

Situational analysis Component 2: Working with Parliamentarians

A. Background

There is a wide range of literature about women in parliament as agents of change to promote women's rights and gender equality policies. It is argued that women Members of Parliament (MPs) will act for women and voice women's interests. Markham (2012) in her article '*Strengthening Women's Roles in Parliament*' summarises reasons for why working with women MPs can lead to gender equality policies. She argues that women in parliament can change policy making priorities to focus on women's issues such as education, health, childcare, racial and ethnic minorities. Markham also adds that women MPs tend to be flexible to work across party lines; work closely in promoting peace and conflict resolution; and women tend to be less hierarchical and more participatory. Additionally, women tend to be more sensitive towards community concerns and have a good understanding of their constituencies. In Australia for example, women in politics are more likely to understand stresses in combining work and family roles (Sawer, 2000). Similarly, a survey of women and men in Parliaments in 110 countries conducted by Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) confirmed that women parliamentarians are at the forefront of combating gender-based violence, advocating issues related to people's welfare, active in advocating gender equality laws and enhancing access to parliament.

Men and women come out in favour of priorities such as the fight against poverty, illiteracy and the right to health. But women have a more developed social sense and a feeling for reality, because they are the ones who manage everyday family affairs and they are more sensitive to the plight of other women and the genuine hardships of families. In a word, they are more strongly motivated to achieve these priority objectives (Woman parliamentarian, Morocco. IPU 2009:33)

Childs and Krook (2009) identified ways to promote women's issues, including a) supporting progressive individual female MPs, b) promoting women MPs to work with male MPs and c) supporting women's groups in parliament. An example of a successful campaign for supporting individual MPs is Christine McCafferty, a British Labour MP who succeeded in influencing the British government to reduce a tax for sanitary protection. She proposed motions to refuse the tax and mobilised female Labour MPs to support her initiative.

Global practices show that progress on gender equality is better achieved when women and men work together. The views of men are needed for the development of gender equality policies. Additionally, in male-dominated parliaments, establishing partnerships with male parliamentarians is essential to gaining support for policy changes. Progressive male parliamentarians are also a way to reach out to other male MPs and promote gender equality. Another strategy frequently adopted is, partnering with other stakeholders such as CSOs, interest groups and networks of women's organisations.

B. Brief Overview of MAMPU

The Australian Government's Empowering Women for Poverty Reduction Program (MAMPU-Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan) aims to have women's voices influence gender equality policies. MAMPU has two components,

component 1 is working with CSOs to form coalitions and to use evidence to advocate for change, while component 2 will support male and female parliamentarians, and women’s caucuses to advocate for reform within government that can contribute to the improvements in lives of poor women. DFAT held a series of consultations with women in parliament, women caucuses, executive, women organisations and international organisations (list of consultation attached) to develop component 2. This paper should be read in conjunction with the Component 2: design framework document.

C. Indonesian Women in Parliament

The Beijing Platform for Action 1995 (BPFA) endorsed equal participation of women and men as a realisation of principles of democracy, placing women’s interests on the political agenda, and offering different values, experiences and perspectives to the political landscape (UN Women, 2013). Despite this, women’s representation in Indonesia has never reached the Beijing target of at least 30 percent of women in parliament, despite efforts since the 2004 election, to have at least 30 percent women on party lists. Indonesia’s experience reflects the international trend where the percentage of women in the national parliament worldwide is currently only 20.9%. At the regional level, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) recorded Nordic Countries to have the highest average of 42%, followed by Americas at 24.8%, Europe (excluding Nordic countries) at 22.7%, Sub Saharan Africa with 21.3%, Asia at 18.8%, Arab States at 15.7% and Pacific countries with 12.8% (IPU, 2013). Women’s representation in parliament is highest in Rwanda at above 50 percent.

Table: Number of women in the Indonesian House of People’s Representatives (DPR) from 1955 to 2009

| Election term | Number of MPs in DPR | % of women MPs |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1955 – 1960 | 289 | 5.9 |
| 1971 – 1977 | 496 | 7.3 |
| 1977 – 1981 | 489 | 5.9 |
| 1982 – 1987 | 499 | 7.8 |
| 1987 – 1992 | 565 | 11.5 |
| 1992 – 1997 | 562 | 11 |
| 1997 – 1997 | 554 | 9.7 |
| 1999 – 2004 | 546 | 8.4 |
| 2004 – 2009 | 550 | 11.5 |
| 2009 – 2014 | 560 | 18 |

Source: Rumah Pemilu (2013)

The House of Regional Representatives (DPD) has reached a significant proportion of women. Women make up 26.5% of this chamber. Women’s representation at sub-national parliaments is even lower than the national level. The average representation in provincial parliaments in 2009 was 16%; this is higher than in 2004 which was 10%. Meanwhile the average at the district level is 12%, this is an increase from 5% in 2004 (Soetjipto, 2011). Puskapol UI (Centre of Political Studies, Indonesian University) has documented the number of women MPs at the Provincial parliament in the 2009 elections as follows:

| Province | Seat | Women MP | % of women MP |
|----------|------|----------|---------------|
| Maluku | 45 | 14 | 31 |

| Province | Seat | Women MP | % of women MP |
|---------------------|------|----------|---------------|
| DKI Jakarta | 94 | 22 | 25 |
| West Java | 100 | 25 | 25 |
| North Sulawesi | 45 | 10 | 22 |
| Central Java | 100 | 21 | 21 |
| North Sumatra | 100 | 20 | 20 |
| Gorontalo | 45 | 9 | 20 |
| East Kalimantan | 55 | 11 | 20 |
| DI Yogyakarta | 55 | 11 | 20 |
| Lampung | 75 | 14 | 19 |
| Central Sulawesi | 45 | 8 | 18 |
| East Java | 100 | 18 | 18 |
| Central Kalimantan | 45 | 8 | 18 |
| Bengkulu | 45 | 7 | 16 |
| Banten | 85 | 14 | 16 |
| Riau Islands | 45 | 7 | 16 |
| North East Sulawesi | 45 | 7 | 16 |
| South Sumatra | 75 | 12 | 16 |
| South Sulawesi | 75 | 12 | 16 |
| West Papua | 44 | 6 | 13 |
| Riau | 55 | 7 | 13 |
| South Kalimantan | 55 | 7 | 13 |
| West Sumatra | 55 | 7 | 13 |
| West Nusa Tenggara | 55 | 6 | 11 |
| Jambi | 45 | 5 | 11 |
| West Sulawesi | 45 | 4 | 9 |
| North Maluku | 45 | 4 | 9 |
| Papua | 56 | 4 | 7 |
| West Kalimantan | 55 | 4 | 7 |
| Bali | 55 | 4 | 7 |
| Bangka Belitung | 45 | 5 | 7 |
| Aceh | 69 | 4 | 6 |
| North Nusa Tenggara | 55 | 3 | 5 |

The percentage of women's representation in some of the District parliament in 2009 was reasonably high; for example in Gowa district (South Sulawesi) it was 42%, Tomohon (North Sulawesi) was 40% and in Depok (West Java) 34%. However, out of 458 districts, there were 27 districts that had no women representatives in parliament (such as three districts in Aceh) and 64 districts that only had one woman MP (Puskapol UI, 2013).

Women's representation in the DPR Commissions

Commissions in the Indonesian parliament form a central point for proposing, discussing and passing laws; monitoring the implementation of national laws, discussing the DPD's proposals, and discussing the national budget together with the executive. Fractions (party

groups) send their MPs to be members of each commission representing the party. This usually happens once the MPs are inaugurated and at the beginning of the parliamentary session every year (DPR, 2013). The more seats a party wins in the election, the more representatives it will have in the commissions and therefore the more likely it will be able to influence and lead/chair those commissions. Women often chair the ‘soft’ committees such as women/ gender issues, health, social welfare or education as shown below. There is increasing recognition of women’s leadership as it is shown that Commission VIII and IX are chaired by women. Leadership in commissions is very strategic and is often pursued by female MPs and the women’s caucus.

Number of women in DPR commission in 2009

| Commission | Sector | Percentage of women |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Commission I | Defense & Intelligence, Foreign Affairs, communication & Information, telecommunication | 15.6 |
| Commission II | Home Affairs, regional autonomy, state Institutions and Land affairs | 25.5 |
| Commission III | Legislation & Law, Human Rights and Security | 7.3 |
| Commission IV | Agriculture, Plantations, Forestry, Maritime Affairs, Fisheries and Food | 10.9 |
| Commission V | Transportations, Public Works, Public Housing & Development of Underdeveloped Regions | 10.9 |
| Commission VI | Industry, Trade, Cooperatives, Small & Medium Enterprises, Investment, Business | 12 |
| Commission VII | Energy & Mineral resources, environment & research and technology | 9.1 |
| Commission VIII | Social Affairs, religious affairs, women's empowerment & Child Protection | 22.9 |
| Commission IX | Health, labour & transmigration, Citizenship & the food & drug | 42.6 |
| Commission X | National Education, Youth & Sports, Tourism & National libraries | 26 |
| Commission XI | National Development Planning & the Central Statistical Bureau, Finance, Banking | 20 |

Source: UNDP, 2010

Challenges for women in parliaments

Indonesian women do not have legal barriers to vote or stand for elections. However women face different challenges in accessing parliament. A survey on equality conducted by IPU cited that domestic responsibilities, lack of financial resources, political parties and socio-cultural factors are the main barriers for women to enter parliaments (IPU, 2008). Once women won parliamentary seats, the challenges are not yet over. Women MPs face

different challenges than their male counterparts. There are structural, cultural, and personal challenges. For example, as discussed in MAMPU consultations, an MP from South Sulawesi noted that her male colleagues very often interrupt her when she is speaking in meetings. Additionally, women MPs often encounter perceptions that they should be playing a more traditional domestic role. For a country that has a strong, masculine culture, Indonesian women face major obstacles in their political parties. Once in a party, women are generally placed in non-strategic positions like the women's department that has very little influence over decision making. In general, women are underrepresented in party leadership and therefore, often left out of decision making.

In term of cultural challenges, people are less receptive towards women's leadership. A study by the World Values Survey in more than 50 countries found that the public perceived that men make better political leaders than women. In Indonesia, 44 percent of people surveyed agreed with that statement. There are hostile attitudes toward women leaders. Religious teachings that forbid women from leading are often used to prevent women from running for office.

D. Coalitions and networks in Indonesia

As outlined in the MAMPU program design, coalitions and networks are effective avenues for making positive changes. In Indonesia, it is very common to network and build coalitions with/within CSOs, parliamentarians, government and other stakeholders in advocating for certain policies. It is very important to note that the women's movement is very diverse ideologically, including what issues are prioritised, institutional backgrounds, and how they work. The three examples below show that coalitions work if there are same issues and interests to share. They also demonstrate the roles of women MPs in promoting policies.

a. Campaign on anti-domestic violence law (UU PKDRT)

Jaringan Advokasi Kebijakan Penghapusan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan/Advocacy Network to Eliminate Violence against Women (Jangka PKTP formerly Jangkar) is a network that consists of 92 organisations across Indonesia. Individual and professional associations support this network that is hosted by LBH APIK (Women's Legal Aid) Jakarta, including survivors of domestic violence. The network was formed to respond to the need to have a domestic violence law. The group conducted a comprehensive study in 1997 as the basis to draft an anti-domestic violence law. A series of active campaigns, lobbies, and consultations to promote the draft were conducted in all provinces from 1998-2002. This draft then was followed by a proposal to the Commission VII DPR to be discussed in the parliament in 2003. MOWE (Ministry of Women Empowerment) and the broader women's movement lobbied the President to issue a letter to support this draft (Bataramunti, 2005). Rallies at the local and national levels by this network, press conferences, and workshops that involved MPs were significant in getting the draft law supported by the broader community. As highlighted by Bataramunti (2005), working with progressive MPs was a crucial element to getting the law passed on 14 September 2004. Similarly, Veronica (2005) stated that progressive women MPs and bureaucrats were essential elements in the success of getting this law passed.

b. Campaign against Anti-Pornography law (UU Anti Pornografi)

The draft pornography law was very controversial. Women's organisations were divided in favour and against the proposed law. The groups that support this draft included Kowani, Aisyiah, and Muslimat (Komnas Perempuan, 2011). Their reason was that the proposed law needed to guard and uphold the nation's morality. They also argued that it was time to have tougher regulations to prevent pornography as the existing penal code was insufficient. Groups that were against this draft bill argued that the proposed law was the state's attempt to control women's bodies and sexuality; that it was against plurality principles of the state, and that it would discriminate against existing cultural and religious practices. Thus, women's groups that were against this draft bill formed a coalition with ANBTI (National Alliance of Unity in Diversity) that consisted of religious organisations, indigenous people, artists and cultural organisations. The draft bill was based on one religious teaching and was highly opposed by various groups. It is interesting to note that Fatayat NU opposed the draft while Muslimat NU was in favour although these organisations come under the same umbrella of NU. MOWE also supported the draft, their reason being that the proposed law was intending to protect women and children from pornography. This issue also divided women MPs, with some from Moslem parties opposing while secular parties supported the law. The law was passed in 2008.

c. Gender quotas advocacy

The Indonesian women's movement has been advocating for equal representation in decision making since 1998. The idea to adopt gender quotas in legislation as means to fast track women's representation in parliament was discussed by women organisations in early 2000 as the movement believed that without quotas, it would take a considerably long time for Indonesian women to have equal representation in parliament. Although the issue of quotas was quite controversial, there was no major disagreement on the principles of using quotas among women's organisations. In early 2003, Jaringan Perempuan dalam Politik (Women's Network in Politics) was very active in advocating for gender quotas to be legislated in the elections law (Siregar, 2006). This Network consisted of over 40 organisations and individual including Kowani, Aisyiah, Fatayat, academics, NGOs, and student associations. There was also a strong network of women's organisations called Ansipol (CSOs Alliance on Package of Elections Law) that actively lobbied parliament and the government to adopt a stronger gender quotas provision. The gender quotas campaign was supported by the women's caucus in parliament, women's caucuses in political parties, MOWE, and NGOs. The gender quotas campaign is an example of how women inside and outside parliament supported each other to achieve a common goal that benefited women (Pancaningtyas, 2011). The gender quotas provisions are extended to include political party leadership and membership of the electoral commission.

E. Global initiatives to enhance women participation in parliament

1. Women Democracy Network (WDN)

WDN aims to foster equal participation of women in politics and civil society by linking up women with their peers in different countries. WDN is an IRI (International Republican Institute) initiative and was established in 2006. It has active networks in 55 countries, including Indonesia. Several Indonesian politicians and CSOs participated in WDN's events at International level; although, there is not yet a WDN chapter in Indonesia. This network is members-driven. WDN's program includes skills-building trainings for women to be able to participate in political arenas, study tours to the US and Europe to meet with policy makers and women leaders, a mentorship program to help aspiring women leaders

to pair up and learn from experienced women leaders, and providing grants to support women's political participation and civil society. Examples of WDN member initiatives include, facilitating conflict resolution dialogue in Syria, supporting women running for office by providing trainings and campaign managers, holding a series of trainings and campaigns to increase awareness of the rights of women under the domestic violence law in Albania and Argentina. It would be beneficial for Indonesian women MPs to join this network.

2. Gender equality committee in Parliament

India, Belgium, Peru, Croatia and several other countries have established a gender equality committee in Parliament. The role of this committee is to ensure that parliament addresses and monitors gender equality across their committees, legislation and government activities (Palmieri, 2011). The gender equality committee in Croatia is responsible for establishing measures and activities to improve gender equality through legislation and parliamentary working bodies, preparing draft legislation and regulations on gender equality, and proposing measures to eliminate discrimination between men and women. In India, the committee is authorised to examine gender equality measures made by government, to report on the work of the women's welfare program, consider reports from the National Commission for Women, and report measures that should be taken by government to improve the status of women. The committee has 30 members representing parties and nominated by speakers of both chambers (Parliament of India, 2013; IPU, 2013). This initiative of a gender equality committee in Parliament could be promoted to the district parliaments in Indonesia as a part of Indonesia's gender mainstreaming policy.

3. EMILY's List

EMILY's List (Early Money Like Yeast) in Australia is founded and inspired by the work done by EMILY's List in the US. The aim of EMILY's List is to increase women's representation and to promote women's rights in parliament. It is a network initiated by women in the Labor Party supporting progressive women candidates on women's issues such as reproductive rights and paid parental leave. This network offers training and mentoring for aspiring women candidates running for seats for the state, territory and federal parliaments (EMILY's List Australia, 2013). EMILY's List sends its volunteers including ex-MPs or senators, practitioners, and academics to train and mentor women candidates including providing campaign support and connections with networks. The condition for women candidates wanting to access this support is that they have to agree to support gender equality policies. Research shows that EMILY's List members have proven their commitment to promote gender equality, for example, senators that sponsored the abortion bill (the RU486 Bill) were members of EMILY's List. There have been several attempts in Indonesia to replicate this initiative in across parties, but with little success.

4. Online resources and networks

The International Knowledge Network for Women in Politics (IKnow Politics) is a virtual network and resource centre supported by IPU, UNDP, International IDEA (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), UN women and NDI (National Democratic Institute). The network provides information on various issues related to women in politics worldwide, courses available, online library, online discussion, and access to an expert panel to ask questions.

Similar with Iknow politics, the Quota Project is an initiative funded by IPU and International IDEA to provide a data base of quotas for women. The Quota Project initiated a web data base that provides information and resources about gender quota implementation around the world as a means to increase women's representation in parliament. Stockholm University in Sweden manages the project. International IDEA (is an international organisation based in Sweden, that promotes gender quotas around the world (Quota Project, 2013). More than 110 countries have now adopted gender quotas, including Indonesia.

F. Players/donor mappings:

a. The Asia Foundation (TAF)

TAF supported Puskapol UI to implement its women and politics programs. Puskapol UI has been at the forefront of advocating for Indonesian women's political rights. Puskapol conducted a series of civic education programs in the 2009 elections. Supported by the Asia Foundation-Norwegian Embassy, Puskapol produced two books on '*Buku Panduan untuk Legislatif*' (Guide book for Members of Parliament) on their three roles as parliamentarians. These books are very useful source of information in guiding new elected MPs (Interview with Sri Budi Eko Wardani, 2013). Prior to the 2009 elections, Puskapol identified women from political parties and civil society who were interested to run for parliamentary seats then promoted these pools of candidates to parties.

b. Partnership for Governance Reform (Kemitraan)

• IKAT US

IKAT US (South East Asia-US initiative) is an initiative funded by USAID to promote increasing women's representation in politics. The program area covers Indonesia, Cambodia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Timor Leste. Organisations involved from these countries are Women's Caucus of Timor Leste, Empower Malaysia, the Cambodian Centre for Human Rights, and Centre for Popular Empowerment the Philippines. In Indonesia from 2011-2014 IKAT US has provided grants to NDI, and KPI (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/The Indonesian Women's Coalition), Swara Parangpuan, and other women's organisations. NDI provides technical assistance to developing training manuals of women in parliament. IKAT-US works with women's caucuses at the provincial level in West Java, Bali, North Sulawesi and Yogyakarta to strengthen their parliamentary roles. KPI provides technical assistance to women's caucus such as assistance in legal drafting, providing advice on gender-related legislations (IKAT US, 2013).

c. IRI (the International Republican Institute)

IRI's focus is on strengthening political parties. Their programs in Indonesia are focused on providing training for party members such as women, and youth groups. IRI has been providing capacity building for women candidates at the provincial level since 2006. For the 2014 elections, IRI is delivering a 2 days training course for women candidates in East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, North Sumatra and Aceh. The training sessions cover campaigning, understanding regulations, political mapping, witness, and understanding constituents' issues and how to package issues for campaign materials. From 2010-2012, IRI conducted training on advocacy and leadership for women in parliament and NGOs in Yogyakarta, Maluku, East Java, and Bali. The groups were encouraged to work with each other and to have common issues at the local level to work on (Interview with Delima Saragih, 2013).

d. NDI

NDI as part of IKAT US provides technical assistance to Kemitraan to develop training manuals. NDI receives funding from USAID, UN, National Endowment for Democracy, Kemitraan and CDI (Centre for Democratic Institution). NDI collaborates with CDI for research on parliamentarians. Preparing for the 2014 election, NDI conducted training for women candidates from Gerindra and Hanura parties. NDI has two internships program for fresh bachelor degree graduates and an internship for masters students. This one year internship for fresh graduates provides the opportunity to work with Fraction/party offices in parliament and individual MPs. The graduates receive a minimum monthly salary for one year. For the masters students, NDI collaborates with the Paramadina University Jakarta to offer a master's degree majoring in communication to work in the Women's Parliamentary Caucus for six months to manage its website. Thirteen out of 30 interns have been recruited by MPs to work for them¹.

G. Women's Caucuses

Women's caucuses have been used as an avenue in many countries to increase visibility of women's representation in parliament, to build cooperation across parties to advance gender equality, and empower their women MPs. There is also increasing evidence of the importance of cross-party women's caucuses in developing democracies (Sawer, 2012). Women's caucuses are also the primary entry point in providing support and information for women MPs and to build connections with civil society (Markham 2012). There are many cases of how women's caucuses have been successful changing policies to become more gender sensitive. Research shows that to be successful in promoting gender equality policies, women's caucuses need to have strategic plans and common goals to guide their work. Across the world, there are different models of women's caucuses in terms of formality, membership, and structure. Palmieri (2011) pointed out that involving men to the membership of women's caucuses is also a strategic way to promote gender equality. For example in Uganda, male parliamentarians can be associates or honorary members of the caucus (UWOPA 2013), in Rwanda, men are allowed to be members while in Timor Leste, men are allowed to be observers.

Different models of women's caucuses

1. Forum of Women Parliamentarians Rwanda (FFRP)

This women's caucus is formally recognised in the parliament and is provided an office in parliament. Membership consists of women MPs from both lower and upper house (Palmieri, 2011). This caucus was established in 1996. The structure of this forum consists of:

- a. General Assembly: the highest body, its membership includes all members of the forum.
- b. The Executive Committee: consists of nine members and is in charge of the management of the forum.
- c. The Standing Committees. There are five committees: Women capacity-building and empowerment; Partnership and advocacy; Gender and legislation; Monitoring of policies, gender strategies and budgets; and Research, documentation and ICT.
- d. The Audit Committee: it has three members who are in charge of the forum's accounts, ensuring that the General Assembly's resolutions are implemented and the resolution of conflicts that may arise in the forum.

¹ This information is gathered from several meetings with NDI Jakarta

- e. The Executive Secretary: responsible for the forum's daily management' (GSDRC, 2009)

Roles of this Forum are to review proposed laws using a gender sensitive lens, liaise with the women's movement, and conduct meetings and trainings on gender issues with women's organisations.

In its first year, this Forum focused on building the capacity of its members and advocating on behalf of women. They also developed a five year Strategic Plan. Achievements of this Forum include revoking laws that prohibited women from inheriting lands and introducing a bill to reduce Gender Based Violence (Powley, 2005; GSDRC 2009). This Forum also builds relationships with constituents by conducting regular field visits to inform their work and to see what support they can provide to constituents. Male parliamentarians and gender champions are invited to participate in the field visits as a strategic way to promote gender equality (Powley, 2006). This Forum also works closely with civil society.

2. Women's Caucus in Nepal

The women's caucus in Nepal is an informal network of all female members of the Constitutional Assembly. Although it is an informal forum, it has a dedicated office in the parliament building. The structure of the caucus consists of a Steering Committee, represented by 21 political parties and a secretariat team. Leadership of the Caucus is rotated every four months to its members based on party hierarchies. This is a quick turnover and is not sufficient to run a program. This women's caucus has played a central role in promoting women's rights and has succeeded in inserting the rights of women into its Constitution. They have also developed a common agenda to promote women's rights and enforced government to have at least 50 percent of women's representation in every organ of the state (Women's Caucus CA, 2010).

3. Women's Caucus in South Africa

Multiparty Women's Caucus in South Africa was established in 1999. Previously, the caucus did not function well due to a lack of resources and partisanship (NDI, 2013). Then the caucus was reformed and put forward women's rights on the national agenda and the Constitution. The membership of the Caucus consists of all female MPs and female members of the National Council of Provinces. The Multiparty Women's Caucus must report its activities to the house annually, and may submit substantive reports and proposals to relevant parliamentary forums as required. The caucus serves two functions inside and outside of parliament. In parliament, this caucus acts as an advisory body, influencing and representing the interests and concerns of women members of Parliament as well as making submissions to the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) on the Quality of Life and Status of Women either at the committee's request or at the caucus' own initiative. Outside the parliament, the caucus engages in empowering women in the community and builds relationships with female MPs worldwide (South African Parliamentarian, 2013). The caucus also works closely with women NGOs and progressive male MPs.

Using a gender perspective, women in parliament are active in making sure that government resources and service delivery are beneficial to women. They have played very important roles in promoting women's rights through legislations such as the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act, and the Domestic Violence, Sexual Offences & Related Matters Act (In Session, 2013).

4. Women's Parliamentary Caucus in Indonesia (KPPRI)

The Women's Parliamentary Caucus in the national parliament was established on 19 July 2001. The women's caucus in Indonesia is not a formal institution within the Parliament. There is no dedicated office for the women's caucus, as the office usually follows the location of the chair. Despite not having a dedicated office, KPPRI has staff. The source of finances to pay these staff salaries is not clear. Membership of KPPRI at the national level consists of all female MPs both from the DPR (the House of People's Representatives) and DPD (The House of Provincial Representatives). Formerly, there were two women's caucuses in the national parliament: one was the women's caucus of the DPR (KPPRI) and the other, the women's caucus in the DPD (KPP DPD). They have since been merged into KPPRI. The leadership structure of this Caucus comprises of:

- a) Two advisory Boards
- b) Chair
- c) Secretary and its members
- d) Treasury and its members
- e) Working group:
 - Legislation
 - Budgeting
 - Monitoring
 - Partnership across institutions
 - Public affairs
 - Education and training

The chair of the women's caucus is a representative from the party that received the most number of seats in parliament. The chair is not elected by members. As such, there is disconnection between chair and the members. Because the women's caucus is not a legal entity, it cannot receive grants. One of the interviewees recommended that the best way to work with the women's caucus is to provide human resources and technical assistance. A board member explained that it is a big challenge to setup regular meetings with its members as MPs are very busy. As such, KPPRI meets on an as need basis. The consultations identified there are more than five donors or organisations that have supported KPPRI. However, there is no government national budget allocated to run the caucus. From the consultations, KPPRI expressed that they had already received a lot of support for capacity building from various organisations. KPPRI works in the area of gender equality policies and children's rights. Currently they are promoting RUU KKG (draft law on gender equality), improving access to women's participation and representation in decision making institutions, Post 2015 MDGs, reproductive rights, and anti- smoking campaign with the Anti Tobacco Coalition (Koalisi Anti Tembakau) (Interview with Usdawarni and Tety Kady, 2013).

Compared to the national level, the women's caucus at the sub- national level is a strategic avenue to network and work with other women MPs across parties. A study by the Centre of Political Studies at the Indonesian University on women's representation in three provinces confirmed that women's caucuses provide opportunities for women MPs to gather, talk and discuss strategies regardless of their party backgrounds (Puskapol 2013: 113). Similar with KPPRI, women's caucuses at the sub- national level have no office in parliament and staff to support their work. Some of the women's caucuses at the provincial level such as in Central Java and Banten receive small amounts of funding from local

government budgets to implement caucus activities. In terms of a common political agenda, both the women's caucuses at the national and subnational levels have yet formulated an agreed agenda to promote gender equality policies in parliament. Women MPs at sub-national level expect the women's caucus to play mediation roles between the national and local level. They conveyed that information about what happens at the national level (such as current laws being discussed) do not reach local MPs. For example one MP mentioned that she did not know about the Domestic Violence Act (UU PKDRT) until an NGO gave her a copy and informed her about it. She expected that KPPRI could act as a messenger to deliver and channel such information.

H. Possible entry points for the MAMPU program

This should be read in conjunction with the Design Framework Document.

1. Women's Caucus

a. Institutional strengthening of the women's caucus

Unlike several countries that recognise the women's caucus in the parliamentary structure, the women's caucus in Indonesia has no power to impose or formally influence decision making bodies. For the long term, it is important to have the women's caucus become a stronger institution that is formally recognised in parliament and plays as an advisory role to ensure that laws that are being proposed to the parliament are scrutinised using a gender lens. Having formal recognition in parliament, would provide strength to the caucus' arguments and input into parliament as well as to obtain financial support from the government's budget.

b. Strategic planning

In order to function better, the women's caucus needs to have strategic planning. As mentioned earlier, none of the women's caucuses have strategic plans or agendas. Supporting the women's caucus to do strategic planning will enable them to come up with an agreed agenda to promote gender equality across the parliament and parties. The plans should include a list of policies that the caucus wants to promote and how to increase visibility and representation of women in parliamentary committees, fractions, working groups such as *Bamus*, *Pansus* and *Baleg* as these bodies are very strategic in influencing decision making in parliament.

c. Work with progressive male MPs

To gain support from male MPs, the women's caucus needs to identify and work with male gender champions. Thus membership of the women's caucus should then should be open for gender champions. This could include offering male MPs to be associates of the women's caucus.

d. Information and resource centre

Unlike Members of the DPR, MPs at sub-national level are not provided with supporting staff to assist them in administrative matters, legal drafting and research. KPPRI can act as an information centre for any new legislation, as it is often women MPs at local level that do not know about such new legislation. Therefore, the women's caucus can play this role, including channelling information between the national and sub-national levels. This includes providing data on issues or laws that are being discussed.

2. Women parliamentarians

a. Capacity development

Based on the consultations, women MPs have expressed their need for capacity development including on: roles and responsibilities as MPs (three functions in legislation, budgeting and monitoring), how parliament works, parliamentary rules; how to read the budget; communication and lobby skills (how to structure an argument, how to speak in public, how to speak with confidence, how to deal with media, religious leaders; how to represent and talk to constituents), and build relationships with CSOs. The timing for capacity development is at the first year soon after newly elected MPs are sworn. Women MPs are also keen to learn about the basics of gender equality, and how to promote gender sensitive policies. This includes understanding issues to be advocated, how, and where to get resources and support.

b. Promoting role models

An interviewee raised the importance of supporting and promoting selected women MPs as champions or role models. This idea was also supported by newly elected MPs. They expressed that they need role models that they could look up to and learn from, that could mentor and support them.

c. Increased evidence based decision making

Consultations found that it is not common practice in parliament to propose legislation or decision making based on research or evidence. As a consequence, the quality of laws is often poor. Some women MPs expressed that they needed assistance to collect information and evidence to support them in making policies.

3. Constituents and civil society

a. Greater accountability to constituents

In a meeting with community women, there were complaints that parliamentarians and candidates only visited them when the elections were approaching. There is a lack of regular consultation in communities even though there are budget allocations to support constituency outreach. There are budget allocations for MPs to visit constituents four times a year. Some MPs reported not knowing how to utilise the budget. There is a lack of understanding that maintaining accountability to constituents is paramount to getting them re-elected.

b. Meaningful engagement between parliamentarians and civil society,

Consultations with both parliamentarians and civil society organisations revealed that engagement between parliamentarians and civil society organisations are on an as-needs-basis, often when legislation is being discussed. Civil society organisations with connections to communities and constituents are strategic partners for MPs to work with; on the other hand, civil society organisations also need to work with MPs to voice people's interests, and to make policies or legislation.

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