

Women and Democracy

Editorial

Women and Democracy

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

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

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

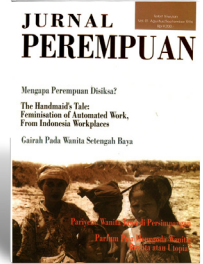
The Policies, Practices & Politics of Women's Representation in Political Parties: A Case Study of Women Members of Parliament for Regency / City DPRD 2014-2019
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

Published by:

YAYASAN
YJP
JURNAL
PEREMPUAN

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan
Accreditation Number: 748/Akred/P2MI-LIPI/04/2016

Speak Up for the Indonesian Women through Your Support of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP)!



While YJP has achieved much over the last two decades, contemporary Indonesia, facing many economic, social, political and cultural challenges continues to need us. Indonesian migrant workers are being discriminated against, illiteracy is still high among women, leadership positions are uncommonly filled by women, and women increasingly face extremism over issues of abortion, dress code, sex education, lesbianism, marital rape and inter-religious marriage. Your support is absolutely crucial in making a real difference in the lives of Indonesian women and gender minorities. Please read more below to see how you can support us – because, our unity is our strength – and you are needed!

Become Friends of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan!

You can support us through our Indonesian language based *Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan* (SJP) and the English based *International Friends of Jurnal Perempuan* (SJP-International) membership programs offering you many benefits, such as receiving our newsletters and journals, invitations to workshops and networking events.

SJP Membership

Benefits:

- up to 4 editions of *Jurnal Perempuan* (JP) delivered to your doorstep annually
- invitations to SJP gatherings
- weekly newsletter on JP engagement delivered to your email
- possibility to speak/present during our networking and educational events
- space to voice your opinions on gender issues in our online blog

Annual Costs:

Individual Platinum : 1 000 000 IDR

Individual Gold : 500 000 IDR

Individual Silver : 300 000 IDR

Bachelor Level Student : 150 000 IDR

Corporate Sponsorship : 10 000 000 IDR

SJP-International Membership

Benefits:

- Indonesian Feminist Journal (IFJ) delivered to your doorstep or digitally to your email if living outside of Indonesia
- invitations to SJP-International gatherings
- monthly newsletter on JP engagement delivered to your email
- possibility to speak/present during our networking and educational events
- space to voice your opinions on gender issues in our online blog

Annual Cost:

Individual: 50 USD

Other Ways to Support Us

There are many other ways you can support our diligent work in the field of gender issues in Indonesia. You can volunteer or complete an internship with us. You can donate us money through PayPal or bank account. We also always need office equipment and other in-kind gifts. You can offer us your home or office as venues for our events. As an organization you can also sponsor us or collaborate with us on joint projects.

Payment Data

Bank Account:

Bank Mandiri Branch Jatipadang, No. Rek: 127-00-2507969-8

p.p. Indonesia Women's Journal Foundation (Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan Indonesia)

PayPal:

www.jurnalperempuan.org

www.indonesianfeministjournal.org

Contact

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan

Email: yjp@jurnalperempuan.com

Websites:

www.jurnalperempuan.org

www.indonesianfeministjournal.org

Sincerely,

Gadis Arivia

YJP Founder



ISSN 1410-153X

FOUNDER

Dr. Gadis Arivia
Prof. Dr. Toeti Heraty Noerhadi-Roosseno
Ratna Syafrida Dhanny
Asikin Arif (Alm.)

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Dr. Gadis Arivia
Prof. Dr. Toeti Heraty Noerhadi-Roosseno
Mari Elka Pangestu, Ph.D.
Svida Alisjahbana

DIRECTOR

Dr. Atnike Nova Sigiro

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Anita Dhewy

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Atnike Nova Sigiro (International Relations, Universitas Paramadina)
Prof. Dr. Sulistyowati Irianto (Feminist Legal Anthropology, Universitas Indonesia)
Prof. Sylvia Tiwon (Gender Anthropology, University California at Berkeley)
Prof. Saskia Wieringa (Women's History & Queer, Universitaet van Amsterdam)
Prof. Dr. Musdah Mulia (Islamic Political Thought and Gender, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah)
Dr. Nur Iman Subono (Politics & Gender, FISIPOL Universitas Indonesia)
Mariana Amiruddin, M.Hum (National Commission on Violence Against Women)
Yacinta Kurniasih, M.A. (Literature and Women, Faculty of Arts, Monash University)
Soe Tjen Marching, Ph.D (History and Women's Politics, SOAS University of London)

GUEST EDITOR

Astutik Supraptini, M.A. (Program MAMPU)
Puji Maharani, M.A. (Program MAMPU)

PEER REVIEWER

Prof. Mayling Oey-Gardiner (Demography & Gender, Universitas Indonesia)
David Hulse, PhD (Politics & Gender, Ford Foundation)
Dr. Pinky Saptandari (Politics & Gender, Universitas Airlangga)
Dr. Kristi Poerwandari (Psychology & Gender, Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. Ida Ruwaida Noor (Sociology of Gender, Universitas Indonesia)
Katharine McGregor, PhD. (Women's History, University of Melbourne)
Prof. Jeffrey Winters (Politics & Gender, Northwestern University)
Ro'fah, PhD. (Religion & Gender, UIN Sunan Kalijaga)
Tracy Wright Webster, PhD. (Gender & Cultural Studies, University of Western Australia)
Prof. Kim Eun Shil (Anthropology & Gender, Korean Ewha Womens University)
Prof. Merlyna Lim (Media, Technology & Gender, Carleton University)

Prof. Claudia Derichs (Politics & Gender, Universitaet Marburg)
Sari Andajani, PhD. (Medical Anthropology, Public Health & Gender, Auckland University of Technology)
Dr. Wening Udasmoro (Culture, Language & Gender, Universitas Gajah Mada)
Prof. Ayami Nakatani (Anthropology & Gender, Okayama University)
Dr. Antarini Pratiwi Arna (Law & Gender, Indonesian Scholarship and Research Support Foundation)
Dr. Widjajanti M Santoso (Gender, Sociology & Media, Indonesian Institute of Sciences)
Dr. Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo (Law & Gender, Universitas Indonesia)
Francisca Saveria Sika Ery Seda, Ph.D. (Sociology, Gender & Poverty, Universitas Indonesia)
Ruth Indiah Rahayu, M. Fil. (History, Gender & Philosophy, Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Driyarkara)
Prof. Maria Lichtmann (Christian Theology and Feminism, Appalachian State University, USA)
Assoc. Prof. Muhamad Ali (Religion & Gender, University California, Riverside)
Assoc. Prof. Mun'im Sirry (Islamic Theology & Gender, University of Notre Dame)
Assoc. Prof. Paul Bijl (History, Culture & Gender, Universiteit van Amsterdam)
Assoc. Prof. Patrick Ziegenhain (Politics & Gender, Goethe University Frankfurt)
Assoc. Prof. Alexander Horstmann (Asian Studies & Gender, University of Copenhagen)

MANAGING EDITOR

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

EDITORIAL SECRETARY

Abby Gina Boangmanalu

EDITOR

Dewi Komalasari
Nadya Nariswari Nayadheyu
Rahel Narda Chaterine

SECRETARIAT AND FRIENDS OF JURNAL PEREMPUAN

Himah Sholihah
Andri Wibowo

DESIGN & LAYOUT

Dina Yulianti

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
redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com

WEBSITE:

indonesianfeministjournal.org

First published in May 2019

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

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

Atnike Nova Sigiro

Jurnal Perempuan/ Universitas Paramadina
Jalan Karang Pola Dalam II No 9A, Jatipadang, Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia, 12540

atnike@jurnalperempuan.com

Manuscript chronology: received 11 May 2019, revised 22 May 2019, officially accepted 29 May 2019

Abstract

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

Introduction

After the political reform period begun in Indonesia in 1998, civil society's role in policy advocacy started to strengthen in the context of an increasingly open political space. Research conducted by Aditya Perdana (2015) explained that one of the political arenas that civil society became more active in was parliament. Civil society groups have influenced law-making and monitored and supported members of parliament. From the beginning of the reform era and throughout its development, civil society, including the women's movement, was involved in various discussions regarding the development of important legislation. One of the laws born in the reform period was the Election Law, which required that political parties must nominate a minimum of 30% of female legislative candidates in legislative elections.

However, the struggle of the women's movement to strengthen women's representation in politics did not finish with the introduction of the 30% quota. Until now, the quota has not significantly changed the composition of parliaments at the national level — in the House of Representatives (DPR)— or at the regional level —in Regional People's Representative Councils (DPRDs). Meanwhile, the women who have become legislators still lack capacity and face numerous challenges. Some of the

challenges and limitations faced by women members of parliament (MPs) include a lack of understanding about the situations marginalised groups face (Andriana 2012), weak political skills and a lack of understanding about matters pertaining to lawmaking (Yanuarti 2012). According to Ani Soetjipto (2005), affirmative action, such as the 30% female candidate quota, is only a first step. Soetjipto (2005) contends this policy must be followed up with changes to the party system and improvements in the capacity of female candidates in terms of expertise, funding, and coordination with constituents.

MAMPU has worked to strengthen women's involvement with legislative institutions in Indonesia since 2012 (Sherlock 2018). MAMPU is a partnership between the Australian Government — represented by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) — and the Government of Indonesia — represented by the Ministry of National Development Planning (BAPPENAS), which aims to increase poor Indonesian women's access to important services and government programs, and support the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One focuses of the program is strengthening the involvement of women's civil society organisations in the formulation of legislation and policies and increasing engagement between women's organisations and parliament.

In 2018, MAMPU conducted a study to assess the opportunities and challenges regarding women's involvement with parliament (Sherlock 2018). This study aimed to discover the models used by several women's organisations in interacting with parliament and document lessons learned, as well as explore new opportunities to encourage women's involvement with parliament in the future. The MAMPU research found that women's organisations and MP's play important roles in advocating for substantive women's representation in the DPR and DPRD.

Research Method

This article was developed based on the results of the MAMPU study into program partners' involvement with parliaments written by Stephen Sherlock (Sherlock 2018). The MAMPU study focuses on several things, namely: the experience of women's groups in engaging with parliament, success stories, failures, and lessons learned from their experiences. The study also examines previous and planned program activities and approaches, possible challenges to future engagement with parliaments and ideas for future MAMPU activities.

The MAMPU study involved semi-structured interviews with 25 respondents including DPR members, former DPR members, DPRD members, DPR and DPRD staff, activists from MAMPU partner organisations, and several political scientists (Sherlock 2018). This article has been formulated based on data from that study and additional secondary sources such as research and literature studies related to topics of parliamentary politics and women's empowerment. A number of concepts including women's representation, substantive representation, and critical actors were used to analyse the findings of the MAMPU study. These concepts were chosen to sharpen and add focus to the gender perspective in the MAMPU paper.

The Concept of Women's Representation

Hanna F Pitkin (1967) introduced four categories of representation: formal representation, descriptive representation, substantive representation, and symbolic representation. The strengthening of women's representation in parliament constitutes representation based on a sameness between the representatives (women parliamentarians) and their voters (women voters), in this case, based on their shared gender identity. According to Pitkin, representatives must maintain their autonomy to be able to act independently and be

accountable to their voters. However, they cannot act purely autonomously because voters also have a degree of control over the actions of those who represent them. Pitkin emphasizes that constituents or voters must be able to express their aspirations.

Pitkin's view of emphasizing representation as representatives acting in the interests of their voters has been criticised by feminists. According to feminist theory (Celis & Childs 2008), women's representation in representative institutions is only a minimum condition that must be met. Feminist thinking views that power in representative institutions is not only an issue of representation based on sex but a gendered issue that relates to the structure and division of roles in these institutions.

The 30% women's candidacy quota introduced in the 2004 election was an achievement of the women's movement in advocating for women's formal representation in politics. Taking Hanna F Pitkin's view, formal representation consists of two dimensions: authorisation and accountability (Scwhindt-Bayer 2010). This formal representation influences descriptive representation (in this case women's representation) in the legislature. In the context of Indonesia, if we compare the 1999 General Election — before the 30% quota was introduced — with elections after 2004, there has been an increasing percentage of women elected to the DPR. In the 1999 General Election, women won 8.8% of seats; in the 2004 election, women accounted for 17.86% of those elected; this decreased slightly in the 2014 election with 17.32% women winning seats (Gerintya 2017).

Although women's representation in the DPR has yet to reach 30%, the formal representation mechanism introduced in the Election Law has increased the descriptive representation of women within the DPR. As explained by Manon Tremblay (2008, p. 3):

"In terms of descriptive representation, a legislative assembly is said to be representative if its makeup constitutes a miniaturised model or a microcosm of society. Consequently, it is argued that women are equal citizens and therefore should share, equally with men, public decision-making positions; otherwise, there is a representation deficit."

Descriptive representation is the representation of the character or identity of constituents within a representative institution. Women candidates and women DPR members are considered to represent women, due to the fact they have the same gender identity. In descriptive representation, representatives are considered to have the same lived experience as the people they represent;

for example, women MPs represent female constituents, and black parliamentarians represent black constituents (Soeseno 2013).

According to Pitkin (1967), representatives should have autonomy and accountability so that they are responsive to the people they represent:

"It seems to me that we show a government to be representative not by demonstrating its control over its subjects but just the reverse, by demonstrating that its subjects have control over what it does." (Pitkin 1967, h. 232)

Political history, both in the west and in Indonesia, show that politics and political representation has a long history of excluding women. When women were involved in the abolition of slavery in America during the Civil War, they were forced to put aside women's political struggles (Tong 2014). This experience later encouraged women to fight for women's rights to vote in the suffrage movement.

In Indonesia, the struggle for women's representation has faced various challenges, ranging from slow changes in election policies to the limited capacity of women politicians. The obstacles faced by women in terms of achieving greater political representation encompass both a lack of political skills and economic and cultural barriers that result from the patriarchal social system (Soetjipto 2005, p. 191-193). According to Soetjipto (2005), one of the ways to overcome the obstacles and challenges faced by women is by strengthening networks between women politicians, civil society, and the women's movement.

In the context of large-scale democracy where direct decision making is not possible, the concept of representation becomes important. However, one representative cannot fully represent all of the interests or the desires of their constituents just as one woman representative — or even a number of women — cannot fully represent the interests of all women.

Iris Marion Young (2000) uses Derrida's concept of *difference* to explain that people who become representatives have similarities but at the same time, also have differences with the constituents they represent. A representative can act separately from the people they represent, but most remain connected with them. The constituents must also be interconnected to one another. A representative sometimes fails to represent their constituents because there is a lack of engagement between the two, as explained by Young (2000, p. 128):

"The representative will inevitably be separate from the constituents, but should also be connected to them in determine ways. ... Representation systems sometimes fail to be sufficiently democratic not because the representatives fail to stand for the will of the constituents, but because they have lost connection with them."

Feminist thinking then turned its focus onto how substantive women's representation could be realised. One strategy that was developed by feminist thinking is the concept of 'critical actors'. Critical actors are actors who encourage the initiation of a collective movement to push for the creation of pro-women policies. Celis and Childs (2008) explain that although the number of critical actors is often small, they can play a key role in encouraging various parties to be involved in promoting policies that respond to women's issues and interests. The role of critical actors is explained by Celis & Childs (2008, p. 421):

"They initiate policy proposals on their own, even when women form a small minority, and embolden others to take steps to promote policies for women, regardless of the proportion of female representatives."

It is this critical actors concept that the MAMPU partner organisations seem to utilise to encourage the creation of pro-women policies through the involvement of women's groups with parliament. In the MAMPU study, women's groups and parliamentary actors were critical actors who strengthened women's political representation in parliament, both in the DPR and DPRD. The engagement models used by MAMPU partners were chosen and developed in accordance with the unique context of the groups and the regions where the women's organisations worked. Each working context was unique and characterised by differences in issues, targets intended to be achieved, stages of development; relevant institutions and actors; the objectives of the MAMPU program; and the various unique strengths or capacities of the organisations.

Broadly speaking, MAMPU partners have developed three models of women's involvement with parliament, namely: involvement in the national legislative process, involvement at the regional level, and empowerment of women legislators. The following section will explain how the three models of engagement were implemented and how critical actors encouraged more substantive representation in the DPR and DPRD.

Engagement in Policy Advocacy

One of the results of the post-1998 civil society movement was an opening up of space to contribute to policy reform. Certain domains that were relatively closed off during the New Order regime began to open up to the public and receive input from civil society. A study conducted by the Indonesian Feminist Journal demonstrates that the beginning of the political reform period constituted 'a golden age' for the women's movement in Indonesia where the movement was able to encourage legal and political renewal through the development of pro-women policies (Dhewy & Sandiata 2019).

The post-1998 women's movement was involved in activism related to both general issues and specific women's issues and interests. The movement succeeded in pushing for the creation of a number of pro-women policies, including Law No.12/2003 on General Elections, which includes a provision that requires political parties participating in elections to nominate at least 30% women legislative candidates (Perdana 2015). In addition to encouraging the creation of regulations informed by gender-perspective, the women's movement also campaigned against legislation that threatened gender justice, for example, the Pornography Law (Arivia 2006; Marching 2004).

One engagement model utilised by MAMPU partners was seeking involvement with the legislative process at the national level. Two pieces of draft legislation — the Protection of Migrant Workers Law and the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (RUU PKS) have been championed by MAMPU partners at the national level. Both of these regulations have important significance for women. The migrant worker regulation has had a positive influence on the recruitment of migrant workers in rural areas. Meanwhile, it is expected that when RUU PKS is passed, it will bring positive changes to for women victims of violence.

The three MAMPU partners that have been involved in the legislative process at the DPR are Migrant Care, the Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI), and the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan). Migrant Care worked with several DPR members to advocate for the passage of the Protection of Migrant Workers Law. These critical actors were involved in various official interactions with the DPR including through hearings, attendance at DPR Legislative Body (Baleg) meetings, public discussions, and press conferences. A number of informal interactions between

activists and DPR representatives also occurred, these interactions included visits from parliamentarians to the Migrant Care office.

The Protection of Migrant Workers Law was passed in 2017 and became Law No. 18/2017. Several DPR members who were involved with Migrant Care in discussing and drafting the law were interviewed and explained that parliamentarians welcomed Migrant Care's input for a number of reasons. Migrant Care was considered to have successfully provided extensive data about the problems facing migrant workers and offered practical proposals and input during the policy drafting. The organisation sought to be involved in every stage of the legislative process in the DPR. When the regulation was passed, almost all of Migrant Care's recommendations had been included in the law.

In addition to national-level advocacy, MAMPU also supported Migrant Care to advocate for the creation of regional level policies related to increasing protections for migrant workers.

In 2015, Migrant Care worked with various stakeholders in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) and West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) to develop draft regulations on migrant workers and migrant workers' families in three districts in the province. In mid-2015, the drafts were accepted by several DPRD representatives and became DPRD initiatives. By the end of 2015, one of the regulations had been ratified, and in 2016 another was passed. These regional regulations incorporated many considerations and recommendations put forth by Migrant Care.

In addition to the utilisation of formal and informal lobby channels, a favorable political context also determined the success of Migrant Care's advocacy. At the same time, the bill was being discussed, various cases of problems faced by migrant workers abroad were exposed by the media. This led to public sympathy for migrant workers' issues. The policy advocacy process also occurred in the context of a new parliament, government, and cabinet that were all committed to making policy changes about migrant workers.

RUU PKS was the second national-level policy advocated for by women's organisations and MAMPU partners in the study. The path of this bill has differed significantly from that of the Migrant Workers Protection Law. Policy advocacy for RUU PKS was led by MAMPU Partners Komnas Perempuan and the Service Providers Forum (FPL). These two women's organisations lobbied to influence the composition of the draft law and to encourage DPR members to pass the draft legislation.

To strengthen the composition of RUU PKS and provide evidence for its need, FPL created a database to record sexual violence cases. The database was appreciated by parliamentarians for its presentation of data. Some informants who have been interviewed emphasized that data and information from civil society organisations provided fresh ideas, information, and perspectives about issues in society. Gaining an understanding of the different perspectives that exist in society is necessary for legislative institutions to calculate political risks and unexpected consequences of any regulation.

The debate on RUU PKS occurred at a time when the social and political condition was not favorable. One of the major challenges RUU PKS faced was strong rejection from conservative religious organisations that considered the bill not in accordance with Islamic values. This view was also supported by some members of the DPR and the government. In response to this rejection, Komnas Perempuan developed a new strategy to increase the stakeholders involved in campaigning for the passage of the bill (Sherlock 2018). At the time this paper was published, RUU PKS had yet to be passed into law.

Engagement with the Local Parliaments

Aisyiyah and BITRA, two organisations featured in the MAMPU study, worked to strengthen substantive representation in regional level parliaments by handling cases of concern to the community and encouraging DPRD members to respond to priority issues. The case-based engagement approach was successful because MAMPU partners that work at the regional level must work to respond to the needs and problems faced by local community groups. Many of the problems faced by local communities were related to women's poor access to public services. To respond to these problems, Aisyiyah and BITRA developed an engagement strategy with various stakeholders, including local government, the media, civil society organisations, and DPRD members.

In this engagement model, the DPRD was considered a channel that can act as a voice and influential institution to respond to various issues facing the community. Demak, Central Java was one of the locations in which Aisyiyah encouraged community engagement with the local DPRD. Aisyiyah's involvement with the DPRD in Demak was based on the specific needs of the local community, one of which related to women's difficulty in accessing cervical cancer screening services.

In order to overcome women's difficulties in accessing health services, Aisyiyah approached Demak DPRD

members involved in the DPRD healthcare commission. In an interview, an Aisyiyah representative explained that members of the healthcare commission then asked the regency government to encourage the District Health Office to allocate funds to train medical personnel to administer cervical cancer screenings and pap smear examinations.

Aisyiyah also works in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi where women face similar issues around access to healthcare services. In Bantaeng, Aisyiyah started to cooperate with one female member of the local parliament. The parliamentarian helped to mobilise an allocation of funds for medical training by using the *aspiration fund* mechanism and incorporating the training program into the Bantaeng District Regional Budget.

What are aspiration funds?

Aspiration funds or *dana aspirasi* refer to funds mobilised by a parliamentarian for development programs in their electoral region. The mechanism is detailed in the 2014 Law on Legislative Institutions. In accordance with Article 10 Paragraph J, parliamentarians can propose development programs in their electorates. Through the aspiration fund mechanism, a parliamentary commission can propose development programs to the Budget Agency.

Source: Hasanah (2017)

Aisyiyah also works with DPRD members to encourage the creation of regional regulations. In Bantaeng, Aisyiyah collaborated with the DPRD to encourage the drafting of a regulation related to social protection. Meanwhile, in Cianjur, Aisyiyah collaborated with the Cianjur DPRD to encourage the creation of a regional regulation regarding health care.

Aisyiyah's involvement with DPRD members in several districts has been possible for a number of reasons. First, Aisyiyah completes stakeholder mapping of DPRD members to identify potential partners and champions. Second, the DPRD members who Aisyiyah is able to cooperate with generally have links to the community based Islamic organisation Muhammadiyah. Aisyiyah is affiliated with Muhammadiyah as an organisation that makes a cooperation with DPRD members from Muhammadiyah backgrounds possible.

BITRA — another MAMPU partner — also succeeded in engaging with the Langkat Regency DPRD. BITRA was

able to cooperate with a number of DPRD members and encourage the creation of a regional regulation regarding the protection of homeworkers. BITRA has strong roots as an advocacy organisation, and it utilised strong community-based advocacy methods to encourage discussion on the desired regional regulations.

Empowering Women DPRD Members

One of the challenges in strengthening women's representation is related to women parliamentarians' lack of capacity. Ani Soetjipto (2005) explains that female politicians face obstacles due to a patriarchal culture that causes women's capabilities to be questioned more than that of male candidates. Soetjipto (2005) also explains that women have limited access to financial resources because of their lower socioeconomic status in society.

MAMPU partner BaKTI works to empower women parliamentarians at the local level in DPRD members by building the capacity of legislators, both men, and women, who champion gender justice. BaKTI provides technical support to strengthen the capacity of legislators by teaching skills such as legislative competence, budgeting, and monitoring. The parliamentarians are also trained in political skills including public speaking, media relations, leadership, and the creation of pro-women and pro-poor policies.

Initially, BaKTI used an engagement strategy that consisted of establishing women's parliamentary caucuses to advocate for pro-women regional regulations and budgets. However, the approach through the women's caucuses proved to lack effectiveness in increasing community engagement with legislators and promoting themes related to gender equality.

BaKTI later found that initiating constituent groups and participatory recesses were more effective strategies to encourage community engagement with MPs. Constituent groups are women's groups formed by non-governmental organisations in electoral districts to raise awareness about gender issues and women's access to government services.

Constituent groups work to raise individual cases and issues faced by their communities with DPRD members and government institutions at the local level. Meanwhile, Participatory recesses are a method used by constituent groups to encourage dialogues and engagement between women and DPRD members in their area.

What is a participatory recess?

Participatory recess is a type of parliamentary recess that focuses on participation and interaction between constituents and their parliamentary representatives. Through this model participation is achieved by in the form of group discussions or focus group discussions between parliamentarians and the people they represent. The participants of these discussions represent various elements and groups that exist in the community.

Source: Kordi (2017)

BaKTI uses a case-centered problem-solving method to encourage engagement between DPRD members and their constituents. This approach is in line with one of the MAMPU Program approaches to encouraging networking between various stakeholders. This approach increases relationships between constituents and parliamentarians and provides female DPRD members with experience in co-operating with the communities they represent. The approach simultaneously provides benefits for MAMPU partners and women's groups who are able to raise issues of concern directly with DPRD members.

Conclusion: Strengthening Substantive Representation and Constituencies

Efforts to strengthen descriptive representation are important to increase women's political representation. Celis and Childs (2008) explain that the presence of female legislators in parliament does not in itself guarantee substantive representation. Representation is not only a matter of numbers but also power relations which are determined by strategic alliances or coalitions, and representatives' relations with the women's movement, the society as a whole, and also the political and cultural context in which the representatives work.

MAMPU partners have engaged in national-level policy advocacy to encourage the passage of legislation aimed at providing protection for migrant workers and eliminating sexual violence. The migrant workers' protection law was finally passed in 2017 after Migrant Care engaged in sustained advocacy efforts that included involvement in the legislative drafting stage and the creation of networks and alliances with members of the DPR. In addition to sustained advocacy efforts, the

passage of the Migrant Workers Protection Law was also supported by favorable public discourse and concern surrounding the issue of migrant workers that surfaced at the time the bill was being discussed. Advocacy efforts to push for the passage of the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill had a different result and the Bill has yet to be passed because the public debate surrounding the draft legislation has tended to be negative.

The critical actors concept has been used by MAMPU Partners to push for the creation of pro-migrant worker policies and policies designed to eliminate violence against women. MAMPU partners, including Migrant Care, Komnas Perempuan, and also KPI, have used stakeholder mapping to identify several DPR members as critical actors — or champions as they are commonly referred to as — to support their advocacy efforts. The DPR and DPRD members who became critical actors were not only female parliamentarians but also men who cared about the issues being advocated.

Several DPR members who were interviewed for the MAMPU study (Sherlock 2018) praised the strategies employed by activists that pushed for the creation of a migrant worker protection law. The advocacy was successful in that it targeted certain DPR members. The civil society organisations also provided concrete information that proved the need for the law in the form of case data, facts, and statistics that helped DPR members to build arguments to be used in the DPR debate. One female parliamentarian also acknowledged the need to strengthen engagement between female DPR members and civil society organisations and the media to build the capacity of female legislators.

This study found substantive representation at the local level has been strengthened by advocacy carried out by constituent groups formed to advocate for the resolution of problems faced by the community (Sherlock 2018). In order to strengthen engagement between local parliamentarians and their constituencies, BaKTI utilised a participatory parliamentary recess model as a forum that encourages engagement between critical actors, namely DPRD members and community representatives. Local communities are organised into constituent groups, which then facilitate communication between DPRD members and grassroots communities.

Participatory recess is an instrument used by critical actors to strengthen DPRD members' capacity to understand the needs of the people in their electorates. Participatory recesses help women at the grassroots to articulate their needs and aspirations to their DPRD

representatives. Increased cooperation and engagement between local parliamentarians and their constituents, especially women's groups, can help to solve real problems faced by women and communities, such as lack of access to health care services.

The models developed by several women's organisations to promote women's involvement with legislative institutions have demonstrated how critical actors can strengthen women's substantive representation in the DPR and DPRD. MAMPU partners have sought to encourage the emergence of critical actors to assist them in strengthening women's substantive representation in legislative institutions. Critical actors emerged from various groups and institutions, including civil society organisations, the DPR and DPRD, central and regional governments, and local communities. The achievements of these actors show the efforts of the MAMPU partners to strengthen substantive representation have been successful even though descriptive representation of women is still lacking and women have yet to make up 30% of elected representatives.

References

- Andriana, N 2012, "Sejarah Gerakan Politik Perempuan di Indonesia", dalam SN Siregar (ed.), *Perempuan, Partai Politik dan Parlemen: Studi Kinerja Anggota Legislatif Perempuan di Tingkat Lokal*, LIPI & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Jakarta.
- Arivia, G 2006, "Aliansi Mawar Putih, Lahir dari Kebutuhan Gerakan Sosial untuk Keadilan", *Jurnal Perempuan*, 47, p. 91-95.
- Celis, K & Childs, S 2008, "Introduction: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women: New Directions", *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 3, p. 419-425.
- Dhewy, A & Sandiata, B 2019, "Kebaruan Politik dan Hukum Sebagai Sumbangan Gerakan Perempuan dalam Advokasi Kebijakan Afirmatif Pemilu dan UU PKDRT", *Jurnal Perempuan*, vol. 24, no.1, p. 148-169.
- Gerintya, S 2017, "Periksa Data: Kuota 30% Perempuan di Parlemen Belum Pernah Terpenuhi", *Tirto*, 7 September, dilihat 6 Mei 2019, <https://tirto.id/kuota-30-perempuan-di-parlemen-belum-pernah-terpenuhi-cv8q>
- Hasanah, S 2017, "Dasar Hukum Dana Aspirasi Anggota DPR", *Hukum Online*, 1 Februari, dilihat 2 Mei 2019, <https://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/detail/ulasan/lt58803c7359dae/dasar-hukum-dana-aspirasi-anggota-dpr>
- Kordi, MGH 2017, "Tentang Reses Partisipatif", *Pintar Mampu Bakti*, <https://pintarmampu.bakti.or.id/blog/tentang-reses-partisipatif>
- Marching, ST 2004, "Penanggulangan Pornografi: Hanya Basa-Basi", *Jurnal Perempuan* 38, hh. 53-61.
- Perdana, A 2015, "The Politics of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) Post-Reformation 1998", *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi*, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 23-42.

Pitkin, HF 1967, *The Concept of Representation*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

Scwhindt-Bayer, LA 2010, *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sherlock, S 2018, *The Experience of parliamentary engagement by MAMPU and its partners: Lessons learnt and openings for the future*, MAMPU, Jakarta.

Soeseno, N 2013, *Representasi Politik: Perkembangan dari Ajektiva ke Teori*, Puskapol, Jakarta.

Soetjipto, AW 2005, *Politik Perempuan Bukan Gerhana*, Penerbit Buku Kompas, Jakarta.

Tong, RP 2014, *Feminist thought: a more comprehensive introduction*, fourth edn, Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Yanuarti, S 2012, "Pergulatan di Tengah Marjinalisasi dan Dominasi Kultur Patriarki: Perempuan, Partai Politik & Parlemen di Nusa Tenggara Barat", dalam SN Siregar (ed.), *Perempuan, Partai Politik dan Parlemen: Studi Kinerja Anggota Legislatif Perempuan di Tingkat Lokal*, LIPI & Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Jakarta.

Legislation

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2003, General Election of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Regional Representative Council, and Regional Representative Council, March 11, 2003, State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2003 Number 37, Jakarta.

Law Number 18 Year 2017, Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, 22 November 2017, State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2017 Number 242, Jakarta.

Law Number 17 of 2014, People's Consultative Assembly, House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council, 5 August 2014, State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2014 Number 182, Jakarta.

Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

1. Prof. Sylvia Tiwon (University of California, Berkeley)
2. Prof. Dr. Musdah Mulia (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah)
3. Dr. Widjanti M Santoso (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia)
4. Dr. Ida Ruwaida Noor (Universitas Indonesia)
5. Ruth Indiah Rahayu, M. Fil. (Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Driyarkara)
6. Mariana Amiruddin, M. Hum. (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan)

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

Submissions

To discuss ideas for contributions, please contact the Chief Editor: Anita Dhewy via anitadhewy@jurnalperempuan.com. Research papers should be between 5000-10000 words. Please make sure to include in your submission pack an **abstract outlining the title, purpose, methodology and main findings**. It is worth considering that, as your paper will be located and read online, the quality of your abstract will determine whether readers go on to access your full paper. We recommend you place particular focus on the impact of your research on further research, practice or society. What does your paper contribute? In addition, please provide up to **six descriptive keywords**.

Formatting your paper

Headings should be short and in bold text, with a clear and consistent hierarchy. Please identify **Notes or Endnotes** with consecutive numbers, enclosed in square brackets and listed at the end of the article. **Figures** and other images should be submitted as .jpeg (.jpg) or .tif files of a high quality. Please number them consecutively with Arabic numerals and mark their intended location within the body of the text clearly. If images are not the original work of the author, it is the author's responsibility to obtain written consent from the copyright holder before using them. Authors will be asked to confirm the status of images, tables and figures in the journal submission pack. Images which are neither the authors' own work, nor are accompanied by the necessary permission, will not be published.

Please Note: The wide availability of an item on the internet does not imply that it is not subject to copyright restrictions. Please supply evidence that the item is legally available to use. For example, it may be posted online with a "Creative Commons" attribution, or it may be taken from one of your earlier works, for which you hold the copyright. Please provide evidence. If you do not have permission, it must be sought as a matter of priority. Otherwise we cannot publish, and the content will have to be removed. If required, the editor will provide guidance on identifying and approaching the copyright holder. If you are currently seeking permission but are yet to receive it, please indicate this next to the relevant content in the permissions section of the journal submission pack. Please note that the process of seeking permission can take several months. **Tables** should be included as part of the manuscript, with relevant captions. **Supplementary data** can be appended to the article, using the appropriate form and should follow the same formatting rules as the main text. **References** to other publications should be complete and in Harvard style, e.g. (Jones 2011) for one author, (Jones & Smith 2011) for two authors, (Jones, Smith & Jackson 2011) for three authors, and (Jones et al. 2011) for four or more authors. A full reference list should appear at the end of the paper.

- For **books**: Surname, Initials year, *Title of Book*, Publisher, Place of publication. e.g. Author, J 2011, This is my book, Publisher, New York, NY.
- For **book chapters**: Surname, Initials year, "Chapter title", in Editor's Initials Surname (ed./eds.), *Title of Book*, Publisher, Place of publication, pages.
- For **journals**: Surname, Initials year, "Title of article", *Title of Journal*, volume, number, pages.
- For **conference proceedings**: Surname, Initials year, "Title of paper", in Initials Surname (ed.), Title of published proceeding which may include date(s) and place held, Publisher, Place of publication, Page numbers.
- For **newspaper articles**: Surname, Initials year (if an author is named), "Article title", *Newspaper*, date, pages.
- For **images**: Where image is from a printed source – as for books but with the page number on which the image appears.
- Where **image is from an online source** – Surname, Initials year, Title, Available at, Date accessed. Other images - Surname, Initials year, Title, Name of owner (person or institution) and location for viewing.

Copyright Notice

All written material, unless otherwise stated, is the copyright of the Jurnal Perempuan. Views expressed in articles and letters are those of the contributors, and not necessarily those of the publisher. If you wish to use any content appearing in JP, please contact redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com for guidance.

YAYASAN
YJP
JURNAL
PEREMPUAN

Jl. Karang Pola Dalam II No. 9A
Jati Padang, Pasar Minggu,
Jakarta Selatan 12540
INDONESIA
Phone/Fax: +62 21 22701689

MAMPU | Kemitraan Australia - Indonesia
untuk Kesetaraan Gender
dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan

