

## POLICY RESEARCH



# Women DPR-RI Members and The Public Policy Making Process: The Amendment of the General Election Law



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**Women Research Institute  
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**Policy Research****Women DPR-RI Members and The Public Policy Making Process:  
The Amendment of the General Election Law**

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## List of Abbreviations

APBN	:	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Nasional (State Budget)
AKI	:	Angka Kematian Ibu (Maternal Mortality Rate)
Baleg	:	Badan Legislatif (Legislation Committee)
Bamus	:	Badan Musyawarah (Steering Committee)
Banggar	:	Badan Anggaran (Budget Committee)
BAKN	:	Badan Akuntabilitas Keuangan Negara (State Finance Accountability Committee)
BK	:	Badan Kehormatan (Ethics Committee)
BKSAP	:	Badan Kerja Sama Antar Parlemen (Interparliamentary Cooperation Committee)
BPP	:	Bilangan Pembagi Pemilih (Voter Dividing Number)
BUMN	:	Badan Usaha Milik Negara (State Owned Enterprise)
BURT	:	Badan Urusan Rumah Tangga (DPR-RI Affairs Committee)
Caleg	:	Calon Legislatif (Legislative Candidates)
DIM	:	Daftar Inventaris Masalah (Problem Inventory List of a bill)
DPD-RI	:	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia (Regional Representative Council)
DPR-RI	:	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (House of Representatives)
DPRD-RI	:	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Republik Indonesia (Local Legislative Council)
ESDM	:	Energy Sumber Daya Mineral (Energy and Mineral Resources)
GDI	:	Gender Development Index
GEM	:	Gender Empowerment Measurement
Gerindra	:	<i>Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya</i>
GGI	:	Global Gender Gap Index
GII	:	Gender Inequality Index
Golkar	:	<i>Partai Golongan Karya</i>
Hanura	:	<i>Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat</i>
HDI	:	Human Development Index
HDR	:	Human Development Report
Jampersal	:	Jaminan Persalinan (Birth Insurance)
KPPRI	:	Kaukus Parlemen Perempuan Republik Indonesia (Caucus of Women Parliamentary Members in Indonesia)

KPU	:	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission)
KPUD	:	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah (Local General Election Commission)
MK-RI	:	Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia (Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia)
Otoda	:	Otonomi Daerah (Local Autonomy)
Ormas	:	Organisasi Masyarakat (Civil Society Organization)
PAN	:	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i>
Panja	:	Panitia Kerja (Working Committee)
Pansus	:	Panitia Khusus (Special Committee)
PD	:	<i>Partai Demokrat</i>
PDIP	:	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i>
Pemilu	:	Pemilihan Umum (General Election)
PKB	:	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i>
PKS	:	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i>
PPP	:	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i>
P3DI	:	Pusat Pengkajian Pengelolaan Data dan Informasi (Centre for Analysis, Data Compilation and Information)
RDPU	:	Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum (Public Hearing)
RUU	:	Rancangan Undang-Undang (Bill)
UU	:	Undang-Undang (Law)

# Abstract

## Women DPR-RI Members and the Public Policy Making Process: The Amendment of the General Election Law

This Women Research Institute (WRI) study attempts to see how the current women DPR-RI members are involved in the process of policy making, particularly policies that accommodate the needs and interests of women (gender responsive policy). Through this study WRI also seeks to analyse the effectiveness of the 30% quota policy for women parliament members in Indonesia.

The study employs various methods such as literature study, qualitative research method using in-depth interview technique and quantitative research method by applying survey towards the DPR-RI members. The survey was implemented towards the Members of Commission II, Commission VIII of the DPR-RI and the Caucus of Women Parliamentary Members in Indonesia (Kaucus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia or KPP-RI). The initial findings of this research among others stated that the affirmation policy is well accepted by the political parties and the DPR-RI members, but it has yet to be effectively implemented. Most of the women DPR-RI members stated that the condition will be better if the total presence of women DPR-RI members be than 30%.

Current women DPR-RI members are able to provide inputs in the policy making process, however they have yet to fill in strategic positions in decision making. Currently there are only 11 out of 102 women DPR-RI member who sit as head or deputy in the Commission or Working Committee (*Panja*) and Special Committee (*Pansus*).

This situation is related to the knowledge and capacity of the DPR-RI members towards the discussed issue, thus it may also influence their commitments in guiding the policy making process in the Commissions.

At the moment not all policies produced by the DPR-RI are gender perspective. Therefore enhancing the political education becomes important for women to become active as political party members. Wider access and opportunities for women to be involved in political roles would also increase their knowledge and experiences. In this regards political parties have responsibilities to provide special assistance such as leadership trainings and other women's empowerment programs.



## Executive Summary

Women Research Institute (WRI) conducts research on the role of women DPR-RI members using a survey and interviewer 36 person of DPR-RI member for the period of 2009-2014. Understanding towards the affirmative women quota of 30% is overall well understood although not all political parties are capable in implementing it. Furthermore, most of the women DPR-RI Members said it would be better if the number of women DPR-RI Members can be more than 30%.

The number of women DPR-RI members for the period of 2009-2014 is 102 or 18% from the total DPR-RI Members. Most are from the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the Democratic Party (PD). PKB which won 28 seats managed to put eight women, while the Democratic Party won 150 seats only put 36 or 24% women. The Hanura which only has 16 seats, placing three women in the DPR-RI.

The DPR-RI members work in committees to voice the interests of factions (political parties). In the making of legislation, the commission's task is to prepare, draft, discuss, and improve Bills. There are more women DPR-RI members at Commission VIII (responsible for the issue of religion, social and women's empowerment) and Commission IX (responsible for the issue of population, health and labor). While in the Commission on law (Commission III), the number of women is just two out of 52 members.

Women DPR-RI members are able to provide input to the policy making process, but not yet strong enough to occupy a strategic position for decision-making. On the DPR-RI structural position, only 11 out of 102 women DPR-RI member who sit as the head or deputy of the Committee or the DPR-RI Working Committee (*Panitia Kerja/Panja*) and DPR-RI Special Committee (*Panitia Khusus/Pansus*). The women specific issues that are successfully became an important point in the legislation include reproductive health rights and giving birth subsidies for poor women (*Jampersa*) and dual citizenship for children from mixed marriage (mother Indonesian and father expatriate).

In addition to the institutional structural problems, women DPR-RI members still have to struggle with social-cultural hindrance, such as working time arrangements and endless DPR-RI meetings. Not all women DPR-RI members are able to overcome this situation which leads to decrease of speaking out on women's concerns. A woman DPR-RI member said that the decisions of a meeting are often made in informal lobbying during meetings that may lasted until dawn.

With regards to the 30% quota, Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties stated that the provision of quotas include also for the management of the party, yet this does not explicitly contained in the policy of any political party. In general, most women political parties members are placed in the department of empowerment of women, while the highest strategic position women may have in the political party structure as vice chairman. Interestingly, all political parties develop women's wing. Gerindra has *Perempuan Indonesia Raya* (Pira), Hanura has *Srikandi*, PKS has *Pos Wanita Keadilan*, PKB has *Pergerakan Perempuan Kebangkitan Bangsa* or Women National Awakening Movement (PPKB), PAN has *Perempuan Amanat Nasional* (PUAN), Golkar has *Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar* (KPPG) and PPP has *Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan*. The political party predicted that the women's wing is able to attract women candidates through special activities for women, which is also intended as the capacity building forum for women, however, the findings showed that women's wing of the party has not been strategically involved for developing political education from a gender perspective.

Based on interviews with women and male members of the DPR-RI it is found that the following skills such as asking their opinions and debate at the meeting, lobbying, and working with government and community networks such as with non-governmental organizations, mass organizations, are necessary to support them to function as members of parliament. In addition, from the party side, requires that prospective members must understand the vision and mission of the party as well as become a dedicated party member and potentially attract votes for the party. For certain political party there is special conditions that apply such as has to be a Muslim, or more specific requirement for women who want to run to be DPR-RI members, should show the existence of a permission letter from the spouse.

More about the electability to become a member of the DPR-RI, some members of the DPR-RI confirmed that there are high correlation between the sequence number and candidate's electability. Women legislative candidates, proved difficult to be elected if their positions are in the bottom of the sequence number. This sequence number is an important point of discussion for the amendment of the General Election Law.

Based on the study there are several recommendations being proposed:

First, to ensure women have equal access with men to enter and participate actively in the political institutions. This is related to the policy, regulation and mechanism recruitment that practiced by the political parties.

Second, cadre empowerment is the responsibility of political parties. Therefore, it is time for the political parties to provide special attention to all the efforts of education and training for cadres, by integrating gender perspective and implement affirmative policy of 30% quota of women in executive bodies of political party.

Third, increase the understanding of gender perspective of the political party members and members of DPR-RI in the process of policy making process. Any decisions resulting from the policy

at the level of political parties and parliament have gender implications. That means, every policy issued will be accepted, understood and will have different impact for men and women.

Fourth, the DPR-RI needs to gain support from non-parliament community as resource persons to support the performance and capacity of the DPR-RI members. It also includes strengthening the capacity of Women's Parliamentary Caucus of the Republic of Indonesia (KPP-RI) as the umbrella of women DPR-RI members.





# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Women's population that reaches 50% can not be categorized as a minority group.<sup>1</sup> Women are an important group whose interest needs attention and whose opinions need to be listened in decision and policy. If we observe the composition of voters in the 2009 general election we can see that the number of women voters was equal to that of men voters.<sup>2</sup> However, women are still at a marginal position in the political sphere.

One of the main functions of the DPR-RI is to consider policies that accommodate various interest of the people, including women's interest. One effort to respond to these needs, the DPR-RI is expected to increase the number of women in policy-making process. This can be effectively achieved with the support of women DPR-RI members who are actively fighting for women's issues

Women Research Institute (WRI) conducts a short term study entitled "Women DPR-RI Members and the Public Policy Making Process: The Amendment of the General Election Law". This study examined the process of policy making and analysis on the role of women DPR-RI Members in decision-making in the DPR-RI. In particular, WRI seeks to better understand the involvement of women legislators in their effort to provide input on amending the Law on General Election. In addition, the study also look at the various constraints faced by women members of parliament in the policy making process.

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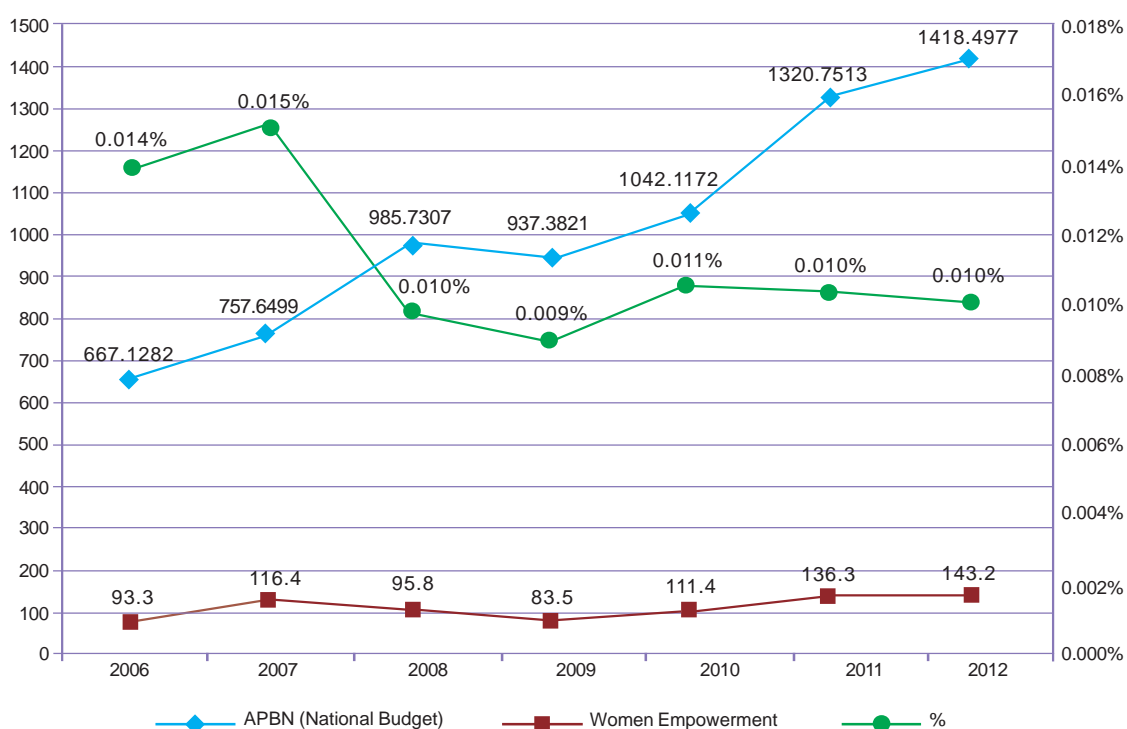
<sup>1</sup> *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS, Statistics Bureau), Population Sensus Data 2010, <http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=337&wid=0> (accessed on May 23, 2012). The data showed that women population in Indonesia was 118,010,413 while men population was 119,630,913. The number of population that was nearly equal showed that women population in Indonesia can be said as 50% of the total.

<sup>2</sup> The General Election Commission, The General Elections Commission Data 2009 (Jakarta). The data showed that the number of women voters was 87,854,388 (49.8%) and men voters 88,560,046 (50.2%).

## 1.2 Problem Statements

In the DPR-RI period of 2004-2009, the level of women participation in parliament is recorded as 11%. If currently, women's representation from the 2009 General Election in the DPR-RI is only 18%.<sup>3</sup> However, does the increase of women's participation in the DPR-RI from 11% to 18% brings positive impacts to the fulfilment of women's interests and the solution to problems faced by women? One indications to look whether women's interests fulfilled is by scrutinise the budget allocated for women's interests. If we observe the national budget allocated for women empowerment (Code 11.05) in the State Budget of 2006-2012 it was clear that the amount of the budget never exceeded from 0.015% of the total budget (see Graphic 1). In 2006, the budget for women empowerment programs was 0.014%, and in 2007 the budget increased to 0.015%, which became the highest budget allocated for women empowerment within the last six years. The allocation dropped quite steep into 0.010% in 2008 and dropped tremendously again into 0.009% in 2009. In 2010 the budget for women empowerment slightly increased to 0.011% and slightly decreased to 0.010% in 2011, and 2012 budget showed the same amount with that of 2011, which was 0.010%.

**Graphic 1**  
**Budget Allocation for Women Empowerment Programs**



Within the 2009 to 2014 period of the DPR-RI there are 10 women members who are assigned as Budget Committee (*Banggar*) members from the total of 84 members<sup>4</sup> or 11.90%. The percent-

<sup>3</sup> Center for Political Studies University of Indonesia, Policy Recommendations Manuscript: "Representation of Women in Political Parties and Elections Regulation", (Jakarta: December 2010), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> List of Member based on Working Unit, in <http://www.go.id/id/anggota/per-alat-kelengkapan> (accessed on March 28, 2011).

age was higher than that of 2004-2009 DPR-RI period, in which there were only 3 women elected as the Budget Committee members, which meant 3.7%, from the total 81 members.<sup>5</sup> Observing this fact, it is assumed that the number of women as decision makers in the DPR-RI could bring influence to the needs of women. However, the amount of budget allocation has yet to show a significant increase, since women's representation had not reached the level of 30% generate decisions that fulfilled the needs of women. It means in terms of *presence* and *ideas*, women has yet to be significantly represented.<sup>6</sup> Based on the study conducted by WRI in 2009,<sup>7</sup> the number of women representatives becomes important, both in the context of increasing *political presence* and *political ideas*, considering that women were the majority of Indonesian population.

### 1.3 Research Objectives

The research conducted aims to look at the process of policy making in the DPR-RI and how women members of the DPR-RI were actively involved in policy making, particularly in the process of gender responsive policies.

Through this research, WRI also intended to analyse the effectiveness the 30% quota policy to increase the number and capacity of women DPR-RI members. WRI also intended to provide policy recommendations to strengthen the position of women as policy makers in the DPR-RI.

### 1.4 Research Questions

This study is based on the assumption that the identification of gender issues and strategic issues need to be accompanied by a solution that aims to strengthen the position and status of women. To obtain the empirical opinion from the Women DPR-RI members, the research is guided by the following questions:

- How does the DPR-RI process decision making?
- What are the roles of women DPR-RI members in public policy making?
- What are the obstacles faced by women DPR-RI members in public policy making?
- Are there any fundamental different opinions among DPR-RI members about the 30% quota?
- Are there any initiatives or temporary solutions to solve the obstacles faced by women DPR-RI members?

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<sup>5</sup> Pusat Studi Hukum dan Kebijakan Indonesia, List of Budget Committee Members from [http://www.parlemen.net/site/docs/dpr\\_anggota\\_anggaran.pdf](http://www.parlemen.net/site/docs/dpr_anggota_anggaran.pdf) (accessed on March 28, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> This opinion was based on the thought of Anne Phillips (1995) on politics of presence that is always in line with politics of ideas. Both concepts have to be in the same line to see how different perspectives and interests (felt by different groups of interest) is present in reality. See *Understanding hybrid democracy in Cambodia: The nexus between liberal democracy and 'politics of presence'*, Mikael Baaz & Mona Lilja, 2007, page 6 accessed from [http://www.wisnetwork.org/porto2011/papers/WISC\\_2011-494.pdf](http://www.wisnetwork.org/porto2011/papers/WISC_2011-494.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Quota and Decentralisation: A Study on Women's Representation at the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Local House of Representatives of Banda Aceh, Solo, Pontianak, Mataram and Minahasa Utara Regency, cooperation of Women Research Institute and International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, 2009, unpublished report.

## 1.5 Research Methodology

WRI used feminist methodology<sup>8</sup> to capture the voices and experiences of women in order to analyze the efforts of women DPR-RI members overcome the hindrances they faced in the process of policies making accommodating the interests of women.

This study uses a variety of approaches such as literature studies, qualitative research methods to conduct in-depth interviews and quantitative research methods to conduct survey to DPR-RI members. The survey was conducted to members of the DPR-RI Commission II, VIII and the Caucus of Women Commission of the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia (KPP-RI).

### 1.5.1 Research Benefit

The outcome of this research can be used to assist DPR-RI members in understanding how far the policy of 30% quota for women influenced the number and capacity of women members of the DPR-RI, assisting them to identify strategy to enforce the quota policy, and study the success of women elected to Parliament. Thus, the DPR-RI members can be inspired to build a coalition that more effective to produce a policy that meets the interests of women.

### 1.5.2 Research Limitation

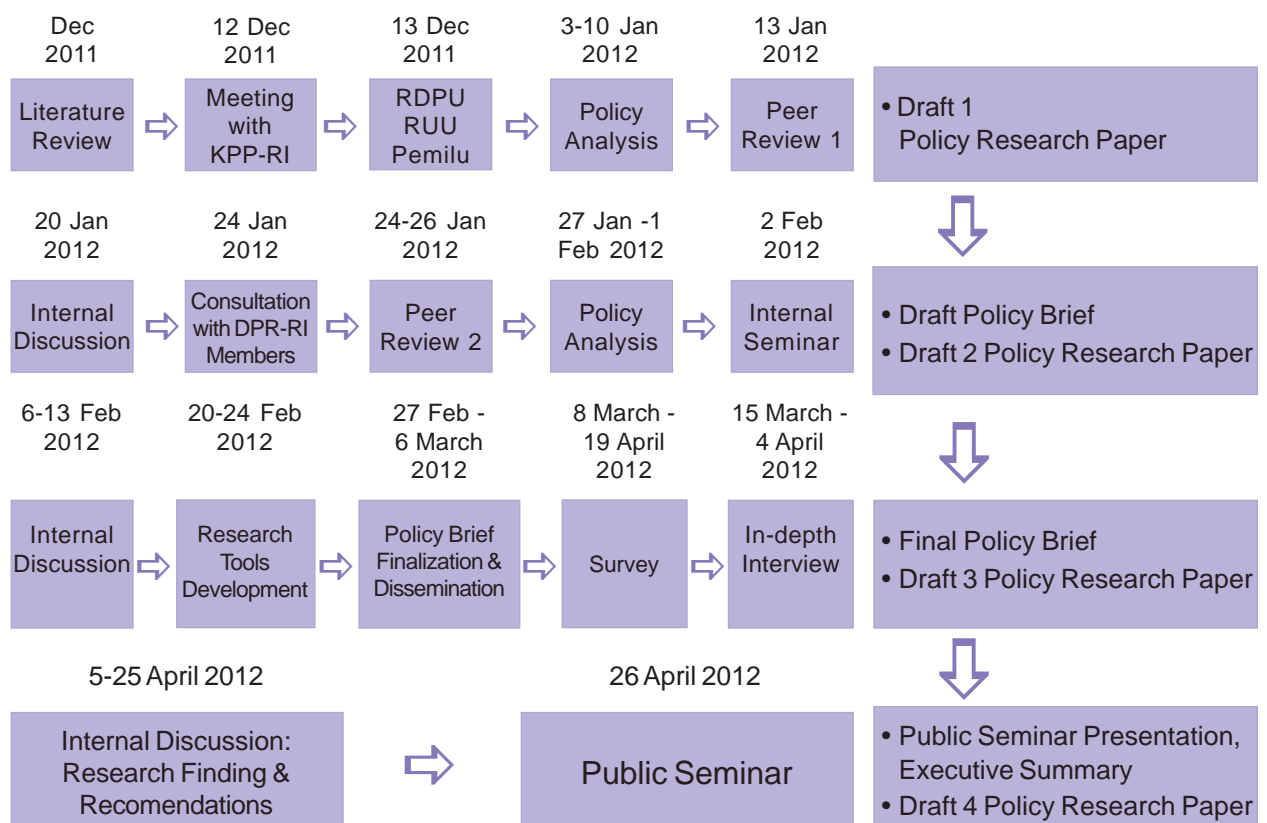
This research is a short period study and should be treated as an initial step to identify and propose ways that may influence the process of gender responsive policy-making in the DPR-RI, especially via the amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008.

WRI used surveys and in-depth interview methods for the data collection. WRI distributed the survey questionnaire towards 150 members of Commission II, Commission VIII of the DPR-RI and members of Caucus of Women Parliamentary Members in Indonesia (KPP-RI). The researchers of WRI collected the questionnaire using several ways but only able to collect 36 questionnaires out of the 150 distributed questionnaire. Due to the hectic schedule of the DPR-RI members, WRI conducted 20 in-depth interviews towards female and male members of the DPR-RI.

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<sup>8</sup> Feminist methodology is specifically concerned with how, or whether, knowledge produced about social life can be connected with the social realities of women in the context of any methodology that is dominated by men and that neglects consideration of the gendered nature of social life (Maeve Landman, "Getting quality in qualitative research: A short introduction to feminist methodology and methods", p. 430, Proceedings of the Nutrition Society (2006), 65, 429-433).

### 1.5.3 Flow chart of Research Implementation





## CHAPTER II

# REPRESENTATION AND POLICY MAKING IN THE DPR-RI

### 2.1 The Concept of Representation

In politics there will always exist various interests from various parties who represent various interest groups in society. As in the DPR-RI is important to see who represents whom, and for the what interest. In order to understand the concept of representation, Anne Phillips mentioned it was important to combine the so-called *politics of presence* and the *politics of ideas*. There are four main things that needed to encourage representation: First, is the symbolic representation, that include marginal groups became an important part for them to speak out. Second, is how a candidate can bring legislative issues that have never voiced out before. Third, in order to change the pattern of representation, there is a need of extra-parliamentary groups to contribute to policy. Fourth, there are some of the issues that have not been included in the agenda of the political parties.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, Anne Phillips stressed the importance of women legislative members or women prospective legislative members, since women have a long history related to marginalization, discrimination, subordination, so they should be included to alter the existing flow of representation.

The spirit of the 30% quota that focuses on women's representation in formal institutions needs to be strengthened with the ability to compete for the public agenda, including the agenda of women in the democratization process. Anne Marie Goetz,<sup>10</sup> add some parameters to measure the process of democratization, such as:

1. Representation: Includes all elements of society, the representation in the policy making process.
2. Access (consultation).
3. Responsiveness or the influence of the representation itself.

Since 2003, Indonesia has required 30% quota of women candidates via the General Election Law No. 12 of 2003. This 2003 Law was then refined into Law No. 10 of 2008 which became the basis of the 2009 General Election. Article 53 of Law No. 10 of 2008 again placed the 30% quota of

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<sup>9</sup> Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence*, (USA: Oxford Claredon Press, 1995), Chapter 2.

<sup>10</sup> Anne Marie Goetz, *Governing Women, Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratizations and Governance Reform*, (New York/London: Routledge, 2009).



women candidates, coincides with Article 55 paragraph (2) that includes the zipper system<sup>11</sup> or in every three candidates should have at least one woman candidate, and Article 214 regarding the appointment of a chosen candidate, which refers to the acquisition of 30% Numbers Dividers Selector (*BPP*) or return to the sequence number. The integration of the legal system is considered to increase the number of women in parliament, at least to anticipate the appointment based on the sequence number if there are no candidates succeeded beyond the *BPP*.

The opportunity of women candidates through affirmative action<sup>12</sup> in the Election Law of 2009 was hampered, as many political parties decided to switch by implement majority voting rules in the internal policy of the party. The situation worsened again, as the rule of majority votes is then passed into effect by the decision of the Constitutional Court through Judicial Review of Law Number 10 of 2008 Article 214, on December 23, 2008. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia (*MK-RI*) through its decision<sup>13</sup> stated that the seat will be determined by a majority vote.

This decision received critical responses from various parties, including women activists since it is considered as an attempt to prevent the struggle of women in increasing numbers of women representation in legislative bodies.

The application of majority vote is certainly not in line with the affirmative action efforts and only appropriate when the number of rules used in the election. The appointed of zipper system becomes ineffective with the cancellation rules of sequence number by *MK-RI*. If we refer to countries that have good representation of women, then the zipper and the quota system proved very effective and successful in increasing numbers of women's representation. In addition to the failure of the zipper system, a majority vote rule would also hinders women candidates to get into parliament. The majority vote requires the legislative candidates (candidates) to plunge directly to its constituents.

The activity of legislative candidates to directly plunge to the constituents require many resources. With the conditions of limited economic resources of women, it would be difficult for women to delve directly to the constituents. In addition, the political education of women is more limited than men would complicate the efforts of women as political candidates in the election campaign. Other obstacles also arise from the existing strong patriarchal values that hard to accept women as part of the political world, thus it would be difficult to capture the public trust towards women candidates. Some of these situations combine with the enacted of the majority vote rule would construct women to work far harder than men.

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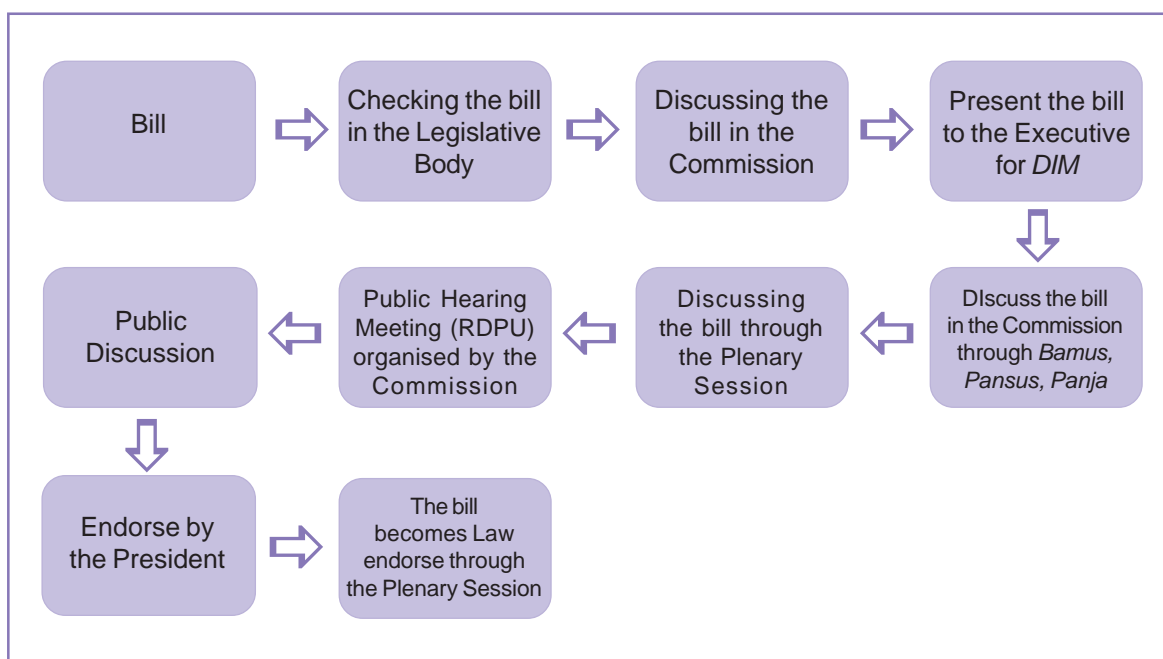
<sup>11</sup> Zipper System is a system to determine legislative candidate using alternating intervals. This way is considered to increase women representation. In the 2009 elections, the Indonesian Commission on General Election (*KPU*) implemented a modified zipper system, which sets the order of the three candidates would have at least one woman.

<sup>12</sup> Affirmative action is a policy that aims to make certain group (gender or professionals) to get equal opportunity. It also can be interpreted as a policy to give privileges to certain groups. In a political context, affirmative action is to encourage numbers of women to become representative in legislative bodies.

<sup>13</sup> Constitutional Court Decision No. 12/PUU-VI/2008, [www.kpu.go.id/dmdocuments/17\\_2008\\_mk.pdf](http://www.kpu.go.id/dmdocuments/17_2008_mk.pdf) (accessed on April 30, 2012).

## 2.2 The Process of Public Policy Making in the DPR-RI

As a legislative body, the DPR-RI has a duty to produce policy in the form of legislation. Design process starts from drafting laws that can be proposed by the DPR-RI (in this case the Commission), DPD (relating to regional autonomy, and regional relations, expansion and other related areas of interest), as well as implementers of government (the executive) policy. The design will be harmonized at the Legislation Committee (*Badan Legislasi*) to be determined whether this design will be included in national legislation program (*Prolegnas*) and discussed in the current session or the next session. If it is decided to be discussed during the current session it will be returned to the legal drafting committee and forwarded to the government to make a Problem Inventory List of a bill (*DIM*). *DIM* is later discussed by the members of the Commission to establish Formulation Team (*Timus*), the Working Committee (*Panja*), and the Special Committee (*Pansus*) to be a bill that will be discussed in a plenary meeting. Once agreed upon in the plenary session, the bill will be discussed once more with relevant stakeholders in the Public Hearings Meeting (*RDPU*). After *RDPU*, the DPR-RI and the government (implementers relate to the Draft) will conduct a public test of the bill. If the bill passes the public test, the bill is to be signed by the President and brought back to the plenary meeting for approval to become a law.<sup>14</sup>



### 2.2.1 The Amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election

When this research was conducted, the DPR-RI was revising Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election (Amendment Bill). The main reasons for the revision were:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The DPR-RI Standing Orders Chapter VI of the Establishment Procedure Act, [www.dpr.go.id](http://www.dpr.go.id), (accessed on April 30, 2012), section 99-150.

<sup>15</sup> Draft Amendments to Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election, October 7, 2011, (accessed on April 30, 2012).

## 1. Weak Regulatory Framework on General Election

Weak regulatory framework on general election caused diversified interpretation in the implementation stage. This weakness could be seen in the inconsistent laws and other regulations which became the subject of legal proceedings and political controversy, which eventually was settled by the decision issued by the Constitutional Court (*MK-RI*). In addition to the technical implementation problems that brought about diversified interpretation, the threat to the suffrage of the voters who were not listed in the fixed voter list. The *MK-RI* decision that abated the general election using limited open proportional system (with voter dividing number of 30%) became the general election using full open system, showed that improvement of fulfilling the right to vote of citizens, and voting counting system at the second and third stage, at the end this also showed that the regulation of executing general election was not yet perfect.

## 2. Weakness in Implementing The General Election

This weakness was reflected in the emergence of various problems refer to time schedule of stages in executing the general election, verification of the legislative candidates list voting stage, vote counting stage and stipulation of elected candidates.<sup>16</sup>

The DPR-RI had formed the Special Committee and Working Committee<sup>17</sup> that were in charge of designing and deliberating the amendment of the law. The members of the Special Committee comprised 30 people, 3 of whom were women, while the members of the Working Committee were 20 people, 2 of whom were women.

Since the efforts to amend the Law on General Election started, at the end of 2011 KPP-RI<sup>18</sup> produced a working paper consist of recommendations that would be given to the members of the Special Committee on the Draft Amendment Law particularly to strengthen women's representation in the DPR-RI. The recommendations are as follows:

- Parliamentary Threshold (PT)

This is a threshold of minimum votes of political parties in the election members of the DPR-RI to be participated in the determination of seats in the DPR-RI. This regulation was first applied in the 2009 General Election. Based on Article 202 of Law No. 10 of 2008,

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<sup>16</sup> Reasons of revising Law No. 10 of 2008 is stipulated in Academic Paper on Amendment Bill to Law No. 10 of 2008, dated October 7, 2011, page.4.

<sup>17</sup> In the process of law making in the DPR-RI, the functions of the Special Committee are: deliberating a draft which content belongs to the scope of work more than 2 commissions and deliberating List of Problems initiated to-wards a draft together with the Working Partner (the government), while the Working Committee are: committee formed by the commissions, joint commissions, Legislative Body, Special Committee, or Budgetary Body assigned to deliberate draft whose members is, at the most, half of the members of the Complementary Bodies that form it. The Working Committee is assigned to discuss the substantive contents of the draft or other materials that are decided in the Commission meetings, joint Commissions meetings, Legislative Body meeting, Special Committee meetings, or Budgetary Body meetings.

<sup>18</sup> *Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia* (KPP-RI) or the Caucus of Women Parliamentary Members of the Republic of Indonesia is a forum of parliamentary women's struggle that was founded on the July 19, 2001 in Jakarta whose members were all women members of the House who were incorporated in Parliamentary Women of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. To know further about KPPRI see the following website: <http://kppri.or.id/index.php/id/tentang-kpp-ri/mengenal-kpp-ri>.

**Table 1**  
**The Special Committee Members for the Amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008**  
**on General Election**

<b>Name of members of the House</b>	<b>Faction</b>	<b>Commission</b>
Arif Wibowo	F-PDIP	II
Drs. Taufiq Hidayat, M.Si	F-Golkar	II
Muhamad Arwani Thomafi	F-PPP	II
Gede Pasek Suardika, SH.	F-Demokrat	II
Saan Mustofa	F-Demokrat	III
Drs. H. Taufiq Effendi	F-Demokrat	II
Drs. Ramadhan Pohan, MIS	F-Demokrat	II
Khatibul Umam Wiranu, M.Hum	F-Demokrat	II
Ignatius Mulyono	F-Demokrat	II
H. Harry Witjaksono, SH	F-Demokrat	III
Drs. Agun Gunanjar Sudarsa	F-Golkar	II
Dra. Popong Otje Djundjungan	F-Golkar	X
Nurul Arifin, S.IP, M.Si	F-Golkar	II
Edison Betaubun, SH, MH	F-Golkar	XI
Ganjar Pranowo	F-PDIP	II
DR. Yassonna H. Laoly, SH, M.Sc	F-PDIP	II
Ir. Bambang Wuryanto, MBA	F-PDIP	VII
Irvansyah, S.IP	F-PDIP	V
Agoes Poernomo, S.IP	F-PKS	II
Drs. Al Muzzammil Yusuf	F-PKS	I
H. Tb. Soenmandjaja, SD	F-PKS	X
H. Totok Daryanto, SE	F-PAN	VII
Viva Yoga Mauladi, M.Si	F-PAN	IV
Ahmad Yani, SH, MH	F-PAN	III
Muh. Hanif Dhakiri	F-PPP	III
Hj. Anna Mu'awanah, SE, MH	F-PKB	IV
Rindhoko, SH, M.Kum	F-Gerindra	III
Drs. Akbar Faisal, M.Si	F-Hanura	II
H. Gondo Radityo Gambiro	F-Demokrat	VIII
H. Gusti Iskandar S.Z, SE	F-Golkar	IV

Source: DPR-RI [www.dpr.go.id](http://www.dpr.go.id)<sup>19</sup>

parliamentary threshold is determined by as much as 2.5% of legitimate votes nationally and only applied in determining the seats in the DPR-RI.

- **The General Election System.**

Within the three periods of general election, Indonesia experienced three types of system: closed proportional (1999), open proportional with ordinal number system (2004), open proportional with majority vote acquisition (2009).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The Special Committee Members for the Amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election, accessed on April 24, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Closed proportional system is an election mechanism by giving votes to political parties (such as by piercing the picture of a particular party). Open proportional system with ordinal number system is a mechanism of electing a candidate based on political party and voters can elect their candidate based on the candidate's ordinal number. Open proportional with major votes is an election mechanism by directly electing a candidate from a political party.

**Table 2**  
**The Working Committee Members for the Amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008**  
**on General Election**

<b>Name of members of the House</b>	<b>Faction</b>	<b>Commission</b>
Drs. Taufiq Hidayat, M.Si	F-Golkar	II
Arif Wibowo	F-PDIP	II
Gede Pasek Suardika, SH., MH	F-Demokrat	II
H. Muhammad Arwani Thomafi	F-PPP	II
Drs. Ramadhan Pohan, MIS	F-Demokrat	II
Saan Mustofa	F-Demokrat	III
Ignatius Mulyono	F-Demokrat	II
H. Harry Witjaksono, SH	F-Demokrat	III
Drs. H. Ibnu Munzir	F-Golkar	VI
Drs. Agun Gunanjar Sudarsa, BcIP, M.Si	F-Golkar	II
Nurul Arifin, S.IP, M.Si	F-Golkar	II
Ganjar Pranowo	F-PDIP	II
DR. Yassonna H. Laoly, SH, M.sc	F-PDIP	II
Agoes Purnomo, S.IP	F-PKS	II
Drs. Al Muzammil Yusuf	F-PKS	I
H. Totok Daryanto, SE	F-PAN	VII
Ahmad Yani, SH., MH	F-PPP	III
Hj. Anna Mu'awanah, SE, MH	F-PKB	IV
H. Ahmad Muzani	F-Gerindra	I
Drs. Akbar Faizal, M.Si	F-Hanura	II

Source: DPR-RI [www.dpr.go.id](http://www.dpr.go.id)<sup>21</sup>

- Electoral District

In the 2009 General Election Indonesia had 77 national electoral districts, 217 electoral districts of provincial DPR-RI and 1,851 Regency/City electoral districts.

- Seats per Electoral District<sup>22</sup>

In the 2009 General Election, each electoral district in Indonesia had 3 to 6 seats. The more seats in the electoral districts the bigger opportunity of women legislative candidates to be elected. On the contrary, the fewer seats in the electoral districts the less opportunity for women legislative candidates to be elected because they have to compete head to head with men candidates.

The follow up of the formulation of the working paper was to organise *RDP*U (Public Hearing) between KPP-RI and the DPR-RI *Pansus* of the Draft on General Election.

*RDP*U was conducted by inviting several representatives of non governmental organisations that focus their concern on women's representation. The working paper was already in the form of recommendations to articles concerning women's representation. Description that was given to

<sup>21</sup> The Special Committee Members for the Amendment of Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election, accessed on April 24, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Seat distribution in each electoral district brings impacts on the electability of a woman legislative candidates. The more electoral districts, the less distribution of seats in each electoral district. The fewer seats in electoral districts will put women in difficulty to be able to get in the list of legislative candidates and it influences their electability.

support the working paper was data supporting to the importance of increasing women's representation.<sup>23</sup>

## 2.3 Women Parliament Members and Public Policy Making in the DPR-RI

All state policies actually give implication to women citizens and children:<sup>24</sup>

1. State specific-gender policy, which means all policies concerning the special needs of both women and men, such as policy on the fulfilment of women's reproductive right.
2. State policies concerning the relation of women and men, such as marital issues, divorce and women's mobility. Those diverse policies have often disadvantage women. There have local regulations made for, yet, disadvantaging women, such as prohibition for women to go out at night.
3. State policies that we consider neutral but brings different impacts on women and men, such as policies on health, education, conflict and peace, job opportunities, migrant workers, industry, agriculture as well as micro economy, including financial issues. In practice, policies on social development, economic development and micro economic development had significant impacts for women and men.

The role of women DPR-RI members in decision making, such as in legislative function, budgeting and monitoring, will significantly influence the direction of women movement in Indonesia. The role is also important considering that most countries in the world position women in marginalised condition, and Indonesia is no exception.

As an example, maternal mortality rate in Indonesia was higher compared to Vietnam.<sup>25</sup> Human Development Report (HDR) 2011 ranked Indonesia at 124 or a little bit higher than Vietnam and Cambodia. However, Gender Inequality Index (GII) of Indonesia was ranked at 100, far below Vietnam, which was ranked at 48. Two of the GII indicators were maternal mortality rate and percentage of women in the parliament. GII rank of Indonesia and Vietnam showed that maternal mortality rate in Indonesia was 240/100,000 birth while in Vietnam was 56/100,000 birth. Whereas, the percentage of women in the parliament in Vietnam was 25.8%, while in Indonesia was 18%.<sup>26</sup>

In addition, *World Economic Forum*<sup>27</sup> published *Global Gender Gap Index (GGI)* in 2009 based on the data published by *Gender Empowerment Measurement (GEM)*, *Gender Development Index*

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<sup>23</sup> From 1999-2011 there were as many as 207 policies that discriminate against women at the national level to village level, and make Indonesia is considered less responsive to the needs of women.

<sup>24</sup> International Seminar, Muhammadiyah University Jakarta, paper by Chusnul Mar'iyah presented in *Islamic World, Women's Role and Responsibility of Moslem Women*, December 17, 2011, page. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Noerdin, Edriana. *Mencari Ujung Tombak Penurunan Angka Kematian Ibu di Indonesia*. Women Research Institute. 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Summary Human Development Report 2011 - *Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All*, UNDP, 2011, page. 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Power, Voice and Rights. A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*, UNDP- Macmillan, 2010.



(GDI) and *Human Development Index* (HDI) in 2007. If we observed the data on Indonesia in the publication, it showed that the GGI of Indonesia was 0.62. This figure was obtained from GEM of Indonesia, which was 0.4, GDI 0.72 and HDI 0.73. GEM of 0.4 reflected women's economic and political opportunity that tended to be lower than the GDI (0.72). It indicated that although women had capacity it did not necessarily mean that they had equal opportunity with men to use their capacity. Although Indonesia had demonstrated capacity improvement, achievement pertaining to women's position and condition in Indonesia was still below other Southeast Asian countries. Although the position of Indonesia in HDI was higher than that of Vietnam, Indonesian women's condition was lower than Vietnamese women's in terms of maternal mortality rate and percentage of women in the parliament.

### 2.3.1 Gender Distribution of the Members of DPR-RI

The result of the 2009 General Election had positioned 102 women members of the DPR-RI, across 11 Commissions and other Standing Committees of the DPR-RI. Some of them were involved in the preparation and deliberation of the bills and amendment bills, both in the Special Committees and Working Committees. Within the Legislation Committee of the DPR-RI, legislation that performed the duty of coordinating the drafting of bill and national legislation programme in the DPR-RI, only had about 8 women members of the DPR-RI from all the total of 50 members of the DPR-RI, which meant there was only 16% women involved.

From nine political parties represented through the Factions at the DPR-RI, PKB has the highest number of women members, followed by the Democratic Party as the winner of the 2009 General Election. The representation of PKB that reached 5% was able to successfully position 8 women (29%), while Democratic Party whose representation reached 26% was only able to position 36 women (24%). Hanura Party which secured 3% seats in the DPR-RI positioned 3 women in it.

**Table 3**  
**Gender Distribution in Factions of the DPR-RI 2009-2014 Period**

Faction	Women		Men		Number	% of Seats
	Number	%	Number	%		
PKB	8	29%	20	71%	28	5%
Demokrat	36	24%	112	76%	148	26%
Gerindra	5	19%	21	81%	26	5%
PDIP	17	18%	77	82%	94	17%
Hanura	3	18%	14	82%	17	3%
Golkar	18	17%	88	83%	106	19%
PPP	5	13%	33	87%	38	7%
PAN	6	13%	40	87%	46	8%
PKS	2	4%	55	96%	57	10%
<b>Total</b>					560	

Source: Public Relation of the DPR-RI, Centre for Data and Information Process of the DPR-RI

Gender distribution of the members of the House in the Commissions can be seen in the Table 4 below:

**Table 4**  
**Gender Distribution in the Commissions of the DPR-RI 2009-2014 Period**

Commission	Women		Men		Number
	Number	%	Number	%	
Commission IX Workforce and Transmigration, Demography and Health	24	49%	25	51%	49
Commission VIII Religion, Social Issues, Women	15	33%	31	67%	46
Commission X Education, Youth, Sports, Tourism, Arts and Culture	10	21%	38	79%	48
Commission I Defence, International Affairs, Information	9	18%	40	82%	49
Commission XI Finance, National Development Planning, Banking, Non-Bank Financial Institutions	8	17%	40	83%	48
Commission II Internal Affairs and Local Autonomy, State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform, General Election, Land and Land Reform	8	16%	43	84%	51
Commission IV Agriculture, Plantation, Forestry, Marine, Fishery, Food	8	16%	42	84%	50
Commission V Transportation, Public Work, Public Housing, Rural and Disadvantaged Area Development, Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysics	5	9%	49	91%	54
Commission VI Trade, Industry, Investment, Cooperatives, Small and Medium Enterprises and State Owned Enterprises, National Standardisation	3	6%	49	94%	52
Commission VII Energy of Mineral Resources, Research and Technology, Environment	3	6%	46	94%	49
Commission III Law, Human Right, Security	2	4%	50	96%	52

Source: Public Relations of the DPR-RI, Centre for Data and Information Process of the DPR-RI

Table 4 above presented the distribution of women’s members of the DPR-RI, who are concentrated in commissions whose sectors were considered to be stereotypically involved for women (Commission VIII and IX). In other commissions, particularly those concerning legal issues, such as Commission III, the number of women was small despite the fact that the works of the commission would be considerably important for women citizens. The same thing occurred in Commission VI and VII that were in charge of the fields of trade, state owned enterprises (BUMN) and energy mineral resources (ESDM), where there were fewer women members. The positioning of women members in the commissions was commonly decided by the faction leadership and those members who want to be placed in the commissions of their own choice must struggle to convince their political party leadership.

In the DPR-RI Legislation Committee there are only 8 women from the total 51 members (16%). Only Interparliamentary Cooperation Committee and State Financial Accountability Committee that had women members more than 20% (see Table 5).



**Table 5**  
**Gender Distribution in Complementary Entities of the DPR-RI 2009-2014 Period**

Complementary Entities	Women		Men		Number
	Number	%	Number	%	
Interparliamentary Cooperation Committee (BKSAP)	13	25%	38	75%	51
State Financial Accountability Committee (BAKN)	2	22%	7	78%	9
House Affairs Committee (BURT)	10	20%	40	80%	50
Legislation Committee (Baleg)	8	16%	43	84%	51
Steering Committee (Bamus)	9	15%	51	85%	60
Budget Committee (Banggar)	11	13%	73	87%	84
Ethics Committee (BK)	1	10%	9	90%	10

Source: Public Relation of the DPR-RI, Centre for Data and Information Process of the DPR-RI

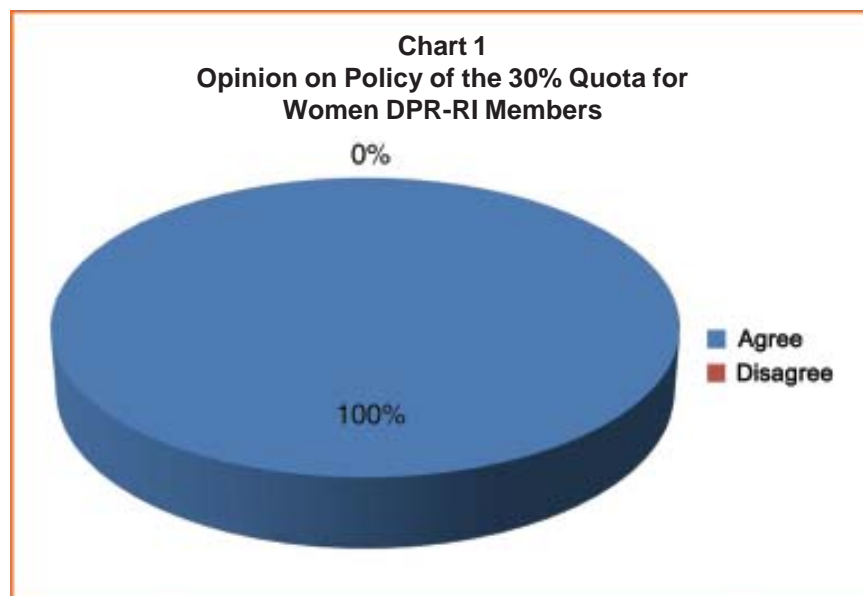
## CHAPTER III RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### 3.1 Level of Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of the DPR-RI Members on Women's Participation in Politics

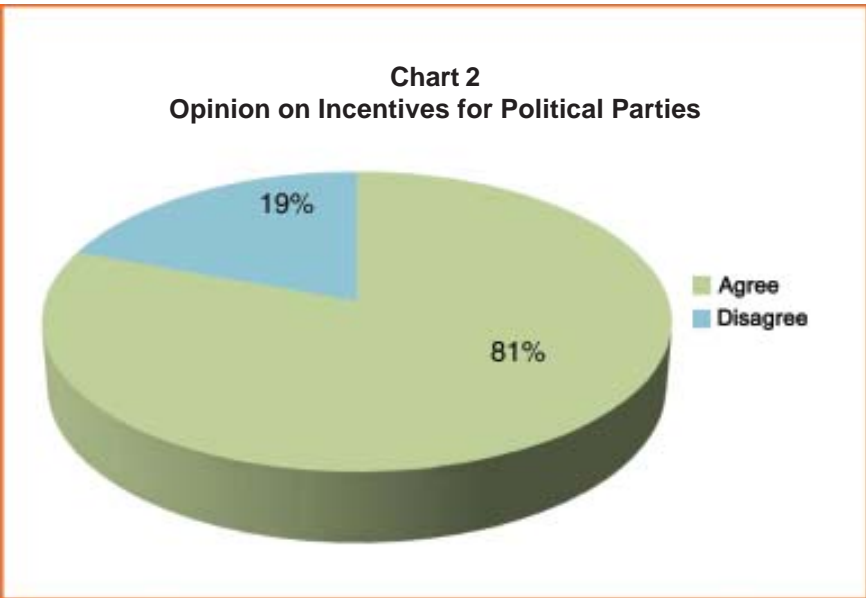
The research results are part of initial recommendations that may bring impact towards the policy making process in the DPR-RI particularly for amending Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election (The Draft Amendment). The result is as follows:

#### *Knowledge of the Members of the DPR-RI on:*

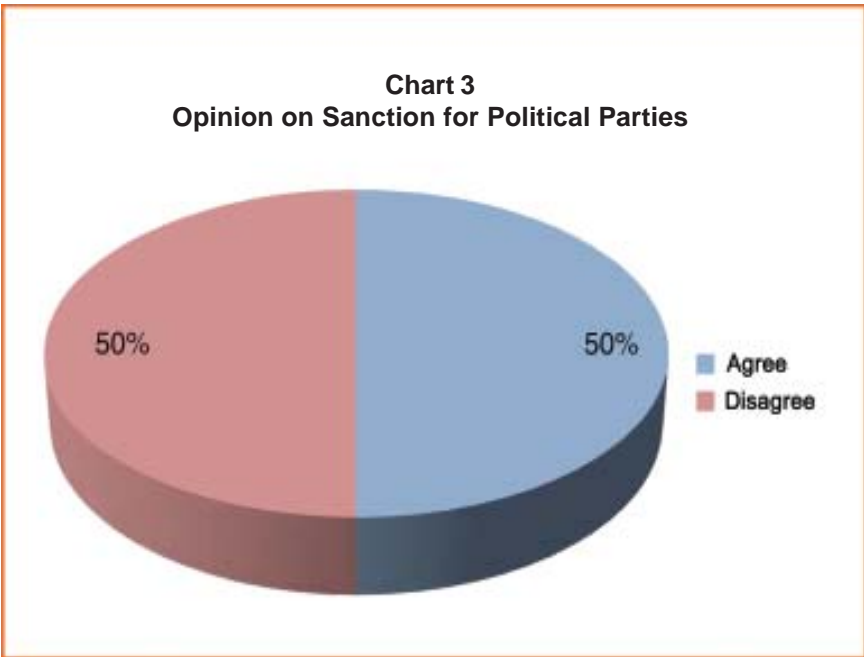
##### 1. "Policy of the 30% Quota"



Based on the results of WRI's survey towards the DPR-RI members, both men and women DPR-RI members agree with the affirmative action policies 30% for women DPR-RI members.



The respondents agree on the existence of an affirmative policy of 30% of parliamentarians are women. However, regarding the provision of incentives<sup>28</sup> for the parties that fulfill the policy, 19% of respondents expressed their disagreement. Their reason, affirmative action policies are the responsibility of political parties, therefore it does not need any incentive when the political party managed to achieve it.



Respondents' opinion was evenly divided between those who agreed and disagreed on giving sanctions<sup>29</sup> for political parties that did not fulfill the quota. It showed that although all respondents

<sup>28</sup> The provision of incentives is giving awards to political parties that can fulfill the 30% quota.

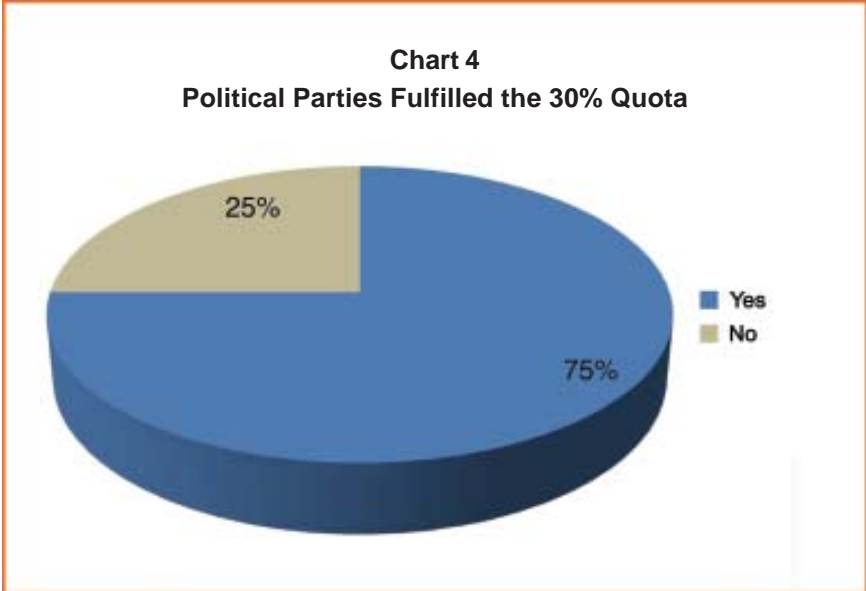
<sup>29</sup> Giving the sanctions is a provision for political parties who have not been able to fulfill the 30% quota. In General Election Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election stated that political parties who have not been able to fulfill the 30% quota have to be announced in mass media.

supported the policy of the 30% quota for women, they could not yet firmly be committed to it if the quota had not been fulfilled.

One of the interviewee was concerned with the negative affect of sanctions which could jeopardize efforts to increase women’s representation. For example if a party is unable to meet the 30% quota, then such party will be disallowed to participate in the General Election and therefore could fade the chances for future women legislators.<sup>30</sup> Currently there sanctions in place. In this regards, WRI via the honourable Nurul Arifin MP, proposed an incentive approach whereby motivating political parties fulfill the quota in-exchange for state budget funding support.

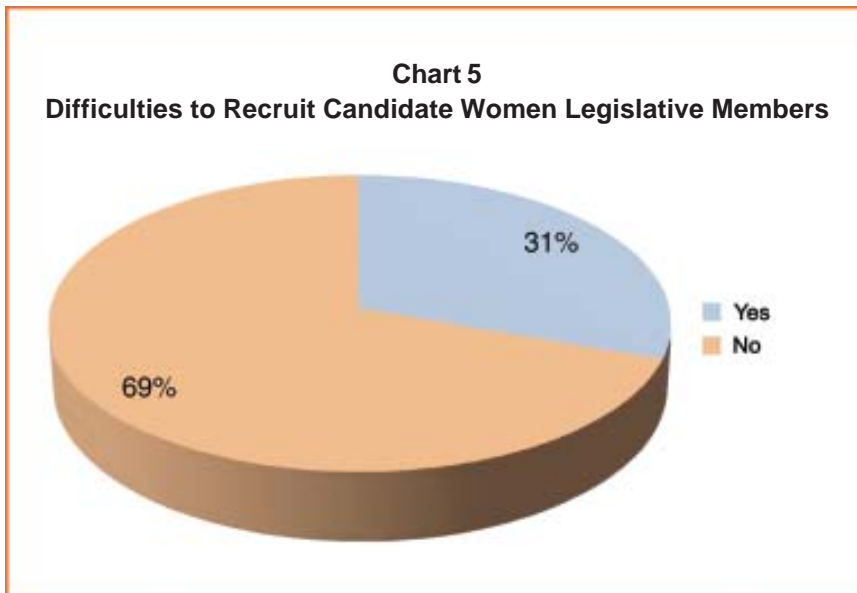
**2. “Obstacles in Implementing the 30% Quota for Women”**

Questions about the dynamics of political parties in fulfilling the affirmative policy were also asked WRI. The question asked is about the fulfillment of a 30% quota of women candidates by party and degree of difficulty by the party in seeking female candidates.



Only 25% of respondents acknowledged that their party had met the 30% quota of women candidates. While the remaining 75% responded that their party has not met the quota.

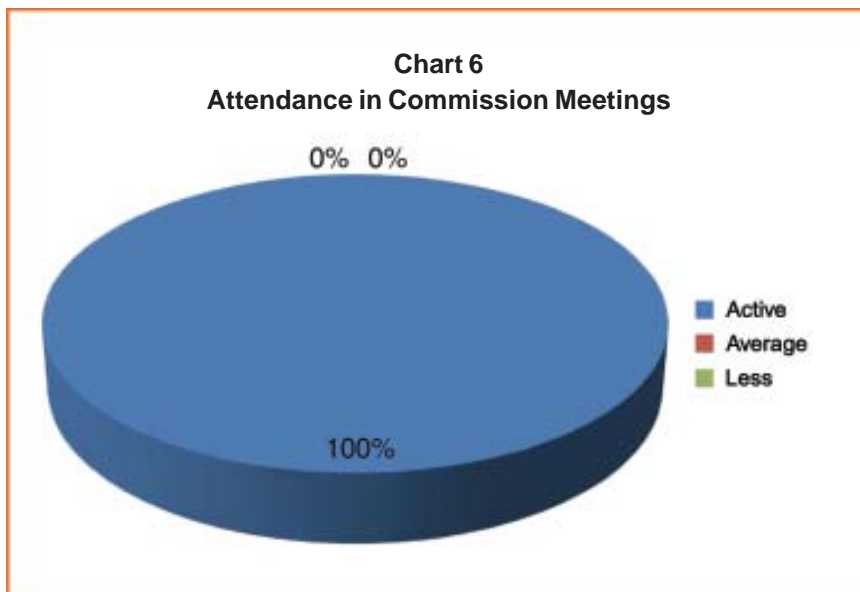
<sup>30</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member (March 30, 2012).



69% respondents felt that their party had no difficulty in finding female candidates but 31% of respondents stated that their parties have difficulty in finding female candidates.

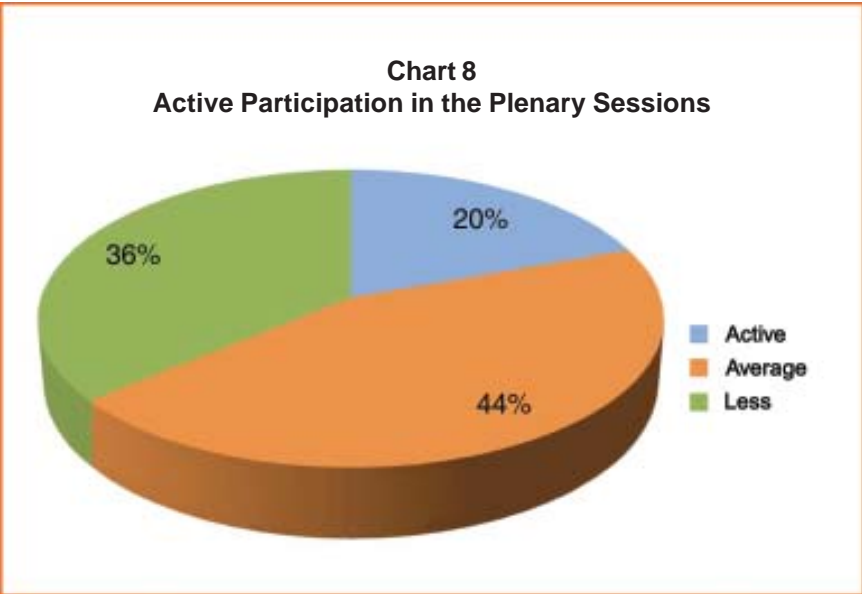
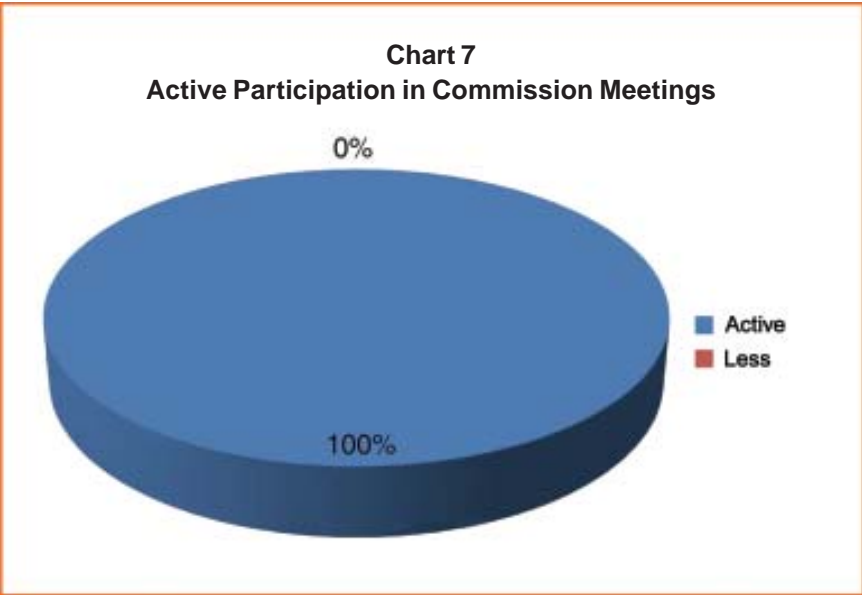
These facts showed that although more than 50% of respondents have no difficulty in finding female candidates but do not guarantee them to meet the 30% quota of women candidates which only 25% who fulfilled the 30% quota policy.

**3. “Performance of Women of the DPR-RI Members in Public policy making in the DPR-RI”**



All respondents replied that they often attend meetings in the DPR-RI, both plenary and committee meetings.

Some interviewees also mentioned that women are more diligent in the attendance and usually always reminding the subject matter at the previous meeting.<sup>31</sup> In addition, some women members in Commission II considered being very genuine when presenting ideas they are almost indistinguishable from the male members.<sup>32</sup>



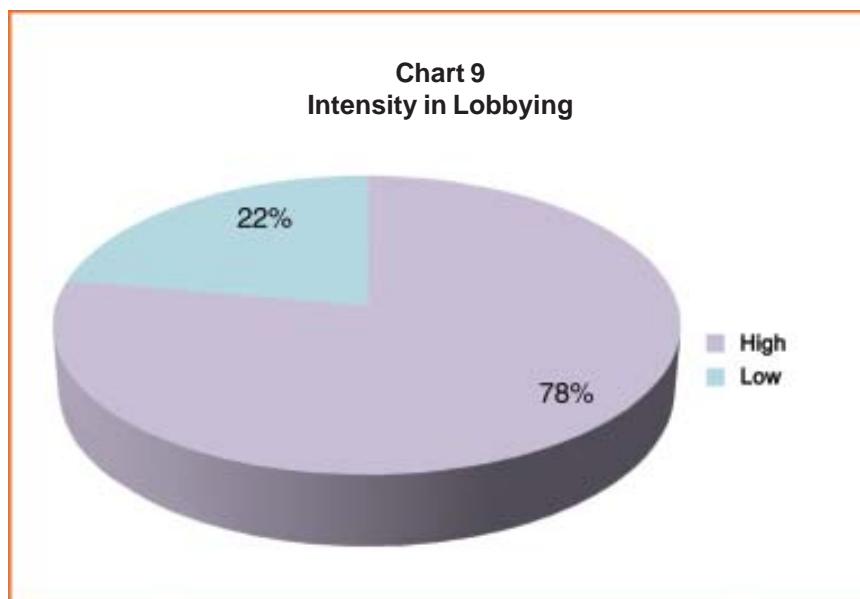
Not only attendance wise, the activeness of the members was also asked in the survey. All respondents claimed that they are quite active in commissions meetings. But for a plenary meeting only 20% that felt they were very active and 44% who felt active enough to argue in the plenary session while the remaining 36% was less active in the plenary session. The activeness meant

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Honing Sanny (PDIP faction Commission V) April 3, 2012 and Agustina Basik-Basik (Commission II, Golkar Faction ), March 15, 2012.

<sup>32</sup> Based on interview with Budiman Sudjatmiko (PDIP Faction Commission II) April 4, 2012. Whilst the “genuine” meaning has not been explored yet.

here is not just attendance, but also their ability in providing questions, suggestions, arguments to defend their reasons, etc.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, in the plenary session, which is a large forum in the DPR-RI, women's DPR-RI members participation was lower. There were only 2% that said they were very active. These were caused by, among others, that woman members did not have a good understanding on the issues discussed in the session. Furthermore, the discussion in the plenary session was a high level discussion in which the voice of the factions. Usually the representatives of factions were men members of the DPR-RI.



The intensity of lobbying made by women members of the DPR-RI was acknowledged fairly high: 78%. Lobbying among factions but done by women members frequently occurred at the commission level or during DPR-RI official visits. It was admitted by several resource persons that high intensity lobby occurred during Special Committee stage in policy making.<sup>34</sup>

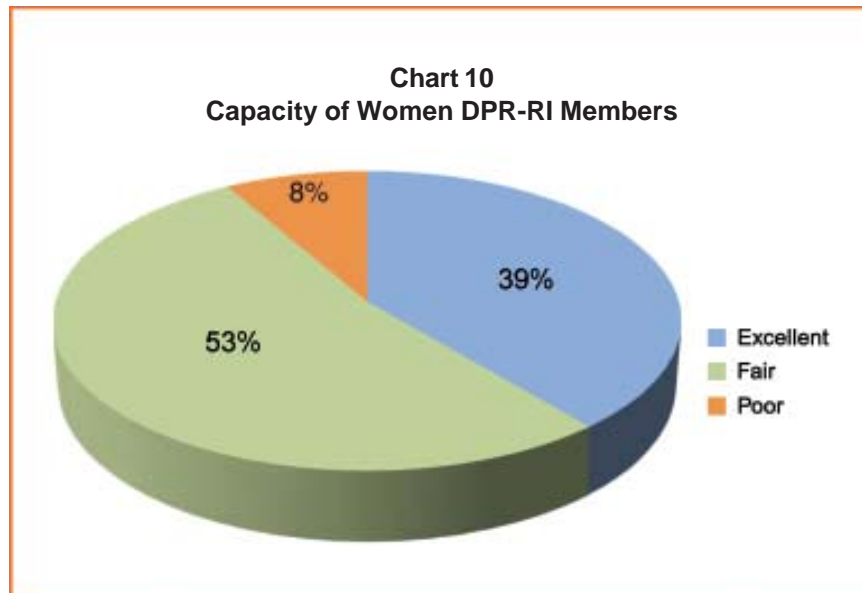
#### 4. “Capacity of Commission Members”

The DPR-RI members argued that both women and men members have the same capacity. Although some of them admit that the capacity of men are better. This is caused by the assumption that many male members who are quite experienced in politics, while women who do not have much political experience in the DPR-RI.<sup>35</sup> The assessment of this capacity is influenced by the experience and the background of the DPR-RI members. Both members of DPR-RI, men and women, recognized the need of capacity building, to better able them in formulating public policies.

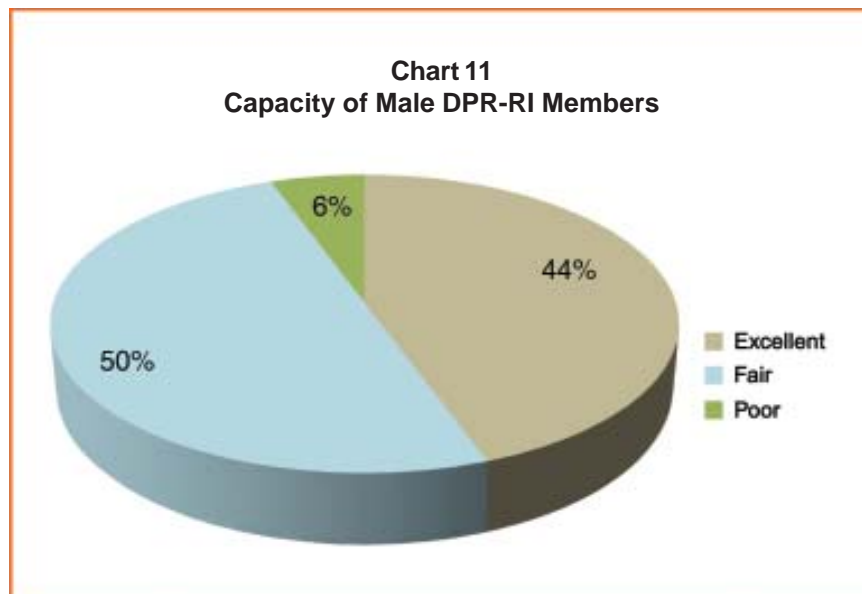
<sup>33</sup> Interview with Budiman Sudjatmiko (PDIP faction Commission II), April 4, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Ganjar Pranowo (Commission II of PDIP faction), March 30, 2012 and Budiman Sudjatmiko (Commission II of PDIP Faction), April 4, 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Honing Sanny (PDIP faction Commission V) April 3, 2012.

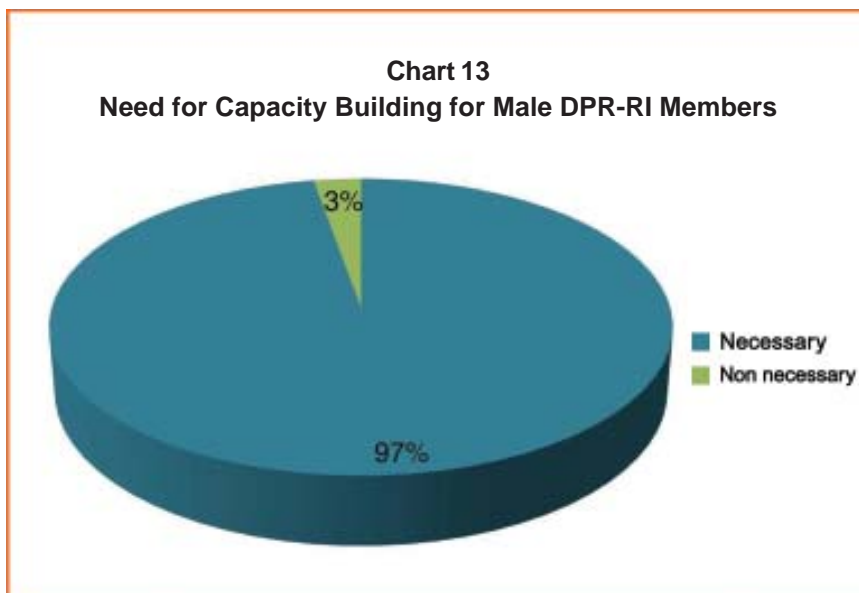
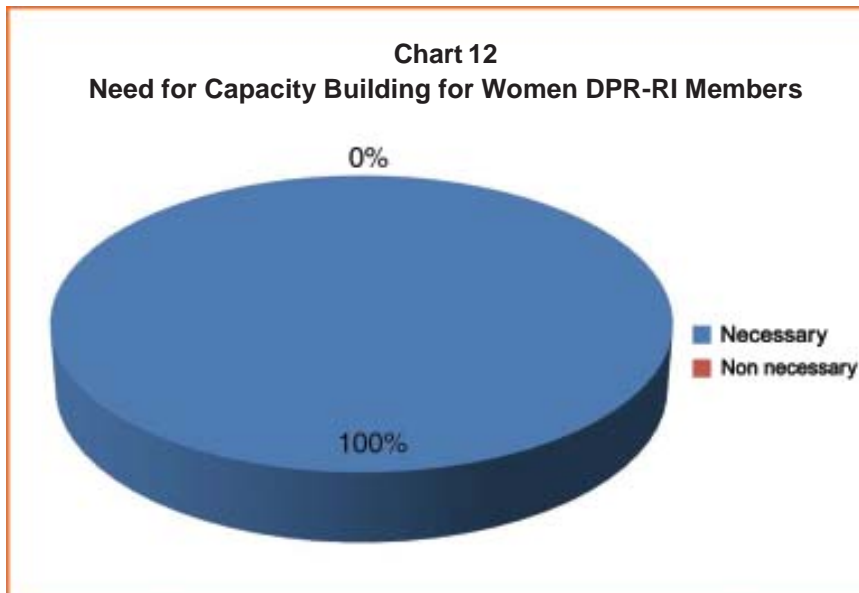


39% of respondents considered that the female members commissionary has good capacity. 53% respondents considered women's commission member has a satisfactory capacity, the remaining 8% of respondents rated capacity of women members of the commission are weak.



As for the capacity of the male members of the commission, respondents considered that the male committee members had a satisfactory capacity by 50%. Most of the other respondents, namely 44% of respondents assess the capacity of committee members as good, and only 6% of respondents who assessed the capacity of male members of the commission are weak.



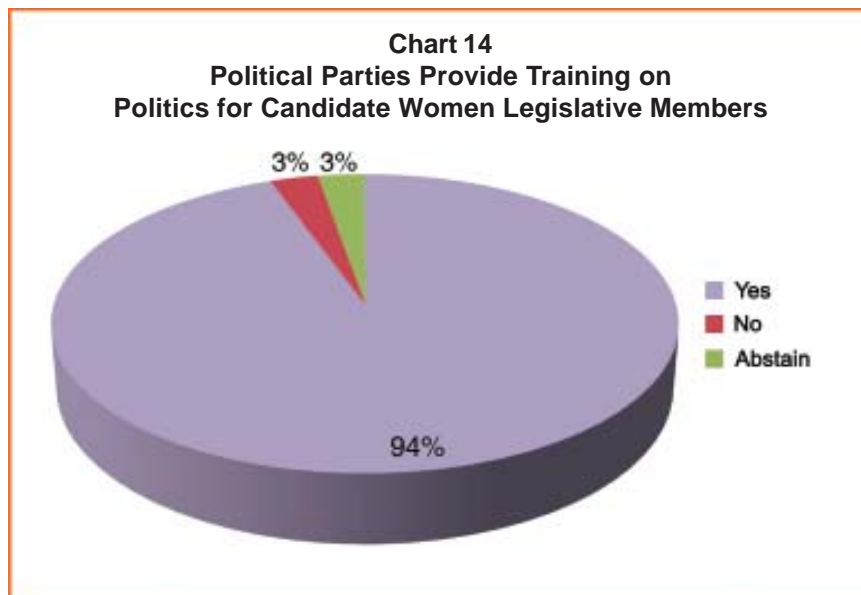


All respondents stated that capacity building for women DPR-RI members are needed. In contrast, 3% of the respondents stated that it is not necessary to increase the capacity of male members of the DPR-RI.

***The Attitude of the Members of the DPR-RI towards:***

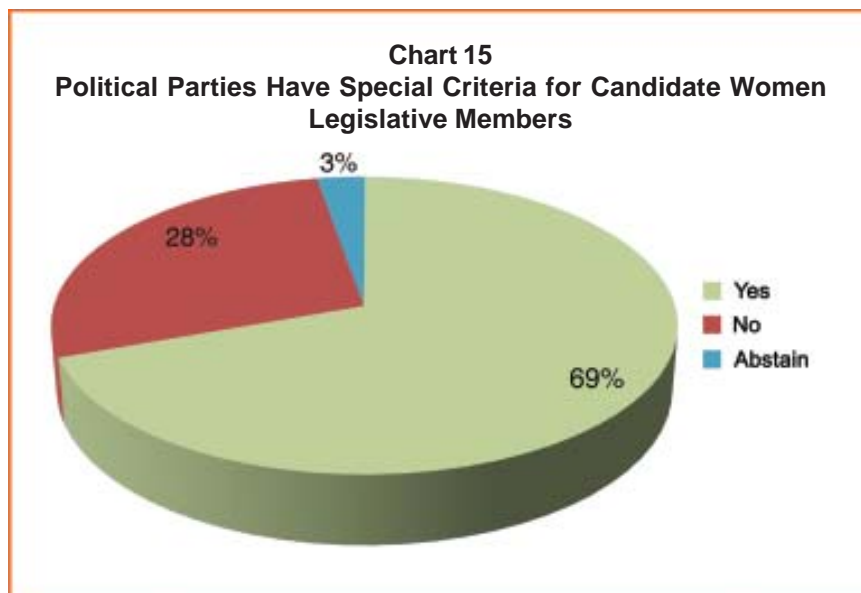
**1. “Political Parties’ Obstacles in Implementing the 30% Quota for Women”**

Two questions that represent the position of member of the DPR-RI for the implementation of the 30% quota of women in their political party is a political education for women candidates and the application of specific criteria for female candidates.



Almost all respondents opine the need for parties to give political training to women candidates, but there are 3% of respondents rated the party does not need to provide political training for women candidates and 3% of respondents obtained.

Political education training for women candidates are performed almost in all parties.<sup>36</sup> The training is conducted to prepare the skills required as members parliament for candidates in both national and local levels.

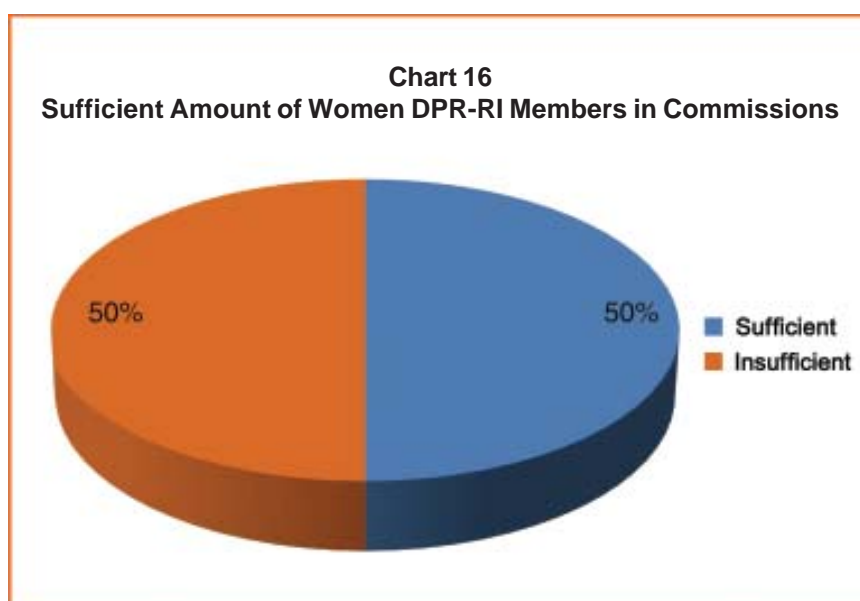


<sup>36</sup> The interview with Eva Sundari (March 22, 2012), women DPR-RI members (March 19, 2012), Reni Marlinawati (March 15, 2012), Ida Fauziyah (March 26, 2012), Ledia Hanifa (Commission VIII Faction PKS), April 3, 2012.

69% respondents opined that their party has specific criteria for female candidates, 28% of respondents said that their party has no specific criteria for female candidates, and 3% of respondents abstained.

The Islam-oriented political parties, PKS, has specific criteria for women candidates, i.e. the letter of permission from their husbands.<sup>37</sup> With regard to the specific criteria for women candidates, some parties stated that they treated the women and men candidates equally by referring to their activeness and their period of membership in the party.<sup>38</sup> Political parties also emphasized to their candidates (men and women) to remain committed to aspirations of the people and their constituents when they enter the political arena.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. “Ideal Amount Number of Women DPR-RI Members in a Commission”



According to 50% of the respondents, the number of women in the commission is still lacking and needs to be increased, while 50% stated that the number of women on the commission is sufficient and no need to be increased.

50% of respondents answered that there should more than 8 women DPR-RI members. 44% opined between 4 to 8 people women DPR-RI members are sufficient, and 6% between 1-3 persons are sufficient. However according to one of our interviewees that even though Commission VII has the least amount of women DPR-RI members (4 from 49), women DPR-RI members there can still freely articulate their opinions during commissions meetings.<sup>40</sup>

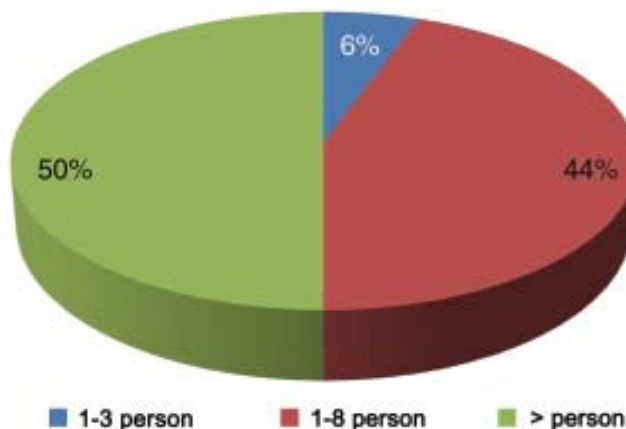
<sup>37</sup> Interviews with Ledia Hanifa, April 3, 2012.

<sup>38</sup> Interviews with Eva Sundari (March 22, 2012), Ganjar Pranowo (March 30, 2012).

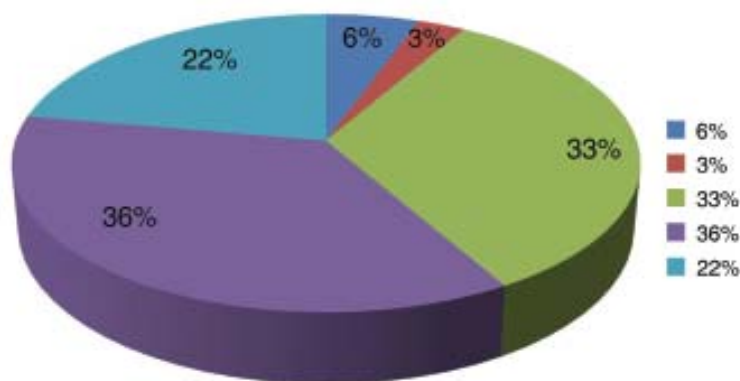
<sup>39</sup> Interviews with Eva Sundari, March 22, 2012.

<sup>40</sup> Interviews with Dewi Aryani Hilman (Commission VII, PDIP faction), April 3, 2012.

**Chart 17**  
**Ideal Amount of Women DPR-RI Members in Commissions**



**Chart 18**  
**Ideal Percentage of Women DPR-RI Members in Commissions**



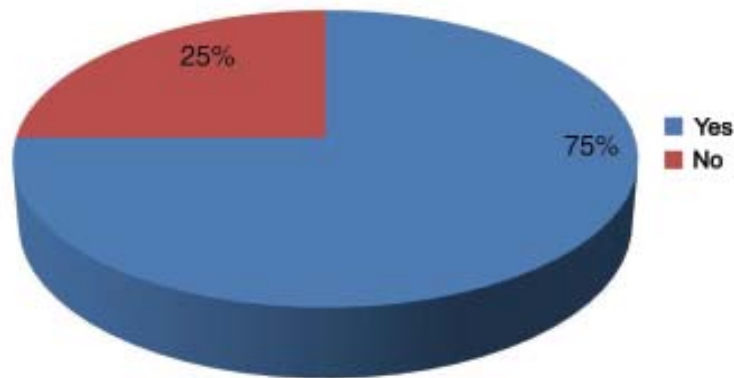
36% of respondents opined that the ideal number of women as members of the Commission should be more than 30%. 33% respondents said that 30% of the Commission members is sufficient. Whereas, 22% respondents did not provide answers to the ideal percentage of women DPR-RI members in the commission.

***Behaviour of the DPR-RI Members towards:***

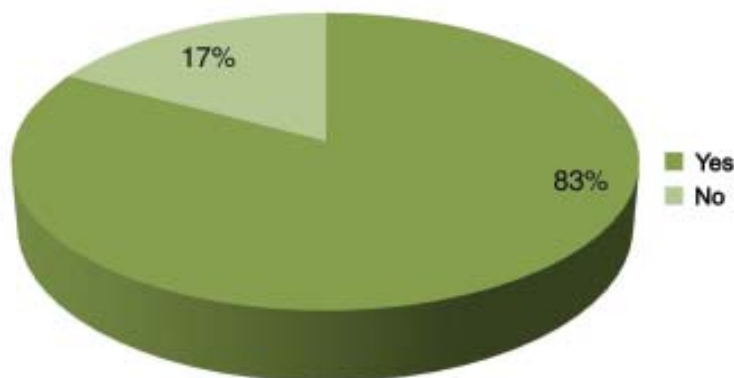
**1. “Managing Political Aspirations”**

As the representatives of the society whose duty is to absorb and strive for the aspiration of the society, women DPR-RI members need strategies to optimally perform. One of the ways is seek consultations with their factions to gain support. As many as 75% respondents opined that they consulted with each of their factions when proposing their ideas to make sure that their opinions are in line with faction policies.

**Chart 19**  
**Seeking Consultation with Factions When Proposing Ideas**



**Chart 20**  
**Articulating Opinions in Accordance with the Direction of Factions**



This was supported by 83% of answers from the respondents who stated that their proposal and ideas were in line with the direction of their factions.

Based on the in-depth interviews with several members of the DPR-RI, it was found that women members of the DPR-RI had to be able to make informal lobbies to the representatives of other factions, such as discussing their ideas before and after their meetings to gain support.<sup>41</sup> It was proven several times that women were capable to conduct better lobbying compared to male DPR-RI members. One example of such capability was DPR-RI members done by the Honourable Nurul Arifin MP, She successfully able to convince the DPR-RI Working Committee in the Amending Bill of the General Election Law, to adopt affirmative provisions to the bill.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Ledia Hanifa (April 3, 2012), Budiman Sudjatmiko (April 4, 2012), Ina Ammania (March 15, 2012), Ida Fauziyah (March 26, 2012), Ganjar Pranowo (March 30, 2012), Dian Syakhroza (March 20, 2012), and Eva Sundari (March 22, 2012).

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Ganjar Pranowo (March 30, 2012).

Women DPR-RI members made use of information technology by sending short messages pertaining to the issues that were deliberated, even during meetings.<sup>43</sup>

Therefore, women members of the DPR-RI had to have comprehensive knowledge on issues they received. This is important in political lobbying. Usually women tried to obtain as much information as possible on particular issues and would learn them comprehensively. They also often asked for input from women's organisations and experts to strengthen their arguments for lobbying.

From the analysis on the survey above, we opine that:

1. The knowledge of the members of the DPR-RI on the 30% quota for women was fairly good and there was no rejection against it. However, the difficulty to find women legislative candidates remained the major reason of not being able to fulfil the 30% quota.
2. The attitude of the members of the DPR-RI in striving for the capacity building for women politicians is clear. They support enhanced political training for women legislative candidates.
3. The behaviour of the members of the DPR-RI in managing political aspiration had been considerably influenced by the relation of the members of the DPR-RI and their constituents and institutions outside the DPR-RI. Knowledge and capacity of the members of the DPR-RI on the issues also greatly influenced their commitment in working in the commissions.

### **3.2 The Process of Deliberating the Amendment Bill to Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election**

Up to the completion of this research, the Working Committee only deliberated important provisions to the bill, namely Articles 53, 55, and 57 to ensure the increase of women's representation:<sup>44</sup>

- Article 53: Proposal of 30% women legislative candidates in each electoral district.
- Article 55 Paragraph (1): Proposal on the positioning of candidates with 2 different genders at number 1 and 2. Where as from number 3 and the following there should be filled by the minimum of 1 woman legislative candidate among 3 candidates; and
- Article 57: Proposal on the giving of sanction by the General Elections Commission and the Local General Election Commissions to political parties that cannot meet the 30% quota for women in their electoral districts and the sanction should be announced directly in each electoral district.

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<sup>43</sup> Interview with a woman member of the House (April 3, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Based on the meeting outcome of the Working Committee of Draft Bill on General Election, February 9, 2012 at Gedung Nusantara Room KK1, the proposal of important articles came from the presentation by Nurul Arifin as a member of the Working Committee of Draft Bill on General Election from Golkar Faction.

In this regards, the Working Committee members responded also on behalf of the factions at the DPR-RI as follows:<sup>45</sup>

- The regulation that was in effect at present, which was the 30% quota for women, was easier to achieve because there were difficulties to find women legislative candidates, particularly in the provinces of Papua.<sup>46</sup> On the contrary, other factions were of the opinion that it was irrelevant since more than 50% of Indonesian population was women. Furthermore, they opined that 80% of general election voters were women because men tended not to vote. General election participants should have thanked women because they have voted and supported the general election.<sup>47</sup>
- One of the members of the Working Committee said that it was important to place candidates with two different gender at number 1 and 2<sup>48</sup> and at number 3, 4, 5 as well as 6, 7, 8 and 9, 10, 11 and so forth there had to be at least 1 woman candidate. Another option was women are positioned at number 1 in 30% of the entire electoral district at the national, provincial and regency/town levels. Using the data from the Centre for Political Studies University of Indonesia,<sup>49</sup> a member of the Working Committee said that women positioned at number 1 who were now seated at the DPR-RI was 8.3% of the total members of the DPR-RI, number 2 only 5.2% and number 3 formed 3.7% and these figures showed that there were only a small number of candidate women legislators positioned at number 1, 2 and 3. The same situation occurred in the DPRD Provincial Level. Women who were positioned at number 1 were only 16% and those who were successful were 41%. From the data we can see that sequence numbers greatly influenced the election of women and, hence, the proposal of positioning women at number 1 in 30% of electoral districts is important. The Working Committee invites its members to consider some options that could be more acceptable.
- One member of the Working Committee<sup>50</sup> also suggested that sanction is unconstitutional. Besides, if there were any sanction there would become a resistance or backfire. Therefore, it was enough to implement what had been stated in the previous Law, which said that the General Elections Commission would announce political parties that could not fulfil the 30% quota public media, such as the website and office of the General Elections Commission, and if there was fund available, it may be announced in local mass media.

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<sup>45</sup> Based on the meeting outcome of the Working Committee of Draft Bill on General Election, February 9, 2012 at Gedung Nusantara Room KK1.

<sup>46</sup> Based on statement made by Ahmad Yani (member of the Working Committee of Draft Bill on General Election from PPP Faction), on the Working Committee meeting, February 9, 2012.

<sup>47</sup> Statement made by Nurul Arifin (member of the Working Committee of Draft Law on General Election from Golkar Faction) on the Working Committee meeting, February 9, 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Statement made by Ganjar Pranowo (member of the Working Committee of Draft Law on General Election from PDIP Faction) on the Working Committee meeting, February 9, 2012.

<sup>49</sup> Puskapol FISIP UI, *Naskah Rekomendasi "Kebijakan Representasi Perempuan dalam Regulasi Partai Politik dan Pemilu"*, Puskapol FISIP UI. (Jakarta, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> Nurul Arifin Statement (Member of the Working Committee on the Draft Law on General Election, Golkar faction) in the Committee meeting, February 9, 2012.



Based on these information above, the Women Research Institute took a view that:<sup>51</sup>

1. It is necessary to bear in our mind that 30% is a critical threshold and we will be able to achieve more than 30%. This threshold should be implemented up to the lowest level of representation, even up to Village Representation Body;
2. Sequence number for candidate legislator has proved to yield high electability. To support the achievement of 30% quota, women candidates should be positioned at number 1 or 2;
3. Sanction by announcing political parties that could not fulfil the 30% quota in mass media could not give enough pressure for the political parties to increase the electability of women candidates. It is necessary rather to think of a mechanism for giving incentives to the parties to better position women legislative candidates, particularly in electoral districts where their electability is high.

### 3.3. The Role of Women DPR-RI Members in Public Policy Making

In terms of quantity there was a significant increase of women parliamentarians in the DPR-RI. It was admitted by several resource persons that women's involvement in the deliberation of the Amendment Bill to Law No. 10 of 2008 was significant, particularly the involvement of women DPR-RI members working in the Working Committee.<sup>52</sup>

In regards to the increase, the following statements pertaining to the women DPR-RI members were found:<sup>53</sup>

- KPP-RI attempted to oversee all Draft Laws that were being deliberated, particularly those that were gender responsive, such as Amendment Bill to Law No. 10 of 2008. Nevertheless, KPP-RI members still face challenges in order to discuss their proposals in internal meetings of the faction;
- The ability of women DPR-RI members to initiate ideas, to express opinions and solving problems still need to be strengthened. Many women DPR-RI members are still passive in policy-making.<sup>54</sup>

Based on our initial observation, Women Research Institute had identified the following challenges encountered by women DPR-RI members in policy making, particularly in the legislation process in the DPR-RI:

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<sup>51</sup> Based on the result of the discussion in *peer review* (January 13, 2012), internal seminar (February 2, 2012) and public seminar (April 26, 2012) held by WRI.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Agustina Basik Basik (Commission II of Golkar Faction), March 15, 2012.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with a woman member of the House, March 19, 2012.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Taufiq Hidayat (Commission II of Golkar Faction), April 3, 2012.



1. Male domination in politics and lack of support from political parties.<sup>55</sup> Both informal and formal structure and leadership of the parties are factors that created difficulties for women activists in the political parties to strive for gender equality. It was due to the structure of political parties that provided less room for women to be involved in decision making process. In addition to that, men doubted that women had capability in elaborating policy and access to the selection of the candidates. One of the concerns of increasing women's representation thus, a regulation that could ensure a gender-friendly political process;
2. Social and economic obstacles.<sup>56</sup> In the practice of politics in Indonesia, it was almost without a doubt that the role of money politics had greatly determined candidate electability in general election. This problem put women in a greater difficulty to participate in the parliament. The decision of *MK-RI* to win major votes opened political transactional opportunities and, hence, candidates had to compete with women candidates inside and among parties;<sup>57</sup>
3. Ideological and psychological constraints. In Indonesia context, comprehension and interpretation of religions are extremely influenced by patriarchal culture. Although there had been a great development in this area within the last two decades, the domination of patriarchal ideology were still visible in the practice of politics. The difficulties women had to step in to the parliament was due to an ideology which said that the duty of women was merely in domestic sphere;<sup>58</sup>
4. Factions became both the driving and limiting force when members of DPR-RI who helped and gave support the ideas of women members. The shift of members to other commissions was considered disturbing since it would create difficulties in overseeing a policy that was being striven for. The shift of the commission caused women to catch up with in the new commission. A great number of duties, such as duties in the commissions and complementary entities of DPR-RI a problem for women members in focusing and concentrating themselves;<sup>59</sup>
5. Views that were agreed by women members of DPR-RI were not necessarily agreed by their factions or political parties. The line of factions or political parties greatly determined their steps and work strategies. Although they had potential capability and critical, if their actions crossed the instructions of their factions, they could be evaluated as performing improperly which resulted in their being shifted to other commissions or other standing committee.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> International Seminar, Muhammadiyah University Jakarta, paper by Chusnul Mar'iyah presented in *Islamic World, Women's Role and Responsibility of Moslem Women*, December 17, 2011, page. 14.

<sup>56</sup> Nadezhda Shvedova, *Kendala-kendala terhadap Partisipasi Perempuan dalam Parlemen*, in Azza Karam et al., *Perempuan di Parlemen: Bukan Sekedar Jumlah, Bukan Sekedar Hiasan*, Jakarta: IDEA and YJP, 1999, page 26.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Interview with a woman member of the House, March 30, 2012.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with a woman member of the House (April 3, 2012) and Rieke Diah Pitaloka (Commission IX of PDIP Faction), March 15, 2012.

6. Political activities in DPR-RI referred tremendously to masculine values and not time-friendly to women members. Time-friendliness was related to double burden for women because they had an obligation to take care of household affairs. The structure of Indonesian society that still place women merely in domestic sphere made them think repeatedly to attend meetings held in the evening, ask permission from their husbands and continually worry about of their children. Belief and cultural factors made women not as free as men in decision making and at work;<sup>61</sup>
7. Unpreparedness and commitment of some women members' to the DPR-RI operations considered them as weak by their male colleagues and the society. The generalization or stereotyping of male DPR-RI members weak performance disadvantaged women's members of DPR-RI who were well qualified and tremendously dedicated to their work. Such values would result in less support for affirmation policy and women's involvement in politics. Women's DPR-RI members found it difficult to strive for specific women's issues because men members considered those issues as women's issues instead of collective issues. Although they gained support from men members, but their factions were not interested in the issues, the support from their colleagues was in vain.<sup>62</sup> Negative labelling was also felt by women when they implemented a particular policy or doing their official visits to absorb people's aspiration;<sup>63</sup>
8. Some women members of DPR-RI has yet to understand gender knowledge and perspective. Reluctancy and minimal confidence to join male DPR-RI members in non-parliamentary activities while it was in such activities that members of DPR-RI were expected to do lobbying. Initiatives to learn from other members were still low and it made them less capable in opening network inside and outside DPR-RI. Such problems were usually faced by women members who did not have sufficient experience in organisations or as activists;<sup>64</sup>
9. Current policies has yet given any benefit to the presence of women in DPR-RI. Not all women in DPR-RI had the same sensitivity to women's issues and, therefore, bringing up women's issues had to be striven for. A lot of women members had low confidence, particularly in the Plenary Session. Most of them were not prepared to receive input, criticism and contest arguments. When the time came for them to express their proposals, rejection, criticism it was still difficult for the women to express. Although morally women members supported each other they could not yet perform in full solidarity;<sup>65</sup>
10. Their small number in their factions diminished their opportunity of being elected and involved in standing committees and other committees of DPR-RI;<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Interview with Agustina Basik Basik (Commission II of Golkar Faction), March 15, 2012.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Reni Marlinawati (Commission X of PPP Faction), March 15, 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Dian Syakhroza (Commission XI of Democratic Party Faction), March 20, 2012.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with a woman member of DPR, March 19, 2012.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Ledia Hanifa (Commission VIII of PKS Faction), April 3, 2012.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Ina Ammania (Commission VIII of PDI-P Faction), March 15, 2012.

11. Electronic media did not really supported women members of DPR-RI although these women DPR-RI members made positive performance. Media did want to reveal the awakening of women's issues.<sup>67</sup> Their work in the DPR-RI, such as attending tight scheduled meetings, initiating issues, such as law on food supplies that was considered liberal, was not greatly covered the media. Usually the media ironically brought up negative issues that worsened the image of women in the parliament.<sup>68</sup>

Based on the initial observation above, the Women Research Institute had also identified the following strategies used by women members of DPR-RI to face the challenges above in public policy making, particularly in the process of legislation in DPR-RI:

1. Involvement of internal and external partners to assist the work of women members of DPR-RI. Internal partners were experts and KPP-RI while external partners were political parties, mass organisation, NGOs, research institutes, media and family. The form contributions to the members of DPR-RI active participation were communication, information and advocacy materials.<sup>69</sup>
2. Attempt to form interest groups to strive for women's interests through KPP-RI;<sup>70</sup>

### **Caucus of Women Parliamentary Members of the Republic of Indonesia (KPP-RI)**

To improve women members' political position and arena for information sharing, they were called to establish a forum of struggle for women parliamentary members, named *Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia* (KPP-RI) on July 19, 2001. Referring to the mission they had, KPP-RI promised that the presence of women members of DPR-RI would be more meaningful. With all limitation KPP-RI had, it would attempt to eliminate or revise all regulations that were gender bias and encouraged the issuance of gender sensitive laws. KPP-RI, both by itself or with other elements of the society at the national, regional and international attempted to realise its missions, which were:

1. Increasing women's participation in each process of public policy making.
2. Making efforts in order that all policies, programmes, projects and development activities integrate experience, aspiration, needs as well as problems faced by men and women in a balanced and gender equality manner.
3. Improving access and participation of women in each stage of development, from the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
4. Encouraging the realisation of governance that has gender perspective, including policy on gender budget.

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<sup>67</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member, April 3, 2012.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member, March 30, 2012.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member, March 19, 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member, March 26, 2012. What is meant by interest groups here is all members of DPR-RI, particularly women.

Members of KPP-RI were all members of DPR-RI and the Regional Representative Council. In its journey, however, not all women members of DPR-RI were willing to be actively involved and contributing to the organisation. Women DPR-RI members still need to allocate their attention to their commission work and to the factions.

In KPP-RI, affirmation issues of each commission were always addressed and specifically in each of their commission, women usually brought up gender budget issues.<sup>71</sup> KPP-RI always attempted to discuss crucial issues pertaining to increasing women's representation.

One of the interviewees opined that although KPP-RI is a forum for women DPR-RI members but it seems the activities are not interesting.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Interview with a woman DPR-RI member, March 19, 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Hetifah Syaifudian (Commission V of Golkar Faction), March 29, 2012.



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

This section provides some conclusions and recommendation to increase representation of participation of women DPR-RI members in the process of policy making. From the research WRI conducted, we obtained the following findings and recommendations:

#### **1. Level of Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of DPR-RI members of towards Women's Participation in Politics**

##### **Findings:**

- The knowledge of the members of DPR-RI on the 30% quota for women was fairly good and there was no rejection to the quota although the 30% quota had not been fulfilled. The difficulty of finding women legislative candidates remain the major reason why the quota had not been fulfilled.

##### **Recommendations:**

- Ensure women to have equal to actively participate in politics;
- Overseeing the implementation of the 30% quota for women in political parties;
- Building collective initiatives with political parties/women's wing of political parties in order that women can actively be involved and participate in the mechanism of the their political parties;
- Securing more women to enter politics.

##### **Findings:**

- The attitude of the members of DPR-RI in striving for the capacity strengthening for women politicians was clear. They supported political training provided for women legislative candidates.

##### **Recommendations:**

- Enhance the role, knowledge and political experience of women in political parties. Political parties to increase its commitment to regeneration in the upcoming election could reach a quota of 30%.
- Political parties are also responsible for placing female cadres capable of championing the interests of constituents and the people in general.

- Political parties may include the recruitment of members in a transparent mechanism and gender justice, as well as the criteria and mechanisms for the selection committee and party leaders. Quota mechanism can be applied in the processes of recruitment and selection, at least 30% for women at all levels of political stewardship.
- One function of the formation of political parties is to do education. Political parties are obliged to educate the public to understand politics and have a political consciousness based on the ideology of the party. The aim is to include the community in such a way that political parties receive public support. For example by providing information about state policy and explain the direction of the party for political struggle.
- Political education be important opportunity for women to join as a member of the political parties. Access and opportunities for women to receive more roles, knowledge and political experience. Political parties have an obligation to give special assistance such as leadership training, and other women empowerment programs.

#### **Finding:**

- The practice that was taken in managing political aspirations had been greatly influenced by the relation between them and their constituents as well as institutions outside DPR-RI. Their knowledge and capacity to comprehend the issues discussed in DPR-RI had also greatly influenced their commitment in guarding the deliberation of policy in their commissions.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Increasing responsiveness of DPR-RI to accept input from outside of DPR-RI. DPR-RI should be more responsive of input from external institutions which aim at supporting the performance and capacity strengthening of its members. It is expected that DPR-RI is able to increase its capacity, both in terms of substantive matter pertaining to the work of the commissions and the capacity of articulating opinions.
- Strengthening KPP-RI for women's interests. KPP-RI as the umbrella organisation of women members of DPR-RI need to strengthen themselves in order that they are able to voice the interests and needs of women. Therefore, KPP-RI needs to strengthen the understanding on women's issues. KPP-RI is also mandated to strengthen the solidarity among women members in strengthening women's interest groups.

## **2. The Process of Deliberating the Amendment Bill to Law No. 10 of 2008**

#### **Finding:**

- The deliberation of the Amendment Bill to Law No.10 of 2008 only involved three women in the Special Committee and two women in the Working Committee. This indicates that DPR-RI involve less women members in the deliberation of bill.
- The appraisal of the Amending Bill has yet to ensure the fulfilment of the 30% quota for women DPR-RI members. The endorsement of the amendment of the Law on General Election had not ensured the fulfilment of the 30% quota for women in DPR-RI.

**Recommendations:**

- It is necessary to balance the number of women and male members of DPR-RI in the deliberation.
- The importance of “incentives”: This is to encourage the culture of rewarding merit that will give more positive impacts compared to the culture of punishing that have been more apparent in our legal system. The incentive mechanism is intended for political parties which are able to fulfil the affirmation articles. Article 12 of Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Party stated that each political party obtain financial assistance from the State Budget and Local Budget in accordance with the law. Political parties must provide statement letter which conveys that they are able to fulfil the 30% quota for women when delivering accountability report of income and expenditure sourced from the State Budget and Local Budget. Before the Amending Bill was approved as Law No. 8 of 2012, WRI had purposed to the members of the DPR-RI in order to increase women’s participation, specially regarding to policy making.<sup>73</sup>

### 3. The Role of Women DPR-RI Members in Public Policy Making

**Finding:**

- Women members of DPR-RI were fairly successful in the making of gender-responsive public policy but were not yet able to integrate gender perspective inside all policies.

**Recommendations:**

- Improving the understanding on gender perspective of members of political parties and the members of DPR-RI in the process of public policy making. Every decision made from the policy in political parties and DPR-RI has gender implications. In other words that every policy made will be have different consequences on men and women.

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<sup>73</sup> To see how the proposals raised by WRI was given attention in the deliberation of the Amendment Bill, please see Annex 4 about the Table of comparison of recommendations proposed by WRI and the Response of the DPR-RI.



## CONCLUSION

When the participation of women in decision-making process has not reached the expectations of quota of 30%, there are three solutions that need to be done at the same time. *First*, the access of women in legislative bodies need to be improved. That is, the minimum requirement of 30% quota of women as members of the legislature must be met. *Second*, women DPR-RI members should be strengthened and encouraged to produce policies that promote women's interests. *Third*, encourage responsiveness of DPR-RI to accept input from outside DPR-RI, including civil society organizations and women's groups. DPR-RI should be more responsive of input from external institutions which aim at supporting the performance and capacity strengthening of its members. It is expected that DPR-RI is able to increase its capacity, both in terms of substantive matter pertaining to the work of the commissions and the capacity of articulating opinions.

Through this research, WRI believes that it is time to strengthen the working relationship between the DPR-RI and non parliamentary institutions for the purpose of improving the capacity and strengthening the function of legislation. This condition shows just how crucial the issue regarding the relationship between parliament and non-parliamentarians. The 30% quota policy affirmations for women is an absolute beginning and should continue to be developed to achieve equality.

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## **Law and Bill**

- Academic Paper on the Amendment Bill to Law Number 10 of 2008 on General Election of the House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council and Local Legislative Council Members, October 7, 2011.
- The Amendment Bill to Law Number 10 of 2008 on General Election of the House of Representative, Regional Representative Council and Local Legislative Council Members, October 7, 2011.
- The DPR-RI Standing Orders Chapter VI of the Establishment Procedure Act.
- The Law Number 10 of 2008 on General Election of the House of Representative, Regional Representative Council and Local Legislative Council Members.

## ANNEXES

1. List of Resource Persons for the Initial Consultation Meeting
2. Sample Questionnaire
3. In-depth Interview Guide
4. Table of Comparison of Recommendations Proposed by WRI and the Responses of DPR-RI

**Annex 1**  
**List of Resource Persons for the Initial Consultation Meeting**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Date</b>
1.	IR. Hj. A.P.A. Timo Pangerang	Chair person of KPPRI	13 <sup>th</sup> December 2011
2.	Tetty Kadi Bawono	Secretary General of KPPRI	26 <sup>th</sup> January 2012
3.	Reni Marlinawati	KPR-RI	13 <sup>th</sup> December 2011
4.	Nurul Arifin, S.IP, M.Si	Member of Commission II of the DPR-RI	24 <sup>th</sup> January 2012
5.	Chusnul Mar'iyah	Academician from the University of Indonesia	13 <sup>th</sup> January 2012
6.	Reni C Suarso	Academician from the University of Indonesia	24 <sup>th</sup> February 2012

**Annex 2  
Sample Questionnaire**

**Survey of Women Legislative Members and Policy Making Process in the DPR-RI**

**Respondent's Identity**

Name:	
Gender:	Male [    ]                      Female [    ]
Faction:	
Membership number:	
Commission:	
Age:	
Latest education:	

Signing this form indicates that you have understood what we expect and that are willing to participate in this survey:

Respondent agrees                      [    ]  
Respondent declines                      [    ]

Signature,

Respondent: ..... Date: ..... / ..... / .....

**Instruction**

Write (x) under the column of answers and provide brief explanation in the explanation column provided

No	Question	Answer		
1.	How many women members of the House work in your Commission?	Few (1-3)	Some (4-8)	Many (>8)
2.	Among women members of the House in your Commission, who are considered active, both in presence and participation/involvement in the activities if the Commission, without having to rank them?	Name 1..... Name 2..... Name 3..... Name 4..... <i>Explanation: you may mention more than one name; no need to mention names according to the ranking</i>		
3.	How often do you attend meetings?	Often	Seldom	Never
4.	Have you ever proposed any proposals/objection/questions/ opinion in the Commission meetings?	Yes	No	
5.	How much have you proposed any proposals /objections/questions/opinion in the Plenary Session?	Less	Fairly	Much
6.	Were you confident when proposing any proposals /objections/questions/opinions?	Yes	No	
7.	If there was a woman member of the House who proposes her proposals /objections/questions/opinions, do you support her?	Yes	No	
8.	Were your proposals /objections/questions/opinions supported by other women members of the House?	Less	Fairly	Much
9.	To strive for your proposals /objections/questions/opinions, did you lobby other members of the House?	Yes	No	
10	How was your intensity in lobbying?	High	Low	
11.	Was each of your proposals /objections/questions/opinions consulted with your faction/party beforehand?	Yes	No	

No	Question	Answer		
		Yes	No	
12.	Were your proposals /objections/questions/opinions in line with the direction of your faction/party?	Yes	No	
13.	Do you think the number of women members in your Commission is already sufficient?	Yes	No	
14.	If your answer is "No", ideally how many women should be in your Commission? Mention.	10%		
		20%		
		30%		
		>30%		
15.	Did your party find it difficult to find women legislative candidates?	Yes	No	
16.	Did your party have particular criteria for its women legislative candidates?	Yes	No	
17.	If your answer is "Yes" Please explain..... ..... .....			
18.	Did your party provide training on political capability for its women legislative candidates?	Yes	No	
19.	Did your party fulfil the 30% quota for women legislative candidates?	Yes	No	
20.	How was the capacity of women members of the DPR-RI in your Commission?	Insufficient	Sufficient	Good
	Please explain..... ..... .....			
21.	How was the capacity of men members of the DPR-RI in your Commission?	Insufficient	Sufficient	Good
	Please explain..... ..... .....			



No	Question	Answer		
22.	Do you think the capability of women members of the House should be improved?	Yes	No	
23.	Do you think the capability of men members of the House should be improved?	Yes	No	
24.	Do you agree with the policy of 30% quota for women members of the House?	Yes	No	
25.	Do you agree on the provision of incentives for political parties that fulfil the 30% quota for women?	Yes	No	
26.	Do you agree on the giving of sanction for political parties that do not fulfil the 30% quota for women?	Yes	No	
27.	If your answer is "Yes" , what is the most proper sanction for them? Please explain ..... ..... .....			
28.	Do you think ordinal number "1" influences the election of a legislative candidate?	Yes	No	
29.	Do you agree on the positioning of women legislative candidates at number 1 or 2 in the list of legislative candidates?	Yes	No	
30.	If you were nominated, which number are you interested in?	1		
		2		
		3		
		4, and so forth		
31.	Did you need input from other institutions other than the House to help you give input concerning your legislative function as a member of the House?	Yes	No	
32.	If your answer is "Yes", mention the help you need ..... ..... .....			

No	Question	Answer		
33.	Have you ever used policy brief issued by other institutions other than the House?	Yes	No	
34.	Did you know from which institution the policy brief was from?..... ..... ..... .....			
35.	Did you find policy brief useful?   Why? Please explain..... ..... .....	Very useful		
		Fairly useful		
		Useless		
36.	Do you know about WRI (Women Research Institute)?	Yes	No	
37.	Have you ever read a policy brief issued by WRI?	Yes	No	
38.	What is WRI's role for women members of the House? Please explain ..... ..... .....			

**Annex 3**  
**In-depth Interview Guide**  
**Women DPR-RI Member and Policy Making Process in DPR-RI**

**Knowledge**

1. How is the order of policy making process in the DPR-RI?
2. As far as you are concerned, what issues did women members of the DPR-RI often address in meetings of
  - a. The Comissions
  - b. Special Committee
  - c. Working Committee
  - d. Plenary Session
3. How did they strive for the issues?
4. What policies did political parties have to increase women's participation in politics?
5. What are the criteria of legislative candidates stipulated by political parties? In your opinions, what are the best criteria?

**Attitude**

1. What is your opinion of the presence of women members of the DPR-RI nowadays?
2. What opportunities did women members of the DPR-RI have?
3. What are the obstacles encountered by women members of the DPR-RI?
4. What kind of support did you give to active participation of womenmembers of the DPR-RI?
5. What is your opinion of 30% of the total members of the DPR-RI should be women?
6. What is your opinion of positioning women at ordinal number 1 and 2 on the ballots?

**Practice**

1. What have women members of the DPR-RI done in policy making process? (presence, representation, influence)
2. Observing the involvement of women members of the DPR-RI in the policy making process, what did you consider having a great success? In which process of policy making?
3. What efforts did you make to make your ideas/opinions addressed in meetings?
4. Which partners at work could be involved to make women's ideas addressed? Who was the most influential in encouraging women to be active in the parliament?

**Products of WRI**

1. Did you read policy brief on "Women Members of the DPR-RI and Policy Making Process in the DPR-RI" published by WRI?
2. What is your opinion of articles pertaining to women in the Amendment Bill on General Election?
3. In your opinion, which part of the policy brief that helps you most as a member of the DPR-RI? (What is the benefit of the policy brief?)

**Annex 4**  
**Table of Comparison of Recommendations Proposed by WRI**  
**and the Response of DPR-RI**

The Amendment Bill to Law No.10 of 2008 has been approved as Law No. 8 of 2012. The discussion on affirmation articles is more considered and change the contents of Article 55 on positioning of women by political parties in the list of candidates.

WRI participated in the RDPU together with KPPRI and civil society who work for women’s affirmation, proposing that names of women candidate legislator should be positioned at number 1 or 2. In addition to that, WRI also proposed the need of budget for incentives rewarded to political parties that can successfully meet the 30% quota during the roundtable discussion with the members of the DPR-RI, political parties and the departments of women empowerment of political parties. These proposals were also disseminated through policy brief and articulated through informal discussions with several women members of the House. The overseeing of the proposals was also done through intensive communication with the members of Working Committee of the Amendment Bill on General Election.

To see how the proposals raised by WRI was given attention in the deliberation of the Amending Bill, the following table needs to be observed:

**Law on General Election and Proposals Rised by WRI**

<b>Law No. 10 of 2008 on General Election</b>	<b>Proposals raised by WRI (February 2012)</b>	<b>Revision of Law on General Election (endorsed in the Plenary Session on the 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012)</b>
<p>Article 55 Act (2):  <b><i>“In the list of candidates as as intended in in Act (1) in every 3 (three) candidates there is at least 1 (one) woman candidate”</i></b></p>	<p>Article 55 Act (2):  <b><i>“In the list of candidates as intended in Act (1) ordinal number 1 and 2 are intended for candidates with two different genders and at the following ordinal numbers there is at least 1 (one) woman candidate</i></b>            Act (4). Adding sanction or punishment if political parties do not implement Act (3)   <b>Act proposed by WRI:</b>            Political parties that do not have women legislative candidates will undergo budget cut from the government. Political parties that are able to fulfil the 30% quota for women legislative candidates will obtain incentives taken from the government budget.</p>	<p>Article 55 Act (2) became Article 56 Act (2) with the SAME content, but added with comentary of Article 56 Act (2):   <b><i>“In every three candidates, women candidates, women candidates may be positioned at ordinal number 1 or 2 or 3 and it applies the same way in the following numbers instead of only positioning them in number 3, 6 and so forth”.</i></b></p>

From the endorsement of the Law of General Election in April 2012, it seemed that WRI's proposals, which was the Elucidation of Article 56 Paragraph (2) on positioning of ordinal numbers of women legislative candidates, had been accommodated. WRI was of an opinion that the word "may" in the Elucidation of Article 56 Paragraph (2) did not give any significant pressure to political parties to position their best women cadres at number 1 because it would not inflict any legal consequence for political parties that did not implement this article and there would be no incentives to motivate political parties to position 30% of women in their list of candidates.