investment of national resources in their favour.

¹ UNIFEM (2008/2009), *Who Answers to Women? Gender and Accountability*.

² Paxton, Pamela and Hughes M. Melanie (2007), *Women, Politics and Power: A Global Perspective*, Pine Forge Press, Los Angeles.

³ BPS Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS), 2008.

In support of the government's effort towards greater participation of women in public life, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has initiated a project entitled "Women's Participation in Politics and Government." The project has several components, including an opinion poll on perceptions regarding women's social, economic and political participation, the collection and analysis of data on women's participation in politics and government and a series of workshops and roundtable discussions with relevant stakeholders. This policy paper is a compilation of these activities. In the first section, the policy paper reflects upon the situation of women in politics and government in Indonesia. Section two analyses barriers and challenges of the larger social and political context that hinder women's participation in public life. The next section deliberates the structures of opportunities and examines the threats that exist in the country to women's participation in public life. The last section elaborates a holistic policy framework within which recommendations are made for the government of Indonesia, donor agencies and civil society, as to how they can support women's greater participation and representation in public life.

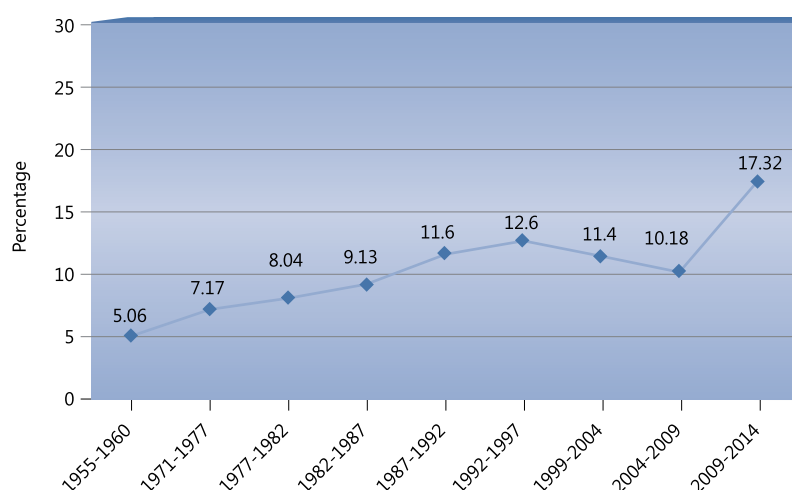
2 SITUATION ANALYSIS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Women in Politics

The Constitution of Indonesia places no restrictions on the political participation and representation of women. The involvement of women in public life has been increasing, however their participation and representation in the national and provincial legislatures and across government institutions is still low.

The women's movement in Indonesia has an active engagement in politics, however, there has been a gap in women's political participation and representation in formal political structures. They have not been adequately represented in the national legislatures since 1955, when women held 5.9 percent of seats. Although there has been an upward trend in women's representation since 1971, there were several exceptions, including the 1977 election when the number of elected women dropped to 6.3 percent from 7.8 percent in the previous election (1971), and again to 9 percent in 1999 as compared to 10.8 percent in 1997. However, the increase in women's representation in the DPR RI in the last two elections, 11.8 percent in the 2004 election and 18 percent in the 2009 election, is quite substantial. Similarly the upward trend in women's representation in the DPD RI from 22.6 percent in 2004 to 26.5 percent in the 2009 election is also quite encouraging.

Figure 1:⁴ Trend in Women's Representation in the Indonesian Parliament (DPR)



Source: Data extracted from "Anggota DPR RI", *Administrasi Keanggotaan Dewan dan Fraksi, Sekjen DPR RI/Membership Administration Division and Political Party Group, General Secretary of Indonesian House of Representatives* and "Parlemen Indonesia Tahun 50-an", *Pusat Data dan Informasi Arsip Nasional/Data and Information Center of the National Archive*.

⁴ Data from several elections are not available in either the National Archives of Indonesia or the Secretariat General of the Indonesian House of Representatives. Also note that the percentage of women shown as elected in the 2009 elections in this table is lower than other figures – this figure is from April, 2010, and not, as other figures show, the number at election, or at the end of the sitting period. These numbers fluctuate due to resignations, reshuffling, etc.

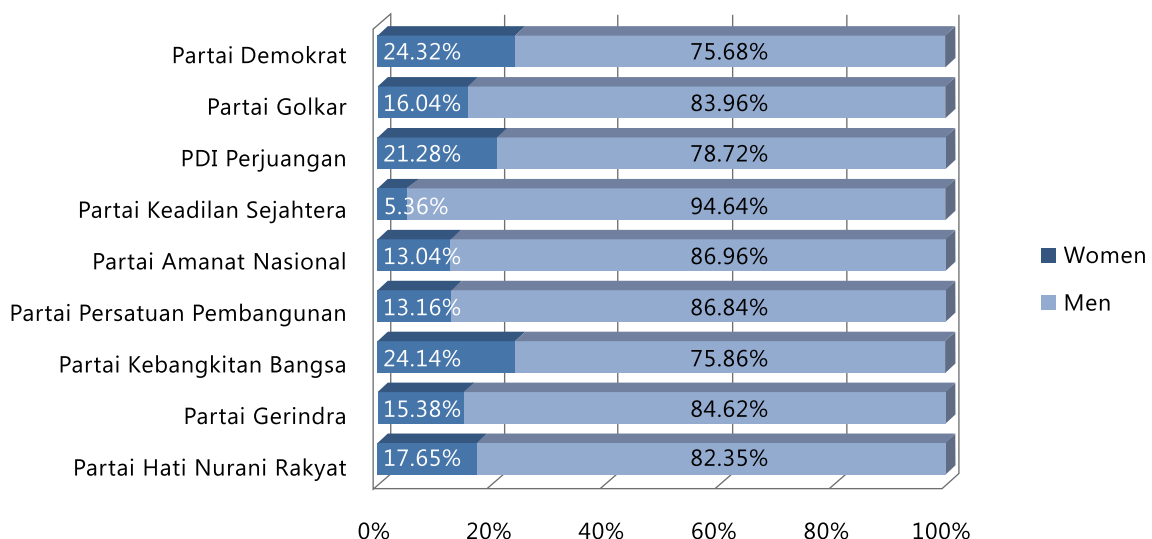
Indonesia's transition to democracy in the post New Order era is undergoing many reform initiatives towards ensuring people's participation and inclusion of their voices in governance. To correct the gender imbalance in national, sub-national and local legislatures, a non-compulsory gender quota was introduced through Law No. 12/2003 on General Elections. Article 65 of the law stipulated that every political party must have a minimum of 30 percent women as candidates for membership in national, provincial and local parliament in each electoral district. In the 2004 elections, despite the legal provision for a gender quota, no significant increase in women's representation was seen. Only 11.8 percent women were elected to the DPR RI, because the law did not make it mandatory for political parties to nominate 30 percent women in the list of candidates.

This situation gave rise to a demand in the women's movement for a further change in the law to make it mandatory for political parties to ensure 30 percent of the lists of candidates were women. This led to the passage of Election Law No. 10/2008. Article 53 of the law required political parties to nominate at least 30 percent women in the open list of candidates in the 2009 election. The lacuna in this law is that no sanctions are imposed on political parties who do not comply. As a result, six out of the thirty eight parties that contested the election in 2009 failed to nominate 30 percent woman candidates in their lists of proposed legislative members ⁵.

Currently women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) has risen from 11.8 percent in the previous elections, held in 2004, to 18 percent in the 2009 election. This is the highest number of women's representation in the political history of Indonesia. However, there is a variation in the percentage of women representatives in the DPR RI belonging to various political parties. The lowest representation of women in the DPR RI is that of the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party) which stands at 5.3 percent, while the Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party) has the highest representation of 24.3 percent.

Figure 2:

Women in Party Groups (Fraksi) at the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) (2009)



Source: "Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia: Daftar Anggota - Berdasarkan Fraksi" Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/Indonesian House of Representatives (<http://www.dpr.go.id/id/anggota/per-fraksi>).

⁵ These parties include PPRN, GERINDRA (Great Indonesia Party), PAN (National Mandate Party), Partai Republika Nusantara (Republic of Indonesia Party), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party), and Partai Patriot (Patriot Party).

There is also a great deal of variation in terms of women's representation in the DPR RI from the regional perspective. The table below shows that out of thirty-three provinces, seven have 30 percent or more representation in the DPR RI. The provinces of Bali, Aceh, and South Kalimantan have no women's representation at all, while North Maluku has all women representatives in the DPR RI.

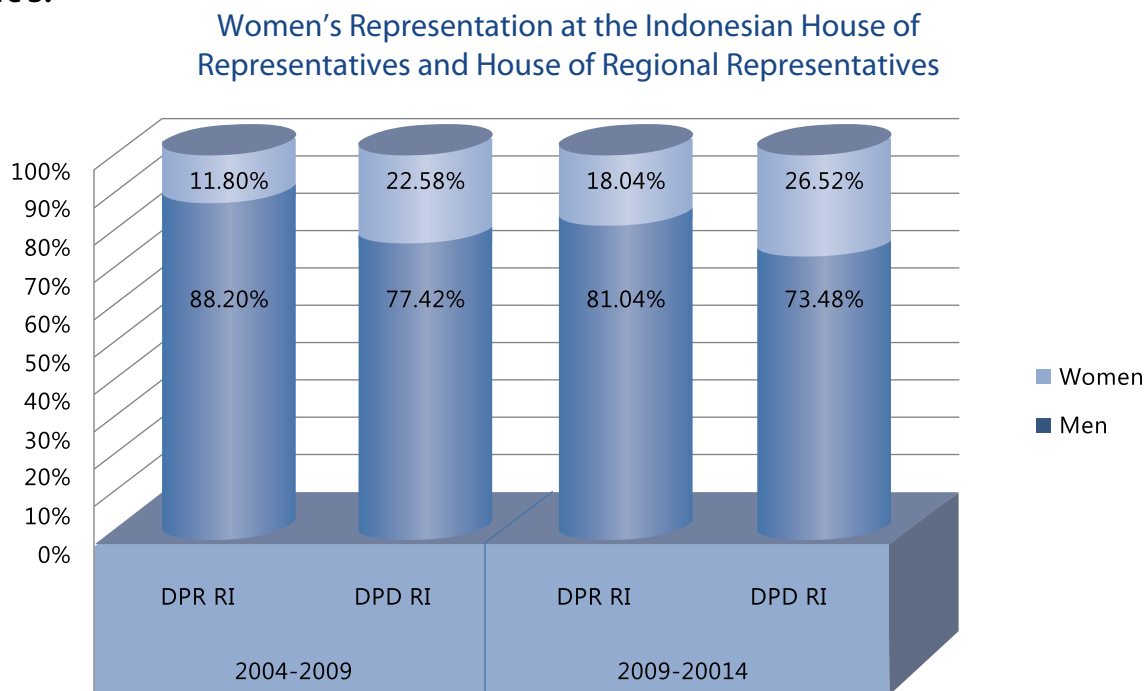
**Table 1:
Women's Representation in the DPR and DPD (2009)**

No.	Province	DPR Proportion			DPD Proportion		
		M	W	% W	M	W	% W
1.	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	13	0	0	4	0	0
2.	North Sumatera	28	2	6.67	3	1	25
3.	West Sumatera	13	1	7.14	3	1	25
4.	Riau	10	1	9.09	2	2	50
5.	South Sumatera	15	1	6.25	2	2	50
6.	Bangka Belitung	3	0	0	3	1	25
7.	Bengkulu	2	2	50	3	1	25
8.	Jambi	4	3	42.86	2	2	50
9.	Riau Islands	1	2	66.67	3	1	25
10.	Lampung	13	5	27.78	4	0	0
11.	Jakarta	16	5	23.81	4	0	0
12.	West Java	69	22	24.18	3	1	25
13.	Banten	16	5	23.81	4	0	0
14.	Central Java	69	8	10.39	1	3	75
15.	Yogyakarta	7	1	12.50	3	1	25
16.	East Java	66	21	24.16	3	1	25
17.	Bali	9	0	0	4	0	0
18.	West Nusa Tenggara	10	0	0	3	1	25
19.	East Nusa Tenggara	12	1	7.69	2	2	50
20.	Central Kalimantan	4	2	33.3	3	1	25
21.	West Kalimantan	9	1	10	0	4	100
22.	South Kalimantan	11	0	0	4	0	0
23.	East Kalimantan	6	2	25	4	0	0
24.	North Sulawesi	4	2	33.3	3	1	25
25.	Gorontalo	2	1	33.3	2	2	50
26.	Central Sulawesi	6	1	14.29	3	1	25
27.	West Sulawesi	3	0	0	3	1	25
28.	South Sulawesi	22	3	12	4	0	0
29.	Southeast Sulawesi	4	1	20	4	0	0
30.	North Maluku	0	3	100	3	1	25
31.	Maluku	3	1	25	2	2	50
32.	Papua	7	3	30	3	1	25
33.	West Papua	2	1	33.3	3	1	25
	Total	459	101		97	35	

Source: "List of Members (2009)" Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI/Sekretariat General, Indonesian House of Representatives.

Interestingly, the representation of women in the House of Regional Representatives (DPD RI) has been relatively better than in the DPR RI. Women’s representation in the DPD RI increased from 22.6 percent after the 2004 elections to 26.5 percent in 2009.

Figure 3:



Source: : Data extracted from “Anggota DPR 2004 – 2009” Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/Indonesian House of Representatives (<http://www.dpr.go.id/id/arsip/anggota2004>) and “Keanggotaan DPD: 2004 – 2009, Profil Anggota” Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia/Indonesian House of Regional Representatives (http://dpd.go.id/dpd.go.id/anggota_dpd_p1.php).

It is worth noting that there is no gender quota in the DPD RI. Candidates for the DPD RI contest elections on an individual basis from a larger constituency, based on their own political and community work and relationship with the constituents. The higher number of women’s representation in the DPD RI indicates a positive trend that exists amongst voters in Indonesia, who do not appear to have a strong gender bias against women politicians. The voters have shown confidence in women candidates by electing them to represent their interests in the DPD RI. It would be interesting to further explore who voted for these women and why.

By looking at the data of elected representatives belonging to various provinces in the DPR RI and DPD RI, there appears to be an inconsistency in voter behavior that needs explanation. For example, the table above shows several provinces where a higher number of women were elected as members of DPD RI, whereas in the same province very few women were elected for the DPR RI. It is difficult to understand without further research why voters from the same province were relatively more willing to vote for women candidates for the DPD RI but not for the DPR RI.

Furthermore, the analysis of the data from Table 1 also shows that there are eight provinces in which women have more than 30 percent representation, while in another nine provinces there are no women members in DPD RI. West Kalimantan has emerged as a unique example where all four representatives of the province in the DPD RI are women.

Women in the Provincial Houses of Representatives (DPRD) are also under-represented. Data collected from the 33 provinces shows that on average there are 13.53 percent women are represented in Provincial Houses of Representatives. Again there is a great deal of variation in women's representation among the provinces. From the sample data, the highest number of women's representation is found to be in the province of West Java (26 percent) and the lowest is in the provinces of South East Sulawesi (4.44 percent) and Nangroe Aceh Darusalam (5.80 percent).

**Table 2:
Women's Representation in Provincial Houses of Representatives**

No.	Province	Number of Women Members		Number of Men Members		Total Elected Members in DPR Province
		Total	%	Total	%	Total
1	Aceh	4	5.80%	65	94.20%	69
2	North Sumatera	20	20.00%	80	80.00%	100
3	West Sumatera	7	12.73%	48	87.27%	55
4	Riau	7	12.73%	48	87.27%	55
5	Jambi	4	8.89%	41	91.11%	45
6	South Sumatera	8	10.67%	67	89.33%	75
7	Benkulu	7	15.56%	38	84.44%	45
8	Lampung	12	16.00%	63	84.00%	75
9	Bangka Belitung	3	6.67%	42	93.33%	45
10	Riau Islands	7	15.56%	38	84.44%	45
11	DKI Jakarta	20	21.28%	74	78.72%	94
12	West Java	26	26.00%	74	74.00%	100
13	Central Java	18	18.00%	82	82.00%	100
14	DI Yogyakarta	11	20.00%	44	80.00%	55
15	East Java	19	19.00%	81	81.00%	100
16	Banten	16	18.82%	69	81.18%	85
17	Bali	4	7.27%	51	92.73%	55
18	West Nusa Tenggara	3	5.45%	52	94.55%	55
19	East Nusa Tenggara	4	7.27%	51	92.73%	55
20	West Kalimantan	4	7.27%	51	92.73%	55
21	Central Kalimantan	7	15.56%	38	84.44%	45
22	South Kalimantan	7	12.73%	48	87.27%	55
23	East Kalimantan	9	16.36%	46	83.64%	55
24	North Sulawesi	9	20.00%	36	80.00%	45
25	Central Sulawesi	9	20.00%	36	80.00%	45
26	South Sulawesi	9	12.00%	66	88.00%	75
27	South-East Sulawesi	2	4.44%	43	95.56%	45
28	Gorontalo	7	15.56%	38	84.44%	45
29	West Sulawesi	5	11.11%	40	88.89%	45
30	Maluku	8	17.78%	37	82.22%	45
31	North Maluku	3	6.67%	42	93.33%	45
32	Papua	4	7.14%	52	92.86%	56
33	West Papua	5	11.36%	39	88.64%	44
TOTAL		288		1,720		2,008

Source: "Rekapitulasi Anggota DPRD Provinsi Seluruh Indonesia Berdasarkan Jenis Kelamin Pada Pemilu Tahun 2009" Divisi Teknis & Humas KPU/Technical and Public Relations Bureau, General Election Commission.

Women's representation is lowest at the district/municipality level. The data collected from 29 out of 491 districts/municipalities (DPRD Kabupaten/Kota) indicates that on average, only 10 percent women are represented in district governments. East Belitung and Poso have no women's representation at all, while the highest representation of women was found in the municipality of Gorontalo (24 percent) followed by Balikpapan (23.3 percent).

The district is the tier of the government which is the closest to people and is responsible for local development and social service delivery. The limited representation of women in district government may lead to the neglect of women's needs, concerns and development priorities in local development planning, and may further reinforce their marginalisation in accessing social services at the local level. This lack of opportunities to play political roles in local government negatively impacts the possibility for women to take more leading positions in provincial and national politics.

Table 3:
**Women's Representation in Selected District/
Municipality Houses of Representatives**

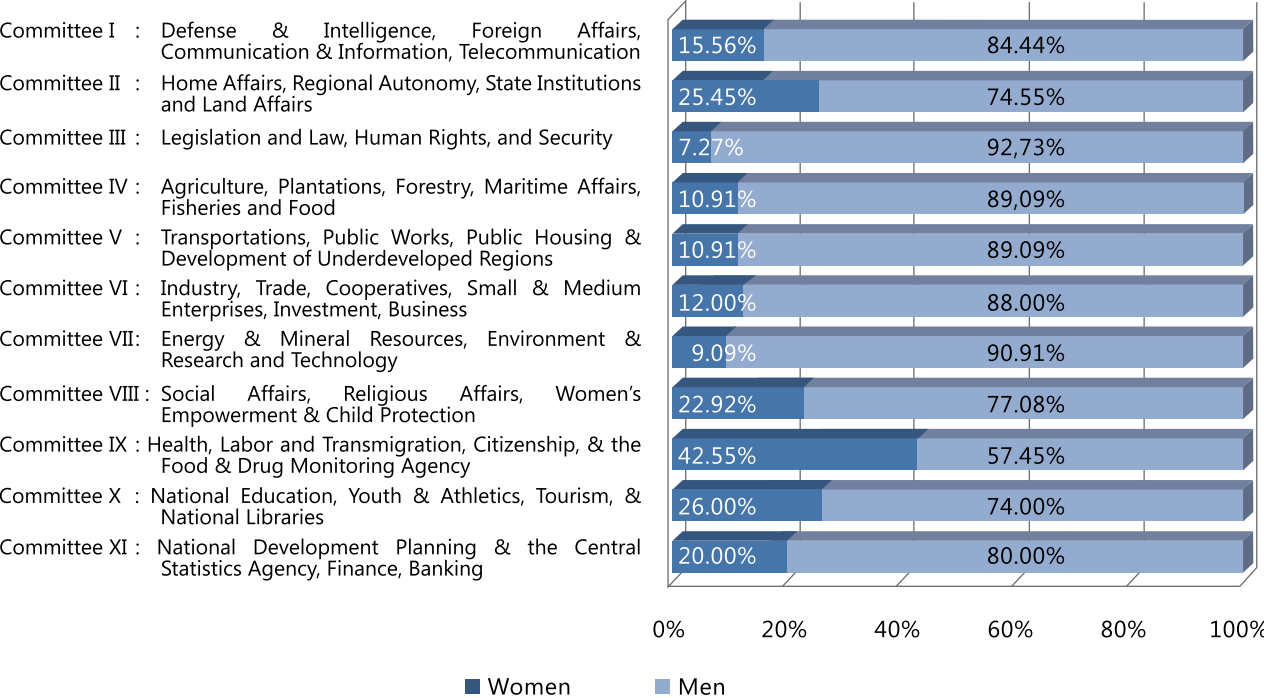
No.	District/Municipality	Number of Women Members		Number of Men Members		Total	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1.	Bangka	3	10%	27	90%	30	100%
2.	Central Bangka	3	12%	22	88%	25	100%
3.	West Bangka	2	8%	23	92%	25	100%
4.	South Bangka	1	4%	24	96%	25	100%
5.	Pangkal Pinang	1	4%	24	96%	25	100%
6.	Belitung	2	8%	23	92%	25	100%
7.	East Belitung	0	0%	25	100%	25	100%
8.	Bogor	8	17.8%	37	82.2%	45	100%
9.	Palembang	10	20%	40	80%	50	100%
10.	Solok	1	2.8%	34	97.1%	35	100%
11.	Bintan	6	24%	19	76%	25	100%
12.	Balikpapan	10	23.3%	33	76.7%	43	100%
13.	Gorontalo Municipality	6	24%	19	76%	25	100%
14.	Tarakan	2	8%	23	92%	25	100%
15.	West Aceh	1	3.3%	29	96.7%	30	100%
16.	Aceh Tamiang	4	13.3%	26	86.7%	30	100%
17.	North Aceh	1	2.2%	44	97.8%	45	100%
18.	Central Aceh	3	10%	27	90%	30	100%
19.	East Aceh	2	5.7%	33	94.3%	35	100%
20.	Banda Aceh	1	3.3%	29	96.7%	30	100%
21.	Bener Meriah	1	4%	24	96%	25	100%
22.	Bireun	2	5.7%	33	94.3%	35	100%
23.	Lhokseumawe	3	12%	22	88%	25	100%
24.	Nagan Raya	3	12%	22	88%	25	100%
25.	Pidie	2	4.4%	43	95.6%	45	100%
26.	Badung	1	2.5%	39	97.5%	40	100%
27.	Karangasem	2	5%	38	95%	40	100%
28.	Temanggung	8	17.8%	37	82.2%	45	100%
29.	Sidoarjo	7	16.3%	36	83.7%	43	100%
	Total	96		855		951	

Source: Compiled from respective district/municipality government offices (see bibliography).

Parliamentary standing committees are the key bodies of parliament through which the Parliament performs its oversight role. Women’s representation in parliamentary standing committees in the House of Representatives in 2009-2014 is highly insignificant. The majority of women legislators are sitting on Committee VIII (Religion, Social Affairs, and Women Empowerment) and Committee IX (Demography, Health, Employment, and Transmigration), which typically represent “softer” sectors. Their representation in Committee I (Defense, Intelligence, Foreign Affairs, Communication, and Information) and Committee V (Transportation, Public Works, People’s Housing, Rural and Isolated Area Development, Meteorology and Geophysics Agency, and National Search and Rescue) is extremely low.

Figure 4:

Ratio of Women and Men in the Standing Committees of the Indonesian House of Representatives (2009-2014)



Source: Data extracted from “Daftar Anggota – Berdasarkan Komisi” Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/Indonesian House of Representatives (<http://www.dpr.go.id/id/komisi/>).

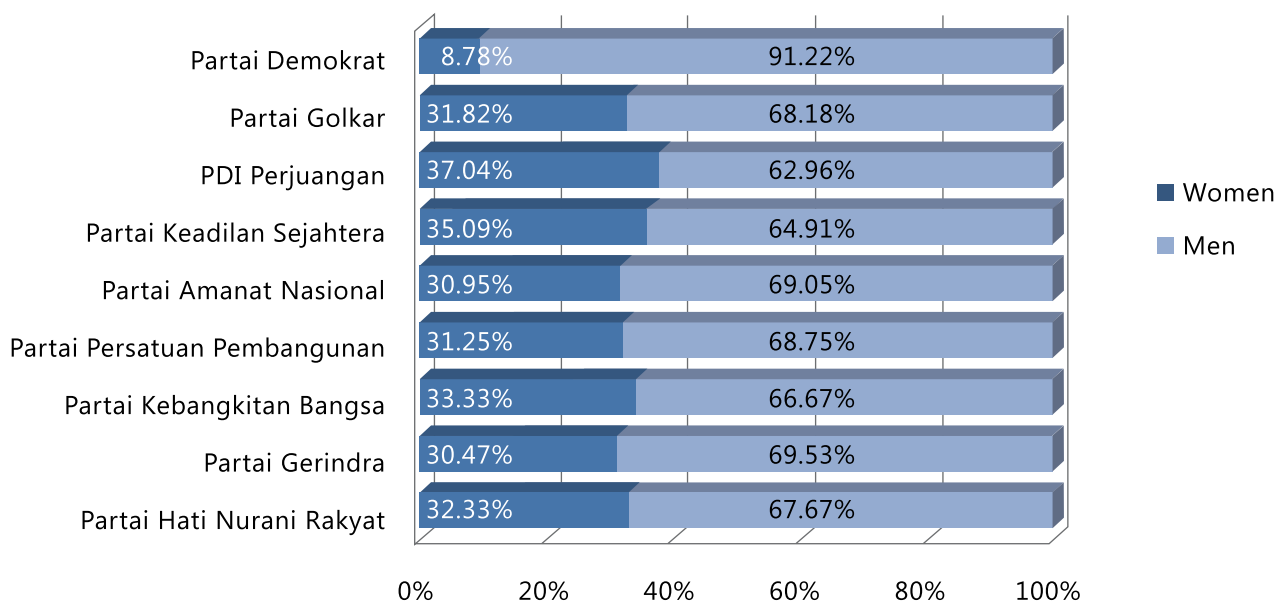
Role of Political Parties

While political parties are intended to articulate the interests of society, male domination and an entrenched patriarchal mindset of the leadership of political parties in Indonesia is one of the key detrimental factors against women entering politics and influencing the political agenda of the parties.

Political Party Law No. 2 of 2008, Article 2 section 5 stipulates that a political party must give 30 percent quota to women in the central management structure. The data collected from nine mainstream political parties shows that prior to the 2009 elections, all but one had 30 percent women in their central boards. However, there is no information on what positions women are holding in the central boards of these political parties. Furthermore, as indicated in Figure 6, after the 2009 elections, these numbers dropped significantly, and few parties maintained the quota. In addition, most political parties do not maintain membership records, making it difficult to ascertain levels and types of participation in the parties.

Figure 5:

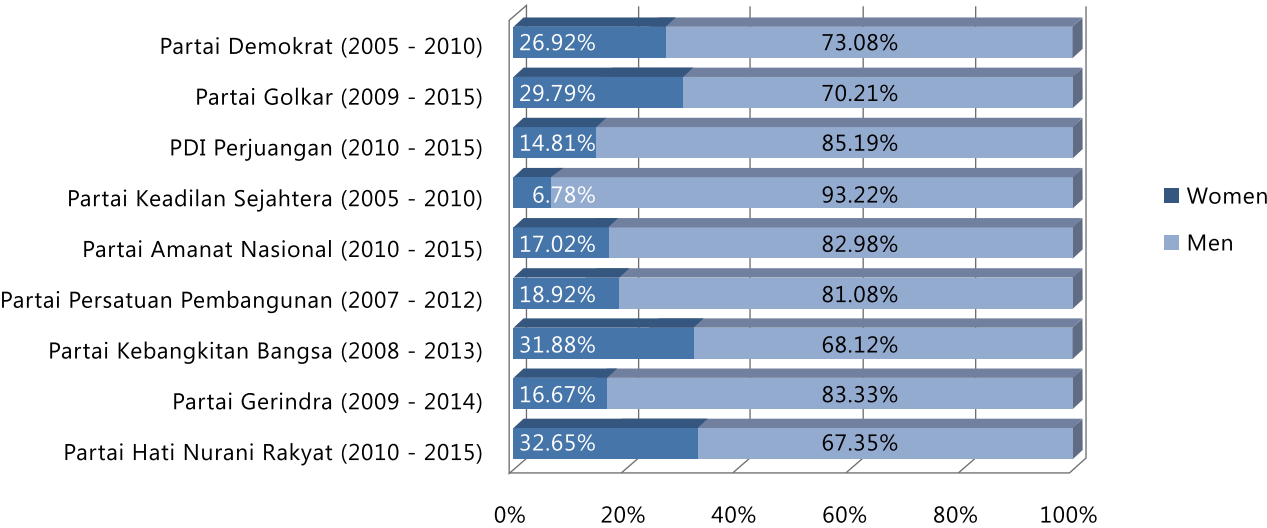
Women in the Central Boards of Nine Political Parties
Before the Elections (2008)



Source: Data extracted from "9 Partai Politik yang Mempunyai Perwakilan di DPR-RI dengan Keterwakilan 30% Perempuan di Kepengurusannya", Direktorat Administrasi Hukum/Directorate of Law Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights.

Figure 6:

Women in the Central Boards of Nine Political Parties After the Elections (2009)



Source: Data extracted from documents from national secretariats of the political parties (Partai Demokrat, Partai Golkar, PDI Perjuangan, PKS, PAN, PPP, PKB, Gerindra and Hanura) in 2010 (see bibliography).

The data available on the membership of women in the central boards of nine political parties at the time of the 2004 elections indicates that with the exception of one party (PDIP) which had a woman leader, no other party had a woman in a top leadership position. In addition, none of the party secretaries were women, and only two parties, PBP and PDIP had women treasurers⁶.

Women in Government

Women in Indonesia are entering the public sector in greater number today; however, they are conspicuous in their absence at the executive and managerial positions within the public administration.

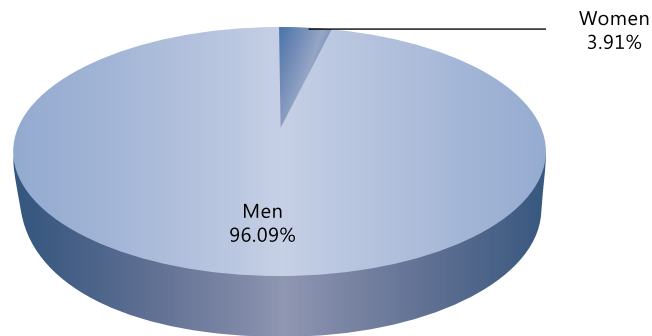
Elected Woman Regional and Village Heads

By the end of 2009, only one out of 33 elected governors was a woman (Governor of Banten Province), and only one woman had been elected as deputy governor (Vice-Governor of Central Java Province)⁷. In the same year, out of 440 districts/municipalities, there were 10 women Regents/Mayors (2.27 percent). Of the 402 posts of Vice Regent/Mayor, 12 (or 2.27 percent) were women (based on the data from the Ministry of Home Affairs, information on the 38 remaining posts of Vice Regent/Mayor was unavailable).

⁶ Siregar, Wahida Zain Br (2006), "Political Parties, Electoral System and Women's Representation in the 2004-2009 Indonesian Parliaments" in CDI – Policy Paper on Political Governance 2006.
⁷ Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, 2010.

Figure 7:

Women Heads of Villages (2010)



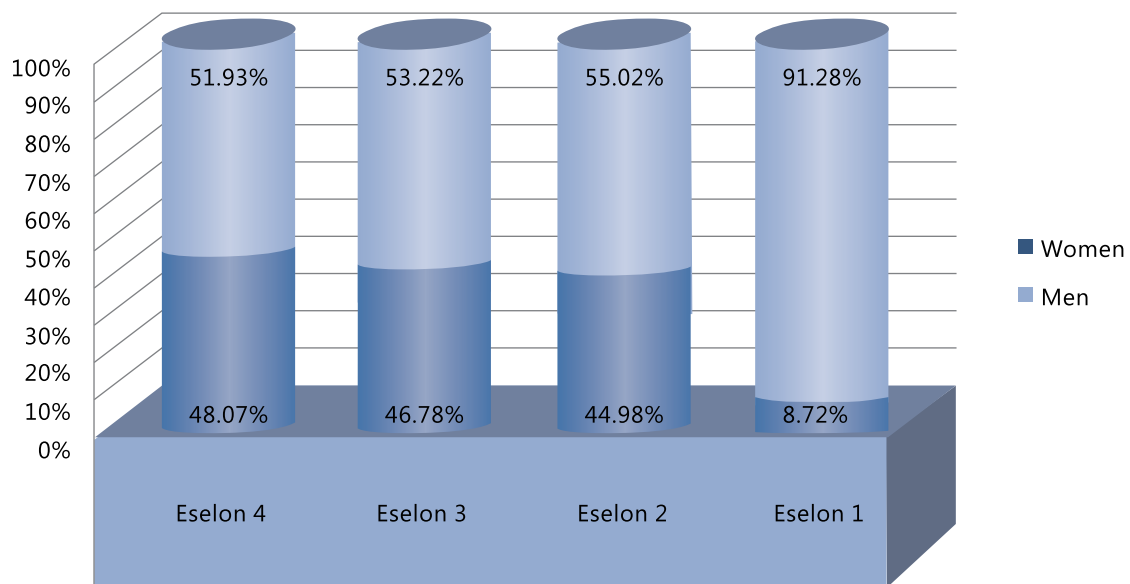
Source: Data extracted from documents from national secretariats of the political parties (Partai Demokrat, Partai Golkar, PDI Perjuangan, PKS, PAN, PPP, PKB, Gerindra and Hanura) in 2010 (see bibliography).

Women in the Civil Service

In the civil service there is a serious issue of under-representation of women at the top positions. Women constitute 45.4 percent of the civil service but the top echelons are mainly occupied by men. The table below shows the gender composition of public service in the top four echelons 2, 3, and 4. The gender gap at these levels is not very wide; however, the gap in echelon 1 becomes quite serious. Only 9 percent women are working at the top echelons of civil service, which forms 0.5 percent of the total female force working in the civil service.

Figure 8:

Women in the Civil Service by Echelon (2009)

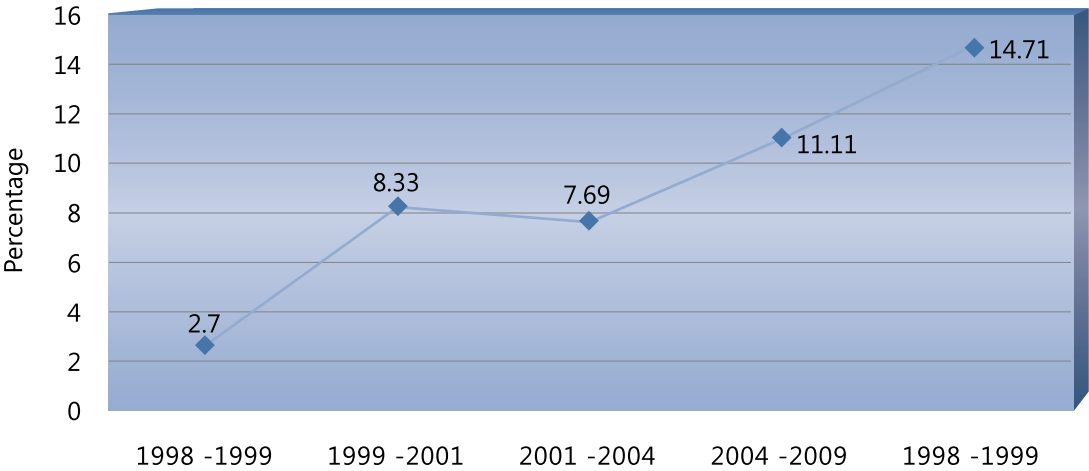


Source: "PNS Dirinci Menurut Kelompok Umur dan Golongan, Desember 2009" Badan Kepegawaian Nasional/National Civil Service Agency- (<http://www.bkn.go.id/stat2009>).

Women in the Cabinet

Out of the thirty-four members of the current cabinet, only five (14.7 percent) are women. This is an increase of 4 percent from the last cabinet, in which four women (11.1 percent) were appointed as ministers out of 36 cabinet members. This low representation of women does not match the percentage of women legislators in the parliament (18 percent). Ministries currently headed by women include the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Trade and the State Ministry for National Development Planning. While these first two represent “soft” issues typically related to women’s roles as care-givers, it is notable that the agencies related to finance, trade and development are now under the direction of women ministers.

Figure 9: Women in the Indonesian Cabinet After 1998



Source: Data extracted from the office and library of the President and BPS Catalogue (see bibliography).

Women in Ministries, Ministry-level Agencies and Non-Ministry Agencies

The sample data collected from ministries, ministry-level agencies and non-ministry agencies on women employees shows that women’s representation in all top decision-making positions in all government ministries and agencies is extremely low. In five ministries (Communication and Information, Transportation, Public Works, Marine and Fisheries, and Religious Affairs) there are no women working in the first echelon. At the second echelon of these ministries, the percentage of women holding the posts ranges from 5.9 percent and 27 percent, and in the third echelon, the percentage ranges from 14.3 percent to 21.2 percent.

In the state ministries and ministry-level agencies, there are no women working in the first echelon. The percentage of women working in the second echelon ranges from 4.2 to 23.3 percent.

In non-ministry agencies, two agencies have no women in their 1st echelon, women holding posts at the second echelon varied from 6 percent to 44 percent and at the third echelon, the percentage ranges from 6.9 percent and 63.6 percent. The majority of women (50.8 percent) work in the fourth echelon⁸.

⁸ For details see Annex 1.

Women in National Commissions

Women are under-represented in the independent state-formed commissions, which have been established through legal regulations to provide checks and balances to the government – they do, however, have some limitations in their authority. Out of thirteen independent commissions, as the table below shows, three of the commissions have no women members (Corruption Eradication Commission, Judicial Commission and National Law Commission). The highest level of women’s representation is seen in the National Commission on Violence Against Women (86.7 percent), followed by the General Election Supervisory Agency (60 percent) and the National Commission for the Protection of Children (46.5 percent). The commissions responsible for women’s and children’s rights are commissions which mirror women’s traditional roles in the caring economy, and have less power in terms of finances and political clout.

Table 4:
Women’s Representation in 13 National Commissions

No.	Name of Commission	Office	Number of Women Members		Number of Men Members		Total	
			Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1.	National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perlindungan Perempuan)	2010 - 2014	13	86.72%	2	13.3%	15	100%
2.	Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi – KPK)	2009 - 2014	0	0%	5	100%	5	100%
3.	Judicial Commission (Komisi Yudisial – KY)	2002 - 2010	0	0%	6	100%	6	100%
4.	Fair Business Competition Monitoring Commission (Komisi Pengawas Persaingan Usaha - KPPU)	2006 - 2011	2	18.2%	8	81%	10	100%
5.	National Commission for Human Rights (Komisi Nasional Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia – Komnas HAM)	2007 - 2012	1	9%	10	91%	11	100%
6.	Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia (Ombudsman Republik Indonesia)	2000 - now	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100%
7.	National Commission for the Protection of Children (Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Anak)	2007 - 2012	2	25%	6	75%	8	100%
8.	Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia – KPI)	2007 - 2012	2	25%	6	75%	8	100%
9.	General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum – KPU)	2007 - 2012	3	43 %	4	57%	7	100%
10.	General Election Supervisory Agency (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum - Bawaslu)	2008 - 2013	3	60%	2	40%	5	100%
11.	National Law Commission (Komisi Hukum Nasional – KHN)	2000 - now	0	0%	4	100%	4	100%
12.	Commission of Public Information (Komisi Informasi Publik)	2009 – now	1	14%	6	85%	7	100%
13.	National Police Commission (Komisi Kepolisian Nasional - Kompolnas)	2009-2012	1	20%	4	80%	5	100%
Total			18	25.35%	53	74.65%	71	100%

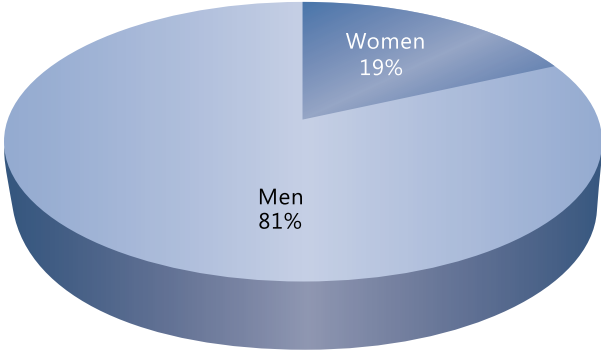
Source: Data extracted from respective commissions (see bibliography).

Women in Election Commissions

In the National General Election Commission (KPU), 43 percent members are women as compared to 57 percent male members, while in the Provincial General Election Committees (KPUD) women’s representation is only 19 percent.

Figure 10:

Women in General Election Commissions
at the Provincial Level (2009)



Source: Data extracted from “Rekapitulasi Anggota dan Ketua KPU Provinsi”, Biro Humas KPU/Human Resources Bureau of KPU.

Women’s representation in the Regional General Election Commissions varies from 20 to 40 percent. Several Regional General Election Commissions, including the provinces of Gorontalo and South Sulawesi, have no representation of women at all. No provinces have more than 40 percent women members on their General Election Commissions.

Table 5:
Women in General Election Commissions at the Provincial Level (2009)

No.	KPUD Province	Women Members		Men Members		Total
1.	Nangroe Aceh Darusalam	1	14.29%	6	85.71%	7
2.	North Sumatera	1	16.67%	5	83.33%	6
3.	West Sumatera	1	20%	5	80%	6
4.	Riau	1	20%	4	80%	5
5.	Riau Islands	1	20%	4	80%	5
6.	Jambi	1	20%	4	80%	5
7.	South Sumatera	2	40%	3	60%	5
8.	Bengkulu	2	40%	3	60%	5
9.	Lampung	1	25%	3	75%	4
10.	Bangka Belitung	2	40%	3	60%	5
11.	Jakarta	1	20%	4	80%	5
12.	West Java	0	0%	5	100%	5
13.	Central Java	2	40%	3	60%	5
14.	Yogyakarta	1	20%	4	80%	5
15.	East Java	1	20%	4	80%	5
16.	Banten	0	0%	4	100%	5
17.	Bali	2	40%	3	60%	5
18.	West Nusa Tenggara	0	0%	5	100%	5
19.	East Nusa Tenggara	1	20%	4	80%	5
20.	West Kalimantan	2	40%	3	60%	5
21.	Central Kalimantan	2	40%	3	60%	5
22.	East Kalimantan	0	0%	5	100%	5
23.	South Kalimantan	0	0%	5	100%	5
24.	North Sulawesi	1	20%	4	80%	5
25.	Central Sulawesi	1	20%	4	80%	5
26.	South Sulawesi	0	0%	5	100%	5
27.	West Sulawesi	1	20%	4	80%	5
28.	Southeast Sulawesi	1	20%	4	80%	5
29.	Gorontalo	0	0%	5	100%	5
30.	Maluku	0	0%	5	100%	5
31.	North Maluku	1	20%	4	80%	5
32.	Papua	1	20%	4	80%	5
33.	West Papua	1	20%	4	80%	5
Total		32		135		167

Source: Data extracted from "Rekapitulasi Anggota dan Ketua KPU Provinsi", Biro Humas KPU/Human Resources Bureau of KPU.

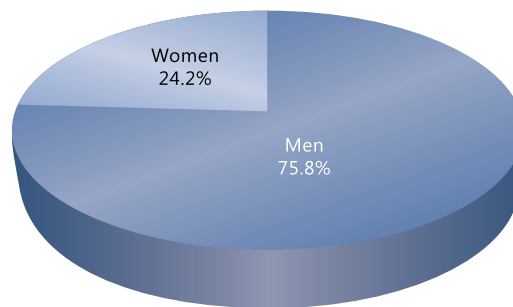
Women in the Courts

Women are marginally represented in the superior and subordinate judiciary of Indonesia. In 2010, there is not a single woman working as a supreme court judge in Indonesia. There are only six women (15.8 percent) in the second echelon of the superior judiciary.

In the civil courts, out of 3,104 judges, 2,352 are men (76 percent) while 752 women constitute 24 percent of civil court judges.

Figure 11:

Women's Representation at Civil Courts (2010)



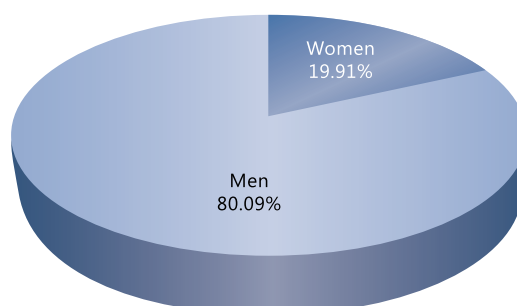
Source: Data extracted from "Data Hakim PN" Direktorat Jenderal Badan Peradilan Umum – Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia/General Directorate of General Court – (http://badilum.info/index.php?option=com_hakim&loc=pn&Itemid=99).

Women in Religious Courts

Indonesia also has religious courts, which have the mandate and authority to review and pass judgements in cases involving Muslims, in areas such as marriage, inheritance, and the shariah economy. These courts are overseen by and have jurisdiction over individual district/municipality regulations. The supreme religious courts have the province as their jurisdiction area⁹. According to the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, within these religious courts there are 675 (24 percent) women judges among the total of 3,390 judges.

Figure 12:

Women Judges in Religious Courts (2010)



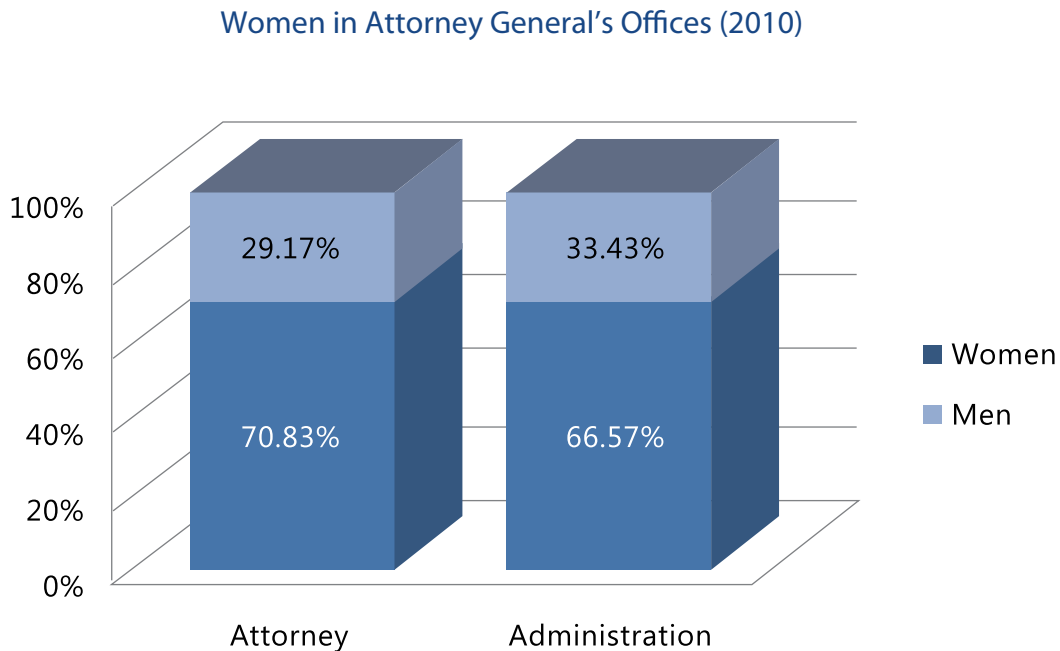
Source: Data extracted from "Nama Hakim Di lingkungan Peradilan Agama Seluruh Indonesia" Pusat Data dan Informasi Kementerian Agama/Data and Information Center of Ministry of Religion.

⁹ Law No. 3 Year 2006 as Revision from Law No. 7 Year 1989 on Religious Courts.

Women in Attorney General's Offices

The data collected from the national Attorney General's offices shows that from thirty one¹⁰ provinces, and at the national level, 29.17 percent of attorneys in Indonesia are women.

Figure 13:



Source: Data extracted from "Bahan Pertemuan Trilateral Meeting, Kamis – 15 April 2010, Data: Biro Kepegawaian" Kejaksaan RI/Indonesian General Attorney.

¹⁰ As West Papua and West Sulawesi are the newest provinces to have been created in Indonesia, data on the provincial Attorney General's offices was unavailable for these two provinces, thus the data does not show 33 provinces, instead only 31 provinces, as well as the national Attorney General's office is represented.

The table below shows that in ten provincial Attorney General's offices, there is no representation of women at all. It was only the Attorney General's office in Banten where women made up 44.4 percent of staff, while in the remaining provinces it ranged from 0 to 22 percent.

**Table 6:
Women in Attorney General's Offices (2010)**

No.	Attorney General Office	Women		Men		Total	
	Attorney General's Office (National Level)	0	0%	12	100%	12	100%
Provincial Attorney General's Offices:							
1.	Nangroe Aceh Darussalam	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
2.	Bali	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
3.	Banten	4	44.4%	5	55.6%	9	100%
4.	Bengkulu	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
5.	Gorontalo	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
6.	Jakarta	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
7.	Jambi	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
8.	West Java	3	3.3%	6	6.7%	9	100%
9.	Central Java	3	3.3%	6	6.7%	9	100%
10.	East Java	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
11.	West Kalimantan	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
12.	South Kalimantan	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
13.	Central Kalimantan	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
14.	East Kalimantan	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
15.	Bangka Belitung	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
16.	Riau Islands	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
17.	Lampung	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
18.	North Maluku	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
19.	Maluku	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
20.	West Nusa Tenggara	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
21.	East Nusa Tenggara	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
22.	Papua	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
23.	Riau	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
24.	South Sulawesi	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
25.	Central Sulawesi	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
26.	Southeast Sulawesi	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
27.	North Sulawesi	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
28.	West Sumatera	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	100%
29.	South Sumatera	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
30.	North Sumatera	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
31.	Yogyakarta	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%
Total		32		259		291	

Source: Data extracted from "Kejaksaan Tinggi" Kejaksaan Republik Indonesia/Indonesian General Attorney (http://www.kejaksaan.go.id/unit_kejaksaan.php?idu=31).

Women in the National Police Force

The national police force is a highly male dominated institution. With the exception of one woman regional police commander in Banten Province since 2008, there are no senior woman officers. The majority of women (in numbers, not percentage) are concentrated in the fourth level within the police force, and in total, only 3.5 percent women are serving in the police force.

**Table 7:
Women and Men Police Officers (2009)**

Spesification	National Police Head Office		External Function		Provincial Police Office		Numbers of Men & Women		TOTAL
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
High Level	121	1	54	0	42	0	217 (99.51%)	1 (4.59%)	218 (100%)
Middle Level	1,710	463	167	31	7,168	705	9,045 (88.30%)	1,199 (11.70%)	10,244 (100%)
Third Level	1,793	321	228	25	23,186	1,798	25,207 (92.16%)	2,144 (7.84%)	27,351 (100%)
Fourth Level	9,921	365	700	42	330,628	9,872	341,249 (97.08%)	10,279 (2.92%)	351,528 (100%)
Fifth Level	5	0	5	0	129	0	139 (100%)	0 (0%)	139 (100%)
				Total			375,857 (96.50%)	13,623 (3.50%)	389,480 (100%)

Source: "Data Personel POLRI Tahun 2010" (Rekapitulasi DSP/RILL Kekuatan Anggota Polri Triwulan IV Tahun 2009) Bag Infopers Ro Jianstra SDM Polri/Personnel Development Bureau, National Police Headquarters.

Women in the Armed Forces

The data from the Ministry of Defense shows that there are no women civil servants in Echelon 1 and 2 and further, that there are no 1 to 4 star women generals holding command in the army, navy or air force. This is also true amongst retired officers. At the middle level officer ranks (Major, Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel) there are only 14 percent women.

Women in Labour Unions

Interestingly, the data collected from DPD SPN (the Provincial Office of the National Labour Union), which is a national confederation of seven labour unions, shows that there are significantly more women (68.6 percent) who are members of these unions as compared to male members (31.4 percent). There are many labour unions not represented within this confederation, but this likely points to a general trend in membership across the country.

Table 8 ¹¹
Sample - Member of National Labour Unions (June 2009)

DPD SPN Provincial Office of National Labour Union	PSP SPN Number of Labour Unions	Total Members		
		Women	Men	Total
West Java	172	82,961	36,960	119,921
Banten	44	51,238	29,985	81,223
Jakarta	61	19,238	5,863	25,335
Central Java	123	112,695	52,846	165,541
Yogyakarta	13	2,472	3,572	6,048
East Java	44	29,325	7,278	36,603
Deli Serdang	4	1,596	543	2,139
Total	461	299,759	137,047	436,810

Source: "Jumlah Anggota Serikat Pekerja Nasional Pada Juni 2006" *Jurnal Kajian Perburuhan SEDANE*, Vol. 6, No, 1, 2009.

Women and Education

The illiteracy rate amongst women is higher than that of men – while 92 percent of Indonesian people are literate, 63 percent of those who are illiterate are women¹². In primary and secondary school, 48 percent of students are girls. At the higher education level (university, both state and private), girls constitute 47.6 percent of students. These statistics demonstrate that women and men are attaining relatively equal levels of education, and point to a hopeful future in which the remaining gaps in the labour force – and women's participation in public life – can be decreased, as women gain equivalent qualifications to men.

Table 9:
Number of Pupils by Gender

No.	Education Level	Period	Number of Women		Number of Men		Total	
1.	Primary Education	2006/2007	12,673,327	48.23%	13,604,909	51.77%	26,278,236	100%
2.	Junior Secondary School	2006/2007	4,151,403	48.22%	4,288,359	51.78%	8,438,762	100%
3.	General Senior Secondary School	2007/2008	1,960,848	52.16%	1,798,045	47.84%	3,758,893	100%
4.	Higher Education University State and Private	2007/2008	139,305	47.63%	153,180	52.37%	292,485	100%
	Total		18,924,883	48.82%	19,844,493	51.19%	38,768,376	100%

Source: Data extracted from Pusat Statistik Pendidikan, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional dan Biro Pusat Statistik/Center for Statistics of Education, Department of National Education and National Statistic Agency (see bibliography).

¹¹ National Labour Union (Serikat Pekerja Nasional – SPN), Regional Boards (Dewan Pimpinan Daerah - DPD) and Heads of Labour Union (Pimpinan Serikat Pekerja – PSP).

¹² BPS Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS), 2008.

3 KEY ISSUES AND CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION/ REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC LIFE

Women belonging to different regions, religions and socio-economic backgrounds face distinct sets of challenges and constraints to their participation in public life. However, some of the common impediments that women across Indonesia face based on their identity as women stem from the larger discursive, socio-cultural, economic, institutional and political contexts of society.

Discursive/Ideological Barriers

Box 1: Issues/Barriers in Women's Political Participation

Immediate

- Lack of Women's Trust in Political System
- Lack of Political Skills and Education
- Lack of Knowledge about the System
- Lack of Women's Interest in Politics
- Lack of Financial Resources
- Lack of Confidence
- Lack of Mobility
- Familial Responsibilities
- Lack of Active Women in Party Cadres
- Lack of Support from Political Parties
- Perception of Politics as Dirty

Underlying

- Male Domination and Masculine Culture
- Male Oriented Agenda of Political Parties
- Lack of Inner Party Democracy
- Commercialisation of Politics
- Electoral System
- Nepotism and Elitism in Political Parties
- Political Violence
- Corruption in Politics

Structural

- Discursive Dichotomy of Public-Private Spheres
- Public and Private Patriarchy
- Patriarchal Social Attitudes of Men and Women
- Religious Fundamentalism

The most fundamental challenge to women's entry in public life comes from the discursive divide between the public-private spheres. The ideology of sexual division of labour defines women as private citizens with primary roles in the home as mothers and wives, whereas men are entrusted with productive roles in the public sphere. This public-private dichotomy shapes structures of opportunities for women in Indonesia. The gender role ideology invisibilises women's contribution in the productive sphere. It is not socially recognised, and therefore less resources are invested in women's human capital by the family and the state. Women with no independent financial means, lacking in social and economic power bases find it difficult to enter in the male dominated world of politics.

Socio-Economic Barriers

Patriarchal culture and social values in Indonesia dictate that women should not participate in politics and governance, and politics is considered a male prerogative. Although the socio-cultural context in Indonesia varies across regions, and women face different context specific constraints,

there are some common obstacles faced by women across the country due to their domestic roles and responsibilities, subordinate status in gender relations and patriarchal social attitudes towards their participation in public life.

Due to gender role ideology, women are not prepared for public roles, and when women as private citizens take up public roles they continue to face the same challenges which confront them prior to entering in public life.

Box 2:
Issues/Barriers in Women's Participation in Government

Immediate

- Lack of Job Opportunities
- Lack of Upward Job Mobility
- Lack of Qualifications
- High Unemployment
- Cultural Restriction on Women's Occupational Choices
- Sexual Harassment and Intimidation at the Workplace

Underlying

- Male Domination at the Policy and Senior Management Level
- Liberalisation and Casualisation of Work
- Absence of Gender Quota

Structural

- Gender Role Ideology
- Masculine Culture of Institutions
- Segmented Labour Market

Women in Indonesia are generally not the decision-makers at the family or community levels. The opinion poll conducted by the UNDP on attitudes and perceptions to women's social, economic and political participation reveals that 77.6 percent of male and female respondents were of the view that men should be the decision-makers and leaders of the community, while 95 percent of respondents said that men should be the leaders of their households. Ninety four percent of respondents felt that women should not work without the prior permission of their husbands. The findings of the survey show that a gender bias in people's knowledge, attitudes and

practices continues to exist nation-wide in Indonesian society.

Due to socio-cultural biases in Indonesia's sub-cultures, women are lagging behind in accessing equal opportunities to productive resources, such as land, credit, material assets, skill development, etc. Women in Indonesia also lack social capital, as they are not the heads of their communities and have no independent power base.

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Political and Institutional Barriers

The electoral system of Indonesia continues to reinforce the power of the political elite, despite a partially open list system introduced in the elections of 2009. In this new system, voters can choose either a party, or a party and a candidate from the party's list. Any candidate that receives the highest votes from the party list is declared elected, regardless of his or her position on the candidate's list. This election provision is expected to break the monopoly of the political party leadership to determine who will represent the people's interests. However, it did not make any real difference. In the most recent election, only eleven candidates out of 560 members of the national legislature (DPR RI) reached the electoral threshold; three of them were women.¹³

Wider societal practices inevitably impact upon the way in which political parties operate, and like many societies, Indonesia struggles to curtail corruption, nepotism and the exploitation of social power, though positive changes are ongoing. For women, this often means not having their names placed on higher positions in the party list of candidates, and an inability to negotiate within this system.

Political parties in Indonesia do not invest in cadre building. Women are not elected to decision-making positions within the party structure, thus they do not find opportunities to learn political skills. Because of the marginalisation and exclusion of women in party structures, they are unable to influence the political agendas of their parties. Moreover, political parties are not supporting the election campaign

¹³ Asian Development Bank (2006), Country Gender Assessment: Indonesia (p. 50).

of their candidates. Lack of financial support from political parties to their candidates to bear election expenses is another practical obstacle to women's entry in formal politics.

Indonesia is in the process of institutionalising democracy. Electoral, political and institutional reforms have been initiated in the post New Order era for greater participation of people and inclusion of their voices in governance. That women have a lower literacy rate than men places them at a distinct disadvantage to enter into the public sphere. In addition, the institutional culture, human resource practices and rules and procedures of its functioning remain highly masculine. Public sector institutions and organisations are lacking in gender awareness and technical gender capacities. Women are under-represented in decision-making positions within the public sector, and there is no affirmative action in place to address the gender gap in senior management levels in the public sector.

Personal and Psychological Barriers

The state and society of Indonesia construct the concept of women narrowly, in stereotypical roles as wives and mother and accord them lower status than men. The ideology of gender roles are then manipulated to establish control over women's lives and sexuality. Women often internalise the concept of Dharma Wanita¹⁴ based on their socialisation in gender roles. Their self-identification with reproductive roles and the primacy of familial duties shape their choices to participate in politics and public life.

In addition, lack of political skills and self confidence, perception of politics as 'dirty' and familial responsibilities are some of the personal and psychological barriers to women's participation in public life.

¹⁴ Dharma Wanita is a social association led by the wives of male civil servants. It functions mainly in terms of social activities, including the provision of day-care or alms to the poor. The ranks of women in Dharma Wanita are dependant on those of their husbands, and generally reinforce their roles as wives and care-givers.

4 OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS

Indonesia's transition to democracy has opened tremendous space for women to have a greater role in public life. The country is undergoing the process of transformation through initiating constitutional, political and institutional reforms. The various on-going reforms in civil service, finance, administration, judiciary and decentralisation can be leveraged to carve out more political space for women in politics and in government.

International Commitments

The Republic of Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)¹⁵, which obligates nation states to harmonise domestic laws in line with international laws pertaining to gender based violence. However, as shown in Annex 2, there are still a number of local regulations which discriminate against women. Further, the CEDAW Committee has expressed concern regarding the fact that Indonesia's Constitution and Legislation do not reflect CEDAW's definition of discrimination. Indonesia has also ratified the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, but has received criticism for not upholding the standards outlined in the covenant. Indonesia has committed to the Millennium Development Goals, and is on track to meet many of the targets. The country is lagging behind, however, in poverty reduction, which affects women disproportionately to men. The Beijing Platform of Action, which lays out a plan of acceleration for removing women's barriers to active participation in public life has also been committed to by the Government of Indonesia, and in fact their progress is quite considerable¹⁶.

Legal Context

The legal context of Indonesia is fairly complex because of its parallel judicial systems - civil, customary and religious. However, there are several articles and legal provisions in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945) that create a conducive environment for women to participate in public life. Article 27 of the Constitution stipulates, "Every citizen enjoys equal status before the law and government, and is obliged to uphold this status without exception."

Law No. 10/2008 on General Elections contains seven articles related to 30 percent representation to women, which requires political parties to nominate 30 percent women candidates in the list of candidates for the House of Representatives and provincial councils. Article 8, Section 1 requires political parties to include at least 30 percent women in central level political party management.

¹⁵ CEDAW, Session 39 (2007) Concluding Comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: Indonesia.

¹⁶ UNESCAP: Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Indonesia): 2007.

Policy Context

The policy context of Indonesia is also quite supportive of gender equality. The Presidential Decree (INPRES) No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development Planning and Programming is a step towards making governance gender responsive. As mentioned previously, in addition to this decree, another law on gender quality is currently being lobbied for.

The Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) has also issued a circular letter (2008) mandating all government agencies to use gender analysis in the budgeting process. The Budget Statement FY 2009 pronounced that all government agencies in Indonesia must implement a performance budgeting system. The Poverty Reduction Strategy and Medium Development Plan also make a national commitment to work towards gender equality.

The National Policy of Elimination of Violence Against Women also helps to create an enabling environment for women's participation by offering them safety and protection in public places.

Decentralisation has had both a positive and negative impact on women. In some local governments, women are actively involved in local development planning. Devolved financial and administrative functions have led to opportunities for greater involvement of citizens, including women, resulting in more gender responsive budgets.

Social Context

The social context of Indonesia is slowly shifting in favour of women's participation in public life. The survey/opinion poll conducted by the UNDP shows that 75 percent of respondents fully/partially favour a gender quota for women in politics and government. Fifty-five percent of respondents also expressed their willingness to see more women in decision-making positions in the government.

The interest of women voters in exercising their right to vote and their preference to elect women as members of the DPD RI is a positive social trend that presents future opportunities to women in electoral politics.

Threats

The process of decentralisation in Indonesia presents a mix of opportunities and threats; paradoxically, on the one hand, decentralisation presents opportunities for women to take part in local government and in development planning; on the other hand, conservative religious forces are using regional autonomy to impose their versions of Sharia in some areas of the country. The National Commission on Violence Against Women in 2009 reported 154 local regulations that discriminate against women throughout Indonesia¹⁷. Restriction on women's mobility and morality are some of the limitations imposed by these regulations, and the central government, up to now, has done little to work towards overturning or amending these bylaws.

Patriarchal resistance to give way to women in political parties is another threat to women's greater roles in public life in Indonesia. Moreover, the opinion poll shows that gender biases in social attitudes are deeply entrenched in Indonesia. The majority of respondents, 77.5 percent, believed that men should be the leaders of the community, and 95 believe men should be the leader of the family.

¹⁷ List of regulations is attached in Annex 2.

5 FRAMEWORK FOR THE POLICY TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE

A gender deficit in politics and government is the result of the structural and functional barriers to women's participation in public life. This proposed policy framework is built on a holistic understanding of women's marginalisation and under-representation in decision-making levels in politics and government within the specific country context of Indonesia.

This framework takes an inter-sectional approach towards gender. Women are not a homogenous group. They do not always share the same constraints and opportunities to participate in public life, and their gender identity is mediated through their social positioning along the lines of class, ethnicity, religion and rural and urban divides. Therefore, supportive and affirmative action measures to enhance women's participation in public life should take into consideration the diversity and difference in women's lives across the many varied regions of Indonesia.

Another aspect of this policy approach is that it is both rights-based and institutional. Public and political institutions are not gender neutral. The male domination and the masculine bias of these institutions systematically create and recreate gender inequalities through their policies, budgetary allocations, rules and procedures. Therefore, institutional reforms that address gender role ideology and gender social relations are an integral part of the policy goal to bridge the gender gap in public decision-making.

The myriad factors that undermine women's capacity to participate in public decision-making demand a multi-sectoral approach. The policy will plug into on-going constitutional, political, civil service and decentralisation reform processes that aim to impact the larger context of democracy and government in Indonesia. Institutional reforms must integrate a gender perspective to give space to women in power structures within institutions and greater access and control over resources. Better coordination and synergy with on-going capacity building initiatives supported by donor agencies in gender sensitisation, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting will be proposed as an approach for greater efficiency and impact.

This policy for the improvement of women's participation in public life will also have a youth focus, and will work at multiple levels (micro, meso and macro) with multiple stakeholders. The policy will delineate actions that should be taken on immediate, medium and long term timeframes. Some of the functional level issues and challenges encountered by women to enter politics and government can be addressed on an immediate basis through introducing supportive legislations, political and institutional reforms. However to address structural barriers, which includes a change in social attitudes towards women's roles in the public sphere, will require long-term interventions.

Key Elements of the Policy and Recommendations

The key elements of the policy flag the most strategic areas of interventions that can effectively tackle the issue of under-representation of women in politics and government in Indonesia.

Public Awareness through Civic and Voter's Education

People are central to the governance of the state and society. Their interests and concerns need to be effectively represented in governance processes and structures. Men and women may have different interests, needs, political concerns and priorities, therefore, it is imperative for substantive democracy to create institutional space for both men and women to have a voice in public decision-making.

Public consciousness shaped by patriarchal norms and traditions does not ascribe political roles to women. Politics is considered a male prerogative and women face obstacles in entering electoral politics and governance structures. A change in public perceptions and attitudes towards women's roles in the public arena is the way to open up the social political space and opportunities for women in public life. However, social change does not come easily and it requires long-term sustained efforts.

A well designed national public awareness campaign needs to be launched through mass media and civil society organisations on a long term basis to bring a shift in traditional mindsets regarding women's roles in politics and government. The public awareness campaign should target both men and women, as women themselves often internalise the gender role ideology and subscribe to gender stereotypes.

In the previous general elections (2009) short-term voter education campaigns were run by NGOs with the financial support of donor agencies. This approach does not provide a long term awareness for constituents to understand their own legal and political rights, and as such, voter education campaigns need to be integrated with civic education and gender awareness, which should be run and supported on a long term basis. These campaigns should be able to create public awareness on gender issues, good democratic practices, gender justice, voter's roles and responsibilities, and favourable attitudes towards women's political participation and representation. This approach should envision a partnership between mass media and civil society organisations.

Changes in public perception will encourage women to enter into the political process as voters, members of political parties, candidates and as elected representatives. Public interest and a willingness to accept women in political roles will put pressure on the male leadership of political parties to accommodate more women into the party's hierarchy and candidacy. In addition, increased political and gender awareness will lead to a higher level of public interest in electoral politics, which will also help to arrest the downward trend in voter turn out in Indonesia, as well as the negative trend in voters who sell their votes for monetary benefits.

Legal, Political, Electoral and Institutional Reforms

Successive democratic governments in Indonesia since 1999 have been taking initiatives to create an enabling environment for women's participation in public life through introducing legal, political, electoral and institutional reforms. However, the continuing gender gap and the issues in operationalising the existing legal provisions instituted for the greater participation of women in politics and government demand further interventions from the government in these areas.

The provision of a 30 percent gender quota in the list of legislative candidates introduced in Law 10/2008 has not resulted in 30 percent representation of women in elected bodies at the national, sub-national and local government levels, and is surrounded by a number of controversies. Various options and modalities for the requirement of a 30 percent quota for women are being discussed in government and civil society circles. There are varied competing points of view on the election modalities of gender quotas in politics. Each option proposed has its own merits and demerits.

There is a point of view that favours restoring the zipper system in order to ensure that there is 30 percent women's representation in the formal political structures of the country. Others demand a change in the law that would make it mandatory for political parties to elect 30 percent women candidates, irrespective of who secured the most votes on the list.

An option to make a double member constituency on a rotational basis has been discussed in some circles. This is an election modality for gender quotas which has been adopted in India in the local government elections. In this modality, a third of the constituencies of the electoral district are selected through a draw, and are then declared as double member constituencies. In the double member constituencies, voters vote for two candidates, one for a candidate on a gender quota seat and the other on a general seat. In the next election the reservation is moved to the next set of constituencies. Within three elections the entire country is covered for double member constituencies.

There are those who are satisfied with the existing legal provision of 30 percent inclusion of women in the list of candidates but are demanding sanctions for those political parties that do not comply with the law. Lastly, there is an option to reintroduce the zipper system along with the existing legal provision that those who secure the most votes will be elected for the DPR irrespective of their position on the candidates list. (The merits and demerits of each option for gender quota are discussed in Box 3).

Box 3: Election Modalities of the Gender Quota		
Modality of Election	Merits	Demerits
Zipper System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guarantees 30 percent women representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disregards voter's preference - Reinforces the power and domination of political leadership
Mandatory for political parties to elect 30 percent women as DPR representatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guarantees 30 percent women representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not fair to those who were elected by voters - Possible backlash from those who were elected by voters but not their political parties.
Double Member Constituency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guarantees 30 percent women representation - Women legislators will have direct constituency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of Legislators will increase - National Expenses on Parliament will increase - Separate methods for women may undermine their political legitimacy
Open list system with sanctions for political parties for non-compliance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Voters choice - Creates power base - Undermines monopoly of political party leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - May not ensure 30 percent representation - Competition between the party candidates - None
Zipper system along with the existing provision that the candidate who will secure the most votes will be elected irrespective of his/her position on the candidate's list	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensures 30% women's representation - Weakens hold of political leadership on nomination - Offers increased choice to voters 	

In the political context of Indonesia, where the leadership of political parties is very powerful and reluctant to place women's names on the positions which could win in the candidates list, a legal provision should be supported for reintroducing the zipper system. The zipper system should be combined with the existing provision that offers voters the choice to elect their representatives. In this case, political parties that fulfill the condition of the electoral threshold will have to elect those candidates who secure the highest votes. The party votes will then be used to select the candidates from the "zippered" list.

Legislative action is also required to extend the critical mass of 30 percent women's representation in the cabinet, parliamentary standing committees and in the national commissions.

Article 8 Section (1) of Law No. 10/2008 on General Elections requires political parties to include at least 30 percent women in central boards of political parties. Due to the fact that this, however, is not mandatory, political parties are conveniently ignoring the regulation.

In view of the diversity in women's status and domination of the elite in political parties, it is also recommended that a criteria should be specified for women candidates. Only those women should be nominated to fill the gender quota within the political parties' electoral list of candidates and in parliamentary bodies who have a personal history and commitment to working for gender equality. In the absence of the specified criteria, there is a danger that the gender quota will be captured by women from elite backgrounds. This is evident from a large number of women celebrities who have no background in working for women's causes but are elected as members of the legislature.

Upon election to legislative bodies, women face additional barriers to be appointed to strategic leadership positions. A revision of Parliamentary Law 27/2009, as well as the reform of house standing orders at the DPR RI, DPD RI and provincial/district DPRD should be utilised to introduce institutional gender mainstreaming at legislatures throughout the country.

A gender quota should also be introduced in the public sector at all levels of government, across echelons 1 to 4, through a legal provision.

Through a constitutional provision, local authorities should be restricted from making laws that violate the constitutional principle of gender equality. This would bring the country in line with covenants such as CEDAW, and reinforce that gender discrimination is not legally tolerated.

Indonesian women are entering into public sector institutions in growing numbers, however, they continue to face numerous barriers. To address gender imbalances, a revision of the Indonesian national civil service law is urgently needed.

The near absence of women in executive and senior management positions in public administration calls for a corrective action in the recruitment and promotion of civil service. Therefore, it is suggested that a gender quota should be put in place across all four echelons of the civil service. This is a fast track strategy to redress a gender imbalance in decision-making positions in the government. However, the percentage of the gender quota in government jobs and in civil service should be worked out in consultation with civil society and the relevant ministries and agencies of the government. The number must take into account the availability of a number of qualified women in the country and also within the government sector.

Women's numerical presence in executive positions in government will not automatically result in a change in policies or gender responsive governance. A broader set of accompanying institutional reforms can make the strategy of gender quotas work effectively. Presently, the state administrative machinery lacks gender capacity and technical know-how for working in a gender inclusive and responsive manner. Therefore, it is recommended that the training curriculum of government institutions, such as the State Ministry of Administrative Reform (MENPAN), Public Administration Institute (LAN), National Civil Service Agency (BKN) and the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) responsible for capacity development in the country must be engendered. The training curriculum of these institutions and the civil service academy must integrate gender perspectives into their staff training, and build gender capacities of government officials in gender analysis, gender planning, developing gender performance indicators, gender impact assessments, gender audit and budgeting.

Another priority under institutional reform includes the revamping of existing rules and procedures, performance criteria, monitoring and evaluation, promotion and accountability mechanisms from a gender perspective. The government should be held accountable on gender equality outcomes that would then become integrated into the performance assessment of government officials and institutions.

Creating an enabling and supportive safe work environment for women should also be a part of the institutional reform package. The adoption of anti-sexual harassment policies, institutionalisation of complaint and redressal mechanisms for intimidation and sexual harassment at the work place, childcare centers, and separate toilets for women are some of the things that can make the institutional culture and environment of offices safer and more comfortable for women.

Finally, positive incentives or punitive measures should also be linked to the performance of institutions at the local government level. Local authorities who do not involve women in local development planning and budgeting sessions should be penalised, and those who do should be given incentives.

Capacity Support

The descriptive participation of women in formal political structures and government will not automatically lead to substantive representation. Moving beyond numbers requires financial investments in human resources and in developing the gender capacities of institutions. In the absence of gender knowledge and technical know-how, the commitment to gender responsive governance cannot be translated into practice.

Presently, there is no comprehensive gender capacity/need assessment of public sector institutions available. However, there are several donor funded projects with a component of gender capacity building currently going on in the country (UNIFEM, DFID, UNDP, and UNFPA are several of the agencies prioritising gender). These initiatives include training in gender sensitisation, gender analysis, gender planning and programming, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting with government officials, parliamentarians and local governments. In view of the lack of public sector capacity to integrate gender perspectives into public policy and development plans, there is a need for better coordination in the on-going gender capacity building efforts to avoid duplication and achieve a greater impact.

For the effective implementation of Presidential Decree (INPRES) No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development Planning and Programming, and the Ministry of Home Affairs instruction to use gender analysis in budgeting processes, a national gender capacity support programme needs to build institutional gender capacity to deliver on gender equality outcomes.

The capacity building plan should work with elected representatives at all levels of government (national, regional and local), political parties, election commissions, women's caucuses and the relevant government ministries and agencies. The engagement of civil society in these efforts would also aid in making this work more pragmatic and realistic.

Women's descriptive participation in formal political institutions through a gender quota will not necessarily bring substantive change in political and public policy unless women legislators are also exposed to gender knowledge. To this end, transformative gender training should be organised with public representatives in politics and in the government.

There is a need to strengthen parliamentary functioning through research and technical support in drafting of legislation. The Parliamentary Caucus of Women and the Women in Politics Caucus should also be supported and strengthened. Election commissions at the national, regional and local level should also be gender sensitised through trainings. Gender capacity support should also be provided to political parties and their workers to create gender sensitivity.

Women specific machinery, such as the Ministry for Women's Empowerment and the Commission on Violence Against Women should be supported and strengthened. The gender capacity of the constitutional court and the Ministry of the Interior should also be strengthened, as they are responsible for reviewing by-laws passed by local authorities.

To build institutional capacity, the curriculum of civil service academies and government training institutions should be engendered. Through training, the gender capacity of government officials should be build in to gender responsive planning, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation and impact assessment.

Gender training as a strategy and tool should be practiced as a part of a long term process, and not as a one-off event. To this end, regular follow-up and impact assessments of gender training should be undertaken.

Networking and Coalition Building

Gender discrimination in political parties and government institutions is rampant and cannot be challenged on an individual basis. Without an organised collective voice of marginalised groups of women, there is no accountability of political parties and public sector institutions on gender responsiveness. Interest groups and civil society organisations need to be mobilised and organised into broad based coalitions and networks for collective voice and action. By doing this, the challenge to public patriarchy, male domination and gender based discrimination in politics and in the government can be met collectively. Networking and coalition building is one of the most powerful strategies, and has worked in many countries where the patriarchal institutional structures of power have been pushed to become more responsive to women's interests.

It is recommended that existing networks of women representatives should be supported and strengthened. Currently, two women's caucuses, the Parliamentary Caucus of Women and the Women in Politics Caucus are working in Indonesia. These caucuses need to be supported and strengthened to influence legislation, budgets, and greater oversight roles in governance.

There are presently no formal linkages between women representatives working at different levels of government. The establishment of the network which is vertically linked with women representatives at the local, sub-national and national level would aid in strengthening the capacities and collectivity of women representatives. Through such a network, women representatives can create their own power base and help one another to push the gender equality agenda in parliamentary work.

The link between elected representatives and the voters is weak in Indonesian democracy, partly due to the proportional representation system of election. The open list of the this system now allows for the possibility of closer constituency relationships. It is important that in the post election phase, people continue to have easy access to their representatives. A public forum to interface between the elected and the electorate needs to be established and supported in Indonesia to ensure that people's voices and choices are heard by their representatives on a regular basis.

Issue-based cross-party caucuses for the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment should also to be established. When women identify and mobilise around a common concern, they are in a better position to achieve their goals.

A strong women's movement outside parliament is also a source of strength for women representatives in the legislature. Supporting and strengthening the women's movement and civil society groups outside of parliament should be part of a policy for stronger political participation of women in the legislatures.

To change the culture of political parties, women party workers can only be effective in lobbying for gender equality within their parties if they speak with one voice. Women members of political parties should be encouraged and facilitated to form issue based caucuses within political parties.

Lastly, inter-parliamentary networking of Indonesian women parliamentarians within the region and with developed democracies in the world will provide them with the opportunity to share experiences and enhance their knowledge about effective strategies that have been used by women legislators in other countries to promote and protect women's interests through legislation and public policy.

Research and Data Base

There is a large amount of information on women's participation in politics and government available in Indonesia. Various government ministries, departments, commissions, as well as the National Statistics Agency (BPS) collect much of this data. However, the information is fragmented, and has not yet been collated into one centralised data base.

Statistical data is an extremely powerful tool that provides evidence of discrimination and can be effective in evidence based advocacy and lobbying with policy makers and legislators. Having data to back up an issue which requires a policy response can bring about that change in both public policy and planning. The knowledge gap in understanding the status of women in politics and government as a result of the lack of statistical data is an impediment to developing a comprehensive policy framework for Indonesia, which could address the structural and functional challenges to women's participation in public life.

The UNDP initiative to develop a data base on women's participation in politics and government in Indonesia needs to be updated on a regular basis. The Ministry for Women's Empowerment should be taking a leading role in updating the data base in collaboration with the General Election Commission, National Statistics Agency and civil society organisations.

In the absence of a data base, it is challenging for researchers to conduct academic, policy, or action research. There is a paucity of analytical research on the subject available in the country. Research support is imperative for a nuanced understanding of women's exclusion in public life and for the identification of strategic interventions to promote women's participation in public life. Academic and research institutions should be supported to conduct scientific research studies in the areas of voting behavior, public perceptions of women's political roles, performance assessments of women representatives and impact assessments of women in politics and in government. This information can also provide the basis for case studies on role models and best practices, and can be used also in public campaigns and other interventions.

6 POLICY MATRIX: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA

Box 4: Participation of Women in Politics and Government in Indonesia

Entry Point	Key Issues & Challenges	Policy Recommendations
Public Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patriarchal mindset - Politics as male domain - Women's lack of interest in politics - Women's perception of politics as 'dirty' - Voter's preference for male candidates - Male bias in political parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long-term national media campaign on civic, and voter education
Legal, Political, Electoral and Institutional Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of women's representation in politics and the government - Electoral system does not ensure women's 30% representation in politics and government - No sanctions for political parties who do not give 30% representation to women in their central boards and on the list of candidates - No institutional mechanism to ensure gender balance in government - Gender bias in institutional functioning - Gender gap in social development indicators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal provision to reintroduce zipper system combined with voter's choice to elect their candidates - Legislative provision to extend gender quota of 30% in cabinet, standing committees and national commissions. - Change in the law to make it mandatory for political parties to give 30% representation to women on their central boards and make it a pre-condition to participate in elections - Extend provision of gender quota in the public sector employment across echelons - Set up a criteria for the selection of women candidates - Legal provision for taking action against local authorities making discriminatory laws against women - Engendering of curriculum of national training bodies - System of punishment and reward for the inclusion and exclusion of women in development policy and planning
Capacity Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of gender capacity in public sector institutions - Lack of gender awareness in political parties. - Lack of understanding and capacity of public representatives on gender issues - Lack of gender capacity of women specific machinery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transformative gender trainings for public representatives, election commissions, political parties, and women's caucuses - Strengthening of woman specific machinery through building gender capacities (Ministry of Women's Empowerment, Commission on Violence Against Women)
Networking/Coalition Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of accountability of government and public representatives - Weak networking among civil society organizations - Lack of forums to build collective will and voice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support establishment of a national level networks of women representatives at the local, regional and national level - Support networking between elected representatives and civil society - Support networking and coalition building initiatives among those working to promote women's participation in public life
Research and Data Base	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of data base on women's participation in politics and government - Lack of academic and analytical research on the issue of women's participation in public life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Data base on women in public life - Support academic/analytical and action research

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Table 3: Women's Representation in Selected District/Municipality Houses of Representatives

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Figure 9: Women in the Indonesian Cabinet After 1998

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Table 9: Number of Pupils by Gender

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Annex 1: Sample Data of Women Officials in Ministries, Ministry-level Agencies and Non-Ministry Agencies

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- "Struktur Organisasi" Kementerian Budaya dan Pariwisata/Ministry of Culture and Tourism (<http://www.budpar.go.id/page.php?ic=573>)
- "Kepala BPPT" Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi/Technological Study and Application Agency (http://www.bppt.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=65)
- "Struktur Organisasi" Kementerian Negara Koperasi dan Usaha Kecil Menengah/Ministry of Cooperation and Small/Medium Enterprise (<http://www.depkop.go.id/struktur-organisasi-doc.html>)
- "Struktur Organisasi" Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan/State Ministry for National Development Planning (<http://www.bappenas.go.id/node/37/1568/struktur-organisasi/>)
- "Struktur Organisasi Sekretariat Kabinet" Sekretariat Kabinet/Cabinet Secretariat (<http://www.setkab.go.id/sekretariat-kabinet/struktur-organisasi>)
- "Pejabat Kementerian Negara BUMN" Kementerian Negara Badan Usaha Milik Negara/State Ministry for Government Owned Enterprises (<http://www.bumn-ri.com/#StrukturOrganisasiDanPejabat>)
- "Struktur Organisasi" Kementerian Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak/Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (http://www.menegpp.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=53)
- "Nama Pejabat" Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/National Archive (<http://www.anri.go.id/web/index.php?m=pejabat&s=0>)
- "Struktur Organisasi BKN" Badan Kepegawaian Nasional/State Employee Administration (http://www.bkn.go.id/menus_20091015_nandfoto.pdf)
- "Struktur Organisasi BPK" Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan/Supreme Audit Agency (http://www.bpk.go.id/web/?page_id=46)
- "Struktur Organisasi" Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional/National Family Planning Program Coordinating Agency (<http://www.bkkbn.go.id/Webs/Profil.php?ProfilID=Eselon%20I&Mode=Pjbt>)
- "Pejabat" Badan Koordinasi Survey dan Pemetaan Nasional (National Coordinating Agency for Surveys and Mapping (<http://www.bakosurtanal.go.id/?m=17>)

- "Daftar Nama Pejabat di Lingkungan BMKG Pusat" Badan Meterologi dan Geofisika/Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency (<http://www.bmg.go.id/pejabat.bmkg?Jenis=URL&IDS=5332510932695088455>)
- "Profil Organisasi" Badan Pengawas Perdagangan Berjangka Komoditi, Kementerian Perdagangan RI/ Future Commodity Trading Monitoring Agency (http://www.bappebti.go.id/?pg=profil_organisasi)
- "Kepala BPPT " Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi/Technological Study and Application Agency (http://www.bppt.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=65)
- "Struktur Organisasi " Badan Standarisasi Nasional/National Standardisation Agency (http://www.bsn.go.id/bsn/executive_profile.php)
- "Pejabat LAN" Lembaga Administrasi Negara/State Administration Agency (<http://www.lan.go.id/index.php?mod=5>)
- "Struktur Organisasi" Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia/National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (http://kelembagaan.pnri.go.id/about_us/structures/idx_id.asp?box=lst_id)
- "Anggota LPSK" Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi Korban/Witness and Survivor Protection Agency (http://www.lpsk.go.id/humas/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=108)

Annex 1¹⁸

Sample Data of Women Officials Ministries, Ministry Level Agencies and Non-Ministry Agencies

No.	Name of Agencies	Echelon 1		Echelon 2		Echelon 3		Echelon 4	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	Ministry:								
1.	Home Affairs	2 20%	8 80%	4 5.9%	63 94.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2.	Foreign Affairs	2 12.5%	14 87.5%	5 9.3%	49 90.7%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3.	Law and Human Rights	1 9.1%	10 90.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4.	Communication and Informatics	0 0%	12 100%	9 21.9%	32 78.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
5.	Trade	3 18.7%	13 81.3%	11 22.4%	38 77.6%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6.	Industry	1 9.1%	10 90.9%	6 15%	34 85%	32 21.2%	119 78.8%	N/A	N/A
7.	Transportation	0 0%	13 100%	5 11.1%	40 88.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8.	Public Works	0 0%	13 100%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
9.	Humanpower and Transmigration	2 14.3%	12 85.7%	24 27.9%	62 72.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10.	Agriculture	14.5% 95.5%	21 13.3%	8 86.7%	52 N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
11.	Marine and Fishery	0 0%	14 100%	6 11.5%	46 88.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
12.	Forestry	1 9%	16 94.1%	3 6.1%	46 93.9%	23 14.3%	138 85.7%	N/A	N/A
13.	Energy and Mineral Resources	2 14.3%	12 85.7%	9 22.5%	31 77.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
14.	Religion	0 0%	10 100%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
15.	Culture and Tourism State	2 13.3%	13 86.7%	7 16.7%	35 83.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

¹⁸ Source: Data extracted from respective ministries(see bibliography).

No.	Name of Agencies	Echelon 1		Echelon 2		Echelon 3		Echelon 4	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Ministry/Ministry Level Agency									
16.	State Ministry for Research and Technology/ Technological Study and Application Agency BPPT	1 9.1%	10 90.9%	5 17.2%	24 82.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
17.	State Ministry for Cooperatives and Small-Medium Enterprises	0 0%	14 100%	8 21.6%	29 78.4%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
18.	State Ministry for the National Development Planning/ BAPPENAS	2 16.7%	10 83.3%	15 27.3%	40 72.7%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
19.	Cabinet Secretariat	0 0%	27 100%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
20.	State Ministry for Government Owned Enterprises	0 0%	7 100%	1 4.2%	23 95.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
21.	State Ministry for Women Empowerment	6 60%	4 40%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Non Ministry Government Agency:									
22.	National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia	1 20%	4 80%	3 18.7%	37 81.3%	43 41.1%	47.8%	N/A	N/A
23.	State Employee Administration	2 14.3%	12 85.7%	8 21.6%	29 78.4%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
24.	Supreme Audit Agency	1 5%	19 95%	2 6.1%	31 93.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
25.	National Family Planning Program Coordinating Agency	1 14.3%	6 85.7%	6 21.4%	22 78.6%	31 42.5%	42 57.5%	76 47.5%	8 42.5%
26.	National Survey and Mapping Coordinating Agency	1 20%	4 80%	1 8.3%	11 91.7%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
27.	Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency	0 0%	6 100%	2 13.3%	13 86.7%	3 6.9%	40 93.1%	15 16.5%	76 83.5%
28.	Future Commodity Trading Monitoring Agency	1 16.7%	5 83.3%	3 18.7%	13 81.3%	10 27.8%	26 72.2%	N/A	N/A
29.	Technological Study and Application Agency	0 0%	9 100%	2 7.7%	24 92.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
30.	National Standardisation Agency	2 33.3%	4 66.7%	4 40%	6 60%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

No.	Name of Agencies	Echelon 1		Echelon 2		Echelon 3		Echelon 4	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
31.	State Administration Agency	2 28.6%	5 71.4%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
32.	National Library of the Republic of Indonesia	2 50%	2 50%	4 44.4%	5 55.6%	14 63.6%	8 36.4%	30 50.8%	29 49.2%
33.	Witness and Survivor Protection Agency	3 42.9%	4 57.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Annex 2:

List of Local Regulations that Discriminate Against Women¹⁹

1. Aceh Canon (Qanun) No.14/2003 on Adultery.
2. City Tangerang Regulation Number 8/2005 Ban on Prostitution.
3. City Bengkulu Regulation Number 24/2000 on Prostitution Ban in Bengkulu City.
4. Gorontalo Province Regulation on Prevention of Immoral Acts Number 10/2003.
5. Tasikmalaya Regency Regulation on First Amendment to Local Regulation No.1/2000 on Eradication of Prostitution.
6. Majalengka Regency Regulation on Prostitution (14 March 2009).
7. Indramayu Regency Regulation No.4/2001 on First Amendment to Indramayu Regency Regulation Number 7/1999 on Prostitution.
8. Garut Regency Regulation No.6/2000 on Decency.
9. Cilacap Regency Regulation No.21/2003 on First Amendment to Cilacap Regency Regulation Number 13/1989 on Eradication of Prostitution.
10. Bekasi Regency Regulation No.10/2002 on Fourth Amendment to Bekasi Regency Regulation Number 17/Hk-Pd/Tb.013.1/VIII/1984 on Indecency.
11. Badung Regency Regulation No.6/2001 on Eradication of Prostitution.
12. Sumenep Regency Regulation No.3/2002 on Brothel Ban.
13. Probolinggo Regency Regulation No. 5/2005 on Eradication of Prostitution in Probolinggo Regency.
14. Pasuruan Regency Regulation Number 10/2001 on Eradication of Prostitution.
15. Kota Malang Regulation No.8/2005 on Brothel and Obscenity Ban.
16. Lamongan Regency Regulation No.05/2007 on Eradication of Prostitution in Lamongan Regency.
17. Jember Regency Regulation Number 14/ 2001 on Prostitution Management.
18. Gresik Regency Regulation No. 07/2002 on Prostitution and Obscenity Ban.
19. Bantul Regency Regulation No. 5/2007 Prostitution Ban in Bantul Regency.
20. Ketapang Regency Regulation No. 11/2003 on Prostitution Ban.
21. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 10/ 2007 on Social Order.
22. Kota Palangkaraya Regulation Number 26/ 2002 Eradication and Rehabilitation of Prostitutes in Palangkaraya City.
23. Way Kanan Regency Regulation Number 7/2001 on Prostitution and Profanity Ban in Way Kanan Regency.
24. Lampung Selatan Regency Regulation No. 4/2004 on Prostitution, Indecency, Gambling, and Immoral Acts Ban in Lampung Selatan Regency.
25. Bandar Lampung City Regulation No 15/2002 on Prostitution and Indecency Ban in Bandar Lampung City Area.
26. Kupang Regency Regulation Number 39/1999 on Brothel Ban in Kupang City Area.
27. Batam City Regulation No.6/2002 on Social Order in Batam City.
28. Padang Muslim Village Canon Gantarang District Bulukumba Regency No.05/2006 on Lynching.
29. Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Regency Regulation Number 19/2006 on Prevention and Eradication of Immoral Acts
30. Padang Pariaman Regency Regulation Number 02/2004 on Prevention, Sanction Against, and Eradication of Immoral Acts.

¹⁹ Source: "154 Perda Diskriminatif" Gugus Kerja Perempuan dalam Konstitusi dan Hukum Nasional, Komnas Perempuan/Working Group on Women in Constitution and Law, National Commission on Violence Against Women, 2008.

31. Padang Panjang City Regulation No. 3/2004 on Prevention, Eradication, and Sanctions against Social Diseases.
32. Lahat Regency Regulation Number 3/2002 on Prostitution and Indecency Ban in Lahat Regency.
33. Bukittinggi City Regulation Number 20/ 2003 on Amendment to Bukittinggi City Regulation Number 9/ 2000 on Prevention and Sanctions against Social Diseases.
34. West Sumatera Province Regulation Barat No. 11/2001 on Eradication and Prevention of Immoral Acts.
35. South Sumatra Province Regulation No.13/2002 on Eradication of Immoral Acts in South Sumatra Province.
36. Palembang City Regulation No.2/2004 on Eradication of Prostitution.
37. Medan City Regulation No.6/2003 on Street Drifting and Begging and Prostitution Ban in Medan City.
38. Cirebon City Regulation Cirebon No. 05/2002 on Gambling, Prostitution, and Alcoholic Drink Ban.
39. Aceh Canon Number 5/ 2000 on Islam Syaria Implementation.
40. Pandeglang Regency Regent Decision No.09/2004 on Uniforms for Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High Schools.
41. Cianjur Regent Circular No. 025/3643/Org & Circular No. 061.2/2896/Org on Working Hours and (Islamic) Dress Code on Working Days.
42. Cianjur Regent Decision No. 15/2006 on Daily Working Dress Code for Cianjur Government Employees.
43. Indramayu Regent Circular [2001] on Mandatory Islamic Dress Code and Koran Fluency for Students.
44. Sukabumi Regent Instruction Number 4/2004 on Islamic Dress Code for Pupils and Students in Sukabumi Regency.
45. Circular of the Education Office of Sukabumi Regency Number 450/2198/TU on Islamic Dress Code for Pupils and Students in Sukabumi Regency.
46. Banjar Regent Circular No. 065.2/00023/ORG on Mandatory Veil for Women Civil Servants at Banjar Government (12 January 2004).
47. South Kalimantan Governor Circular Number 065/02292/ORG (19 December 2001) on Official Uniform during Working Hours.
48. Dompu Regent Decision No. Kd.19.05./1/HM.00/1330/2004 on Development of Regulation No.1/2002 obligating: [1] Koran Fluency for Civil Servants to Receive Promotion, Marrying Couples, Junior and Senior High School Entrants, and Graduating Pupils; [2] Mandatory Veil; [3] Development of Islamic Cultures (MTQ, Islamic Music, etc).
49. Bulukumba Regency Regulation Number No. 05/2003 Islamic Dress Code in Bulukumba Regency.
50. Enrekang Regency Regulation No. 6/2005 on Islamic Dress Code.
51. Maros Regency Regulation No. 16/ 2005 on Islamic Dress Code.
52. Agam Regency Regulation Number 6/2005 on Islamic Dress Code.
53. Padang Mayor Instruction Number 451.442/Binsos-III/2005 on Mandatory Koran Recital at Dawn and Anti Lottery/Drug Statute and Islamic Dress Code for Elementary/Islamic Elementary, Junior/Islamic Junior High, and Senior/Vocational/Islamic Senior High School Children.
54. Pasaman Regency Regulation Number 22/ 2003 on Islamic Dress Code for Pupils, Students, and Employees.
55. Pesisir Selatan Regency Regulation Number 4/ 2005 on Islamic Dress Code.
56. Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Regency Regulation Number 2/ 2003 on Islamic Dress Code.
57. Solok City Regulation Number 6/ 2002 on Mandatory Islamic Dress Code.
58. Tanah Datar Regent Recommendation No. 451.4/ 556/ Kesra-2001 on Recommended Islamic Dress Code to Heads of Education and Manpower Offices.

59. West Sumatra Governor Recommendation Number 260/ 421/X/ PPr-05 on Recommendation to Behave and Dress Islam's Way to Heads of Offices/Agencies/Bureaus/Divisions and Regents/ Mayors in West Sumatra.
60. Local Regulation No. 13/2005 on Deployment of Migrant Workers from Sukabumi Regency.
61. Local Regulation No. 15/2002 on Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers from Cianjur while Working Overseas.
62. Karawang Regency Regulation Number 22/2001 on Employment Service Retribution.
63. East Java Province Regulation No.02/2004 on Service, Reinstatement, and Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers from East Java.
64. Joint Decree Number: 451.7/KEP.58-Pem.Um/ 2004,KEP-857/o.2.22/Dsp.5/12/2004, kd.10.08/ 6/ ST.03/1471/2004 banning Ahmadiyah Teachings in Kuningan.
65. Joint Decree Number 143/ 2006 shutting down and banning Ahmadiyah Activities dated March 20, 2006.
66. Decision No. 583/KPTS/BAN.Kesbangpol dan Linmas/2008 Banning of Ahmadiyah and its Activities, Members, and Management in South Sumatra Area.
67. Joint Decree of Tasikmalaya Regent, District Attorney's Office, 0612 Military District Commandant, Resort Police Department, and City Police Department Heads on Expression of Dissatisfaction and Warning to Ahmadiyah Followers in Tasikmalaya Regency.
68. Joint Decree Number 21/ 2005 prohibiting dissemination of Ahmadiyah teachings in Cianjur Regency countersigned by Cianjur Regent, District Attorney, and Head of Religion Office on 17 October 2005.
69. Joint Decree Number 450/Kep. 225 – PEM/2005 prohibiting Ahmadiyah activities in Garut Regency countersigned by Garut Regency, District Attorney, Resort Police Department Head, and Head of Religion Office on 9 August 2005.
70. Joint Declaration Banning Indonesian Ahmadiyah Followers' Activities in Bogor Regency Countersigned by Bogor Regent, Head of Local House of Representatives, 0621 Military District Zone Commandant, Cibinong District Attorney, Resort Police Department Chief, Head of District Court, AIRBASE COMMANDANT, and Head of Religion Office and Indonesian Moslem Scholars Assembly.
71. Regent Circular Number 045.2/134/KUM/2002 Reconfirming Ban On Ahmadiyah Teachings and Recommendation to the government of East Lombok Regency to take measures on violations subject to prevailing laws, 13 September 2002.
72. Mataram Mayor's Order Number 008/283/X/INKOM/02 on Ahmadiyah refugees from East Lombok, 10 October 2002.
73. Bangka Regency Regulation Number 4/ 2006 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation.
74. Serang City Regulation No. 1/ 2006 on Madrasah Diniyah Awwaliyah.
75. Tangerang Regency Regulation Number 7/ 2005 banning Sales, Retailing, Keeping, and Consuming Alcoholic Drinks.
76. Tangerang Mayor Circular August 2008 on Temporary Closing of Entertainment Spots to Honor Fasting Month and Idul Fitri 1429 H.
77. Local Regulation No. 4/ 2004 on Islamic Tax Management.
78. Bengkulu Mayor Instruction No. 3/ 2004 on Faith Improvement Program.
79. Gorontalo Province Regulation No. 22/ 2005 on Mandatory Ability to Recite Koran and Read and Write Arabic for Islamic Students.
80. Bandung Regency Regulation Number 9/ 2005 on Islam Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah).
81. Cianjur Regent Circular No. 451/2719/ASSDA I September 2001 on Model Leaders and Society by Islam.

82. Local Regulation No. 08/ 2002 on Cianjur Regency's Strategic Plans for 2001-2005.
83. Cianjur Regency Decision No. 36/ 2001 on the Formation of Islam Study and Development Center (LPPI).
84. Cirebon Regency Regulation No. 77/2004 on Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah Education.
85. Garut Regency Regulation No. 1/ 2003 on Islam Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management.
86. Indramayu Islam Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation No. 2/ 2003 Mandatory Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah.
87. Sukabumi Regency Regulation No. 11/ 2005 on Alcoholic Drink Regulation.
88. Sukabumi Regency Regulation No. 12/ 2005 Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
89. Tasikmalaya Regent Circular No. 451/SE/04/Sos/2001 on Faith and Obedience Quality Improvement Initiative.
90. Tasikmalaya Regency Regulation No. 3/2001 Security and Order Recovery by Moral, Religious, Ethical, and Local Value Teachings.
91. Local Regulation No. 13/2003 on Revised Strategic Plans of Tasikmalaya Regency [containing Islamic religious visions].
92. Tasikmalaya Regent Decision No. 421.2/Kep.326 A/Sos/2001 on Admission Requirements for Elementary School and Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) and Junior High School and Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) in Tasikmalaya Regency.
93. Tasikmalaya Regent Recommendation No. 556.3/SP/03/Sos/2001 on Swimming Pool Visitors Management.
94. Semarang Mayor Circular No 435/4687 dated 27 August 2008 [Obligates entertainment spots such as bars, pubs, saunas, pools, discotheques, massage parlors, nightclubs, cafes, and so on to limit operating times].
95. Pamekasan Regent Circular (Madura) No. 450/2002 on Adoption of Islam Syaria.
96. Pasuruan Regency Regulation No. 4/ 2006 on how restaurants, food stalls, and other food counters open for business in the fasting month.
97. Sidoarjo Regency Regulation No. 4/ 2005 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation Management.
98. Banjar Regency Regulation 5/ 2006 obligating that names on ID cards be written in Malayan Arabic characters (LD Number 5/2006 Seri E Number 3).
99. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 10/ 2001 on how restaurants, food stalls, and other food counters open for business and eating, drinking, and smoking in public places in the fasting month.
100. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 5/ 2004 on Fasting Month (Amendment to Fasting Month Regulation No.10/2001).
101. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 4/ 2004 Passing Koran Reciting Test Requirements for Elementary and High School Children.
102. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 8/ 2005 on Religious Friday.
103. Banjar Regency Regulation No. 9/ 2003 on Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
104. Banjarbaru Regency Regulation No. 5/ 2006 banning Alcoholic Drink Consumption.
105. Banjarmasin City Regulation No. 13/ 2003 on Fasting Month.
106. Local Regulation No. 4/ 2005 on Amendment to Banjarmasin City Regulation No. 13/ 2003 banning certain activities during fasting month.
107. Banjarmasin City Regulation No. 31/ 2004 on Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
108. Hulu Sungai Utara Regency Regulation No. 7/ 2000 on Gambling.
109. Hulu Sungai Utara Regency Regulation No. 6/ 1999 on Alcoholic Drinks.
110. Hulu Sungai Utara Regency Regulation No. 32/ 2003 on Fasting Month.

111. Hulu Sungai Utara Regency Regulation No. 19/ 2005 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah).
112. NAD (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam province) Regulation No. 7/ 2000 on Traditional Life Adoption.
113. NAD Regulation No. 13/ 2003 on Gambling.
114. NAD Regulation No. 12/ 2003 on Alcoholic Drinks and Similar Drinks.
115. NAD Qanun No. 3/ 2008 on Local Party (obligating ability to recite Koran for candidate legislative members].
116. NAD Regulation No. 7/ 2004 on Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
117. Bima Regency Regulation No. 2/ 2002 on Religious Friday.
118. Dompu Regent Decision Kd.19./HM.00/527/2004 (8 May 2004) obligating that all civil servants and guests wishing to meet the regent be able to recite Koran.
119. Dompu Regency Regulation No. 11/ 2004 on Village Head Election Procedure (obligating candidates and their family members to be able to recite Koran and show evidence thereof in the form of a certificate issued by Religious Affairs Office).
120. Dompu Regent Decision No. 140/ 2005 dated 25 June 2005 obligating Moslem Civil Servants to be able to recite Koran.
121. Bima Regency Regulation No. 9/ 2002 on Islam Tax (Zakat).
122. Dompu Regent Instruction No. 4/ 2003 subjecting Civil Servants/Teachers to 2.5% deduction on a monthly basis.
123. Regent Recommendation Number 451.12/016/SOS/2003 on Voluntary Giveaway and Islamic Tax on all Civil Servants in Dompu.
124. Lombok Timur Regency Regulation No. 8/ 2002 on Alcoholic Drink.
125. Lombok Timur Regency Regulation No. 9/ 2002 on Islam Tax (Zakat).
126. Lombok Timur Regent Instruction No. 4/ 2003 subjecting Civil Servants/Teachers to 2.5% deduction on a monthly basis.
127. Kampar Regency Regulation No. 2/ 2006 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation Management.
128. Bone Public Relation, Information, and Communication Bureau Circular No. 44/1857/VIII dated 22 August 2008 on Fasting Month [which among others bans food courts, restaurants, cafes, and food stalls from serving buyers and suggests hotels and inns refusing non married couples].
129. Regency Regulation No. 6/ 2003 obligating school children and marrying couples to be able to recite Koran in Bulukumba Regency.
130. Regency Regulation No. 02/ 2003 Professional Islam Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management in Bulukumba Regency.
131. Gowa Regency Regulation No 7/2003 initiating a Koran literacy program at elementary level to which will be one of the mandatory requirements for a student to receive elementary school graduation certificate and register for a place at a junior high school.
132. Makassar City Regulation No. 2/ 2003 Professional Islam Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management.
133. Makassar City Regulation No 5/ 2006 on Islam Tax.
134. Maros Regency Regulation No. 9/ 2001 banning distribution, production, and consumption of alcoholic drinks, narcotics, and psychotropic.
135. Maros Regency Regulation No. 15/ 2005 Koran Literacy Program in Maros Regency.
136. Maros Regency Regulation No. 17/ 2005 on Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
137. Pangkep Regency Regulation No. 11/ 2006 banning distribution of alcoholic drinks.
138. Polewali Mandar Regency Regulation No. 14/ 2006 on Koran Literate Society Movement.
139. South Sulawesi Province Regulation No. 4/ 2006 on Koran Education.

140. Kendari City Regulation No 17/ 2005 on Koran Literacy for School Age Children and Islamic Communities in Kendari City.
141. Agam Regency Regulation No. 5/ 2005 on Koran Literacy.
142. Bukit Tinggi Regency Regulation No. 29/ 2004 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management.
143. Limapuluh Kota Regency Regulation No. 6/ 2003 on Koran Literacy.
144. Padang City Regulation No. 6/ 2003 on Koran Literacy.
145. Padang Panjang Regency Regulation No. 7/ 2008 on Islam Tax (Zakat).
146. Pasaman Regency Regulation No. 21/ 2003 on Koran Literacy.
147. Pesisir Selatan (South Bay) Regency Regulation No. 8/ 2004 on Koran Literacy.
148. Pesisir Selatan Regency Regulation No. 31/ 2003 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management.
149. Sawahlunto Regency Regulation No. 1/ 2003 on Koran Literacy.
150. Solok Regency Regulation No. 10/2001 on Mandatory Koran Literacy for Students and Marrying Couples.
151. Solok Regency Regulation No. 13/ 2003 on Islamic Tax, Voluntary Giveaway, and Donation (Zakat, Infaq, and Shadaqah) Management.
152. West Sumatra Province Regulation No. 7/ 2005 on Koran Literacy.
153. Ogan Ilir Regency Regulation No. 35/ 2005 Islam Tax (Zakat) Management.
154. South Sumatra Province Regulation No. 13/ 2004 on Monitoring and Regulation of Alcoholic Drinks Distribution.

