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THE INCREASED NUMBER OF FEMALE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT:

IDENTIFYING ITS ORIGINS AND OBSTACLES IN INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES AND TIMOR-LESTE



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The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament: Identifying Its Origins and Obstacles in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste

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“When women are empowered, all of society benefits”

(UN Deputy Secretary General Asha Rose Migiro)

Kemitraan believes that the more women are elected to public offices, the more beneficial those policies are to the public. Kemitraan has been assisting women political activists in their efforts to increase women political participation and representation in parliament as well as the broader public decision-making processes. Aside from helping the potential women candidates in acquiring skills in competing with their male counterparts, we are also providing the elected members with the necessary knowledge to enable them to perform better in their position in parliament. In supporting women movement in Indonesia in general, Kemitraan has been conducting variety of research ranging from the issue of environment, corruption to gender issues. Some of the research was the regional research conducted under the USAID funded programme of IKAT-US Component 1.

Under the IKAT-US Component 1, Kemitraan formed a partnership with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Indonesian Women’s Coalition (KPI), Persatuan Kesedaran Komuniti Selangor (EMPOWER) from Malaysia, the Women’s Caucus from Timor-Leste, the Cambodian Center for Human Rights (CCHR), and the Center for Popular Empowerment (CPE) from the Philippines. The partnership works together on the issue of promoting and to ensuring equitable women’s political representation in Southeast Asian.

Regional research conducted under this programme became the source for the development of this publication. This publication focuses on the relation of the political party recruitment system and the representation of women parliamentary members in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste. The research has been done by prominent thought researchers and also practitioners on the related issues with invaluable contributions from the five countries regional partners of IKAT-US Component 1.

Kemitraan hopes that this material will enrich the discussion and understanding on the issue of women's political participation and representation. Kemitraan also hopes that this publication will serve as resource for Kemitraan's work in Indonesia or the five countries above. Last but not least, this publication will also serve as reference for the political party and civil society leaders who have been working on increasing women's political participation and representation, either for further research or advocacy.

Kemitraan would like to thank the USAID for supporting this initiative under the IKAT-US Component 1 programme and for their continuing supports in advancing democracy throughout Southeast Asia. Kemitraan would also like to thank the above-mentioned regional partners who have contributed to the success of the programme.

Jakarta, May 2014

Wicaksono Sarosa, Ph.D

Executive Director of Partnership

Acknowledgment

This publication of **“The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament: Identifying Its Origins and Obstacles in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste”** materialized from the need to learn more about the relation between the political party recruitment system and the representation of women parliamentary members in Indonesia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste. The idea on the above topic came from discussion among the IKAT-US Component 1 Project Team (Merita Gidarjati), DSG/Democratic and State Governance Programme Team (Setio Soemeri, Agung Wasono, Nindita Paramastuti, Utama Sandjaja and Agung Djojosoekarto) and KRC/Knowledge and Resource Center Team (Inda Loekman). Kemitraan is grateful for their idea.

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Partnership for Governance Reform (Kemitraan)

Kemitraan is a multi-stakeholder organization established to promote governance reform. It works hand-in-hand with government agencies, civil society organizations, the private sector, and international development partners in Indonesia to bring about reform at both the national and local levels. Kemitraan brings together the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, with civil society and other stakeholders to sustainably promote good governance in Indonesia. Because of our national ownership, Kemitraan is uniquely positioned to initiate programs that need Indonesian partners in positions of authority.

Kemitraan was first established in 2000 following the successful first free and fair election in Indonesia in 1999. The election produced a more credible government following decades of authoritarian rule by the Soeharto regime. Kemitraan was initially set up as a program funded by multi-donor and managed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The main motivation of the establishment of Kemitraan was to create a multi-stakeholder platform which becomes the core supporter of the Indonesian society in navigating complex, long and often difficult process of governance reform. Kemitraan became an independent legal entity in 2003 and was registered as a not-forprofit civil law association, while retaining its status as a UNDP project until December 2009. Over the last eleven years, Kemitraan has grown from a UNDP project into a trusted, independent and prominent Indonesian organization.

Kemitraan has a mission to disseminating, advancing and institutionalizing the principles of good and clean governance among government, civil society and business, while considering human rights, gender balance, the marginalized and environmental sustainability. We are effective in our mission when:

- Our stakeholders seek to continue program development with us and recommend us to others.
- Our innovation and efforts are transformed into improved governance in Indonesian government and society.
- Our influence engenders increased commitment to governance reform from governments at all levels.

Learning from the difficult process of reform in Indonesia, often resisted by vested interests, and the challenge of setting the right course of change, Kemitraan has discovered a unique approach in governance reform: building capacity from within and applying pressure from without - our multi faceted reform approach. It involves working on several fronts – initiating reform within government agencies, empowering civil society to advocate for reform, and empowering communities to push for demand-driven development plans and public services.

Throughout its 11 year existence, Kemitraan has accumulated experiences in managing USD 100 millions grants from various development partner countries including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, from international organizations including the Asian Development Bank, the European Commission, the International Organization for Migration, the UNDP, and the World Bank and from the private sectors including AXIS and Siemens.

Since 2000, Kemitraan has been working in 33 provinces in Indonesia in cooperation with 19 central government agencies, 29 local government agencies, 162 civil society organizations, 11 media organizations, 33 research institutes and universities, nine independent state agencies and five private institutions. Kemitraan has also been working with international organizations such as: TIRI-Making Integrity Work, Nordic Consulting Group (NGC), UNDP, UNODC, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank in the implementation of projects, and has been working with Chemonics, Coffey International, GRM International, RTI and ARD in program design and development.

Kemitraan's success in implementing the above is due to the trust we have earned from various stakeholders (communities, corporations, NGOs, government agencies). We have been successful in facilitating public policy reform (the formulation of new laws and regulations or the revision / amendment to the laws and regulations), bureaucratic reforms, judicial and democratization reform, anti corruption laws, national strategies and the establishment of the Commission for the Eradication of Corruption, creating the Governance Index, promoting and facilitating environmental and economic governance and ensuring that all genders are represented.

Kemitraan is governed by two bodies: The Partners and the Executive Board. The Partners (Teman Serikat) is the highest decision making body within Kemitraan. Their role is to set the overall strategic agenda of Kemitraan, to endorse the annual report and workplan, ensure that the affairs and assets of Kemitraan are properly managed, and appoint the Executive Director. The Executive Director implements Kemitraan's annual workplan and provides overall leadership to the staff. He also develops a common vision of the overall role of Kemitraan and communicates this vision to the government, non-government and international community with a view to building a constituency for governance reform.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asia Development Bank
CEDAW	Convention of Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CNRT	Conselho Nacional de Reconstrução de Timor / National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction
CPN	National Political Council
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
DPC	Dewan Pimpinan Cabang / Representative Council Branch
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah / Regional Representative Council
DPP	Dewan Partai Pusat / Central Party Leadership
DPW	Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah /
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat / House of Representatives
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah / House of Regional Representatives
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Fretilin	Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente
GDRI	Gender and Development Research Institute
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPPNU	Ikatan Pelajar Puteri Nahdlatul Ulama / Nahdlatul Ulama Women Student's Union
IPU	International Parliamentary Union
KPPG	Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar / Women Unity of Golkar Party
LSKP	Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
OMP	Organizasaun Muller Partidu
OPMT	Organisacion Popular Mi Timor / Popular Women Organization
PAN	National Mandate Party
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang / Star and Crescent Party
PD	Democratic Party
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia / Indonesian Democratic Party
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan / Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle

PKB	National Awakening Party
Puskapol UI	Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia / Centre for Political Research, University of Indonesia
PKS	Prosperous Justice Party
PMII	Indonesian Islamic Student Movement
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan / United Development party</i>
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
U.S.	United States

Problems in Women's Political Participation

1.1 INTRODUCTION

It is generally recognized that women worldwide make substantial contributions towards politics, society and the economy in their country. In newly democratic countries in Southeast Asia the role of women in politics in particular has been extraordinary. There are many aspects to the political role that women play including political representation and in relation to this aspect alone, each country has its own background and circumstances that provide the context for women to become involved.

As previously mentioned, in theory, women's political participation covers a wide range of activities. An insightful way of understanding the current position of women in a nation's political arena is by looking at the history of the women's movement in that country. The influence of education is also a very relevant factor as it provided the background and training for women to play a part in society. Thus being said, this study is an attempt to look at women in the political arena from the view of electoral politics and women as members of parliament (MPs), with emphasis on how women participate in mainstream politics (Martyn, 2005).

It is obvious that the issue of women's political representation is increasingly important in countries recently experiencing the process of transition to democracy. This is because women remain under-represented in politics, a fact that is commonly found in democratizing countries. When researching the topic of women in electoral politics there are two main areas that are important to study; the institutional aspect of women's political representation and the structural aspects that lay the foundations of it. In the three cases presented in this paper both aspects are addressed.

In terms of historical and political contexts, the Philippines, Indonesia and Timor-Leste have undergone long periods of colonialism by different countries. The period of colonialism that focused on the economies of the colonizers, in many ways provided the political backdrop for women in each of the countries in this paper. Other global contexts during the post-colonial period, namely market forces, defined how a state ran its political agendas which eventually influenced how it then perceived women, gender and political issues. Thus understanding the political history of women's political activism in a country will help us to understand the current trends of women's position in politics. However we need to bear in mind that each of the countries had different experiences during colonialism and were affected in different ways as a consequence.

Catholicism, which was introduced by the Spanish to the Philippines and by the Portuguese to Timor Leste, is still very influential in the two countries. Traditional views on women changed as a result of principles introduced by the Catholic church. Whilst in Indonesia, the long period of Dutch colonialism that focused on economic exploitation of the country, gave birth to the women's movement as well

as ideas of nationalism and citizenship, gender and democracy. Bearing these factors in mind will give a better understanding of the origins of women's formal representation in parliament, as part of a democracy.

To gain firsthand knowledge of formal representation we can read reports from the International Parliamentary Union (IPU), for instance, which reported in 2009 that the average number of women in parliaments around the world hovered around 18.4 percent. IPU data in 2010 reveals that the figure for Indonesia is lower than that of other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Timor-Leste, Cambodia, and Laos. In total, worldwide women make up only two percent of parliamentarians. Even though this number is so low, it does show that there is slight progress in terms of women's representation in parliaments worldwide compared to previous decades.

There are various factors behind the trend of increasing women's representation in politics. Paxton et al (2010: 25) argue that national quota policies that were introduced in early 1970s, coupled with the introduction of proportional representation systems, have significantly contributed to the increased presence of women in politics. In addition, democracy, especially civil liberties, is influential to the growth of women's political representation over time. Furthermore within a democratic political environment women are able to deal better with gender asymmetries in power. In such an environment, women can organize themselves more freely and participate actively in various women's advocacy groups as a part of their attempts to achieve greater political representation (Paxton et al 2010: 29).

However, Paxton et al (2010: 28) also argue that the extent to which democratic institutions affect the representation of women as legislators is unclear and needs further investigation. Fair elections and open competition may be more conducive to women entering politics since fewer artificial and arbitrary constraints would act as barriers. In democracies, the rules of the political 'game' should be transparent, detailed, and consistent so that it helps women to see how they can work within the system to attain power. Matland (2002) adds to the argument by asserting that in a democratic system, women can research, understand and possibly manipulate the clearly stated and consistently followed rules of the game.

In essence, the one question that centers around the issue of women in parliament is: what factors hinder or support the increased level of women's participation in political competition in a general election? This paper attempts to understand factors that can hinder or support the level of successful participation of women in political competition.

There are four main questions that this paper seeks to answer: (1) do cultural and/or societal factors explain why certain women candidates are recruited by political parties and are eventually elected?; (2) from the side of the candidates, what motivates/causes influence them (especially women candidates) to decide to run for office and therefore approach (or let themselves to be approached by) political party leadership?; (3) from the side of the party leadership, what factors do they take into consideration when they select women candidates for nomination?; (4) do electoral factors explain why certain women candidates are recruited by political parties and are eventually elected? Related to this we will also be asking: a particular electoral system affect the chances for women candidates being recruited and eventually elected?; and, what, if any, electoral features increase the probability of women candidates winning seats in parliament?

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part outlines findings from existing research on the issue of women's political participation, ranging from a macro to a micro explanation of the factors that affect the level of participation. The second part specifically deals with the case of Indonesia, drawing on various, yet limited, research on the issues faced by women with regards to their engagement in formal political processes through political parties and general elections. In addition, the second part also reviews some findings from the neighboring countries of the Philippines and Timor-Leste, which will allow some comparisons to be made. It has to be noted that the proposed research will pay particular attention to Indonesia, using the situations in Timor-Leste and the Philippines for comparison. The third part draws some conclusions for future research.

In order to answer the research questions, this paper focuses on the recruitment and selection of women by political parties, and eventually the election of women into parliament by the electorate.

1.2 MACRO EXPLANATION

Many countries have recently adopted various affirmative action policies to further the progress of women's representation in parliament. This affirmative action includes quotas or the reserve seat system, ideological commitments to gender equality, and the promotion of a more egalitarian political culture. As a result, we have seen a higher proportion of women sitting in parliaments around the world, including in Timor-Leste, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

However, political opportunities for women vary from country to country. Asia has experienced some of the slowest growth rates of women's representation in the world (Iwanaga, 2008). Kazuki Iwanaga's research suggests that the lack of a supportive culture for women's involvement in politics manifests itself in many societies in Asia. Several explanations have been offered for understanding the reason why such a lack of cultural support exists. In terms of a post-colonial cultural aspect perspective, the women's movement was a result of a long period of historical struggles between local traditions and way of life, and external forces (Martyn, 2005). Based on her research on Indonesia Kathryn Robinson (2009) concludes that throughout history there is a dynamic relationship between gender, religion and democracy.

Iwanaga (2008) introduces the concept of 'facilitators' – facilitators are particular conditions or situations that further women's empowerment, such as institutional facilitators, contextual facilitators, individually oriented (or 'supply-side') facilitators, legal facilitators, electoral facilitators, political facilitators, cultural facilitators, international facilitators, and socioeconomic facilitators. Taken together, it can be said that the main factors that obstruct women from entering politics are social, cultural, political, and economic factors.

Meanwhile, Matland (2002) refers to a country's level of economic development as an important factor that influences the extent of women's representation in its national parliament. Matland maintains that development leads to a weakening of traditional values, increased urbanization, and greater education and labor force participation for women, all of which increase women's political resources and decrease existing barriers to political activity.

Additionally, Shvedova (2005) categorizes the problems that women face when entering politics as follows: political, socio-economic, and ideological and psychological (or socio-cultural). Some political obstacles women face are: (1) the 'masculine model' of politics, which places women parliamentarians at a disadvantage because the work schedule or session times often do not provide for working mothers or allow them to bridge the private-public divide, and women typically make societal concerns a priority; (2) a lack of party support, where women actively campaign and recruit for their party however do not receive resources and rarely hold positions of power; (3) little contact and cooperation with public organizations; (4) a lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership - the authors suggest that NGOs and other women's groups such as faith-based organizations need to work on advancing women's representation, including at the grass-roots level; and (5) the electoral system in place.

Shvedova (2005) also states that the social and economic status of women directly impacts women's participation in politics. Scarce financial resources, illiteracy and limited access to education and employment, and completing domestic tasks and professional obligations are all hurdles to women's participation. Furthermore, there are also ideological and psychological obstacles facing women.

1.3. MICRO EXPLANATION

While cultural explanations have become conventional wisdom for understanding the level of women's political participation, institutional factors are relatively under explored, especially in the context of Asian countries.

Research suggests that institutional factors are also important in affecting the level of women's representation. Wilma Rule (1981) argues that the electoral system is the most important factor in predicting women's recruitment to parliament. Many countries have introduced a quota law into its electoral system as a mechanism to increase women's presence in parliament (Dahlerup 2005). A quota for women was first introduced in the 1970s and took the form of a quota for women in parties or reserving a number of seats in parliament for women representatives. Gender quotas within parties first emerged in the mid-1970s in Norway, where the proportion of women in parliament has traditionally been the highest. Since then, the use of quotas has spread to several nations (Caul 2001: 1214). During the 1990s, there were already 22 countries across the world that had adopted a quota as part of their national electoral laws requiring between 20 and 50 percent of candidates for legislative office to be women (Beldez 2004 in Paxton et.al 2010: 32-33). By 1995, some 84 parties in 36 nations had enacted these parliamentary quotas (IPU 1997). The presence of national-level gender quota is therefore only expected to influence a country's trajectory after 1995.

Gender quotas can be implemented in various forms as policy. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2006) for example defines gender quota as a party or legislative rule requiring that women make up a certain percentage of a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee or a government, with most governments and political parties adopting quotas in an attempt to reach at least a proportion of 20 or 30 percent women in parliament. Tripp and Kang (2008) found that a quota is a powerful predictor of women's political representation in 149 countries. Even when originally only a small number of parties in a country adopt quotas, this may encourage other parties to increase their percentage of female candidates and representatives (Matland & Studlar 1996).

However, Krook (2003) argues that not all quotas are effective in achieving stated goals because quotas are an electoral reform that take place in a given year. According to Krook, gender quota is a time-specific influence that affects women's political representation in that particular period only. A gender quota, therefore, is not expected to affect a country's entire growth process, but instead influences women's political representation in a given year and therefore controlling a country's general trajectory. Despite the shortcomings of this quota system, Caul (2001: 1214) believes that gender quotas for parliamentary candidates are still the most visible and direct mechanism that political parties can adopt to increase women's parliamentary representation.

Not surprisingly, in mature democracies gender quotas appear to have directly raised women's numerical representation. For example, in Germany, Kolinsky (1991) reports that between 1983 and 1989—the era in which two German parties adopted quotas—56 percent of the women serving in the German Bundestag were newly elected. Similarly, Matland (1993) shows that the gender quotas adopted by the Norwegian Labor party led to an increase from 33 to 51 women MPs from 1981 to 1989.

In her studies on congressmen/women in the United States (U.S.), Wilma Rule (1981) found that in congressional and other electoral races women's chances of being elected are in fact the same as men's. Therefore, low political representation of women must be attributed to factors in the earlier phases of political recruitment. She argues the 'critical stage of recruitment precedes formal nomination' and the 'decision-to-run' phase is critical.

As Wilma Rule points out, for both male and female candidates there are actually three phases in the recruitment process; eligibility; selection; and election. Furthermore during the process, societal as well as political factors can be of crucial importance. In terms of recruitment, in a similar vein, Pippa (1995) in her studies on how women become MPs in Britain shows that women, like men, come from various career backgrounds, from grassroots, community activists, campaign donors, civil society activists, teachers and many other professionals. Thus, she argues that legislative recruitment is a critical step for individuals to move from a lower level into parliamentary careers. There are barriers to their entry into politics that include among others, restricted access only for legislative elites and the privileged classes, and no less important, gender and ethnicity, all of which influence entering into politics. Therefore, Pippa (1995: 2) argues that to understand political recruitment we must look at mass political participation, elections, voting behavior, political elites, legislatures, party organizations, social composition of parliament and interest groups, as well as gender and racial politics.

Following Rule and Pippa, this paper examines both the 'selection' and 'election' processes of female candidates, taking into account cultural, social, economic, and political factors simultaneously.

Thus, the next part of this paper attempts to: (1) identify cultural/societal factors influencing successful recruitment and participation of women in electoral competition, both during the selection and election processes; (2) identify electoral/political factors influencing the chance for successful recruitment of female politicians, both during the party recruitment and women candidacy; (3) examine variations that can be observed among successful attempts among female candidates, both during the recruitment by political parties and election stages.

Women's Political Participation in Asia: the Case of Indonesia, The Philippines and Timor-Leste

Women have continued to face various constraints, barriers and discrimination when entering the political arena compared to their male counterparts in various countries around the world. Indonesia and the Philippines are two Southeast Asian countries along with other developing countries in Asia such as India and Bangladesh, that have both introduced quota laws applied at various public policy offices at different levels of government. Due to its post conflict context, in Timor-Leste the quota was forcefully lobbied for by women's groups, but was initially rejected by the transitional authority.¹ Eventually after several years Timor-Leste finally applied 'Legislated Candidate Quotas' that under Article 12 (3) of the 2006 Law on the Elections of the National Parliament (amended in 2011), one out of every group of three candidates on electoral lists, must be a woman.²

A report published by IDEA in 2002 revealed that up until that year there was still disagreement on whether or not the new independent country should adopt a quota law as some argued that the policy would promote unqualified women being assigned to important positions who would then fail to deliver improvements for women. In Timor-Leste, the rejection of a quota was not uncommon. Nonetheless a majority of women who represented the 13 districts in Timor-Leste gathered at the First Congress of Women in 2000, and demanded that the administration, under the auspices of United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), introduce a quota law requiring 30 percent of women to be elected to decision making positions.

Indonesia adopted a quota law in 2003 after continuous pressure from women activists and various civil society organizations since democratic transition began in 1999. The demand became greater as gender inequality and gender injustice continued to be present in public life. It was believed that that this strategy would ensure that the government introduce and implement more of its gender sensitive policies.

Such efforts were made possible with more democratic opportunities emerging that allowed activists to put pressure on the government on the need to reform its policy in relation to women and gender. In fact, in 2000, a presidential decree was passed to mandate a gender-mainstreaming program as part of the government development policy. Thus, the introduction of the quota law was an affirmative policy taken by the government to advance women's participation in politics.

1 Julie Ballington & Richard E. Matland, "Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes" in *Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-conflict Countries* Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) & Department of Political Affairs Expert Group Meeting, (working paper), Glen Cove, New York, USA 19 to 22 January 2004, pp. 10,13.

2 <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=TL> accessed January 12, 2014.

Mar'iyah (2002) stated that in the case of Indonesia, the introduction of the quota law was an answer to demands for a policy that reduced gender injustice. She argued that without having a definite quota law, gender injustice would remain.

The Philippines is one of the countries along with India that has introduced a voluntary quota system by political parties (Pande 2011). It has in fact set a quota of more than the usual figure adopted by other nations, of 30 percent.

Previous research indicates that there have been both structural and social obstacles that have hindered Indonesian women taking public roles.³ With Muslims making almost 80 percent of Indonesia's population, religions, in particular Islam, often become serious barriers to women's participation in public affairs, in particular, in politics. Male political and religious leaders have used a patriarchal understanding of women's roles in public to limit women's access to public life. This can be seen from the relatively small number of women who have reached a higher-level position in government offices in the country.

In 2002, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) released a report listing three categories of major constraints that have hindered Indonesian women from participating in public affairs. They include substantive constraints, structural and institutional constraints and socio-cultural constraints. Major substantive constraints include gender-biased and conflicting laws and regulations, and gender-biased administratives and judicial interpretations. At the national level, the Indonesian government has already drafted a Gender Equality law, prepared by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. However, the law has not yet been passed by the national parliament due to competing debates among politicians and socio-religious leaders over the content of the draft bill. The law was scheduled to be passed in 2011.

Another issue relevant to major structural and institutional constraints is gender biases and insensitivity within administrative agencies. Women's issues are often addressed in a way that is far from just to women. Social and cultural constraints remain and the patriarchal attitudes and conservative understanding of religious values also persist.

A study of the electoral system and political party dynamics that influence women's representation in Indonesia by Seda (2002) highlighted the important role that gatekeepers hold in determining if and where women are ranked on candidate lists, and how political parties have not shown any significant commitment to enhancing women's representation. In a similar tone, Siregar (2006) argues that the electoral system and structure of political parties are the main impediments to the election of female candidates. Political parties decide on candidate selection, which creates strong inter-party competition for top list positions and usually results in party elites – i.e. men – being placed first or second on the party list.

Having said this, generally speaking Indonesia has seen a steady increase in terms of women's representation in Indonesia's public affairs. Advances in education seen by the increased number of women enrolling at educational institutions, have significantly increased women's social status and has resulted in the increased number of women participating in Indonesia's socio-economic development. In politics, the last decade has shown an increase of women's representation in parliament, both at the national and provincial level.

3 See for example report published by Asian Development Bank (200) on the socio-legal status of Indonesian women. See also UNDP report released in 2011.

At the national level, the number increased from only 8.8 percent women sitting in the national parliament (DPR) in 1999 to 11 percent in 2004. The number eventually reached 18 percent in 2009. A similar trend can also be seen at the provincial level (DPRD), from only 8.8 percent in 2004 to 16 percent in 2009.

At the DPR there are currently 101 women out of a total 560 lawmakers who secured seats in the 2009 election. However, at the sub-national level, the numbers are less, with only 16 percent in 2009 at the provincial level and 12 percent at district levels

Before 2009, despite the quota system being introduced in 2003 regulating that women should make up at least 30 percent of the party candidate list in the 2004 elections, only three parties, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) met this requirement during the national parliamentary elections in 2004. The same is not true for the sub-national elections. For example, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) did not meet the 30 percent requirement for the East Java parliamentary elections while the Star and Crescent Party (PBB), the *United Development party* (PPP), the Democratic Party (PD), PAN, PKB, PKS, and Golkar did. Another example, only PBB, PAN, and PKS achieved the quota overall for the Sidoarjo elections. Nevertheless, the situation was somewhat improved in the 2009 elections. Shair-Rosenfield (2011) found that there were high numbers of women MPs from PKB, PD, and PDIP in 2009.

It is then safe to say that in Indonesia, the proportion of women MPs has slightly increased since the 2004 election (see Table 1). It has to be noted, however, that the proportion is still below the widely agreed standard of 30 percent.

Despite the rising number of women's representation in parliament, there is some concern that this number is still not satisfactory given the fact that women consist of more than 50 percent of the total population in Indonesia. In the 2009 elections for example, the number of women voters numbered 51 percent of the total voters. Following the logic of electoral politics and representation, women in Indonesia are still under-represented.

There is concern that this situation of under-representation, may contribute to the inability of government to create a favorable environment for women due to the lack of policies that support the provision of wider opportunities for women to engage in politics and to gain equal access to education and economic sources. The more women who can sit in local and national parliaments, the more they will be able to significantly influence the formulation of gender policies as women would have a voice in the political decision-making process. In addition to that, women's representation in political parties also enables them to have access to oversee the implementation of gender policies.

Table 1. Proportion of Women Candidates/Elected in the National Election in Indonesia

NO		2004	2009
1	Number of women candidates in parliamentary elections	2,507 (33%)	3,910 (34,7%)
2	Number of elected women legislators	61 (11,09%)	101 (17,86%)

2.1 THE PHILIPPINES

There are at least five forms of women's political participation in the Philippines: 1) voting; 2) campaigning for a particular candidate; 3) running in elections as a candidate; 4) assuming a position in the cabinet, and 5) organizing and mobilizing women for political empowerment.⁴As mentioned earlier, the Philippines is one country in Asia that introduced a voluntary quota for political parties, despite the fact that it has enacted several codes and laws on the inclusion of women's participation in public affairs. Women's political representation in the Philippines, as reported by a workshop organized by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and Gender and Development Research Institute (GDRI) in 2007, showed that women's representation increased from 17 percent in 2004 to about 22 percent in 2007 and remained steady in the 2010 election. In 2010, out of a total of 280 seats in the lower house, women won 62 seats, making a representation of 22 percent women in the lower house.

The increased number of women's representation in parliament is related to the 1987 Constitution and the introduction of the 1991 Local Government Code, which requires that a woman be one of the three sector representatives that sit in every municipal, city and provincial legislative council. The 1987 Constitution requires women's representation in the legislature through the party-list system.

Women's representation is considered part of the nine marginalized sectors in Philippine society. The 1991 Local Government Code (or Republic Act 7160) specifically places an important role for women in the decentralization and empowerment processes, and is considered as an integral part of the structure and process of local governance. Also, every local legislative council (sanggunian) has to allocate a women's representative among the three sectoral representatives. These regulations represent a strong commitment in the Philippines to enhancing participation of women in politics.

Despite a very strong constitutional base for electing more women into politics, the level of representation of women in the country is not as strong as it should be. Another initiative to increase the participation of women comes from the enactment of the party-list system in 1998 through the Republic Act 7941/ Party-List Law). The party-list law provides a channel for women's groups to participate in the election by forming party-list groups. Since then, a group called Abanse! Pinay has successfully sent one female representative to the Eleventh Congress, and another women's group Gabriela has one party-list representative in the Thirteenth Congress.⁵

Of the political parties in the Philippines, two party-list political parties have introduced the quota system, the Gabriela Women's Party and the Philippines Democratic Socialist Party.⁶ The Gabriela Women's Party is an all women's party-list group which represents 250 women's organizations. In the 2004 national elections it gained 3.7 percent of the votes.

This situation comes from the fact that there is no formal recruitment process for women into political parties in the Philippines. The so-called political recruitment is done through family system: that is, if a husband's or a father's turn in the public/parliamentary position has expired, they might decide to allow their wife or daughters to stand-in as their replacement.⁷

4 Atienza, Maria Ela and Rico, Ruth Lusterio, "Women and Politics in the Philippines" (2006).

5 Atienza and Rico (2006), p.224.

6 Data Quota Project, Global database of quotas for women. accessed on October 28, 2012 from <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=PH>

7 Interview with Qit of Akbayan Party adopted from Atienza and Rico (2006), p.219.

Historically speaking, the Philippines has witnessed a slight increase in the level of participation by women in politics, both in the executive and legislative branches of power, especially in the post-Marcos era. However, the goal of 30 percent women's representation has yet to be achieved (see Table 2 and 3).

Table 2. Women's Representation in Congress⁷

Congress	Period	Women Senators	Percentage	Women Representatives	Percentage
Eighth	1987-1992	2	8.3	19	8.9
Ninth	1992-1995	4	16.7	23	10.7
Tenth	1995-1998	4	16.7	24	10.6
Eleventh	1998-2001	4	16.7	27	12.3
Twelfth	2001-2004	3	12.5	36	17
Thirteenth	2004-2007	4	16.7	36	15

The same is true for executive positions, where the figures has slightly increased. During the Marcos period (1965-1986), women would traditionally be assigned to two or three cabinet posts, which included the Department of Social Welfare (in the pre-Martial Law era), the Ministry of Human Settlements, and the Ministry of Social Services. After Marcos, the figure improved further (see Table 3).

Table 3. Women in the Cabinet

Period	Number of Women in Cabinet	Number of Cabinet members	Percentage of women in Cabinet
1987-1992	1	28	3.6
1992-1995	2	18	11.1
1995-1998	3	24	12.5
1998-2001	2	16	12.5
2001-2004	4	24	17
2004-2007	4	25	16

Interestingly, the figure is slightly better at the local level. Women tend to fare better in local competition. Over time, the number of women holding top positions in local government continues to increase. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that still the number has not exceeded the psychological number of 30 percent (see Table 4).

Table 4. Women in Local Government in The Philippines (percentage)

Period	Governor	Vice-Governor	Mayor	Vice-Mayor
1987-1992	5.5	10.81	7.5	6.03
1992-1995	6.8	n/a	6.5	n/a
1995-1998	11.8	17.11	8.1	8.27
1998-2001	17.3	11.5	14.5	11.13
2001-2004	15.2	12.7	15.5	13.1
2004-2007	19.2	12.8	14.6	17.1

As a matter of fact, civil society organizations have been persistently pushing for the adoption of the 30 percent quota for women in the executive and legislative branches of power through the so-called 2001 Gender Balanced Bill to no success. The bill seems to have been rejected on two grounds. First, women have to prove their ability and capacity first before any quota number can be agreed upon.⁸ Second, women's issues in the Philippines are seen as development issues that should be tackled from a developmental perspective, not from a political one. Around the period when the Gender-balanced Bill was submitted, another bill related to women's issue, the Reproductive Health Bill, was put forward and eventually passed in 2014. The Reproductive Health Law was seen as a triumph in the eyes of many women's organizations.⁹ The issue of a gender quota in Philippine politics has also been undermined due to the fact that many of the concerns regarding women have been accommodated by several other laws, including the Gender and Budget Development Law that stipulates that 5 percent of the national budget should be allocated to women.¹⁰ Philippine electoral politics has long been seen to be a bastion of elite, upper to middle class interests. This can be seen from the fact that major institutions at both national and local levels are still very much dominated by the economic and political elites. As Teehanke (n.d: 195) suggests electoral politics in the Philippines 'suffers from institutional and procedural defects that prevent it becoming meaningful to effective and efficient governance'. He goes on further to say that to win elections, candidates must be either rich or popular. Women, along with poor farmers and laborers, are among the social groups within Philippine society that have little opportunity of winning elections.

Silvestre (2001: 165) eloquently argues that in a country with a long history of patriarchy, oligarchy and subordination of women, women's representation in politics remains low. She points out that family ties and the role of the Catholic church along with gender symbolism have allowed women to enter into male-dominated political arena. Family ties, is in fact, one common feature in Asian politics when discussing women entering politics. Women who enter politics often have a father-daughter or husband-wife relationship with male politicians. This explains the election of Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

In addition, Silvestre also notes the role of Catholicism and Philippine traditions in shaping women's role in politics. The country's political culture is deeply rooted in the oligarchic nature of the Catholic church,

8 Interview with Ms. Qit of the Akbayan Party.

9 Interview with Ms. Qit and Tom Villarin, both of the Akbayan Party.

10 Interview with Tom Villarin.

which is a male-dominated institution. In many cases, endorsements from the Church help boost the candidacy of women in elections. In cultural terms, Silvestre (2001: 167) points out that the country's culture explains why support is given to women candidates: because women have a symbolic role in Philippine society. Women leaders with a strong Catholic background are believed to represent a positive image in society.

Regardless of the unfavorable environment for women's participation in politics, Akbayan, the progressive-left party is one party that has incorporated the gender quota into its constitution. The party's constitution stipulates that the 30 percent quota is applied from the leadership level down to the basic unit of the party at village level.¹¹

The Akbayan party's strong orientation towards women's participation in politics dates back to the democratic struggle against the Marcos dictatorship in the early and mid-1980s where the pro-democracy movement was supported by all sectors of Philippine society including women. Today, although the system is far from perfect, the Akbayan party probably has the most 'institutionalized' recruitment mechanism for women when making nominations for party candidates in the national election. The party congress every three years serves as the recruitment mechanism. Before the party congress, the central board of the party sets up a search committee to discuss and to find the right candidates for the party with the 30 percent quota in mind, meaning that one of every three candidates should be a woman.

The main source for recruiting women is Akbayan Women, the organizational women's wing of the party. Nevertheless, the organization is still weak and the party only established Akbayan Women in early 2012. Part of the reason for this is that before 2011 the organization had no active or professional staff. In addition, female party cadres were too preoccupied with intensive advocacy work related to women's issues, including the push for the Reproductive Health Law.¹² It was only after the law was enacted that the organization started to focus on its institutional development.

Regardless of the fact that the Akbayan Party has the most 'institutionalized' recruitment method for women, the party leadership acknowledges that it is relatively difficult to find qualified women to fill positions within the party. One party leader attributed this to poverty and low education levels, as well as low political consciousness on the need for women's participation in politics. In other words, the male-dominated environment still prevails in Philippine politics.

Even the incumbent party, the Liberal Party does not have a solid mechanism for recruiting female candidates. It was only in 2011 that the party opened its door to the so-called 'sectors', including women. Since then, the Liberal Party has decided to establish the women's wing of the party. This new organization will help the party in recruiting and in the building up of a cadre structure. A development and empowerment approach is being adopted through which in cooperation with development agencies, the women's wing of the party will bring development programs to grassroot levels. The women's wing of the party has started a pilot project area in Negros Occidental in June 2012. In this area, the women's wing of the Liberal Party was able to recruit 400 new members.¹³ Nevertheless, as acknowledged by its chairwoman, the effect of this new approach on the electoral performance of the Liberal Party is yet to be seen.

11 Interview with Tom Villarin

12 Interview with Ms. Qit; the reproductive health law, which contains provisions on family planning, was the top priority for many women activists during which they have to fight against the Church who sees the law as a breach to Catholic norms.

13 Interview with Victoria Garchitorea, the chairwoman of the women's wing of the Liberal Party.

2.2 TIMOR-LESTE

When analyzing the situation in Timor-Leste, it is important to factor in the post conflict context of the young nation. Timor-Leste has a long history of mass-based political organizations as well as a rooted Catholic tradition. These two aspects have greatly influenced how politics is exercised especially in relation to women's political participation. A study by Ballington and Matland on women's political participation in post conflict countries including East Timor identified several interesting features, among others that when compared to the situation of women involved in politics in more democratic countries, women in Timor-Leste face more pronounced challenges in terms of political participation.

Precisely because of the obstacles women face in the electoral process, positive action has been proposed and in many cases implemented, by political parties. Other measures have also been implemented in Timor Leste such as drafting legislation that creates incentives for political parties to increase the number of women candidates, for example, by providing more air time during campaigning to political parties that nominate women candidates.

The number of women MPs in Timor-Leste is high compared to its neighbors in Southeast Asia. Women make up 29 percent¹⁴ of the country's national parliament. There are at least three reasons for such a high level of representation in Timor-Leste's parliament. First, as is the case in Indonesia and the Philippines, the introduction of a quota law in Timor-Leste's electoral law was enacted in December 2006. The law stipulates that in the list of candidates submitted by political parties in an election, one out of four has to be a woman.¹⁵ The result of this requirement is significant. Currently there are 19 women out of 65 MPs. Moreover, women hold three cabinet posts, namely the ministries of Justice, Finance, and Social Solidarity.

Second, the role of the international community in making sure that women were adequately represented in the new country has been significant.¹⁶ Various international agencies, including United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), consistently supported initiatives to support increased participation of women in politics and decision-making processes.¹⁷ Third, is the adoption of closed-list proportional representation, especially when it is combined with quota rules.

However despite these three factors, most of the credit for the high proportion of women in parliament should go to the people of Timor-Leste. Since the independence, various local women's organizations have been formed to provide platforms to ensure women's participation in the nation's political system. The women of Timor-Leste organize themselves around these platforms to advocate and lobby for the increased participation of women in the otherwise male-dominated political environment. The Women's Caucus in parliament and Rede Feto, a civil society organization working on issues related to women, are examples of platforms through which the women of Timor-Leste form strong alliances to advance women's participation.

14 "Rights-East Timor: Women Learn Political Rope" found at http://www.peacewomen.org/news_article.php?id=2075&type=news last accessed on 30 September 2012.

15 Ibid.

16 Interview with Christina Ferreire, Special Advisor to the President of Timor-Leste.

17 Interview with Jose Buras of the Democratic Party.

In the context of Timor-Leste, any analysis on women's participation in politics should take into account past freedom movements. In the critical period between 1974-1975, women were actively involved in the struggle for freedom. In 1974, Organisação Popular Mi Timor/Popular Women Organization (OPMT) was established to improve the welfare of women in Timor-Leste (at that time East Timor). OPMT was a solid women's organization with a structure encompassing all levels, from the national, district, as well as village level. OPMT turned into a clandestine freedom movement during the occupation of Indonesia. After gaining independence, 'contribution' to the liberation movement was often a requirement for a person to be recruited and nominated by political parties.¹⁸

However, over time political parties in Timor-Leste have started to develop a more institutionalized recruitment mechanism. Some of the parties had established some variants of collective leadership, probably due to the revolution mode that is still alive. The current ruling parties, CNRT and the Democratic Party¹⁹, for example, have a high level decision making body called the National Political Council (CPN) that has the authority to decide on nominations for the parties at election time.²⁰

The nomination process, at least in the case of Conselho Nacional de Reconstrução de Timor (CNRT), combines the bottom-up and top-down approaches. Typically, there will be two lists that contain names of candidates. The first list is proposed by the party at the national level, while, the second list is proposed by the party offices at the district/sub-district levels. Two highest bodies of the party, the National Political Council (CPN) and the National Executive Council (CDN), will deliberate the two lists before a decision is made by the party leadership.²¹ In the case of CNRT, candidates may come from outside the party.

The same is also true for the Democratic Party that also has the CPN as the main gatekeeper for its nomination and selection process. However, the Democratic Party has ruled that nominated candidates should be from within the party, from its wing organizations, including youth and women's organizations.²² This rule is important in maintaining the unity of the party.

In contrast, CNRT has taken a more open approach. CNRT allows candidates from outside the party, especially from academia and professionals. This is in line with CNRT's conciliatory position to form an inclusive party and eventually governing coalition.²³ For women candidates, however, priority is given to members of CNRT's women's wing, Organizaçao Muller Partidu (OMP).

The Democratic Party, was initially a splinter group of Fretilin, which is the 'standard-bearer' of Timor-Leste's independence movement. The Democratic Party was formed by the younger members of Fretilin, with a vision of embracing the future, not the historical past. Many founders and members of the Democratic Party were educated in Indonesia, which is probably why the party is more open and 'liberal' in its orientation, unlike its counterpart Fretilin that is more leftist in nature.

18 Interview with Joana M.D Vitor and Domingas Aves da Silva (or popularly known as Biloumali).

19 Of the 65 seats in the parliament, CNRT controls 30 seats and the Democratic Party as its ally holds 8 seats. Fretilin holds 25 seats, and Fretilin Mudansa has 2 seats. Of the 8 seats it control, the Democratic Party has 4 female MPs in the parliament.

20 Interview with Jose Buras of the Democratic Party and Biloumali of CNRT.

21 Interview with Biloumali of CNRT; CPN consists of the chairman of the party, Secretary- General, several Vice Chairman, several Vice Secretary General, in the CPN currently there is one female which is Biloumali herself. Meanwhile, CDN consists of the chairman and vice chair which is also Biloumali.

22 Interview with Jose Buras of the Democratic Party.

23 Interview with Ugu, the chair of election committee of CNRT.

Fretilin is probably the party that has the most solid infrastructure across the country. When it was in power in 2004, Fretilin was able to pass a bill that required conducting 442 village elections to be contested by political parties. Fretilin won more than 200 of the elections, nine of which were won by female candidates.²⁴ However, when Fretilin was no longer in power, the law was revoked. According to a new law, independent candidates can stand in village elections. The change is due to concerns that a party in power would always be the main benefactor.

2.3 ZOOMING IN: INDONESIA

Selection Processes: Mechanism

Having said all the above, one pertinent question remains. What are the reasons for the relative increase in the number of women MPs, especially in Indonesia from the 2004 to 2009 elections? This part of the paper tries to identify some possible answers.

From the macro explanation point of view, the increased number of women MPs can be attributed to both social and political developments enabled by Indonesia's transition to democracy. From 1987 to 1992, the number of women MPs was never more than 13 percent. The lowest women's representation was in 1999 with only 9 percent of women sitting in the national parliament. It was this development that prompted women activists to call for the need to have an affirmative policy to support and provide women more room to actively engage in politics.

In 2003, the Law on Election No. 12 Article 65 was enacted to politically grant women more access to politics by requiring political parties to have 30 percent women party members and to run in the election. However, many saw there was a problem with Article 67 paragraph 3 of the 2003 Law on Elections, because the paragraph stipulated that party leaders would have the authority to determine the list of political party candidates prior to elections. This concerned many people as it would mean that women would not be placed high on the list due to the lack of gender perspective among political party leaders. The result was that women would still find it difficult to be elected during elections and it would also still be difficult to gain strategic positions within the party structure. This law was then reformed by the enactment of Law No.10/2008 on Elections. Article 55 of the law stipulates that at least one in every three candidates listed in a party's election list must be a women, which is known as a zipper system. It was expected that this mechanism would give women more chances at being elected in an election as successful candidates will be determined by their party's list number. In addition to that, Article 2 of the 2008 Law on Elections also stipulates the requirement for parties to have 30 percent women members at the time of establishing and registering their parties at the national level.

However, in late 2008, the Constitutional Court ruled that candidates with the most votes would be elected regardless of their sex (Adhiati 2009: 1), neglecting earlier commitments that only those listed by the party (one woman in every three candidates) were to represent the party. The Constitutional Court ruling is that candidates with the most votes will be elected irrespective of gender. This ruling was based on criticism by lawmakers arguing that granting women the 30 percent quota might harm the democratic process as women would be given a privileged status regardless of their commitment and loyalty to their party.

²⁴ Interview with Jose Bello of Fretilin

Nevertheless, after strong protests from women activists, the Constitutional Court upheld Article 55 Law No.10/2008 reasserting affirmative action by keeping the 30 percent women's quota in political party election lists, as part of Indonesia's commitment to women's rights based on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and CEDAW, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Indonesian political parties responded to the new affirmative provision in the law introduced in 2003 in various ways. Rosidawati (n.d) summarizes the response of three political parties to the introduction of the 30 percent quota for women's representation in parliament. The National Mandate Party (PAN) responded to the new law by introducing a policy to promote its women cadres within the party to actively engage in politics, both at local and national levels, by providing various trainings. PAN encouraged its women members to seize the political opportunities that were newly available to them.

PAN started to socialize the fact that there was an urgent need for the party to engage in women's issues and to strategically design various programs to help women deal with the social and political challenges that had hindered them from political activism and difficulties in accessing economic sources. PAN was the only party back in 2009 that consistently applied a score system in selecting and recruiting women.²⁵ One example of its success in encouraging women to participate in politics is that in 2009 in the province of South Sulawesi, PAN was considered as a party that had the best rules on recruiting women as legislative candidates during the 2009 elections.

The Democratic Party (PD) responded to the law by initiating a series of activities throughout party lines at all levels (from district to provincial) concerning the need to have adequate women's representation within the party and to allow more women to take up more roles within the party.

In terms of recruitment, PD is one of the more inclusive parties providing equal opportunities for both men and women to become active members of the party. It has a strong commitment to fulfilling the requirements of having 30 percent women as party members and to making sure that it fulfills the 30 percent quota at every election at all levels, district, provincial and national level.

The Social Justice Party (PKS) similarly supported the legislation by introducing several requirements for women to become the members of the party by using various religious messages to attract women. For example, the party considers that it is the obligation of men and women to work for the welfare of the whole society. They are also of the view that joining a political party is part of a religious duty that women also have.

Regardless of the commitment, at the national level, almost all political parties do not have an institutionalized mechanism for recruiting and selecting women candidates. If there is one, the final say will still be in the hands of the party chairperson or a small number of top-level officials all of whom are ironically men. Ani Sucipto²⁶ notes that only a small number of parties have adopted the gender quota into their statutes, while others have never been incorporated the gender quota into their formal documents (see Table 5).

25 Personal communication with a gender activist from LSKP Makassar who conducted various trainings for women candidates prior to the 2009 election.

26 Ani Sucipto, *Politik Harapan: Perjalanan Politik Perempuan Indonesia Pasca Reformasi* (2011) 30

Table 5. Political Party Recruitment and Selection Mechanisms for Women Candidates during the 2009 Election

Party	Recruitment	Source	Selection
PD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - from party activists, founders are prioritized and are positioned number 1-3 in the party list - recommended by existing cadres/members of the party and educational background are important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no tight rules - on paper, there is a hierarchical mechanism - from DPC, DPD, and DPP - in reality, only the party chairman and secretary general decide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no provision for gender quota in the party statutes (AD/ART) - before being decided on by the party chairman and secretary general, the so called Team of nine (all men) will make a short list of women candidates
Golkar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sufficient number of women cadres - from organization's women's wing of the (KPPG) and other organizations traditionally affiliated with the party - very little room for professional/non-Golkar members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use scoring and criteria system (education, experience, loyalty, track-record) - candidates from outside the party are only acceptable if considered able to bring an advantage to the party, although the number of such candidates is less than 5 percent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no provisional for gender quota in the party statutes (AD/ART) - hierarchical decision: regional coordinator, the party's election committee, secretary general, and finally the chairman
PDIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PDIP sympathizers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hierarchical process, but the party's chairwomen has the final say 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no provision for gender quota in the party statutes (AD/ART) - there is a formal instruction from the party chairwoman that the gender ratio for the DPC officials should be 1:5
PKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - women candidates are the party's own cadres (10 percent are non-cadres) - hierarchical career procedure (kaderisasi berjenjang) through 7 steps - differentiations between main cadres and supporting cadres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - several mechanism: (1) recommendation from the party's regional offices; (2) internal convention; (3) recommendation from the party's various departments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no provision for gender in the party statutes (AD/ART) - for DPR, Syura Council has the final say - for DPRD-Province, DPP decides DPRD-Districts, DPW decides
PPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - from various affiliated autonomous organizations - from the women's wing of the party - non-PPP cadres, including businesswomen, popular figures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - scoring and criteria system - decided by team of 9 (the so-called <i>lajnah pemilu</i>) lead by the chairman, vice-chairman, secretary-general, head of political department of the party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - from various affiliated organizations - from the women's wing of the party - non-PPP cadres, including businesswomen, popular figures

PAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - from the women's wing of the party - from affiliated mass-organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and from autonomous bodies such as Aisyiah - party sympathizers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the support-base of the party is small, non-PAN candidates outnumber the cadres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is a provision for gender quota in the party's statutes (AD/ART) - decided by DPP based on the recommendation from sub-regional and party (muswil musda) regional meetings
PKB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - from the women's wing of the party (Fatayat NU, Muslimat NU) - from affiliate mass-organizations, such as NU and from autonomous bodies such as PMII, IPPNU - non-Islamic figures are welcome 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is a provision for gender quota in the party's statutes (AD/ART) 2005; - selected candidates must attend trainings - team of five at the national level (Syura Council)
Gerindra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no mechanism (at the time) - from networks of friends and family of the party's early members - from those who voluntarily sign-up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no established system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decision made by the head of advisory council, not the party chairman

Source: Ani Sucipto (2011)

Table 5 reveals that the recruitment and selection processes are mostly dictated by the party leadership who are mainly men. Even in PDIP, a party that has long been chaired by a woman, the same is true. In 2009, PDIP secured a lesser percentage of seats for its women MPs compared to that of PKB, an Islamic party.

On paper, some of the political parties seem to have an established mechanism for recruiting female candidates as MPs. Nevertheless, as their base of support is relatively small, the political parties have to reach out beyond their existing cadres. Parties are then forced to recruit already popular figures, and in many cases bypass the formal processes that have been internally initiated.

In this regard, the party chairman plays a pivotal role in approaching potential women candidates. Okky Asokawati, a former well-known fashion model who is now an MP from PPP, explained that the chairman of the party directly approached and recruited her prior to the 2009 election.²⁷

Another women MP, Nurhaningtyas of the Hanura party, also narrated that it was the party chairman who recruited her.²⁸ However, Nurhaningtyas' story is different from that of Okky's. Nurhaningtyas was a rather seasoned female politician who was previously a member of PDIP. While Okky Asokawati felt limited support from her party in preparing her to effectively run a campaign during the 2009 legislative elections, Nurhaningtyas could hit the ground running as soon as she was recruited due to her past political experience.²⁹

²⁷ Interview with MP Okky Asokawati. ²⁸ ²⁹

²⁸ Interview with MP Nurhaningtyas

²⁹ Interview with both MPs.

A study has documented three backgrounds from which political parties recruit women candidates for MPs: political activists, community development/NGO activists, and popular figures/celebrities.³⁰ The same study involving interviews with 86 women MPs in the DPRD in 11 provinces revealed that women MPs tend to have a family member who is already active in politics (see table 6 below).

Table 6. Political Relationship between Women MPs and family members Political Affiliation (DPRD-Province, N=86)³¹

Family Members in Political Parties		Which Political Parties?	
Category	Percentage	Same Party	Different Party
Husband	24%	94%	6%
Parents	29%	69%	31%
Siblings	22%	89%	11%
Children	7%	87%	13%

Source: Puskapol UI (2010)

Election Processes

The fact that women candidates feel that they have to make twice as much effort as their male counterparts is not surprising. The experience shared by elected women MPs at the regional level (district and provincial) during a workshop conducted by (Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik (LSKP)) is particularly instructive. The challenges they faced when running their campaign in the 2009 elections ranges from cultural to institutional challenges. The challenges included perceptions that underestimated the capacity of women to exercise and carry out their duty as an MP should they be elected. The fund-raising capacity of women candidates was also a concern shared by many due to the fact that a direct election would require any candidate to mobilize financial support to reach the voters.³²

However, at the societal level, a more favorable view of the participation of women in politics has grown overtime. A recent survey conducted by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Jakarta in eight provinces in Indonesia indicates that public acceptance of the need to allocate substantive number of seats in parliament for women is pretty high. Moreover, the public now seems to agree that politics should no longer be viewed as a 'dirty arena' not suitable for women (see the graph below).³³

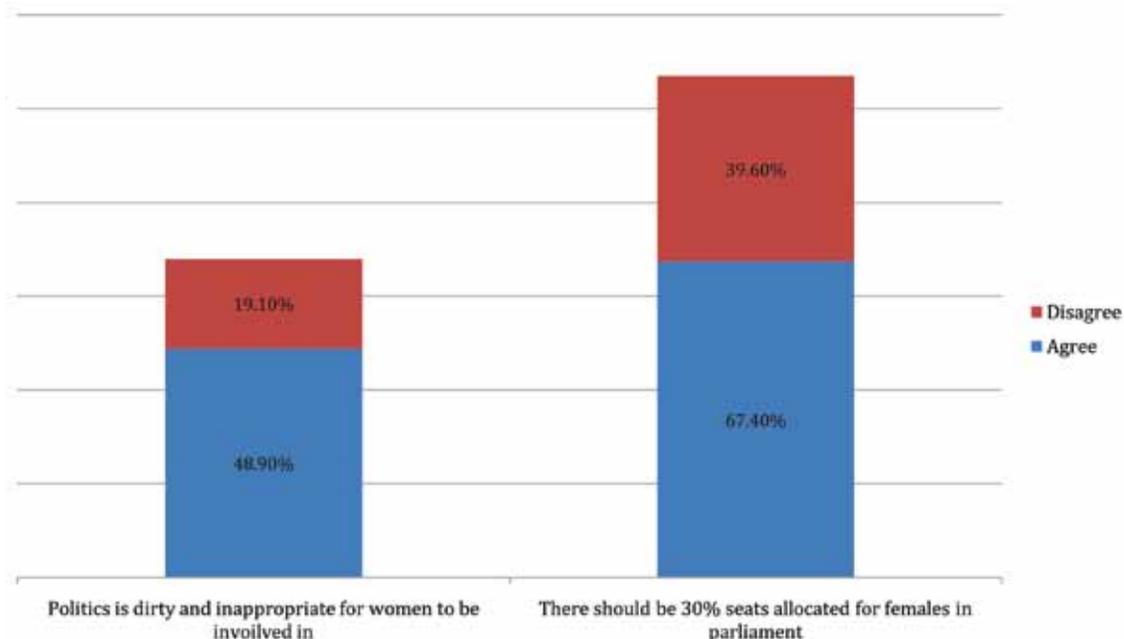
30 Ani Sucipto et al, *Menyapu Dapur Kotor: Refleksi Perempuan dan Politik Era Reformasi* (2010).

31 This study done by Puskapol UI has been released in various different reports each of which contains different aspects.

32 LSKP's unpublished report (2009) entitled "Refleksi dan Evaluasi Perjuangan Perempuan Menuju Parlemen 2009 Tingkat Propinsi dan Kabupaten Kota" documented a series of workshops that involved elected female MPs in the South Sulawesi province right after the 2009 legislative election. The workshops were conducted in the city of Makassar, the districts of Bone and Pare-Pare in May 2009.

33 The survey was conducted in July 2012 in eight provinces in Indonesia, using face-to-face interview with 1.134 respondents.

Graph 1. Public Opinion on Women and Politics in Indonesia, 2012
Women and Politics



From the above graph it would seem that the democratization process that began in 1999 and electoral politics have created an environment conducive for an increased involvement of women in the country's political arena, albeit at a relatively slow pace.

Looking at the election results, by 2009, the Democrat Party (PD) is one of the parties with the largest number of women parliamentarians at the DPR, with 35 from a total of 101 coming from the party. PD has been consistently implemented a 30% quota system since introducing it in 2003 to recruit women members.

The second largest is the Golkar party with 18 women MPs sitting in the DPR followed by the Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDIP) with 17 women MPs. PKB, an Islamic political party, has seven women MPs in the DPR. The other Islamic parties, PPP and PKS, only have five and three MPs respectively in the DPR. Other parties that have women representing them in the DPR are PAN (seven women MPs), Gerindra (four women MPs), and Hanura (three women MPs) (Mulyono 2010). Table 7 compares the distribution of seats among the political parties in relation to the number of women who won the seats in the 2004 and 2009 general elections.

Table 7. Seats won by political parties and women in the DPR 2004-2009

No	Parties	2004		2009	
		Seats	Women	Seats	Women
1	PD	57	6 (10.52%)	149	35(23.5%)
2	Golkar	128	18 (14%)	106	18(16.9%)
3	PDIP	109	12 (11%)	94	17(18.1%)
4	PKS	45	3 (6.6%)	57	3 (5.3%)
5	PAN	52	7 (13.46%)	46	7 (15%)
6	PPP	58	3 (5.17%)	38	5 (13.2%)
7	PKB	52	7 (13.46%)	28	7 (25%)
8	Gerindra	-	-	26	4 (15.4%)
9	Hanura	-	-	17	4 (25%)
10	PBR	13	0	-	-
11	PDS	12	3 (25%)	-	-
12	PBB	11	0	-	-
13	PPDK	5	0	-	-
14	PKPB	2	0	-	-
15	Pelopor	2	0	-	-
16	PPDI	1	0	-	-
17	PNI Marhaen	1	0	-	-

Source: Ani Sucipto (2011)

Table 7 also reveals that there is no pattern in relation to the differences between Islamic and non-Islamic parties. This means that conventional wisdom on the negative relationships between (Islamic) religious values and the level of political participation by women no longer holds up. The institutional factor then needs to be taken into account. The trend of rising numbers of women MPs does not only occur at the national level (DPR RI).

A similar trend can be observed at the sub-national level. A study carried out by the University of Indonesia (Puskapol UI) found that there is no pattern in relation to geographical factors contributing to the increased number of women MPs at the sub-national level (DPRD) at both the provincial and district levels).

Table 8. DPRD – Province with the highest number of female MPs 2009 (>20%)

No	Province	Total	No. of women	Percentage 2009	Percentage change from 2004
1	Maluku	45	14	31.11	27
2	West Java	100	25	25	16
3	DKI Jakarta	94	23	24.47	10
4	North Sulawesi	45	10	22.2	5
5	Central Java	100	21	21	6
6	East Kalimantan	53	11	20.75	5
7	North Sumatera	100	20	20	14
8	Yogyakarta	55	11	20	11
9	Gorontalo	45	9	20	6

Source: Puskapol 2010, in Ani Sucipto (2011:48)

Table 8 highlights the fact that there is no clear geographical pattern, (e.g. Java vs. areas outside Java), that can serve as a contributing factor for explaining the increased number of women MPs at the provincial level. The province of Maluku witnessed the highest increase of women MPs with almost a 30 percent rise over the period between 2004-2009.

However, one interesting factor that can be determined from the Puskapol UI study is the correlation between the positioning of the candidates (either male or female) on the party list and their electability, both at the national and sub-national level.

Table 9. Number on the party list and electability of women MPs (DPR, DPRD) in 2009

No. on party list	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	> No. 4	Notes
DPR RI	44%	29%	20%	7%	93% of the elected female MPs were Nos. 1-3
DPRD Province	41%	20%	24%	14%	85% elected were Nos. 1-3
DPRD District/City	41%	23%	18%	18%	82% elected were Nos. 1-3

Source: Puskapol 2010 in Ani Sucipto (2011:54)

Table 9 suggests that a candidate's position on the party list directly influences the electability of women candidates. In other words, the party's decision to put a candidate in a winnable position on its party list is of crucial importance for the electability of a woman candidate. Therefore, affirmative action through election rules and regulations imposed on party leadership is still crucial to ensure that women are better represented in parliament.

Preliminary Conclusions

This research has arrived at several important conclusions, one of which is that recruitment patterns of political parties are influential to women's political representation. In the three countries studied, democracy is the foundation that provides room for political parties and community organizations to flourish. Within a democracy, people's aspirations are channeled through various political associations e.g. political parties, in order to gain attention from policy makers. Thus, relevant to this research, political parties are the main political unit where female and male members are expected to think, formulate and voice issues and suggestions, and function as policy makers for the party executives. The question is what criteria should parties employ to ensure this process continues effectively? In each country described in this study there are several similar conditions as well as various characteristics that frame the contextual aspect of major political parties where women candidates are nominated during elections.

Some conclusions from this research highlight the internal and external preconditions required so that women cadres or party members can advance and become MPs:

- The leadership system within a party needs to support, the promotion and enhancement of the role of women.
- Political parties need to support a quota system and formalize recruitment rules in fulfilling the quota.
- Women candidates should be placed in favorable positions on the candidate list for election
- Incentives should be given to parties that enhance opportunities for women candidates
- There needs to be a two-pronged approach including internal party coordination systems on one side and a strengthening of civil society and women organizations to enhance the recruitment of women.

Despite the increased number of women MPs, both at the national and sub-national levels in Indonesia, the vision of more gender-sensitive laws, let alone public policies, is still far from being achieved. The National Commission on Women recently released a report saying that 282 out of 534 by-laws issued by approximately 100 local governments across the country are discriminatory against women³⁴ which is a significant increase from 181 in 2011. West Java is reported as one of the provinces with the most discriminatory regional regulations against women.³⁵

34 "Daerah Masih Diskriminatif", Kompas, 22 Oktober 2012. The report is based on the study conducted by the National Commission in 28 provinces in Indonesia on the by-laws that were issued over the period of 2009-2012.

35 "Perda diskriminatif pada perempuan bertambah: kasus paling banyak terdapat di Jawa Barat", Kompas, 24 Oktober 2012.

It should be noted that while the increased number of women in parliament is necessary, it is not sufficient to realize a non-discriminatory political environment. The increased number of women MPs needs to be complemented by improved skills in advancing gender-sensitive agendas in parliament. This is especially true since there are elements in society, in particular, male politicians, who still question the quota system arguing that having a certain numbers of women sit in parliament does not necessarily guarantee that they will be able to influence let alone produce gender-sensitive policies.

This is because they still believe that just by providing women the opportunity to enter politics does not reflect the qualities of the individuals. However, despite the continuing debate whether or not gender quota is important as a path for greater women's participation in politics, it is important for political parties to act as gatekeepers and become an integral part of the political establishment in which women are part of the process.

In the Philippines, regardless of the fact that the country has several active civil society organizations, electoral politics remains an area dominated by the elites, especially those with a long history of family involvement in politics. Most of the time women's participation in the electoral political process is merely a matter of fulfilling a duty to the family to continue the family dynasty, and not to participate functionally in an open and democratic process.

In the context of Timor-Leste, the relatively high level of women's representation in parliament is due to at least three factors. First, the international community helped the adoption of a gender-sensitive development approach in the formative years of the country. This actually resonates with Timor-Leste's long history during its struggle for independence, which since the very beginning has been filled with proud stories of women's involvement both in the armed and non-armed struggles.

Second is the adoption of a quota law. The third factor relates to the second, as it concerns the adoption of a closed-list proportional representation system that provides an electoral incentive for political parties to nominate women candidates as required by the law.

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