

Women and Democracy

Editorial

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Articles

Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda
Anna Margret

The Interwoven of Interests in Political Economy and Political Behavior of Women Members of Parliament
Dewi Komalasari

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The Problem of "Women's Work" and the Idea of Work Democratization for the Liberating Empowerment of Women
Fathimah Fildzah Izzati

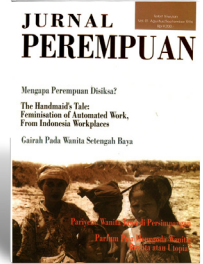
The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

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ADDRESS:

Jl. Karang Pola Dalam II No. 9A, Jati Padang
Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan 12540
Telp./Fax (021) 2270 1689
E-mail: yjp@jurnalperempuan.com
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WEBSITE:

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Contents

Editorial

Women and Democracy iii

Articles

- Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda83-93
Anna Margret
- The Interwoven of Interests in Political Economy and Political Behavior of Women Members of Parliament 95-106
Dewi Komalasari
- Strengthening Substantive Representation of Women through the Engagement Model of the Women’s Movement with the DPR and DPRD in Indonesia 107-114
Atnike Nova Sigiro
- Ensuring the Women’s Political Agenda: A Study of Women Members of Parliament in Nine Regencies/ Cities in Eastern Indonesia 115-127
Abdul Madjid Sallatu, Rahmadani, Agussalim & Abby Gina
- The Problem of “Women’s Work” and the Idea of Work Democratization for the Liberating Empowerment of Women 129-136
Fathimah Fildzah Izzati
- The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women’s Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019 137-148
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

This JP edition is published by Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan with the support from the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment (MAMPU). MAMPU program is a joint initiative between the government of Australia and the government of Indonesia that aim to improve access of poor women in Indonesia to public services and other government programs in order to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment. Opinion in the articles solely belong to each of the authors and do not represent the views of the government of Indonesia and the government of Australia.

Women and Democracy

The 1998 post reformation democratization process in Indonesia has opened up access for women to participate in politics and policy-making processes. The numbers of women sitting in the legislative body, especially in the House of Representative (DPR) have increased from 9% in the 1999 general election into 17% in the 2014 general election. Nevertheless, the percentage is still below the set 30% quotas; a minimum percentage that is expected to create change of direction to the political policy.

Women's movements in electoral democracy still experience various challenges. Women parliament members (MPs) also face political challenges from the political institutions due to the electoral system and internal policies of the existing political parties. Inside DPR, the voices of women legislators were kept under the control of political fraction and masculine politics. Public pressure from women's movement outside parliament still have important meaning to support and to guard women's political agenda in the parliament.

Indonesian post 1998 democracy has grown into a high political cost of electoral democracy. This is demonstrated by the high cost for establishing a political party and the expensive cost of legislative candidacy and political campaign. Thus, political parties are filled and controlled by those who have power and money to fund the high cost electoral politics. Party's coalition has been built as a pave way for parties' leaders or parties' administrators to gain power and positions (either as minister, governor, regent, or mayor) who could be used as cash machine for the next election. Shared ideology, values, or political vision are not used as the basis for setting up a coalition. This fluid, opportunistic, and vulnerable kind of coalition has created difficulty for voters in demanding for accountability from each of the parties or their leaders. In this context, the electoral politics is controlled particular power that is known as oligarchy.

Consequently, the feature of the current DPR is filled by people who have economic elites' backgrounds (business tycoons) and have connections with the political elites. Government institutions and policies under this situation

are prone to the oligarch's interests. Political corruptions have spread and thus became a predominant problem in Indonesia. General election was supposed to offer diverse options among the competing ideas. Instead, the options have decreased, differences among political parties become blurred, and voters cannot demand accountability from politicians upon their actions.

Explaining democracy only as a process that taking place inside the parliament would reduce its meaning. Democracy is not only about election, it encompasses freedom of expression, opinion, association, and protection to minorities, and also to include social and economic aspects, not just politics. Some people have argued that democratization in Indonesia is facing a deadlock. The phenomenon can be seen in the application of the Electronic Information and Transaction Law (UU ITE). UU ITE has trapped Baiq Nuril, a woman survivor of sexual violence who was charged guilty and punished instead of being given protection.

Indonesia democracy tend to be Jakarta and Java centered, therefore local aspirations are often overlooked. Meanwhile, the challenges and the fight for democracy also happen at local level. At regional level we can many cases where communities fight for their social rights have been prone to criminalization, such as Kendeng women in Centarl Java, Eva Bande – an activist in Central Sulawesi. Regional autonomy as the output of Reformasi, has been celebrated only for its direct voting. It has not been recognized in term of its benefits for people's welfare, protection and promotion of human rights, right to development, and promotion of women's rights.

Articles published in the current Jurnal Perempuan edition show the need to intervene political party as the electoral democracy's institution in order to realize democracy that is just and respect gender equality. On the other hand, the challenges that are faced by women's movement will be more complex, particularly because of the emerging women conservative candidates who reject feminist agenda. For that reason, increasing critical consciousness and at the same time developing collective power for feminist's agenda are important in the process of consolidating democracy. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Anna Margret (Cakra Wikara Indonesia & Political Sciences Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia)

Two Decades of Indonesian Democracy and the Fading of Feminist Agenda

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 83-93, 20 ref

This article explores the complexity of the relationship between democracy and feminism in both theory and practice. For a long time, feminist theorists have put forward criticism of democratic studies, which emphasize the importance of transforming political institutions and addressing the measure of the goodness of democracy that is considered to be generally accepted. As a result, the voice and interests of women are considered merely complementary and not a priority. Feminist agendas—marked by the formulation of interests aimed at challenging patriarchy in a variety of manifestations—are increasingly scarce in the work of fighting for democracy in Indonesia, especially in the participation of women's electoral politics. While non-electoral participation is more indicative of the presence of a feminist agenda, the challenge lies in the lack of linkages with electoral politics. The achievements of democracy over the past 20 years show the lack of contribution of democracy to the struggle that the women's movement formulated with the breath of feminism. This article highlights the increasingly eroded feminist agenda in the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. It is time for the consolidation of democracy to borrow the logic of feminism, which rejects the public/private; personal/political dichotomy; in the electoral/non-electoral political struggle.

Keywords: feminist agenda, electoral, non-electoral, democracy

Dewi Komalasari (Jurnal Perempuan)

The Interwoven of Interests in Political Economy and Political Behavior of Women Members of Parliament

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 95-106, 2 tables, 19 ref.

Representation of women's interests through women Members of Parliament (MPs) is achieved if there is a connection between women MPs and their constituents. In order to be able to establish cooperation between these two parties, a developed understanding of MPs behavior is required. This article discusses women MPs various political-economic relationships. These relationships begin when women MPs are nominated as legislative candidates. The relationships result in various interests and pressures that women MPs must respond to. By understanding the various interests and pressures that women MPs face, civil society actors can design action plans that trigger positive responses from MPs and minimize potential risks.

Keywords: parliamentary political economy, elections, clientalism, patronage, women candidates, women in parliament

Atnike Nova Sigiro (Jurnal Perempuan/ Paramadina University)

Strengthening Substantive Representation of Women through the Engagement Model of the Women's Movement with the DPR and DPRD in Indonesia

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 107-114, 20 ref.

Although it has not yet reached an ideal composition, the adoption of a 30% quota of women in elections in Indonesia has increased the number of women in parliament, both at the central level (House of Representative/DPR) and at the regional level (Regional House of Representatives/DPRD). However, the issue of women's representation in parliament is not only a matter of representation based on sex, but also of substantive representation, where women's political agenda can be voiced. One of the concepts developed by feminist thinking is the concept of critical actors. This article seeks to explain how women's organizations and parliamentarians are critical actors that encourage women's involvement with parliament. This article explains how the involvement between women's organizations and parliament can strengthen the substantive representation of women in both the DPR and the DPRD. The article is developed based on studies on engagement models of MAMPU's partners with the DPR and DPRD.

Keywords: women's politics, political representation, parliamentary women, women's representation

¹Abdul Madjid Sallatu, ¹Rahmadani, ¹Agussalim & ²Abby Gina (¹Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kependudukan dan Gender Universitas Hasanuddin (P3KG-UNHAS) & ²Jurnal Perempuan)

Ensuring the Women's Political Agenda: A Study of Women Members of Parliament in Nine Regencies/Cities in Eastern Indonesia

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 115-127, 7 tables, 9 ref.

Representation of women in the legislature is important. The presence of women members of parliament (MPs) does not only balance the number of parliamentarians (gender balance), but also encourages women's issues to be a priority, so that various gender sensitive policies are born. This study focuses on women legislator in nine regencies/cities of Eastern Indonesia, namely: Maros Regency, Bone Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, Parepare City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Belu Regency and Ambon City. This study looks at women legislator's portraits in nine research areas, obstacles in implementing main tasks and functions as women legislator and relations with various related groups. This study applies a phased mixed method design that focuses on qualitative studies. Data collection is done through document review, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research found that in order to guarantee the struggle for women's political agenda, capacity building was needed for Parliamentary Members of Women in Eastern Indonesia.

Keywords: women members of parliament, women's representation, gender-sensitive policies

Fathimah Fildzah Izzati (Pusat Penelitian Politik - Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia)

The Problem of "Women's Work" and the Idea of Work Democratization for the Liberating Empowerment of Women

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 129-136, 40 ref.

Women never make choices about their work democratically. In patriarchal society, "women's work" is constructed as work that is in the area of social reproduction and is "natural" for women. Consequently, women are increasingly in a vulnerable position in the labor market. In addition, women also face obstacles to being actively involved in

various democratic spaces such as unions and women's movements, and wider social movements because they bear a double workload that is life-consuming. However, various women's empowerment programs launched by a number of development institutions to overcome the problems faced by women turned out to be far from women's interests. Empowerment, also known as "liberal empowerment", actually depoliticized and atomized women. Feminist scholars also call for the importance of realizing "liberating empowerment". Related to that, this paper sees that the process of democratization of work on women's work is an effort that can be done to pave the way for women's liberation.

Keywords: women's work, democratization of work, empowerment, liberals, liberation

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi (Jurnal Perempuan)

The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 2, May 2019, pp 137-148, 1 table, 27 ref.

Political parties play an important role as a gateway to women's representation. In political parties the entire battle to win seats in parliament occurs. Therefore, the policies, practices and politics in the political party determine the face of women's representation

in parliament. This study focuses on policy, practice and politics in political parties in the context of encouraging women's representation in the regency / city-level legislative council in Indonesia. This research explores the strategy, experience and challenges faced by women legislative members in the regency / city-level legislative council for the 2014-2019 period of the four parties that passed to parliament in the 2014 elections, namely PDIP, Golkar Gerindra and one Islamic party, PPP. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document review of articles of association/ bylaws (AD/ART) of political parties. The results showed that 1) AD / ART of a number of political parties has adopted a 30% quota affirmative policy for party management structures and the formation of women's party wing organizations; 2) The practices of affirmative action policies in the process of recruitment, candidacy and political campaigns have not yet fully adopted the ideology of gender mainstreaming; knowledge, programs and decisions of political parties as well as competition between legislative candidates in competing for votes are still gender biased, thus detrimental to women's political agenda; 3) Parliamentary women experience psychological violence and intimidation in pushing the political agenda of women in parliament - rooted in patriarchal ideology, while the women's wing have not standing for women's agenda.

Keywords: women in parliament, women's political agenda, regency/ city-level legislative council, women and political parties, substantive representation

Ensuring the Women's Political Agenda: A Study of Women Members of Parliament in Nine Regencies/ Cities in Eastern Indonesia

¹Abdul Madjid Sallatu, ¹Rahmadani, ¹Agussalim & ²Abby Gina

¹Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kependudukan dan Gender Universitas Hasanuddin (P3KG-UNHAS) & ²Jurnal Perempuan
Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan KM. 10 Makassar 90245 Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia
Jl. Karang Pola Dalam II No. 9A, Jatipadang, Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia, 12540

lp2m@unhas.ac.id & abbygina@jurnalperempuan.com

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Abstract

Representation of women in the legislature is important. The presence of women members of parliament (MPs) does not only balance the number of parliamentarians (gender balance), but also encourages women's issues to be a priority, so that various gender sensitive policies are born. This study focuses on women legislator in nine regencies/cities of Eastern Indonesia, namely: Maros Regency, Bone Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, Parepare City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Belu Regency and Ambon City. This study looks at women legislator's portraits in nine research areas, obstacles in implementing main tasks and functions as women legislator and relations with various related groups. This study applies a phased mixed method design that focuses on qualitative studies. Data collection is done through document review, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research found that in order to guarantee the struggle for women's political agenda, capacity building was needed for Parliamentary Members of Women in Eastern Indonesia.

Keywords: women members of parliament, women's representation, gender- sensitive policies

Introduction

Empirical studies on women and poverty demonstrate that poor women face various problems that can include a lack of access to government social protection programs, lack of access to decent employment, high levels of violence against women, inadequate ability to exercise authority over matters related to sexual and reproductive health, and minimal budgetary support to alleviate poverty and problems related to gender inequality (Yuarsi & Susi 2000); (Taringan & Novi 2015); (Rustanto 2011); (Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy 2012); (Kercheval, Markowits & Monson 2012); (BaKTI 2013).

These studies show that discriminatory practices against women are legitimised by the state through various official policies that are linked to legislative and budgetary processes, both at the central and regional levels. Many regional regulations fail to situate women as actors in development. Some regional regulations are implemented in the name of religion with the aim of providing protection to women, but in fact, these regulations often discriminate against women.

Poverty and gender inequality are issues that require the attention of all stakeholders in order to be resolved. Women members of parliament (MPs) are key stakeholders that play an important role in combatting these two issues. Women MPs are important in the political sphere because they act to provide descriptive representation for women. Women MPs can drive the birth of gender-responsive policies, but only if they have a feminist perspective. If parliamentarians do not understand and support women's issues, the representation of women's political needs and aspirations is unlikely to be realised.

Ensuring that women's needs and interests are addressed through policies requires women's participation in politics. To encourage this participation, a number of efforts have been made.

Gender quotas, reserved seats and various other regulatory mechanisms that, in principle, are forms of affirmative action, are meant to strengthen the political representation of women and marginalised groups such as ethnic minorities. Electoral gender quotas have become common in the last decade (Bird 2003, p. 20).

In Indonesia, in 2003 an affirmative action policy was introduced to increase women’s representation in political institutions. Law 12/2003 regarding General Elections mandates that political parties must nominate at least 30% women candidates to run in legislative elections. Since the enactment of this policy, the number of women in the legislature, especially in the DPR, has risen from 9% in the 1999 election to 17% in the 2014 election. In 2014, the number of women parliamentarians in all districts / cities was 2,406 meaning that women held 14.2% of the total seats (14,410), an increase of around 2% from 2009 (Puskapol FISIP UI 2014). This shows that affirmative action policies are able to encourage greater formal women’s representation and hopefully push for the creation of more gender mainstreaming in policy formation and budgeting.

Affirmative action is important to ensure that women’s experiences and perspectives are represented in the political sphere. However, the question remains as to whether current women MPs actually utilise gender perspective in their work, because if not, the presence of women parliamentarians will not necessarily encourage the creation of gender-sensitive policies. Furthermore, it is possible that women MPs who do not possess gender perspective will be involved in producing and perpetuating policies that are biased and discriminatory towards women. The increasing number of women MPs is an achievement; however, if the depth of women MPs gender perspective does not increase, the major

problems that women in the community face — including violence, poverty, and discrimination — will not improve.

To ensure that women’s political representation is optimal, it is necessary to identify obstacles faced by women MPs in encouraging the creation of gender-sensitive policies. The Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment (MAMPU) conducted a study to map the capacity and knowledge of women’ MPs nine districts / cities in eastern Indonesia, namely: Maros Regency, Bone Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, Parepare City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Belu Regency and Ambon City. The indicators used in this study follow MAMPU’s thematic issues relating to poverty reduction and the promotion of gender justice.

Surveys and interviews were conducted with female and male MPs to gain an understanding of regional MPs understanding and mastery of the three functions of DPRD’s (legislative, budgetary and supervisory), their understanding of women’s issues, and to explore their relationships with parties external to parliament.

Research Method

The methods used in this study were descriptive and explanatory. The study was conducted between June 2014 and April 2015. The research locations — nine districts / cities located in five provinces in Eastern Indonesia— are detailed below:

Table 1. Baseline Survey Locations in East Indonesia

| No. | Province | Regency/City |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| 1. | South Sulawesi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bone • Parepare • Maros • Tana Toraja |
| 2. | Southeast Sulawesi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kendari City |
| 3. | West Nusa Tenggara | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mataram City • East Lombok |
| 4. | East Nusa Tenggara | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belu |
| 5. | Maluku | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambon |

The respondents in this study were selected by purposive sampling which took into consideration the number of women parliamentarians in each district / city. The total number of respondents in the study was 64, consisting of 40 women MPs and 24 male MPs. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews

while secondary data was obtained through desk research.

Women in Numbers

Women MPs exceeded 30% in only two of the nine surveyed regions.

Table 2. Number and Percentage of Regency/City Parliament Members in the 2014-2019 Survey Region by Gender

| No | Regency/City | Men | % | Women | % | Total |
|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| 1 | Maros | 28 | 80.0 | 7 | 20.0 | 35 |
| 2 | Bone | 39 | 86.7 | 6 | 13.3 | 45 |
| 3 | Tana Toraja | 24 | 80.0 | 6 | 20.0 | 30 |
| 4 | Parepare City | 22 | 88.0 | 3 | 12.0 | 25 |
| 5 | Mataram City | 35 | 87.5 | 5 | 12.5 | 40 |
| 6 | East Lombok | 48 | 96.0 | 2 | 4.0 | 50 |
| 7 | Kendari City | 22 | 62.9 | 13 | 37.1 | 35 |
| 8 | Belu | 19 | 63.3 | 11 | 36.7 | 30 |
| 9 | Ambon City | 31 | 88.6 | 4 | 11.4 | 35 |
| Total | | 268 | 82.5 | 57 | 17.5 | 325 |

Source: Regency/ City DPRD Offices, 2014-2015

Based on the data in the table above, the parliament with the highest total number of MPs was East Lombok Regency DPRD. Parepare City, Tana Toraja Regency, and Belu District each had low numbers of MPs. In terms of gender composition, the majority of parliamentarians in all districts were men. Women MPs only accounted for 17.5% of the total of 325 parliamentarians from the nine regions. This indicates that women's representation in parliament has not reached 30%, despite the affirmative action policy. Only Kendari City (37.1%) and Belu District (36.7%) have achieved over 30% women's representation. East Lombok Regency DPRD had the lowest level of women's representation with 4%. Ambon City and Parepare city also had low levels of women's representation with 11.4% and 12% women MPs respectively.

From a gender perspective Table 2 shows considerable inequality between male and female MPs. Although women's representation in legislative institutions has increased, it still generally remains far below 30% except. These figures demonstrate that women's political participation is still lacking.

Quantitatively speaking the number of women MPs in the survey locations generally increased in the 2014-2019 period as compared to the 2009-2014 period. Districts / cities that experienced an increase in the number of women MPs are Tana Toraja from — three to six women — Kendari City — from nine to 13 — Ambon City — from one to four — Belu — from seven to 11 — and Mataram — from three to five.

Meanwhile, districts / cities that experienced a decline in the number of women MPs were Parepare City — from four to three — Bone District from — eight to six — and East Lombok — from four to two people. This

study found that a higher number of women MPs was not always directly related to better outcomes in terms of the creation of pro-women policy. Ambon City and Parepare City are two areas that successfully created pro-women policies even though these two regions had lower female representation than Belu District and Kendari City. However, in Ambon and Parepare, women legislators did play a major role in pushing for the creation of these policies. Ambon City DPRD, for example, passed Ambon City Regulation 12/2015 about the Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence. Likewise, Parepare City DPRD passed Parepare City Regulation No. 12 of 2015 concerning the Protection of Women and Children. This demonstrates that women MPs play an important role in encouraging DPRDs to take initiative and pass pro-women policies and regulations.

Women in Parliament and the Representation of Women's Interests

In the survey locations, the number of newly elected women MPs was 40 (70%) out of a total of 57, the remaining 30% were incumbent members of parliament, meaning they had served a previous term. Although the number of women incumbents was relatively small, in general, their knowledge and experience of working in the DPRDs were better developed when compared to the newly elected women MPs. This was indicated by several findings that showed incumbents superior ability to discuss and comprehend women's issues and issues related to poverty in the community. The incumbents also had an ability to respond to community aspirations by providing budget support, creating regulations, and performing supervisory functions. Incumbents were also more experienced in navigating government

bureaucracy and had a better-developed understanding of governance.

Women's political representation is important to ensure women's interests and needs are accommodated in policy formation. Women's representation is important because women have different experiences and needs to men. The presence of women MPs in legislative institutions is important to ensure the interests of women and women's groups are not overlooked. Women's interests are often better voiced by women because women experience and understand women's inherent needs. In a representative democratic framework, the views of various different groups must be considered during the formulation of decisions and policies (Soetjipto 2005).

The implementation of quotas as a form of affirmative action is an effort to encourage the involvement of women in formal politics. However, representation is not simply an issue of numbers but also relates to substantive representation. This means that women MPs must act as agents for the group they represent — women. Pitkin in her book entitled 'The Concept of Representation' (1967), interpreted representation as representatives acting in the interests of the represented. The role of women MPs as actors that represent women's interests is significant in determining the direction and creation of policies that are friendly to women.

The increasing numbers of women in legislative institutions are expected to contribute to improving community welfare through various efforts to reduce poverty — especially women's poverty — and reduce gender discrimination while increasing women's participation in all forms of development. However, as mentioned previously, not only the quantity of women MPs needs to be increased, but the quality and capacity of women MPs also need to be improved.

Mastery of DPRD's Functions

DPRDs carry out legislative, budgetary, and supervisory functions. Every DPRD member is responsible for representing the needs and interests of their constituents in all aspects of the political processes and decisions. Each MP should be able to convey the aspirations of their constituents in every stage of development planning, budgeting, program implementation, and supervision. However, DPRD members face a number of problems in carrying out their roles as parliamentarians.

The survey results demonstrated that the problems faced by women MPs in championing pro-poor and pro-women policy were similar at each survey location. The

first major issue was that women MPs — both newly elected and incumbent — had not been able to fully understand and carry out their legislative responsibilities. Some incumbent women MPs knew the basic budget function components but had yet to master them. Meanwhile, generally speaking, women MPs who had just entered the DPRD after the 2014 legislative elections did not understand budget functions. Women MPs had also yet to fully grasp and participate in the supervisory function of DPRDs.

The results of interviews with newly elected women MPs showed that they had not mastered knowledge and skills related to creating legislation, budgeting, and acting in a supervisory role. Female and male MPs — both new and incumbent — poor understanding of the three functions of DPRD — legislative, budgetary, and supervisory — was revealed during interviews at each survey location. MPs low mastery of these parliamentary functions can be demonstrated by a quote drawn from an interview with a female MP in Bone district:

"I have entered my second term as a DPRD member but I feel that I don't know much about matters related to the primary functions and tasks of DPRD, including the legislative function, so I still need a lot of help."

Similar statements were also made by women MPs in all survey locations. One newly-elected MP in Bone district explained:

"I'm still very new and don't know about anything... I know that the DPRD's three primary tasks and functions are legislation, budget, and supervision, but I don't know how to carry out them properly so I have to study, study and study."

Parliamentarians understanding of the three functions of DPRD is normally limited to general matters. Limited knowledge about the substance and nature of each of the DPRDs tasks affects the MPs confidence to voice their opinions because they are embarrassed and afraid of making mistakes, being ridiculed and so on. The results of interviews with women MPs — especially newly elected women MPs — showed that lack of confidence was the major barrier that prevented them from speaking out and championing women's rights and poverty elimination in formal forums. It was revealed that women MPs often lack the confidence to raise these issues at parliamentary sessions, fraction meetings, commission meetings, and plenary meetings. A lack of detailed understanding of the DPRDs three functions impacted on the ability of newly elected women MPs to advocate for solutions to social and gender issues.

One example of a problem related to a lack of confidence was detailed by a newly elected female MP in Parepare City. She stated that she did not yet have the confidence to express her opinions in meetings, especially if there were male MPs at the meeting. This demonstrates that women MPs often feel intimidated by or are unable to communicate on a level platform with male MPs. Female MPs in Mataram City and various other locations voiced similar concerns about lacking confidence. Nevertheless, the interviewed women MPs were aware of their limitations and had a considerable desire to continue to improve their capacity and knowledge. They indicated this desire through requests for special training programs to address these issues.

Lack of confidence was not only caused by a lack of mastery over the substance of the parliamentary functions but also the MPs personal backgrounds. Lack

of organisational experience, lack of political experience, education level, and previous employment history all contributed to confidence issues. Research data shows that some women MPs only finished high school. Of the surveyed parliamentarians who had obtained a bachelor's degree only 16.5% were women and the remaining 83.5% were men. Meanwhile, of the legislators who had received a master's degree, all were men. This demonstrates that there are a number of cultural obstacles that contribute to less than ideal working conditions for women MPs in legislative institutions.

Women MPs' Understanding of the Functions of DPR in Regards to Issues on Women and Poverty

The table below highlights major problems faced by women in the nine survey areas as they emerged in the field research:

Table 3. Prominent Problems in the District/City Survey Location

| Survey Location | Prominent Problems and Issues | | | | |
|-----------------|--|--|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| | Social Protection (Community Welfare) | Discrimination against women in the workplace | Female Migrant Workers | Reproductive Health | Domestic violence |
| Bone | Poverty, divorce | Ideology (but it had started to decline) | Illegal and untrained female migrant workers | Bleeding after giving birth | Domestic violence (poverty-related) |
| Maros | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentation of poor people has not been carried out effectively Management of illegal mining Floods in paddy fields resulting in crop failure Limited access of micro-businesses to capital and business assistance | Leave for women in the workplace has not been adjusted to their needs | - | Understanding of maternal, child and infant health is still limited | - |
| Tana Toraja | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rape of children Drug abuse | | The welfare of female migrant workers in Batam | Workers AIDS | |
| Parepare | Marginalised women | | Human Trafficking | | |
| Belu | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited work opportunities for women Unequal job opportunities. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human Trafficking of migrant workers Recruitment and deployment of migrant workers continue to follow non-formal or illegal channels. | - | Domestic violence |

| Survey Location | Prominent Problems and Issues | | | | |
|-----------------|--|---|--|---------------------|---|
| | Social Protection (Community Welfare) | Discrimination against women in the workplace | Female Migrant Workers | Reproductive Health | Domestic violence |
| Kendari | HIV AIDS | - | - | Reproductive health | - |
| Lombok Timur | Poverty, Child marriage | Islamic perspective | Not all female migrant workers are trained | Maternal mortality | Domestic violence because men feel they have ownership over women |
| Ambon | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HIV AIDS • Sexual Child's abuse | - | - | - | Domestic violence |
| Mataram | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor widows • Access of the poor to health services • Women workers in traditional markets | Salary for domestic workers | - | - | - |

Source: Processed from primary data

In this study, the five thematic areas of the MAMPU program were used to examine the MPs understanding and mastery of DPRD's functions in relation to poverty and gender inequality. These five themes are: (i) increasing women's access to government social protection programs. (ii) Increasing women's access to employment and eliminating discrimination in the workplace. (iii) Improving conditions for female migrant workers. (iv) Strengthening women's leadership to improve maternal and reproductive health and: (v) Strengthening women's leadership in dealing with violence against women.

Referring to Suharto (2006), social protection in the broadest sense is defined as all initiatives carried out by the government, the private sector, and society that aim to provide transfer payments, protect vulnerable groups from risk, and improve the social status and rights of marginalised groups in society. The research showed that newly elected MPs did not demonstrate a developed understanding regarding creating regulations as a mechanism to overcome problems facing women and marginalised communities. However, the in-depth interviews did demonstrate a degree of understanding. A newly elected female MP in Bone Regency explained that when she heard that many cases of domestic violence were occurring in her constituency, she thought of proposing a bill that would mandate the collection of data on domestic violence cases and punishments for perpetrators of domestic violence.

"In my electoral district, there are many cases of domestic violence but often the victims are unable to speak the truth because they are embarrassed to share their personal family secrets. Later, they open up when they are

questioned, but even then, they are still very embarrassed to talk about their experience ... Domestic violence cases in Bone Regency occurred in almost all electorates over the period of 2014-2019, the cause of this violence was often related to family poverty."

Cases of domestic violence in Bone Regency were generally related to poverty while cases of divorce were often caused by child marriage. Male and female MPs of the Bone Regency DPRD were inspired to create a regulation to respond to the high rates of divorce caused by child marriage. Meanwhile, to respond to reproductive health problems in the area, MPs worked to improve the condition of roads to ensure women would have better access to medical services. Another challenge in Bone Regency related to the recruitment of undocumented female migrant workers who are deployed abroad through unofficial channels. One female MP explained that she was thinking of championing a regional regulation that would further regulate women migrant workers and provide training to the migrant workers to ensure they are well prepared before they deploy abroad to their destination countries.

Interviews with women MPs have demonstrated that a number of these women hope to contribute to creating legislation and regulations that are related to the five thematic areas of the MAMPU Program. The women MPs often strongly support the creation of such legislation but lack the confidence to initiate the process or voice their opinions during policy debates. A number of capacity building programs and trainings — facilitated by political parties and by government — have targeted women MPs with the hope of providing the women with

the ability to better fulfil their responsibility of producing legislation. However, a number of women MPs said that the capacity building activities they were involved in did not adequately support them.

MPs' Grasp on MAMPU's Thematic Areas in Relation to the Three Functions of DPRD

Table four shows MPs mastery of the three functions of DPRD in relation to the thematic areas of the MAMPU Program. The table demonstrates where MPs have carried out activities, or plan to carry out activities, that relate to the five themes of the MAMPU Program.

Table 4. MPs' Mastery of the five themes of the MAMPU Program in relation to the legislative function of DPRD

| MAMPU Themes | Maros | Belu | Toraja | Kendari | Bone | Lotim | Pare - Pare | Mataram | Ambon |
|--|-------|------|--------|---------|------|-------|-------------|---------|-------|
| Community's Welfare | √ | √ | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | √ | - |
| Women's Access/ Elimination of discrimination | √ | - | √ | √ | - | - | √ | √ | √ |
| Women worker | √ | - | - | √ | √ | √ | - | - | √ |
| Health and Reproductive Health | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | √ | - | - | √ |
| Domestic Violence | - | √ | √ | × | √ | - | - | √ | - |

Source: Data from the research team (2014)

√ = mastery related to the legislative function exists;

- = mastery related to the legislative function doesn't exist

In Table 4, it can be seen in which study areas women MPs have demonstrated that they have contributed to or plan to contribute to creating policies that relate to the thematic areas of the MAMPU Program. The presence of women MPs is important to ensure women's political interests are promoted, but their mastery of the legislative functions remains low. This low level of mastery contributes to the women MPs lack of confidence and contributes to the low levels of women's involvement in policy discussions. Therefore, capacity building related

to the implementation of the legislative function is still needed by women MPs. So far, women MPs have participated in several capacity-building activities, but these activities have been general and not tailored specifically to the needs of the MPs in relation to their parliamentary duties.

Table five demonstrates where MPs in the target areas have implemented, or plan to implement, budget allocations that relate to the five themes of the MAMPU Program.

Table 5. MP's Mastery of the five themes of the MAMPU Program in relation to the budgetary function of DPRD

| MAMPU themes | Maros | Belu | Toraja | Kendari | Bone | Lotim | Pare-pare | Mataram | Ambon |
|--|-------|------|--------|---------|------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Public welfare | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| Women's access / elimination of discrimination | - | - | √ | - | - | - | √ | √ | - |
| Women workers | - | - | - | √ | - | √ | √ | - | - |
| Health and reproductive health | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| Domestic violence | - | - | √ | - | √ | - | - | √ | - |

Source: Data from the research team (2014)

√ = mastery related to the budget function exists;

- = mastery related to the budget function doesn't exist

In the table above it can be seen in which study areas newly elected and incumbent women MPs have demonstrated that they have contributed to or plan to contribute to creating budget allocations that relate to the thematic areas of the MAMPU Program. Although pro-women and pro-poor budgeting cannot yet be measured for the 2014-2019 legislative period, a number of newly elected parliamentarians (both men and women) have taken the initiative to champion pro-women and pro-poor policies and programs. The new MPs plan on utilising budget allocations to address reproductive health issues, women migrant workers, and problems related to poverty.

One MP stated that they had considered the need to allocate funds for capacity building of prospective migrant workers. The MP voiced hopes that the prospective migrant workers would be able to really prepare themselves and form networks through this training:

“In Bone Regency, many migrant workers —both male and female— go to work abroad... There are rumors that migrant workers have been tricked in their workplace... there was even one case where a worker died, but we couldn’t do anything about it because generally the migrant workers are deployed illegally. So, I was inspired to build educational and training facilities for prospective workers... with the hope that there will be no more male or female domestic worker from Bone Regency leaving their home before they are ready”. (interview with AS)

In many cases when new MPs were still legislative candidates on the campaign trail, they voiced commitment to creating budgets that take into consideration women’s rights and the welfare of the community. However, because they are still relatively new in the parliaments, the execution of these campaign promises is not yet clear. New parliamentarians face other challenges in regards to formulating budgets, one such challenge is that new MPs often don’t understand which regional government agencies (SKPD) they need to work with, and do not understand the differences between the executive domain (that of SKPD) and the legislative domain (the domain of the DPRD) in relation to making budgets.

Furthermore, the lack of understanding about the differences between the executive and legislative domains in terms of budgetary function is not only experienced by new legislative members, but also by incumbent MPs. A better understanding of budgetary functions within the framework of the MAMPU themes will encourage the creation of policies that increase the fulfilment of women’s rights.

Finally, in relation to the supervisory function of parliament, the table below demonstrates the commitment MPs in each study region have made in terms of having already implemented activities or having made plans to implement activities in line with the five thematic areas of the MAMPU Program.

Table 6. Mastery of Parliament Members on the Five Themes of the MAMPU Program in relation to the supervision function

| MAMPU themes | Maros | Belu | Toraja | Kendari | Bone | Lotim | Pare-pare | Mataram | Ambon |
|---|-------|------|--------|---------|------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Public welfare | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | - |
| Women’s access/ elimination of discrimination | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | - |
| Women workers | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Health and reproductive health | √ | √ | - | √ | √ | √ | - | - | √ |
| Domestic violence | - | √ | √ | √ | √ | - | - | √ | √ |

Source: Data from the research team (2014)

√ = mastery related to the supervision function exists;
 - = mastery related to the supervision function doesn’t exist

In Table 6, it can be seen that both newly elected women MPs and incumbent women MPs in the nine study regions have thought about their contributions to the supervisory function, both in the previous legislative period and in the next current one. Women MPs have shown commitment supervising programs and activities scheduled through regional planning, and

ensuring the budget allocations these activities receive are transparent and in line with their needs. Surveys and interviews conducted with women MPs demonstrate that these MPs do not —except in Mataram City— have a detailed understanding of using the supervisory function of parliament to respond to issues related to community welfare and gender equalities. In Mataram City women

MPS explained they planned to establish a 'suggestion box' to receive complaints from the community related to violence against women.

Women MPs Relationships with Non-DPRD Organisations

Another problem faced by women MPs is their lack of relationships with institutions external to the DPRDs, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and women's

caucuses. The women MPs lack of synergy with NGOs and women's caucuses was caused by many factors, including the fact that at the time of the study many women MPs were still new newly elected and DPRD organs and women's caucuses had yet to be formed.

Table 7 shows the relationship between women MPs with NGO's and women's caucuses in the nine survey locations. The table shows that relations between women MPs and NGOs and women's caucuses were still limited in the study areas.

Table 7. Matrix of Relationships Between Women MPs, Women's Caucuses and NGOs

| City/ Regency | Women's caucus | NGO |
|---------------|----------------|-----|
| Bone | - | √ |
| Maros | √ | √i |
| Pare Pare | √i | √i |
| Tana Toraja | - | - |
| Kendari | √ | √ |
| East Lombok | - | √ |
| Mataram | - | √ |
| Ambon | √i | √ |
| Belu | - | √ |

Source: Survey results from 2014-2015

√=a relationship with all women MPs existed,
 -=no relationship with all women MPs existed,
 √i=only a relationship with incumbent women MPs existed

Ideally, the organisations most closely connected with women parliamentarians would be the Women's Parliamentary Caucus and the Women's Political Caucus, which exist from the central to the district/city level. These two organisations work to provide capacity building support to women MPs. The Women's Political Caucus is a forum for women from various political parties, NGOs and civil society organisations. The organisations aim to encourage more women's participation in government and development. The interaction between women MPs and women's caucuses is largely determined by three things: (i) whether or not women's caucuses have been established in their regions, (ii) how active the women's caucuses are, (iii) to what extent the caucus appeals to and is beneficial for women MPs. The survey results show that women's caucuses —both party-based and otherwise — have yet to be formed in most of the survey locations with the exception of Tana Toraja Regency where Golkar Party has formed a women's caucus.

In Mataram City, Bone District and Belu District, the term female caucus was largely unknown. This was due to the fact that the caucuses had yet to be established in these locations. However, it was interesting to find that there were some women MPs that had formed relationships with women's caucuses even though there was no women's caucus in the area. This was true for a number of women MPs in Ambon City, Parepare City, and Kendari City and it indicates that a number of women MPs — especially incumbent women MPs— understood the importance of women caucuses. In Ambon City, one of the incumbent women MPs stated: "Women's political caucuses are one of the useful places for information sharing, strengthening the capacity of women MPs, and discussing women's issues..." (Interview, 10 February 2015).

The respondent further stated that the women's political caucus was useful to her in her previous term because it served as a meeting place for women MPs to

provide input to each other, especially if the meeting was held at the provincial or national level. She explained that she hoped a caucus would be established at the city level as well and not just the provincial level. Respondents from Parepare City and Kendari City also said that women's caucuses were an important place for women MPs because they provided circulation of information about women's issues and information about the programs and activities being implemented in each region. At research locations where women's caucuses had already been established, the institutions were generally not active in carrying out their duties and functions.

The study revealed that (i) There were still many women MPs, especially newly elected women MPs, who knew nothing or almost nothing about women's caucuses. (ii) In general, incumbent women MPs that had already served a term had engaged with women's caucuses in political parties and shared information about women's issues, but the interactions were generally limited to discussions. (ii) There were no capacity building or trainings for newly elected women MPs. Caucuses need to be seen as an opportunity to accelerate the development of women MPs, especially women MPs who have little or no previous political experience, lack organisational experience, and have low education levels. Caucuses present an opportunity to empower women MPs and therefore it is important that all regencies/cities form or reactive women's caucuses.

NGOs are also important stakeholders in working to increase the capacity and effectiveness of women MPs. NGOs have important roles in working to alleviate poverty and gender equality, NGO's also help women MPs to obtain data and information about problems faced by communities, including poor women's access to social protection programs and access to health programs. NGOs play a critical role in passing on data that women MPs need to successfully perform their roles as legislators. They can also increase women MPs awareness about issues related to poverty and gender inequality because NGOs work at the grassroots level and have direct knowledge of these issues. NGOs often form bridges between communities and their representatives.

In Mataram, women MPs learned about problems related to poverty and other social issues in the city through a workshop conducted by a local NGO. In Bone District, women MPs also received information from the Women's Empowerment Institute (LPP) about the importance of gender-sensitive budgets. In Bone District, women MPs acknowledged that the BaKTI Foundation and LPP, through the MAMPU Program, have made

significant contributions to parliamentarians. LPP Bone and the BaKTI Foundation have held several meetings, discussions and technical support to increase women MPs grasp of issues related to gender and poverty. The organisations have also provided training to teach MPs how to read budgets quickly and effectively. In Parepare City, the relationships between NGOs and women MPs vary. Relationships between incumbent women MPs and NGOs — including women's organisations — tended to be well developed.

In East Lombok Regency, women MPs had established strong connections with local NGO Tifa. Women MPs and Tifa worked together through an existing government program to empower marginalised communities in East Lombok. Good relations between women MPs and NGOs were also found in Kendari City, Ambon City, and Mataram City. According to respondents, working with NGOs as part of the MAMPU program has broadened their knowledge about gender, human rights and poverty. Meanwhile, women MPs in Tana Toraja District have yet to interact with NGOs.

NGOs have helped to strengthen the capacity of women MPs. NGOs, in this case, BaKTI and its partners in the MAMPU Program, have strengthened MPs understanding of gender and feminist perspectives. In the program areas, all women MPs were targeted by BaKTI for capacity building, while only male MPs that had demonstrated a commitment to integrating gender-perspective into the public policy agenda were targeted. MPs concerned with gender equality were referred to as champions. It was hoped that all DPRD's in the program areas would produce policies that support public welfare and encourage gender justice. To ensure the goals of such policies are met, it is necessary to supervise the implementation of these policies and ensure their intended benefits to the community, especially women, are realized.

Capacity-building activities conducted by NGOs proved to produce good results and MPs in Ambon City and Parepare City have already created public policy with a gender perspective. These two regions were selected as BaKTI- MAMPU partners because there were fewer women MP members in those regions than in Belu District and Kendari City (see Table 2). In these regions, although women MPs were lacking in numbers, they were on the frontline of steering the DPRD to create gender-sensitive regulations.

Another important achievement that resulted from MPs collaboration with NGOs occurred in Ambon City, where the DPRD passed Ambon City Regulation No. 12 of

2015 concerning the Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence. Similarly, in Parepare City the DPRD initiated and passed Regional Regulation of Parepare No. 12 of 2015 concerning the Protection of Women and Children.

Efforts to encourage the creation of policies that protect women and children in these two regions are actually not new. Before the MAMPU Program there were efforts to create regional regulations regarding the empowerment and protection of women. However, those efforts stalled when they did not receive strong support from the government, DPRD and civil society. This demonstrates that it is necessary to strengthen the capacity, perspective and understanding of MPs and change their mindsets from patriarchal to feminist. It is widely known that the mindsets and actions of MPs — both male and female — tend to be patriarchal and gender-biased. Changing mindsets and perspectives is done by providing MPs with knowledge about issues relating to human rights, feminism, gender, and poverty. This knowledge is expected to change the perspectives and attitudes of MPs to be more gender-responsive, or at least ensure that MPs do not hinder the passage of pro-poor and pro-women policies and programs.

Engagement between female MPs and NGOs in the study areas progressed well. However, it was recognized that in some of the study areas female MPs — especially newly elected ones — had yet to establish cooperation with NGOs. In Maros, Parepare City and Tana Toraja only incumbent female MPs had cooperated with NGOs. NGOs need to be seen as partner institutions that can support the programs and activities of women MPs. Good cooperation between women's NGOs and MPs needs to be pursued to encourage the birth of public policies that have feminist perspectives and ensure women's political interests are advanced.

Women's Political Representation

The number of women MPs in the study locations generally increased in the 2014-2019 electoral period compared to the previous period, although only two regions reached the female quota of 30%. However, the increase in the number of women MPs without an increase of their quality, capacity and gender perspective will not result in the creation of more just policies.

Women's political representation should not simply be based on a numbers-based representation of gender but rather based on a commitment to a pro-women political agenda. Capacity building and empowerment

initiatives for MPs conducted by women's caucuses and NGOs have been proven to be important for promoting the creation of pro-women policies. The interaction and cooperation between these actors led to the creation of public policy that better reflects concepts of justice and equality.

Referring to the Pitkin concept (1967), representation can be interpreted to mean "to make present again". Representation ensures that the voices, opinions, and perspectives of constituents are present in the creation of public policy. Political representation occurs when political actors speak, advocate, and act on behalf of others (the represented) in the political arena. In other words, political representation is a form of political assistance. The representational system opens up a space for conversation because it is in this system that the voices of marginalised groups, including women can be heard. Therefore, women MPs — as representatives of communities in important positions— need to be empowered and strengthened.

Women MPs understanding and mastery of the primary tasks and functions of legislative institutions determines the direction of public policy creation and impacts on to what extent women's interests are represented in the creation of public policy. A high level of coordination and attachment between women MPs and their constituents is needed to ensure the creation of policies that reflect women's aspirations. Ideally, women MPs would speak, advocate and act in the interests of the groups in their constituencies. However, in the nine study areas, it was found that women MPs experience obstacles related to a lack of self-confidence, intimidation in policy discussion forums, weak relationships with local NGOs, a lack of mastery of the legislative functions and lack of knowledge about women's issues. These obstacles hinder women MPs from creating pro-women and pro-poor policies.

Participatory parliamentary recesses are one method used to increase the capacity of MPs. These recesses have proved to be beneficial for both MPs and their constituents. BaKTI Foundation — through the MAMPU Program, has developed and tested participatory recesses with DPRD members in Parepare City, Ambon City, Mataram City, East Lombok Regency, Kendari City, Maros Regency, Tana Toraja Regency, and Belu District.

Participatory recesses were initiated by NGOs with the hope of ensuring that the voices of marginalised groups were heard by their parliamentary representatives. The group discussion model employed during the participatory recesses ensures that all participants and

elements of the community have equal opportunities to present their opinions and questions. For women MPs, participatory recesses provide several benefits. Through these recesses' women MPs develop better communication with their constituents, especially regarding development and budget priorities; participatory recesses also encourage inclusiveness because they ensure the interests of various marginalised groups are represented. Finally, participatory recesses result in empowerment for women MPs through the capacity building lessons they contain.

For constituents, the benefits of participatory recesses are also numerous. Constituents become aware of the efforts being made by their representatives and develop a sense of ownership of development programs and policies that are developed. Constituents also participate in monitoring and overseeing the development process and can ensure that the interests of a wide range of groups are accommodated. Participatory recesses provide access to women, children and marginal groups while ensuring dominant groups do not control the inclusive dialogues. Encouraging more participatory recesses will result in more substantive representation because the recesses ensure ties between the represented and their representatives are nurtured and strengthened.

Representatives can be said to truly represent their constituents when they defend them and act in their interests, which can be observed from the outputs or policies developed by the representatives (Irwansyah 2013, p. 75). Efforts to empower and build the capacity of women MPs have been carried out to ensure the aspirations of marginalised groups and women's political interests are made a reality. In-depth surveys and interviews have shown that women MPs already possess an awareness of and sympathy for women's issues but have faced various barriers in transforming this awareness into concrete action. For this reason, it is necessary to continue to empower and monitor the work of women MPs. Participatory recesses need to be understood as a key effort to develop political support for women's interests. The main goal of the women's political agenda is a feminist perspective that accommodates women's interests. Participatory recesses are one way to bring Indonesian politics closer to substantive representation.

Conclusion

Women MPs in DPRD's in eastern Indonesia are very limited in number. Women MPs are a minority in parliaments that are dominated by men and patriarchal

thinking. Besides being the minority, women MPs capacity as people's representatives and members of legislative institutions remains low. In-depth surveys and interviews conducted in nine study areas demonstrated that there were a number of problems faced by women MPs in carrying out their functions, namely: a lack of understanding about parliamentary duties and functions, a lack of confidence, and low levels of synergy and coordination between women MPs and institutions that focus on women's issues, especially women's caucuses and NGOs. Several interventions were proved to have been effective in strengthening the capacity of women MPs. These interventions include: technical guidance, workshops and trainings to increase women MPs understanding of the legislative, budgetary and supervisory functions of parliament; public speaking trainings to help women MPs overcome a lack of confidence in conveying community aspirations in DPRD's; political leadership training to ensure prospective parliamentarians have experience in the field of politics and can make important contributions when they are elected; the strengthening of networks between MPs and community based organisations; workshops to strengthen understanding of important concepts such as human rights, development and gender. This means that women MPS need to be involved in trainings, workshops, discussions, mentoring programs, participatory recesses and technical assistance to increase their ability to represent their constituents.

Participatory recesses have been developed as initiatives to develop the capacity of women MPs and strengthen the ties between women MPs and their constituents to ensure that MPs understanding of women's issues and interests are strengthened. To ensure women's political interests are furthered, women's political representation needs to be continuously improved both in terms of quantity and quality. Affirmative action is an effort to balance the unbalanced and in Indonesia, affirmative action policies have been developed to push for substantive representation meaning that women MPs in legislative institutions should act as agents in the interest of those they represent.

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Jakarta Selatan 12540
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