

**THE ROLE OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY WOMEN'S
CAUCUS IN PROMOTING
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND
REPRESENTATION:
A CASE STUDY IN INDONESIA
AND TIMOR-LESTE**

The Role of the Parliamentary Women’s Caucus in Promoting Women’s Participation and Representation:

A Case Study in Indonesia and Timor-Leste



Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan
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The Role of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus in Promoting Women's Participation and Representation: A Case Study in Indonesia and Timor-Leste

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“When women are empowered, all of society benefits”

(UN Deputy Secretary General Asha Rose Migiros)

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

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

Regional research conducted under this programme became the source for the development of this publication. This publication focuses the role of women’s parliamentary caucus on the issue of women’s political participation and representation in Indonesia and Timor-Leste. The research has been done by prominent thought researchers and also practitioners on the related issues with invaluable contributions from the five countries regional partners of IKAT-US Component 1.

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

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

Jakarta, August 2014

Wicaksono Sarosa, Ph.D

Executive Director of Partnership

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This publication of **“The Role of the Parliamentary Women’s Caucus in Promoting Women’s Participation and Representation: A Case Study in Indonesia and Timor-Leste”** is materialized from the need to learn more about the relation between the role of women’s parliamentary caucus and the advancement of the advocacy of the gender-sensitive policies in Indonesia and Timor Leste. The idea on the above topic came from discussion among the IKAT-US Component 1 Project Team (Merita Gidarjati), DSG/Democratic and State Governance Programme Team (Setio Soemeri, Agung Wasono, Nindita Paramastuti, Utama Sandjaja and Agung Djojosoekarto) and KRC/Knowledge and Resource Center Team (Inda Loekman). Kemitraan is grateful for their idea.

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Partnership for Governance Reform (Kemitraan)

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

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

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

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

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

Throughout its 11 year existence, Kemitraan has accumulated experiences in managing USD 100 millions grants from various development partner countries including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the

United Kingdom, and the United States of America, from international organizations including the Asian Development Bank, the European Commission, the International Organization for Migration, the UNDP, and the World Bank and from the private sectors including AXIS and Siemens.

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

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

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

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Abbreviation

APODETI	Associacao Popular Democratica de Timor Pro Referendo
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente
GAU	Gender Affairs Unit
GERINDRA	Gerakan Indonesia Raya
GMPTL	Grupo Muhler Parleментар Timor-Leste
GOLKAR	Golongan Karya
HANURA	Hati Nurani Rakyat
KOTA	Klibor Oan Timor Asuwain
KOWANI	Kongres Wanita Indonesia
KPP-RI	Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen – Republik Indonesia
MP	Member of Parliament
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional
PD	Partai Demokrat
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan
PEMILU	Pemilihan Umum
PET	Parliamentarians for East Timor
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera
PNT	Timorese Nationalist Party
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan
PSD	Sosial Democratic Party
PST	Socialist Timor Party
PTP2A	Advocate anti-violence against women

REDE FETO	Women's Network of East Timor
SEPI	Secretary of the State for Promotion of Equality
SOE	State-Owned Enterprises
UDT	União Democrática Timorese
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNTAET	United Nation Transitional Administration in East Timor
UU	Undang-undang
UUD	Undang Undang Dasar

Introduction

1.1 WOMEN'S CAUCUS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

Today, gender equality and justice have become global issues. Achieving these goals requires wide support not only from governments, but also from international organizations in different parts of the world.

In Asia, women's participation and representation is an issue that is much discussed and examined by students, researchers and policy makers. It is interesting to analyze how women (of different ages and from diverse backgrounds such as different ethnicities, socioeconomic statuses, religions and nationalities) strive for women's participation and representation in politics and for participation in the decision-making processes in their country.

Indonesia and Timor-Leste, as the focus of this study, have different institutional backgrounds that shape the development of democracy in each country. In Indonesia, democratization and political openness began earlier than in Timor-Leste. Since 1998, the democracy in Indonesia has brought about opportunities, as well as challenges, in building democratic justice for the promotion of women's participation and representation in Indonesia.

In 1975, Timor-Leste (formerly East Timor), was integrated into Indonesia and became one of its provinces. On October 25, 1999, it decided to secede from Indonesia and became known as East Timor. A transitional administration, namely United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), was established under the United Nations (UN) and on May 20, 2002, Timor-Leste became fully independent.

Within the framework of building a fair and equitable democracy, it is widely accepted that there are a variety of mechanisms and initiatives, which are promoted at local and international levels, to accelerate the achievement of gender equality. In her book *The New Politics of Gender Equality* (2007), Judith Squires specifies three strategies that are generally put in place to promote women's representation in politics: women's policy agency; gender-equitable policies that we know as gender mainstreaming; and quotas, which are directed towards an increased number of women's participation in a relatively short time, as temporary special measures.

In other words, these three strategies are directed at "presence, voice and process". Quotas are aimed at increasing the number of women in different decision-making institutions. Gender mainstreaming is a policy to ensure that the principle of gender equality is integrated at every stage of policy making. Meanwhile, a women's agency (a women's caucus) is established as a means of conveying and urging the fulfillment of women's practical and strategic interests in the policy-making arena.

Both Indonesia and Timor-Leste have introduced and adopted various mechanisms to achieve these goals. In Indonesia, the guarantee of equality between men and women is mandated in the Constitution (Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution). Another regulation that encourages increased women's participation and representation in politics is the affirmative action policy in the form of electoral quotas for women stipulated in the General Election Law No. 12/2002, which was then amended to General Election Law No. 10/2008 and now includes the zipper system. This provision stipulates that for every party participating in the election, there must be one woman in every three candidates. Provisions concerning the electoral quotas and 1:3 zipper are maintained in the latest General Election Law, Law no. 12/2012, which regulates the 2014 election.

In addition to the election law, affirmative action policies are also found in the Law on Political Parties governing party formation. This relates to the involvement of women in party management (Law no. 2/2008), which is retained in the amendment to the latest Law on Political Parties No. 2/2011.

In Timor-Leste, the guarantee of equality between men and women is mandated within the Constitution of Timor-Leste. It stipulates that one in four party candidates must be a woman. The constitutional amendment in 2011 goes further to ensure greater representation and participation of women, by requiring one in every three candidates to be a woman.

There have been many studies discussing the strategic role of a women's caucus. Caucuses usually comprise a diverse group with a shared ideology to achieve a common goal. They can act as a 'critical mass' with strategic pressure, though formally, they do not necessarily have to have a large number of members.

Based on empirical experiences in various countries, an effective women's caucus could result in outcomes such as:

- Regional political processes that result in policies or agendas which accommodate women's interests. They are achievable through advocacy campaigns run by the caucus or through its studies and research.
- Raised constituent awareness of issues that are promoted by members of the caucus in their constituencies. This awareness eventually leads to the strategic role of facilitating communication between the government and civil society.
- An effective 'watch dog' to monitor the implementation of policies concerning issues of interest to women's participation.
- A mouthpiece to continuously promote issues that they stand for, through media or public advocacy campaigns.

In addition to running public advocacy campaigns, parliamentary caucuses also play an important role in building the capacity and skills of women members of Parliament (MPs) to create policies that are in the interests of women, and to form reliable legislators who can carry out their parliamentary functions.

Internally, caucuses usually carry out a variety of programs including capacity building trainings, workshops and seminars, related to key topics such as the improvement of debating skills or public speaking, coalition building and the study of parliamentary working procedures.

In many countries in Europe, America and Scandinavia, women MPs who become leaders of a women's caucus meet regularly over breakfast or lunch to discuss strategies on how to deliver points of view in parliamentary meetings or positions to take on issues of strategic importance and so forth.

Women's parliamentary caucuses throughout the world are different from one another. Some are established within a formal structure that corresponds to the parliamentary commissions, while others are tied to a hierarchical structure with one caucus at the national level and others at the provincial level, with some even having caucuses down to the district level, such as in the United States. The latter has an advantage in terms of networking and collaboration, in that the actors could work in a structured manner to support issues like health, education, economic growth, etc.

Despite the varied types of women's caucuses, both formal and informal, this research study is limited to the formal women's caucus in Parliament. This research will specifically discuss the role of the Women's Parliamentary Caucus in Indonesia and Timor-Leste, examining their efforts to promote women's participation and representation. Referring to Squires (2007) and the three strategies of gender equality in politics, research on women's caucuses is important to optimize strategies in achieving gender-equal quotas and institutions, to encourage fair gender representation.

This study will examine the structure and the role of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus in the two countries. It will look at how the leadership model is built, issues they stand for, and what strategies are employed to achieve their goals. The achievements and challenges encountered are also discussion topics that will be examined in this study.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

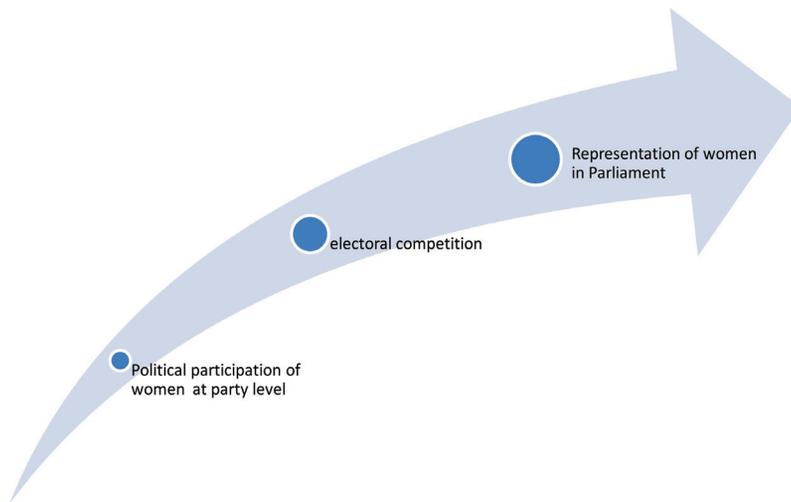
1. What is the form, function and role of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus in Indonesia and Timor-Leste in relation to the empowerment of women in politics, particularly in promoting women's participation and representation, both from a descriptive and a substantive point of view?
2. How does the effectiveness and power of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus correlate with the gender issues that the two countries are currently facing?
3. What are the roles of women's organizations and non-Parliamentary organizations in supporting the functions of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus?

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

1. To describe the organization of the Parliamentary Women's Caucuses, their rules and regulations, and the political structure where the women's caucus is formed, both in Indonesia and Timor-Leste, between 2009-2014.
2. To analyze the effectiveness of the Parliamentary Women's Caucuses: challenges and obstacles they encounter.
3. To analyze the support system for the Parliamentary Women's Caucuses inside and outside Parliament to strengthen its effectiveness.
4. To describe the findings and recommendations of the study.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Discussion on the Parliamentary Women's Caucus cannot be done in a separate context to the discussion on women in politics, particularly the meaning of women's representation in politics. Women's political representation is closely related to the discussion of women's participation. In brief, the idea can be described as follows:



A. Theories on Women's Representation

Theories on women and politics generally recognize two main perspectives on women's political representation: descriptive representation and substantive representation.

Descriptive representation suggests that choosing women as Members of Parliament (MPs) is symbolic to the fulfillment of the principle of gender equality in a ruling political system. It argues that a parliament should represent the voters, and considers that the increase in the number and proportion of women in the legislature is an attempt to make the parliament replicate its electorates, which include both men and women.

The second approach prioritizes the idea of substantive representation. This approach argues that women and men have different life experiences and different priorities and perspectives when viewing political issues. Substantive representation considers that women's representation should integrate the perspectives and interests of women in political issues. Different perspectives and issues of women are under the spotlight since women are considered a marginalized group in the existing legislature. The increase in the number of women in Parliament is expected to positively correlate to the making of policies that are favorable to women. The assumption, selecting more women means there will be more women-supporting policies.

The notion of descriptive and substantive representation is also used by Hanna Pitkin in her book, *The Concept of Representation*. Pitkin simply defined it as "acting in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin, 1967:209). Thus, representation means representing those who are not present by building a responsive relationship between representatives and the represented.

Pitkin's concept is highly criticized for being too focused on the representatives, ignoring the significance of the represented. Another drawback of her writing is the absence of political participation practices that may occur within a democratic society (Urbinati and Warren, 2008, as quoted from the book *Paradoks Representasi Politik Perempuan: Studi terhadap Perempuan Anggota DPRD Banten, Jakarta and Jawa Barat*, Puskapol FISIP UI, 2013).

In her article, *Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance*, Pitkin renews the concept and definition of representation with substantial improvements. In understanding the concept of representation, Pitkin asserts that knowledge of the background context of the concept will determine the meaning of that concept.

One might deduct and modify the idea of representation in different ways. Therefore, the concept of representation would not be much use without the support of additional elements that give further meaning to the term, such as what and who is represented.

In this framework, Pitkin proposes four perspectives to understand the concept of representation:

1. Formal
2. Descriptive
3. Symbolic
4. Substantive

The first two perspectives, formal and descriptive, define representation as a *way of acting* and *acting for*. Meanwhile, the other two, symbolic and substantive, regard representation as a *way of being* and *standing for*. Formal and descriptive representations refer to the description and meaning of representation as a concept, whereas the symbolic and substantive ones refer to activities in practicing representation.

Descriptive representation is a form of representation that is based on the similarities or likenesses between representatives and their constituents (or between the voters and the voted). In this type of representation, the representatives (the voted) do not act for, but on behalf stand for, the others. In this regard, the representatives make their constituents present by raising their similarities or likenesses. The widely-used example for this concept is the representation of women and minority groups.

Symbolic representation is the way a representative "stands for" the constituents. This method is considered to represent something, even though it doesn't exist. For example, a flag symbolizes a country, and wearing hijab represents Islam. In this type of representation, similarities or likenesses between the representatives and the represented are not required.

Substantive representation, or the "acting for," is a concept that describes activities performed by a representative on behalf of and for which it represents, as an agent and in-lieu of which it represents. In this sense, a representative represents what (or whom) becomes his or her concern or interests he or she supports.

Simply put, a formal representation explains only the legitimacy of the practice of representation. Descriptive representation focuses on the level of acceptance of their representatives, who are considered the same as the represented. Symbolic representations highlight the characters' level of accuracy or

similarity between the representatives and the represented. Substantive representation emphasizes the extent to which policy outcomes have met the needs of constituents.

B. Women’s Political Representation

Women’s political representation challenges the conventional political understanding, including the concept, of representation which fails to capture the issue of “political exclusion”, access to political participation, and poor quality of politicians as representatives (Ann Philips, from *The Politics of Ideas to Politics of Presence*).

Ann Philips criticizes the concept that highlights descriptive representation more than it does the representatives and their political function. Categories like pictorial representation (similar to the represented), theatrical representation (speaking on behalf of the represented), and juridical representation (acting on behalf and with the consent of the represented), all focus only on the composition of representatives, as opposed to the activities they have done.

Theories of democracy and women’s representation mostly emphasize political presence, demands for equal representation of women and men, as well as inclusion of failing marginalized groups, instead of the real issue of defining a more substantive equality in democracy, which lies in the separation, between who represents and what is represented, that does not emphasize who, but instead what, is represented. Politics of ideas have been replaced by politics of presence.

In her discussion on political women’s representation, Ann Philips states that the identity of women is not a single identity. Women’s political representation should be interpreted as a representation that guarantees political equality, as well as fair representation. There are different viewpoints in women’s political representation. This research describes three views expressed by Phillips (1995, 2000), Iris Marion Young (2000) and Chantal Mouffe (2000).

Comparison of three paradigms interpreting women’s representation

Iris M Young	Ann Philips	Chantal Mouffe
Group representation	Identity	Contestation
Identification of Women		
Women are a social category different from men (sexually)	Women are not a single identity. Group categories vary contextually; not the same in different places and fluid in nature.	Politics is contestation. A battle of interests to reach a consensus.
Different views of men and women		
The universal “difference” must be represented in democracy for it will have an impact on the interests and issues raised.	Acknowledge the “difference”. The issue of identity must be set aside in order to equalize participation between men and women. For women to participate in politics means that they have to compromise and find a common ground to many differences.	To overcome and integrate gender differences in democracy, it requires qualified and competent women.

Women's Political Representation		
<p>Groups that deserve representation, in addition to the "different" category, are those experiencing exploitation, marginalization, lack of empowerment, and cultural domination. Falling into this category are the urban poor, persons with disabilities, Chinese Indonesian, Papuan, women and others. This group should get representation in a representative democracy.</p>	<p>Representation of marginalized groups in a representative democracy can be achieved through affirmative policies. They come in different forms, such as quotas (reserved seats) and safe seats for women in election.</p> <p>Phillips is more progressive than Young in a way that she no longer talks about sex representation, but gender representation instead.</p> <p>Acknowledge that women can represent diverse identities but bound by a shared identity.</p>	<p>Open conceptualization of identities. Regardless of the sex and gender differences, gender identity should be interpreted more radically, and we have to set aside this terminological debate in order to describe the concept of substantive democracy.</p> <p>Evidence suggests that women don't always consider 'gender' as the only category that defines their social and political identities.</p>
<p>Criticisms towards Young: how to bridge the conceptual category of abstract representation of women with a more concrete identity and how it can bring justice and substantive equality for all women of any identity in a representative democracy.</p>	<p>Criticism towards Phillips: despite the political legitimacy for women as a marginalized group, their political representation doesn't necessarily represent the interests of women in general, and the policies aren't necessarily favorable to women.</p>	<p>Consequently, the link between identity and political representation is very complex and can not be simplified by assuming a shared identity. Women may be very rational and invisible in the fight for interests, but it doesn't mean that traditional identities become less important (undervalued) than the more strategic gender identities (with political opportunity and context).</p>
<p>Quota as a goal to be achieved in order to increase women's representation.</p>	<p>Quotas, as a "guarantee" to secure the fulfillment of women's interests, are often considered inconsistent with public interests.</p>	<p>Quotas as an integral part of the effort to change power relations (which are patriarchal in nature) in the economic system and the political system at large.</p>

1.5 RESEARCH METHOD:

This study employs qualitative research methods with in-depth interviews with political actors and representatives from the Parliamentary Women's Caucuses, as well as other relevant sources.

In Indonesia, the sources interviewed include four women MPs: one from the Golkar Party, two from the Democrat Party; and two from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), and one male MP from PDI-P.

In Timor-Leste, sources interviewed include two MPs from Fretilin and the Democratic Party and other relevant organizations, such as Secretary of the State for Promotion of Equality (SEPI), Women's Network of East Timor (REDE FETO), and former women MPs from the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) Party, as well as members of the Ombudsman Commission.

All the MPs in both Indonesia and Timor-Leste, who were interviewed for this study are the member of parliaments, which consists of one from Golkar party, two from Demokrat party, two from PDIP and one male member from PDIP.

All board members are the Parliamentary Women's Caucus, except for the male MP from PDI-P. The male MP from PDIP was interviewed to get a view of the activities and roles of women MPs, and the role of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus.

The data collection methods include the study of documents and statistical data on women parliamentarians in the two countries, as well as parliamentary regulations and procedures in both countries, as the operational basis for the parliamentary caucus.

To analyze the findings of this study and to collect further constructive input, a focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted in Indonesia, in addition to a research result seminar held in Jakarta. The FGD in Jakarta was attended by a number of stakeholders, including academics, women activists, and former Indonesian MPs.

In Timor-Leste, participants at the research result seminar also comprised various stakeholders consisting of women activists, parliamentarians, researchers, academics and expert speakers on the relevant issues.

One of the challenges in conducting this study was the difficulty meeting women MPs in both Indonesia and Timor-Leste. In Indonesia, research was hampered by the absence of data on the relationship between the Parliamentary Women's Caucus and the Government. In Timor-Leste, other than the limited time available, research was further complicated by a long bureaucratic process, communication problems due to correspondence through letters, language barriers, difficulty in obtaining statistical data, and a time consuming document translation process,

1.6 LIST OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: Discusses the issues examined in this research, literature review, research objectives, and research methodology.

Chapter 2: Discusses the Women Parliamentarian Caucus in Indonesia. The elaborate description of the Women's Caucus includes the organizational structure, regulations or code of conduct, leadership, as well as its power and work effectiveness. In addition, to supplement the analysis in this section, the support system for the Women Parliamentarian Caucus and an analysis of the political context in Parliament in Indonesia as a whole, will also be reviewed.

Chapter 3: Discusses the Women Parliamentarian Caucus in Timor-Leste. In addition to the organizational structure, regulations, leadership, and its work effectiveness, this section also discusses the role of women's organizations and its political context in Parliament and in Timor-Leste, which could act as a positive factor or as an obstacle in efforts to promote this institution.

Chapter 4: Contains comparative analysis, findings and recommendations.

Women, the Legislative Body, and the Parliamentary Women's Caucus in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR)

2.1. BACKGROUND

The Nusantara archipelago now known as Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch from the 17th century until 1945, when the Japanese took over most of the region. Indonesia declared its independence in 1945, shortly before Japan's defeat in the Second World War. However, Indonesia did not officially receive the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands until 1949.

From 1949 Indonesia adopted a parliamentary system of government until the 1955 election when it tried to establish a representative body, which would be responsible for creating a new constitution. However, this attempt failed and the 1945 Constitution was reinstated in 1959 when President Sukarno led Indonesia in a system he called "Guided Democracy," which tended to be authoritarian. The 1965 uprising finally led to the downfall of Sukarno.

From 1965, President Suharto replaced Sukarno and led an authoritarian regime known as the New Order regime, until mass movements in 1998 led to his impeachment. Under Suharto's leadership, political activity was repressed. Only three political parties were allowed during elections. Golkar was the ruling party and people's political participation was hampered by bureaucracy. Social movements, including women's movements, were suppressed, and the role of women in public life was excessively marginalized as their role were regarded as nothing more than a domestic one.

The first democratic election after the fall of the New Order regime was held in 1999 to elect members of the legislative. Direct presidential elections were held for the first time in 2004 as a result of the amendment to the 1945 Constitution. Other fundamental changes resulting from the amendment included the establishment of a Regional Representative Council (DPD) which made the Indonesian Parliament bicameral, political decentralization (one of the new policies included direct elections for regional leaders), and provisions regarding the recognition and guarantee of civil and political rights of citizens.

The Indonesian archipelago includes five major islands where the majority of the population live, and thousands of other islands, big and small. It covers a total area of 1,904,569 m² and has a population of approximately 251 million people. Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world. The official language is Bahasa Indonesia, although the hundreds of local ethnic groups have their own language. The majority of the population is Muslim (86%), along with 8% Protestants and Catholics, and 1.8% Hindu, and other religions or beliefs. Since the decentralization in 1999, Indonesian administrative regions are now divided into 33 provinces, each with their own regencies or cities.

Today, Indonesia is a unitary state with a presidential system of government. The three state institutions include the executive, legislative and judicial bodies, all of which implement the checks and balances mechanism. The legislature is a bicameral parliament consisting of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Regional Representative Council (DPD). During the plenary session, DPR and DPD assign the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) to appoint and remove the elected president.

The number of MPs in the DPR in the period 1999-2004 totaled 500 people, while from 2004 to 2009 it rose to 550, and in the 2009-2014 period it reached 560 people. The main function of the DPR is to make laws along with the executive body, and oversee the implementation of state policies by the government. The DPD is a provincial representative, with each province represented by four members. While nomination to the DPR can only be submitted by political parties, members of the DPD must come from a non-party. Each DPD candidate submits his or her own nomination following the requirements set forth by the Law on General Elections.

The President is elected directly by popular vote every five years and can serve a maximum of two-terms. State policies are essentially made by the DPR together with the executive body, and approved by the President as the head of state. The DPD's authority is limited to the submission of proposals related to the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) and bills on regional autonomy. Therefore, the legislative authority basically lies only in the hands of the DPR.

Below are some important stages in the history of Indonesian politics following the end of the New Order.

1998	Downfall of the New Order authoritarian regime and resignation of President Suharto. Vice-President B.J. Habibie appointed as his successor.
1999	First democratic parliamentary election. Parliament still unicameral and includes military representatives. Abdurrahman Wahid, chairman of the minority party in Parliament, elected President.
1999-2002	Amendments to the 1945 Constitution made on four occasions.
2001	Beginning of direct local elections.
2001	Parliament impeaches President Abdurrahman and appoints Vice-President Megawati as his successor. Megawati is the chairperson of the PDI-P, the most voted for party in the 1999 election.
2004	Second democratic elections to elect members of the recently-formed bicameral legislature (DPR and DPD). First direct presidential election.
2009	Most recent parliamentary and presidential elections.

The amended 1945 Constitution recognizes the rights and equality of citizens before the law, and the Government's obligation to ensure it is stipulated in Article 27 of the Constitution. In addition, the Government of Indonesia has also ratified various international treaties relating to human rights and the elimination of discrimination against women. Indonesia, among others, has ratified the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1958), The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW in 1974), the Beijing Conventions of 1995 on 30% Quota for Women, and the Beijing +5 Convention in 2000 regarding 50% Women's Participation (Puskapol: *Kerja Untuk Rakyat*, 2009).

The following table shows Indonesia's ranking in the Human Development Indicators (HDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII):

	HDI	GII
2010	Score: 0.620 (ranked 108 out of 169 countries)	Score: 0.608 (ranked 100 out of 127 countries) Source: 2010 UNDP Report, 2008 GII Data.
2011	Score: 0.624 (ranked 124 out of 178 countries)	Score: 0.505 (ranked 100)
2012	Score: 0.629 (ranked 121 out of 186 countries)	Score: ranked 106 out of 148 countries) The index is now called GII (Gender Inequality Index), replacing GDI and GEM. Score: 0.494 (ranked 106 out of 186 countries)

The political, economic, social, and cultural conditions in Indonesia still create many problems related to women's interests. The growing economy and a new democracy have highlighted fundamental issues directly related to women. Below are some of the issues that Indonesian women still face:

- High maternal and child mortality rates
- High levels of women and children trafficking
- Poverty
- Problems of women workers
- Domestic violence
- Cultural challenges, such as growing religious fundamentalism and political identity

2.2 WOMEN AND POLITICS IN INDONESIA

In line with the development of democracy and to encourage a spirit of a democracy that is just and equal, efforts to improve the status of women and represent women's interests reached a momentum at the beginning of the reform era. One of the initial achievements was to increase the representation of women in politics, which was done by including an affirmative action provision in the General Elections Law No. 12/2003 concerning the 2014 election. This provision called upon political parties to nominate at least 30% of women as candidates. The 2004 election resulted in 11% women MPs in the DPR, which was an increase from the previous period in 9%. The affirmative action provision was further strengthened by the General Elections Law No. 10/2008 concerning the 2009 election. The reinforcement came in the form of an article that required political parties to nominate at least 30% women candidates. As a result, the 2009 parliamentary election resulted in 18% women MPs.

Increased women's representation in Parliament is a significant achievement, but it is still far from the targeted 30% quota in the legislature. Efforts to increase women's political representation in Indonesia face many challenges and issues. In its report on women's participation in politics and Government in Indonesia, UNDP mentioned that various challenges and obstacles in the participation of women in Indonesia include: challenges to ideological, socio-cultural and economic aspects, as well as the political context and the structure of Indonesian society (UNDP 2010).

In general, women's participation in public life is still constrained by the traditional perspective that women are supposed to be in charge of the household and sees men as the breadmakers. Challenges in the economic, social, cultural and political structures also put women in a weaker position to increase their political role. Furthermore, limited financial resources and a patriarchal political structure make women dependent on men in making decisions with regard to their political participation.

2.3 PARTY SYSTEM

During the period from 1949 to 1959 the party system in Indonesia underwent democratic development. However, an increasingly authoritarian governance under the leadership of President Sukarno resulted in the simplification of political parties during the period of 1959-1965. The New Order saw the height of repression of political movements, including a ban on forming new political parties resulting in only three political parties being recognized by the Government. The reform era, which began in 1998, resurrected people's political freedom. Today, Indonesia adopts a multi-party system, which is characterized by the large number of newly formed parties. As many as 48 parties were registered in the 1999 election, followed by 24 parties in 2004. The 2009 election included 38 national parties and 6 local parties from Aceh.

The spirit of the reform era has had an impact on the party system, with aims is to reinforce political parties at the institutional level, and increase political participation of the people. This is important given the fact that the authoritarian New Order regime saw the depoliticization of the public. The development of parties was stalled and political parties lost their meaning as a channel of participation, articulation, and representation of public interests in the political process. Through the reform of the party system, political participation is expected to improve, and people are expected to learn to practice politics through democracy.

2.4 WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES

In line with Indonesia's political dynamics, the role of women has also had its ups and downs. The 1955 general election resulted in 17 women MPs out of 257 members, or 6.6% representation. During the New Order, depoliticization marginalized the role of women in politics, as well as in other mass movements, such as the labor movement. In the reform era, the women's movement has been aiming to revive the political role of women by encouraging parties to support women's participation.

Until now, the involvement of women in political parties is still relatively minimal. The number of women in party management and the number of women candidates is still low. The 1999 election resulted in only 9% women parliamentarians. The most voted parties in the 1999 election were the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Golkar and the United Development Party (PPP), the three old parties that were recognized during the New Order.

Ahead of the 2004 elections, women's movements encouraged the working committee in the DPR to include provisions on women's participation in the new Law on Political Parties. As a result, a provision was inserted into Law No. 31/2002 to "take into consideration gender equality" in a party's candidate recruitment, and "take into consideration women's representation" in its management.

The participation of women was once again reinforced through the revised Law on Political Parties before the 2009 election was held. In Law No. 2/2008 on Political Parties, there is a provision “to take into consideration gender equality” in the recruitment of candidates and “include at least 30% of women” in the management. In addition, in the regulation concerning political education, Law no. 2/2008 stipulates that “political parties must provide political education for the community in accordance with the scope of its responsibilities and with due regard to gender equality”.

The three most-voted parties in the 2004 election were Golkar, PDI-P and PPP. Meanwhile, the female parliamentarians elected only represented 11% of the total number of MPs. From 2005, a number of parties began to adopt the quota rule in the party’s articles of association (AD/ART). Parties like the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) started implementing the 30% women’s participation rule in their management. Meanwhile, the PDI-P Central Board issued a decree that specified that the recruitment of candidates must take gender equality into consideration.

The latest Political Parties Law No. 2/2008 did not change the rules regarding the participation of women. However, the General Elections Commission (KPU) stipulated that to be eligible in the general election, a political party must meet the minimum 30% women requirement at its management level. This supported efforts to promote women’s participation as their involvement in the management increased their chances of being nominated as candidates in the election.

In the 2009 election, there was an increase in the number of women candidates in the election. Consequently, the number of women MPs also increased. The number of women parliamentarians elected in the 2009-2014 period amounted to 18%, the highest percentage in the history of Indonesian politics.

2.5 THE INDONESIAN’S ELECTION SYSTEM

A proportional electoral system that put emphasis on representation is much needed in Indonesia, where the composition of the population and group interests are highly diverse. However, this system has triggered the dominance of parties in different stages of the decision-making process, particularly in terms of candidate nominations and party policies in general, and further encouraged oligarchy and centralization in central boards in terms of structure and policymaking. Thus, the political potential of cadres, as well as people at the grassroots level, is hampered.

In line with efforts to reform the party and the electoral system, measures have been taken to encourage more meaningful participation and lessen centralization and domination of central boards. To this end, since 1999, a number of changes were made in the electoral system to allow a closer relationship between politicians and the people. In addition, elections of other political offices have been conducted directly through candidacy, such as the presidential elections, local elections, and the election of DPD members.

The general elections in 1955, throughout the New Order era, and in 1999, were all conducted through the Proportional and Closed Candidate List system. In this system, voters got to choose the name or symbol of the party on the ballot paper. Then, the party that won seats selected its candidates based on the candidacy number order. Therefore, the authority to determine the list of candidates and elected candidates lay entirely in the hands of the party, or in this case, the central board of the party at the national level.

In an effort to strengthen the party and enhance the relationship between representatives and their constituents, since the 2004 election, a change has been made through the Open Candidate List System. In this system, other than choosing the name or symbol of the party, voters can choose actual candidates from the party of their choice. This system encourages candidates to build a relationship with the people in order to be voted, and gives them an incentive to keep in touch with the constituents and be an advocate of their interests to maintain popularity.

Ahead of the 2009 election, the Constitutional Court issued a decree stipulating that the elected candidates are those with the most votes. This rule is different from the provisions in the Law on General Election (No. 10/2008) concerning the determination of elected candidates. With the Court's decision, politicians were encouraged to build a relationship with the constituents, while the central board's dominance was suppressed. On the other hand, challenges occurred for women, who became active in politics a lot later than men, and who had less resources to compete for the most votes.

2.6 GENERAL ELECTION AND WOMEN

One of the efforts to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia was through the promotion of women's representation in national politics. It has been described earlier how several government policies were issued to promote equality and justice for women. In the context of women's political participation and representation, this is done by the affirmative action policies included in the Law on Political Parties, the Law on General Elections, and the Law on the Composition and Position of the Legislative Body.

The proportional system is actually better than the majority system when it comes to encouraging women's participation in politics. For this reason, the party's internal mechanism as described above must be combined with the provisions in the Law on General Election to better regulate and give better access for women to Parliament. The law that governed the 1999 election did not yet include the affirmative action policy.

Later, women's movements encouraged the inclusion of affirmative action in the next general election law. The results came in Article 65 of the General Election Law No. 12/2003, which reads "political parties contesting in the elections may nominate candidates for members of the House of Representatives at the national, provincial, and local levels, by fulfilling the minimum 30% women's representation quota."

This rule is then reinforced in the General Election Law No. 10/2008, in which the Article 53 stipulates that "the list of legislative candidates shall include at least 30% women representatives". Furthermore, Article 55 of the Law states that "in the list of candidates, there should be at least one woman in every 3 candidates." This regulation is considered a significant improvement in the affirmative policy for it creates greater opportunities for female candidates to be elected.

However, there were still many challenges that women candidates had to face before the 2009 election, such as the Constitutional Court Decree ruling popular votes as the basis for electing candidates. The 2009 election results showed an increase in the number of women parliamentarians, with 101 women elected from a total of 560 members of the House. The table below shows the number of women parliamentarians in Indonesia.

General Election	Total Number of MPs	Total Number of Woman MPs	Percentage
1955	272	17	6.25
1971	460	36	7.83
1977	460	29	6.30
1982	460	39	8.48
1987	500	65	13.00
1992	500	62	12.50
1997	500	54	10.80
1999	500	45	9.00
2004	550	61	11.09
2009	560	101	17.86

(Source: *Potret Keterpilihan Perempuan di Legislatif pada Pemilu 2009*, Puskapol 2012)

The table above shows that the affirmative policy that went into effect after the 1999 election has helped increase in the number of women MPs. It was particularly seen just ahead of the 2009 election when the affirmative policy was included in not only the General Election Law, but also the Political Parties Law, and significantly increased the number of women's participation, although it was still far from the targeted 30% quota.

A Study by the Center for Political Studies of Universitas Indonesia (Puskapol Fisip UI) in 2009 on women MPs elected in the 2009 election, revealed the variety of the backgrounds of the women MPs. The majority of those MPs were new members in the DPR with no prior legislative experience. Presented below is a short profile of the women MPs based on their age, professional, and family background.

Age	21 – 35 y.o. : 19,4% 36 – 50 y.o. : 47,5% 51 – 65 y.o. : 28%
Professional background	Practitioner : 35% (Physician, lawyer, teacher, consultant, etc.) Businesswoman : 27% Civil Servant : 11,6% Celebrity, Public figure : 9,7% Private Employee : 5,8% Housewife : 4,8% NGO Activist : 1 person State/Regional Enterprise Employee : (minority)
Family background	26% are related (daughter, wife, niece) to party officials, state officials or ex-officials, royalty, and businesspeople.

2.7 THE INDONESIAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (DPR)

During the New Order, the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) ratified its third amendment to the 1945 Constitution that established a change in the structure of the representative body by adding the additional institution of Regional Representative Council (DPD). The house of representatives is now regarded as a limited bicameral body since the DPD has no equal authority with the DPR when carrying out legislative functions. The DPD does not have the authority to pass a bill into law. Its right to propose

bills is even limited to only bills related to regional issues. Under the Third Amendment of the 1945 Constitution, the legislative authority lies entirely in the hands of the DPR. The DPD exercises a function of something more like an advisory council.

2.8 THE STRUCTURE, ROLE, AND FUNCTION OF THE DPR

The DPR consists of 560 Members of Parliament with a five-year term in office. MPs are divided into factions, groups of MPs based on their respective party. Each faction has its own secretariat and gains institutional support in the form of facilities, budget, and expert staff. Among other things, the DPR has the authority to make laws, discuss and approve the draft state budget and conduct oversight of the executive body. In carrying out its oversight function, the DPR has the right of inquiry, interpellation, and expressing opinions.

In performing its daily duties, the DPR is divided into a number of complementary bodies, namely:

- Leaders of the House
- Consultative Board
- Commissions
- Legislation Council
- Budget Committee
- State Financial Accountability Committee
- Honorary Council
- Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation
- Household Committee
- Ad-Hoc Committee
- Other complementary bodies as established through the plenary session.

As mandated in the Law on MPR, DPR, and DPD No. 27/2009, the DPR has the task and authority to:

- together with the executive body make laws and other policies, such as regulations in-lieu of law
- give approval to the bill on state budget proposed by the government
- consider the proposals made by the DPD regarding bills and the draft State Budget
- oversee the implementation of laws and State Budget
- discuss and follow up on results of the oversight conducted by the DPD in its authority
- give approval to the President to declare war, make peace, and treaties with other countries, as well as other international agreements
- advise the President in granting amnesty and abolition
- give considerations to the President in the appointment of ambassadors and receiving of ambassadors from other countries
- select members of the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) by taking into consideration the input from the DPD

- discuss and follow up audit reports released by the BPK
- give approval to the President in the appointment and dismissal of members of the Judicial Commission
- give approval to the chief justice candidate proposed by the Judicial Commission to be designated as the chief justice by the President
- select three constitutional court judges and submit them to the President to be officiated by a presidential decree
- provide consent to the transfer of state assets under its authority and under the rule of law, as well as financial agreements that have a broad impact on and fundamental to the lives of the people
- hear and respond to the aspirations of the people
- perform other duties and authorities as set forth by law.

The structure of the DPR as described above is intended to accommodate the implementation of its functions; legislative, budgetary and oversight. This is particularly visible in the work of the commissions, which are basically working committees that carry out the House's main functions on a daily basis. The Commissions are responsible for making laws, discussing the draft State Budget proposed by the government, and overseeing the implementation of policies.

The regulation on parliamentary thresholds for the 2009 Election produced "only" nine parties that gained seats in the House. Below are the results of votes and number of seats in the House by party:

No.	Party	Number of Votes	Percentage	Number of Seats	Percentage
1.	Demokrat	21,703,137	20.85	149	26.60
2.	Golkar	15,037,757	14.45	106	18.92
3.	PDIP	14,600,091	14.03	94	16.78
4.	PKS	8,206,955	7.88	57	10.17
5.	PAN	6,254,580	6.01	46	8.21
6.	PPP	5,533,214	5.32	38	6.78
7.	PKB	5,146,122	4.94	28	5
8.	Gerindra	4,646,406	4.46	26	4.64
9.	Hanura	3,922,870	3.77	17	3.03

2.9 WOMEN IN THE DPR AND THE PARLIAMENTARY WOMEN'S CAUCUS

Affirmative policy in the form of quotas for women's representation in the legislative candidacy was implemented ahead of the 2004 election with the 30% women minimum quota requirement for political parties, as stipulated in the General Election Law No. 12/2004. As a result, the number of women parliamentarians in the DPR in the 2004-2009 period increased. Ahead of the 2009 election, the rule of affirmation was reinforced by provisions in the Political Parties Law No. 2/2008 regarding the inclusion of 30% of women in the establishment and management of the party, both at the national and regional levels. Furthermore, the regulations were further strengthened by the General Election Law No. 10/2008. In addition to nominating 30% of women in the list of candidates, parties are also required to nominate at least one woman for every three candidates (Article 53 and 55 of the General Election Law No. 10/2008).

The provisions concerning the determination of selected candidates by the denominator and candidate order was later canceled on December 23, 2008, by the release of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 due to a dispute over the Judicial Review Law No. 10/2008 on Legislative Election. This was in response to a judicial review of Article 55 and Article 214 points a-e of Law No. 10/2008, which stated: a) overrule the plaintiff's lawsuit against Article 55, which stipulates the placement of candidates on the list of candidates and, b) sustain the plaintiff's lawsuit against Article 214 points a-e, which stipulates the determination of selected candidates. In the second decision, the Court decided that the determination of selected candidates should be done by a majority vote, therefore candidates with the most votes gain seats. In the absence of such requirement, selected candidates are selected by the lowest number of votes. With this decision, the Court annulled the content of Article 214 of Law No. 10/2008 stipulating that selected candidates are those who gain as much as 30% of the denominator.

Regardless of the challenges and difficulties faced by women candidates in the 2009 election, the number of women parliamentarians elected increased compared to the 2004-2009 period. Below is a comparison of the number of women parliamentarians in the DPR elected in 1999, 2004, and 2009.

	1999	2004	2009
Number of women parliamentarians in the DPR (percent)	45 out of 500 (9%)	61 out of 550 (11.09%)	101 out of 560 (18%)

(note: in April 2013, the number of women MPs in DPR RI is 104 out of 560 due to MP recall).

Based on this number, Indonesia ranks 76 among other countries in terms of the percentage of women parliamentarians in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) ranking.

Law no. 27/2009 on the MPR, DPR, DPD and DPRD (the Regional House) established that women's representation must be considered in the leadership of all the DPR's complimentary bodies, namely commissions, Legislative Council, Budget Committee, State Financial Accountability Committee, Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation, Honorary Council, Household Committee, and Ad-Hoc Committee. However, this law has yet to stipulate the obligation to involve women in the leadership of factions, where most important policies are made.

The Democrat Party, as the most-voted party in the 2009 election, had the highest number of women MPs, followed by Golkar and PDI-P in second and third place. In the nominations, PKS had the highest percentage of women candidates, which was 36.61%, followed by PDI-P with 35.41%, and PKB with 33.67%. Of the total number of women parliamentarians, 69% came from the three parties with highest number of seats. The number of women from each party can be seen in the following table:

No.	Political Party	Number of Seats	Number of Women Members
1.	Demokrat	149	35 (23.5%)
2.	Golkar	106	18 (16.9%)
3.	PDIP	94	17 (18.1%)
4.	PKS	57	3 (5.3%)
5.	PAN	46	7 (15%)
6.	PPP	38	5 (13.2%)
7.	PKB	28	7 (25%)
8.	Gerindra	26	4 (15.4%)
9.	Hanura	17	4 (25%)

There are two party factions that are lead by women MPs. These are the Democrat Party lead by Nurhayati Assegaf and PDIP lead by Puan Maharani.

Of the five leaders of the DPR, which consist of a speaker and four vice speakers, none are women. Of the seven complementary bodies other than the commissions, three are led by a woman MP. Meanwhile, the Honorary Council includes no women MPs at all.

No.	Complementary Body	Total Number of Members	Number of Women MPs	Woman Leader
1.	Consultative Board	60	10	-
2.	Legislative Council	50	8	1 (vice chairperson)
3.	Budget Committee	76	8	-
4.	State Financial Accountability Committee (BAKN)	9	2	1 (chairperson)
5.	Household Committee (BURT)	50	13	1 (vice chairperson)
6.	Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation (BKSAP)	50	15	-
7.	Honorary Council	11	0	-

The commissions, as executors of main parliamentary functions, consist of 12 Commissions. The table below shows the distribution of female members in the commission membership.

No.	Commission (Field of Work)	Total Members	Women Members	Women Leader
1.	Commission I (Defense, Intelligence, Foreign Affairs, Communication and Information)	50	9	-
2.	Commission II (Home Affairs, Regional Autonomy, State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform, General Elections, Land and Agrarian Reform)	47	9	-
3.	Commission III (Law, Human Rights, and Security)	51	3	-
4.	Commission IV (Agriculture, Plantation, Forestry, Marine, Fisheries, Food)	51	9	-
5.	Commission V (Transportation, Public Works, Housing, Development of Rural and Underdeveloped Regions, Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysics)	56	7	-
6.	Commission VI (Commerce, Industry, Investment, Cooperatives, SMEs and SOEs, National Standardization)	50	3	-
7.	Commission VII (Energy and Mineral Resources, Research and Technology, Environment)	50	6	-
8.	Commission VIII (Religious, Social, Women's Empowerment)	50	12	1 (chairperson)

No.	Commission (Field of Work)	Total Members	Women Members	Women Leader
9.	Commission IX (Manpower and transmigration, Population, Health)	50	22	2 (chairperson and vice chairperson)
10.	Commission X (Education, Culture, Tourism, Creative Economy, Youth, Sports, Library)	55	10	-
11.	Commission XI (Finance, Development Planning, Banking)	49	8	1 (vice chairperson)

The table shows several things. First, there is still a lack of women's involvement in important commissions such as the Commissions III and Commission VI, in which only three women are involved. In another equally important commission, Commission VII, only 6 women MPs are members, although this is a very strategic commission dealing with energy and mineral resources. None of the women MPs in those commissions are part of the leadership.

Although the Law. 27/2009 clearly stipulates that commission leadership must take into consideration women's representation; it is not practiced in on the ground. Women leaders are mostly found in commissions that are traditionally considered to be related to women, such as Commissions VIII and IX. Commission XI, which deals with the development planning, among others, is led by a woman vice chairperson.

2.10 WOMEN'S CAUCUS IN THE INDONESIAN HOUSE (DPR)

The Parliamentary Women's Caucus of the DPR (KPPRI) was first established by women MPs in 2000. At that time, the main purpose was to form an organizational means for women MPs to achieve equality of access and control among men and women MPs in Parliament. When it was first established, the KPPRI had 44 members, and in the 2004-2009 period, it grew to 68 members. Currently, KPPRI has 103 members, the total number of women MPs in the House.

Practically, the purpose of the KPPRI is to empower women MPs to carry out their functions. To this end, it is necessary to ensure the involvement of women in commissions and other complementary bodies, and have an influence over the policy-making processes. Thus ensuring that women's issues and interests are accommodated. The KPPRI also aspires to promote networking with civil society groups to obtain feedback on the issues and interests of women needed for a variety of policy discussion in the House (Ani Soetjipto et.al, 2010).

The experience prior to the 2009 election showed that networking among women MPs, the ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and civil society activists, managed to reassure the adoption of provisions that strengthened the affirmation policy in the form of political laws. The Law on Political Parties ensures the involvement of women in the establishment and management of a party. In the Law on General Elections, in addition to the provision to nominate 30% of women in the party's list of candidates, the law also says that there should be one woman in at least three candidates. Critics of the Caucus claim that it has not put its role to the best use when it comes to revising the laws.

The Women's Caucus is not a complementary body of the DPR. Thus, it is not entitled to a range of amenities and facilities like, such as budgetary and expert staff supports. To finance its activities, the caucus raises funds through mandatory membership dues and fund-raising events.

The KPPRI underwent several institutional changes among 2009 to 2014. According to the first chairperson of the KPPRI for the period of 2009-2014, Timo Pangerang Andi, revisions were made to the KPPRI in terms of the leadership model. The Caucus was first led by a presidium where the leadership changed every 6 months following the order of the most voted party in the last legislative election. The revised model now appoints leaders at the beginning, a team consisting of a chairperson, secretary, and six vice chairpersons. The six vice chairpersons help the chairperson by leading different task fields; legislative, internal, external, training, budget, and communication and public relations. The second change was related to membership. When it was first established, members of the KPPRI included all women MPs in the DPR. In the period of 2009-2014, its members include a combination of female members of the DPR and the DPD. However in 2012, the DPD formed its own separate caucus.

Under the leadership of Timo Pangerang, the Caucus was faced with the choice of becoming either a large or small association. Then group decided to prioritize on the representative aspect and set a large membership, which included both parliamentary institutions. In addition, the Caucus also wanted to improve their network by cooperating with external parties such as academics, non-governmental organizations, and embassies of various countries.

The Caucus also wanted to strengthen its coordination with women members of the local legislature. One of their first efforts towards this was to encourage the establishment of local caucuses at the provincial, and district and city levels. The relationship between the KPPRI and local caucuses was built, by among other, things, sharing input and updates on the current situation in the local regions.

Another partnership was also developed with the ministries. The Government is indeed the parliamentary commission's counterpart, therefore it is only natural that the KPPRI interact intensively to be able to cooperate on the formulation and implementation of policies. With the network that it had at the district and city level, the Caucus could assist the Government in disseminating the programs initiated by the ministries. Caucus members were now able to conduct working visits back to their constituencies with knowledge of updated Government programs.

According to Timo Pangerang, the significance of coordination between the central and local caucuses can be seen in terms of budgeting, such as synchronizing the national budget and the local budget. There were programs that were budgeted at the central level but often budgeted again at the local budget due to a lack of coordination. The Caucus network, in this case, helped spread the information about the items in the state budget to local legislators.

In accordance with the original purpose of its establishment, the Women's Caucus of the DPR is expected to encourage its members to closely oversee gender-sensitive policies and laws. Timo Pangerang recognizes the challenges in encouraging women's involvement in making gender-sensitive policies because the proposals made by the Women's Caucus have not been delivered in a systematic manner. The Caucus is a focal point in the delivery of information related to policy issues, and in the formulation of proposals to be delivered by the members in their respective cluster.

Another challenge for the Caucus is the weak consolidation among its female members. In terms of timing and dealing with policy issues, a lot of women MPs still have to face the dilemma of prioritizing the interests of their party or the Caucus. More often than not, the Caucus' programs are not prioritized when they have overlapped with Party's agenda. This is evident in Timo pangerang's following statement:

“You see, this Caucus was established by women from different parties. Will it be able to function properly when its members have different party agendas? ... There was once a discussion related to the General Election Law where five points were discussed, but all of us had different ideologies, and some of those who opposed were reluctant to say anything. When I wasn't okay with something, I would stay silent, too. At that time, the emphasis was women's representation, how more women could have representatives. In this regard, we all agreed. For the rest, not so much”

Another challenge is the lack of adequate understanding of gender issues among the members themselves. According to Tetty Kadi, the Caucus remains to be preoccupied with affairs like dissemination of women's issues for its members. As a consequence, a lot of women MPs never raise their voice during bill discussions and other legislative activities. In such circumstances, male MPs once again dominate the forum, and female MPs who do understand gender issues have to cover the shortfall of their colleagues' inexperience. This only corroborates the claim that efforts to safeguard the Women's Caucus' agenda are unsystematis as explained by Timo Pangerang.

The lack of power in the Caucus is also highlighted in statements made by Timo Pangerang and Tetty Kadi, which show that the power it has to put pressure on the House is still dependent on the leadership factor. When the Caucus is led by a chairperson with a vision, it tends to have more success in lobbying and the legislative processes.

A different view of the Caucus came from another woman MP, Eva Sundari. She said the Caucus is yet to demonstrate its ability to represent women's interests, and has not done much in terms of gender mainstreaming in Parliament. This can be seen from the minimum effort that the Women's Caucus has made in promoting women's interests, especially in the legislative process, which is performed only in processes associated with women-specific laws.

In agreement with this, another MP, Budiman Sudjatmiko, believes that not all women MPs are “proponents” of women's issues and interests. According to him, in the lawmaking process, the Women's Caucus has not played much of a role in promoting gender-sensitive policies. In fact, based on the example given by Eva Sundari, in drafting bills that are critical to the protection of the rights and interests of women, such as the Bill on Social Conflict Management, the Caucus never provided input or other forms of advocacy.

The problem with the Women's Caucus is much bigger than just an institutional challenge as stated by Andi Timo Pangerang. According to Eva Sundari, the Caucus as a women's organization could play an important role in driving women's strategic interests, but that has not yet been recognized by the Caucus' board members. Her statement is as follows:

“I saw women's organization as a means of empowerment and exercising women's agendas. Those agendas, to me, include two things: one that is related to practical interests, and the other to strategic interests. Strategic importance has something to do with the audacity to break the status quo and change power relations in the negotiation, among others. However, the Caucus is related to the second type of interest, practical interests. These are the interests that we have to promote. They advocate the legislation, but the effort is nothing compared to what our colleagues from Jangka-P3. Only **echo**, but it was never prepared in a special draft. You know, this Jangka P3 with girls, Ratna Batara Munti and the others. They only went as far as providing endorsement, but without any agenda to challenge the status quo”*

It appears that the Caucus has no clear strategic agenda. Its working programs are not directed towards strategic objectives either. In the legislation process related to women's interests, the Caucus still has not played its role in promoting policies that support women's interests. This supports Budiman Sujatmiko's claim that even the simplest role of voicing women's interests in the media or other public forums, has not been performed by the Caucus.

"I haven't sensed the presence of the Women's Caucus. I haven't seen the members attend a meeting or engage in activities. There are also several other caucuses, not just the Women's Caucus, but their presence is only felt by those who are part of the caucus"

For Budiman Sujatmiko, the caucus also has not been able to run an advocacy campaign to support women's issues, convey important ideas or lobby for a better bargaining position. This argument is consistent with the statement made by Eva Sundari as follows:

"They never speak up on issues like accountability, corruption, or the environment, although they actually should be involved in all sectors. Security, .. they didn't even stand up in debates on issues like rape on public transport. So, I'm not sure..."

The role of the Caucus as a liaison to civil society groups to solicit input does not seem to have come to fruition either. The fundamental problem lies in the lack of awareness about who is represented by the Caucus. At least for now, for Eva Sundari, the Caucus has not represented women's interests, as evident in her statement as follows:

"Yes, it represents itself. I still see it as a means of interest to ... umm ... I don't think it was really nice, do you? It's as if they work for their own benefit ... but they couldn't define the problems or explain the purposes behind the establishment of the Caucus itself. But maybe it's just me, because I only participated in three or four meetings and then I bailed out ... You'd have to check it with them. I never saw it, not even in the newspapers or anything. And they only dealt with "womenly" legislations, but never with gender mainstreaming. In lawmaking, I was once approached in PKS**. But the bills were drafted by members of KPP. And it's much better for them. They just reminded me, "Ma'am, if you would please consider the quota." As for other laws, however, none of them ever spoke up. Just like with the KPP, only 'womenly' issues, not yet gender mainstreaming. The problem is that the only person who seems to care about such issues is the chairperson, or the secretary. But as I say, even in discussions on women's issues, they hardly talk, and that's what amazes me. So, to me, it appears as if they've lost their political function"

Budiman Sujatmiko's claim also indicates the same thing about relationship between the Caucus and civil society groups. This is evident from the lack of input on women's interests in the discussion of laws.

"I didn't see any of them standing out in Commission II. Neither did I see them in the Ad-Hoc Committee on the Village and Regional Administration Laws, ...none of them ever brought out those specific topics. The ones who did talk about gender equality, unfortunately were men parliamentarians, not the women"

Further studies need to be conducted to investigate the root causes to the Caucus' inability to fight for their interests. Institutional and structural factors may be one of them. The statements made by Eva Sundari and Budiman Sudjatmiko imply that political parties do not see women as strategic members, even though they may be knowledgeable and capable. The other statement made by Andi Timo Pangerang also shows that political parties encourage women to put their party's interests ahead of women's issues.

Political parties in general do not have an internal agenda on women's affairs. Consequently, the establishment of the Women's Caucus in the House is not regarded as important, especially for the benefit of parties. As acknowledged by Budiman Sudjatmiko, a party's policy with regard to women's representation is more of a regulatory obligation. Moreover, political parties have no particular attitude towards the Caucus, and neither do they have a specific policy for women MPs to focus on in the Caucus. The following is Budiman Sujatmiko's statement with regard to political parties' stance on affirmative action for women.

"Of course all parties do it, because it's what the laws require us to do, to include women in party management, both at the national and local levels. The same thing also applies to candidacy, so that's the benchmark for parties, and it's the rule of law. That's one. Now the question is, does it bring a significant change?.. For me, maybe yes, in terms of programs, but I can't say the same about public policies. And as for the structure and composition of a party, which should include a portion of women members, that's also stated in the law. So, for me personally, I've never seen their significant performance in the party, nor in the bill drafting of laws in which gender equality is one of the main aspects. And normally there's no encouragement from parties either. None whatsoever."

A number of challenges, as well as institutional and structural barriers still limit the role of the Women's Caucus. Political parties are yet to show full support for the fulfillment of women's interests. Similarly, institutional mechanisms and procedures in the DPR have not become a supporting system for the Caucus. Factions in the DPR, as an extension of the central board of the political parties, have full authority in determining priority issues, policies, and personnel placement in different legislative functions. In this regard, women parliamentarians are still constrained within the limits of the party's agendas and interests, which are not gender-sensitive, and consequently do not view women's affairs as a strategic issue that should become one of the party's priorities.

Even knowledgeable women or those who have strong supporters in their constituency are not regarded as an important asset to the party. Women's representation in the DPR is improved with the help of the parties, and yet parties still involve women as a formal requirement and as "vote getters." This paradox shows that women parliamentarians, who are expected to promote women's interests in lawmaking, are still hampered by the hegemony of political parties as the most powerful element in carrying out political process in the legislative body.

The Parliamentary Women’s Caucus in Timor-Leste (GMPTL - Grupu Muhler Parleментар Timor-Leste)

3.1 BACKGROUND

The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste became independent in 2002. Since its independence, this country has worked hard to improve the lives of women, fight for gender equality, and empower women through a series of reforms in policy, legislation and institutional mechanism, as well as public campaigns to raise the people’s awareness of gender equality and justice.

Equality before the law is guaranteed in the Constitution of Timor-Leste. The Constitution of Timor-Leste can be regarded as a constitutional guarantee of gender equality with a gender perspective. Article 16 of the Constitution guarantees the principle of equality and non-discrimination for all citizens regardless of color, race, marital status, gender, ethnicity, language, socioeconomic status, political belief or ideology, religion, education, and physical and mental condition. Article 17 of the Constitution also guarantees equal rights and responsibilities for men and women in the household, political participation, economic, social and cultural affairs. Article 63 of the Constitution further states that equal participation between women and men in politics is fundamental to the practice of democracy in Timor-Leste.

In addition to the state’s Constitution, the country has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW). Also a national institution that works for the promotion of women’s issues and interests named the State Secretariat for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI), has been established and is under the Prime Minister’s command.

The Constitution of Timor-Leste set the provisions that guarantee equal rights and position of women in public life. Here are several articles in the Constitution related to women’s rights:

Section 17	<i>Women and men shall have the same rights and duties in all areas of family, political, economic, social and cultural life</i>
Section 39 Clause 3	<i>Marriage shall be based upon free consent by the parties and on terms of full equality of rights between spouses, in accordance with the law</i>
Section 39 Clause 4	<i>Maternity shall be dignified and protected, and special protection shall be guaranteed to all women during pregnancy and after delivery and working women shall have the right to be exempted from the workplace for an adequate period before and after delivery, without loss of remuneration or any other benefits, in accordance with the law</i>
Section 50 Clause 1	<i>Every citizen, regardless of gender, has the right and the duty to work and to choose freely his or her profession</i>

3.2. Timor-Leste in the Context of a Country

In the 16th century East Timor was colonized by the Portuguese. When in 1975 it became independent from Portugal, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia and from August 17, 1975, became the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1999, East Timor decided through a referendum (a UN sponsored act for self-determination), to secede from Indonesia and a transitional administration was set-up sponsored by the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). In 2002 East Timor became a fully independent state known as Timor-Leste,

Timor-Leste's territory consists of 13 districts, 65 sub-districts and 442 villages (*suco*). The country covers a total area of about 15,007 km², with a population of 1,066,409 in 2010. Timor-Leste's population speaks more than 16 local dialects, while the national language is Tetum. The majority of the population is Catholic.

During the transition period from 1999 to 2002, the UNTAET transitional government was mandated to run the interim government of Timor-Leste in its transition to independence. Its authority covered a very wide scope, ranging from the maintenance of peacekeeping efforts and running the executive and legislative branches of government, to building a new administrative structure to implement state policies. UNTAET also provided basic services, humanitarian relief, rehabilitation, and ensured regional security with the support of a large peacekeeping force.

Timor-Leste officially became independent on 20 May 2002 and established its own political system. This system is semi-presidential, and political power is divided between four pillars: the Government, Prime Minister, Parliament and the judiciary. The head of Government is the President, who is elected every five years through direct elections. The current president of Timor-Leste is Taur Matan Ruak. Although the President plays more of a symbolic role, he still has veto over a number of laws. After the election, the President appoints a Prime Minister from the election-winning majority or coalition party. The Prime Minister is the leader of the executive branch. The current Prime Minister of Timor-Leste is Xanana Gusmao from the National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction (CNRT) party.

The table below shows a brief political history of Timor-Leste after the 1999 polls.

2001	UNTAET-sponsored election to elect members of the constitutional assembly to prepare a new constitution for Timor-Leste
2002	First presidential election. No legislative election. Parliament consists of members of the constitutional assembly elected in the 2001 election.
2004/05	Local elections to elect heads of <i>suco</i>
2007	Elections to elect the President and members of Parliament for the period of 2007-2012
2012	Elections to elect the President and members of Parliament for the period of 2012-2017

As a member of the United Nations (UN), Timor-Leste has ratified international conventions on the promotion of human rights and freedom. Among the conventions ratified are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Right of the Child (CRC), the Convention Against Torture (CAT), the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (ICESCR) and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a variety of regulations, including international instruments as mentioned above, have been adopted into the Constitution and domestic regulations in Timor-Leste to ensure it is a democratic country.

The Parliament of Timor-Leste is a unicameral parliament. The Constitution holds that Parliament is a sovereign organ representing all Timorese citizens and is vested with legislative, oversight and policy-making functions. Members of Parliament are elected through general elections held every five years. The number of MPs varies from 52 to 65 people. Since the last election in 2012, there are currently 25 women MPs out of a total of 65 MPs, or 38.5%. According to IPU (the Inter-Parliamentary Union), this achievement makes Timor-Leste a country with the highest level of women's representation in parliament in Asia.

The President as the head of state and supreme commander of the armed forces has a term of five years and can be reelected for a second term. The President's term in office is limited to two periods. The President is the symbol of independence and national unity and a symbol that demonstrates a functioning democratic government.

The legislative body acts as a watchdog and public policy maker. The MPs' tenure is 5 years. The Constitution stipulates that Parliament chooses the "House Speaker" and five members of the state council. The government has the task and authority to implement the policies on a daily basis. The Prime Minister and his cabinet -- composed of ministers and the state secretary -- play a major role in running the day-to-day administration. The Prime Minister of Timor-Leste is chosen by the election-winning majority or coalition party.

The Government has the right to propose bills to be discussed in Parliament. Parliament may veto, approve, or revise the bills proposed. The laws that have been approved by Parliament are subsequently ratified by the judicial authority and implemented by the President.

The Prime Minister has the authority to propose candidates for ministers who will sit in the Government. The names are submitted to the President for approval. In carrying out his tasks and responsibilities, the Prime Minister is accountable to the President and Parliament.

In the semi-presidential system, Parliament is allowed to propose a no confidence motion if the Government is no longer deemed fit to perform its duties. The regulation regarding this is stipulated in the Constitution of Timor-Leste.

President, Prime Minister and Chair of the National Parliament of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste

Period	President	Prime Minister	Chair of National Parliament
2002-2007	Xanana Gusmao	Mari Alkatiri (Fretilin) replaced by Ramos Horta (Independent) during the political crisis of 2006. He was succeeded by Estanius da Silva until 2007.	Francisco Gueteres (Fretilin)
2007-2012	Ramos Horta (Independent), Vincente Gueteres (CNRT), Fernando de Araujo (PD)	Xanana Gusmao (CNRT)	Fernando de Araujo (PD)
2012-2017	Taur Matan Ruak (Independent)	Xanana Gusmao (CNRT)	Vincente Guterres (CNRT)

Meanwhile, the development index in Timor-Leste based on the UNDP data is as follow:

	HDI	GII
2010	0.502 (ranks 120 out of 127 countries)	The Gender Inequality Index Data for the 2010-2012 is not found. According to some Internet-based reports, Timor-Leste doesn't have the GII data for this period.
2011	0.495 (ranks 147 out of 178 countries)	
2012	0.576 (ranks 134 out of 186 countries)	

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2010-2013

Timor-Leste inherited numerous problems from the period of Indonesian colonization and the transition into an independent state. As such it is burdened with many political, social, and economic issues. Some of the problems that effect women in particular include:

- Vulnerability of women and girls to domestic violence and conflicts, especially related to gender-based violence and trafficking in persons
- Lack of social services to deal with victims of violence, exploitation and abuse of women and girls, particularly in rural areas
- Women and girls in families with female head of households in poor areas and areas prone to trafficking are in danger of not getting social assistance, and thereby further increase their vulnerability
- The lack of disaggregated data in all sectors

- Poverty
- High maternal mortality rate
- Low level of education for women
- High rate of illiteracy among women
- Cultural values that discriminate against women in society, such as the Catholic teaching, the cultural practice of belis (dowry), and others

3.3 POLITICAL PARTIES AND GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TIMOR-LESTE (2001- 2013)

From 2001 political parties in Timor-Leste were re-established. Old parties like the Revolutionary Front of East Timor (Fretilin), the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), the Association of Timorese Heroes (KOTA), and the Popular Democratic Association of Timor (APODETI) returned, and along with a few new parties, were prepared for the first election in 2001.

The new emerging party was the Social Democratic Party (PSD), founded by Mario Carrascalão, who was also the founder of UDT in 1974. The Democratic Party (PD) was also established in 2001 by young former student activists who formed a resistance movement while studying in Indonesia. The party's agenda was to channel the voice of young intellectuals in the process of nation building. The Socialist Party of Timor (PST), with its ideology that promotes equality, was established at the same time as PD. The other party is the Timorese Nationalist Party (PNT).

3.4 POLITICAL PARTIES AND WOMEN

Political parties are an effective means of promoting women's political participation. They have the strategic ability to nominate candidates at the national and local levels, who will then be posted in public offices. The Political Parties Law No. 2/2004 Article 8 states that:

"political parties should promote the participation of women especially in the organs of the party leadership, and at their discretion, a system of quotas or other measures to promote the participation of women in party political activities"

Meanwhile, Article 8 Paragraph 2 states:

"political parties should also promote the participation of younger citizens in the age group between 17-35 years into the party's top management by setting a quota system, if appropriate"

How have these provisions been taken on board by political parties in Timor-Leste? Below is a description of the parties' stances on the rules:

Party	Established	Women's Wing	Ideology	Stance on the Women's Quota	% Women Parliamentary	Chair
CNRT	March 2007	Women's party organization	Anti-communist and social democracy	Pro	33,3% (10 women out of 30 seats)	Xanana Gusmao
Fretilin	11 September 1974	OPMT (Timorese Women's Resistance Organization)	Democratic socialism, left-wing nationalism	Pro	36% (9 women out of 15 seats)	Francisco Guterres
Democratic Party East Timor	10 October 2001	Democratic women organization	Centrist	Pro	50% (4 women out of 8 seats)	Fernando Lasama de Araujo
Frente Mudanca (Fretilin Reform Party)	July 2011	(data couldn't be found)	(data couldn't be found)	Pro	100% (2 women out of 2 seats)	Jose Louis Gueteres

In response to the rules regarding quotas, especially in terms of leadership recruitment and nomination, the stance of the parties is very diverse. In general, there is still an ambiguous attitude among parties towards the quota policy stipulated in the Law on Political Parties. However, in general, the matrix above shows that the parties have complied with the regulation and this is reflected in the large number of women elected to the national Parliament from each of those parties.

The role of the women's wing of the party is very strategic in integrating affirmative policy into the party, as well as preparing candidates, training them through cadre capacity building, and building an integrated organizational management from the lower level in the village, all the way up to the district and national levels. For example, the Timorese Women's Resistance Organization (OPMT), as the women's wing of Fretilin, regularly met ahead of the party congress to prepare the list of delegates and a list of women candidates to be submitted to the national committee and leaders of the party. At first, Fretilin was one of the parties that strongly opposed the women's quota policy. Until in 2006, the party leaders were firmly rejected the women's quota policy. It wasn't until early 2008 that Fretilin formally complied with this provision.

The women's wing of the Democratic Party of Timor-Leste used a strategy establishing a women's wing down to the village level and making a gender department at the national level. The women's wing of the Democratic Party has strived to increase gender awareness and sensitivity in the party and does the best it can to attract more women into the party. In the last election in 2012, the Democratic Party managed to secure seats for 50% of the women it nominated (4 women out of a total of 8 seats) in the election.

3.5 WOMEN AND GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TIMOR-LESTE

To date, four general elections have been held, including the 2001 election to elect members of the Constitutional Assembly, the election for *suco* (village chiefs) from 2004 to 2005, the 2007 election, and the latest 2012 election.

The General Election Law No. 6/2006 established the closed list proportional representation system. This law stipulated that every party who received 3% of the total votes would get a seat in Parliament. The voters in this electoral system got to choose the name and symbol of a political party during the election, and but not the candidates.

This law was revised in 2011 on a limited basis. Where the previous Law No. 6/2006 said that the candidates proposed by the parties should include women with the ratio of 1:4, the 2011 revision required women candidates be included with a ratio of 1:3.

This provision is compulsory and if the party does not comply with this provision, the National Commission on Election (CNE) of Timor-Leste will make a public report and the court will disqualify the party from participating in the election.

Paragraph 3 of Article 12 of the amended General Election Law in 2011 says “one of the three candidates has to be a woman”. Any party that does not meet this requirement will be sanctioned by disallowing it from participating in the election.

The National Commission on Election (CNE) of Timor-Leste consists of 15 members. Of all the members, three are appointed by the President, three by Parliament, and another three by the Government, and there is one member from the magistrates, prosecutors, and public defenders office, chosen by their peer-group. The other three include a representative of the Catholic Church, a representative of another religion and one member representing women.

Article 5 of the law on the election committee also includes women’s representation in each one of the three candidates selected by the President, Parliament and Government. Article 12 also states that parties who fail to meet the 1:3 ratio requirement are disqualified from the election.

Table 1. Women’s Representation in the Parliament of Timor-Leste

Election	Male MPs	Female MPs	Total MPs
2007	46 (70.8%)	19 (29.2%)	65
2012	40 (61.5%)	25 (38.5%)	65

Data: IPU 2012

Table 2. Women’s representation in Parliament in 2012 based on party

Party	Female	Male	Total
CNRT	10	20	30
Fretilin	9	16	25
Fretilin Mudansa	2	0	2
Democratic Party	4	4	8
Total	25	40	65

3.6 STRUCTURE OF PARLIAMENT IN TIMOR-LESTE

The Parliament of Timor-Leste is led by the Speaker of the House who is elected by secret ballot from a number of nominated candidates. The maximum number of candidates that can be nominated is 20 people, while the minimum is 10 people. Leadership in Parliament consists of the President and two Deputy Speakers of the House which consists of party representatives, one secretary and two deputy secretaries. Parliament Leaders are called Mesa.

The Parliament also has factions. Factions are a grouping of the parties or coalition of parties in Parliament. In the current Parliament there are four parallel party factions, namely CNRT, Fretilin, Fretilin Mudansa and the Democratic Party. Each faction sends its members to the commissions. Factions with fewer members usually cannot send its representatives to all the commissions.

There are overall seven commissions in the Parliament of Timor-Leste, These commissions are:

- Commission A: human rights, constitutional affairs, local governance, anti-corruption, public administration;
- Commission B: foreign affairs and domestic security;
- Commission C: trade and economic affairs;
- Commission D: agriculture, fisheries, and the environment;
- Commission E: infrastructure, transportation and telecommunications;
- Commission F: health, education, social welfare, gender equality, solidarity and work;
- Commission G: ethics, Honorary Council.

Almost all parliamentary works in Timor-Leste are performed at the commission level. In the commissions, MPs discuss, assess, and decide on projects as well as laws and policy initiatives to be followed up, and deal with petitions submitted to Parliament. In performing its functions, Parliament may summon the Government to a hearing and invite members of civil society organizations to attend the session. Public consultation is also welcome, and debates in the Parliament are recorded and filed into monthly reports.

In addition to permanent commissions, ad-hoc commissions can also be formed in Parliament when they are needed. In 2006, there was an ad-hoc commission formed to deal with veterans and a commission to deal with committee renewal in Parliament.

The Parliament includes a secretariat that provides administrative and technical support to lawmakers in the commissions, factions, as well as support to leaders of Parliament in order perform their tasks optimally. There are approximately 40 staff members working in divisions of public relations, library and documentation. However, the secretariat still has a shortage of specialized technical assistants to assist with the preparation of the budget and legal drafting, who could provide substantive inputs in the lawmaking process.

3.7 WOMEN MPS IN PARLIAMENT

In 2013, during the period of this research, new members were elected from the 2012 election. Out of the 65 members of parliament, 25 members are women (38.5%), putting Timor-Leste as the country with the highest women's political representation in Asia, and ranking it 19th in the world (2012 IPU data).

The 25 women MPs are evenly distributed in all commissions. The following table shows the distribution of women MPs in the Parliamentary commissions.

Commission	Male	Female	Note
Commission A: human rights, constitutional affairs, local governance, anti-corruption, public administration	8	3	Female Chair
Commission B: foreign affairs and domestic security	6	3	Female Chair
Commission C: trade and economic affairs	5	6	Female Vice Chair
Commission D: agriculture, fisheries, environment	6	5	Female Chair
Commission E: Infrastructure, transportation, telecommunications	8	1	
Commission F: health, education, veterans, social affairs, gender equality	5	6	
Commission G: ethics, Honorary Council	2	4	

Some women MPs occupy a strategic position in Parliament. Of the seven commissions, women are the chairperson in three commissions, namely Commission A, B and D, even though there is no provision in the parliamentary code of conduct that requires commission leadership to include 30% women representation. Women MPs are also present in all the parliamentary commissions.

The election of the commission chairperson is conducted democratically through internal elections in commissions. With a large number of women MPs in Parliament, they have a greater chance of being elected as chairperson.

Women MPs also occupy the post of chairperson in the Democratic Party (PD) and Frente Mudanca (Fretilin Mudanca). Meanwhile, the other two factions, CNRT and Fretilin, are chaired by men MPs.

3.8 THE WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS IN TIMOR-LESTE

The establishment of the Women's Parliamentary Caucus in Timor-Leste dates back to 2002 (Sofi Ospina, UNIFEM 2006). Since the establishment of the Parliament, numerous efforts have been made to bridge women parliamentarians and other women's groups outside Parliament and government.

Facilitated by the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), a variety of meetings, seminars and study visits were conducted to promote efforts to build gender sensitivity in Parliament and to help identify gender issues and to understand how parliamentary works are strategic in creating gender equality and justice.

In 2004, an initial effort to establish an ad-hoc commission for gender affairs, equality and children failed to come to fruition and lost the veto in a plenary session. This idea was considered discriminatory against men.

Voting in Parliament is conducted in a prevalent way as practiced in any other parliament, either based on hierarchy or party lines. Such voting practices are strengthened by an open voting system by a show of hands rather than confidential voting. The majority of women MPs do not have enough confidence to support 'women's issues' that are at odds with the party line, especially when the faction leaders have clearly opposed the issue.

This failure did not discourage women MPs from continuing to fight for the establishment of a permanent Parliamentary Women's Caucus in Timor-Leste, not just an ad-hoc committee as previously proposed. Facilitated by UNDP, women MPs got the opportunity to participate in various international conferences, including discussions with parliamentarians from other countries, such as the Swedish Parliament and a Portuguese-speaking parliamentary community from the Portuguese Speaking Countries Community (CPLP) network.

In 2007 the efforts of the women MPs paid off with Parliamentary Resolution No.16/2007 dated October 24, 2007, approving the establishment of a Timorese Parliamentary Group for Women. In the resolution signed by the President of the National Parliament of Timor-Leste, Fernando La Sama de Araujo, it was declared that the Parliament of Timor-Leste approved the establishment of the Timorese Group of Parliamentary Women and allocated a budget to support the group's function and programs.

On March 12, 2008, the Women's Parliamentary Group of East Timor (GMPTL), followed up the resolution through a statute on the establishment of the GMPTL. In the statute, which consists of four chapters and 17 articles, it is stated that:

- GMPTL membership includes all women parliamentarians of the National Parliament of Timor-Leste
- The objectives of the Parliamentary Caucus are:
 - a. To promote activities that optimize women's participation and representation in politics
 - b. To promote debate, exchange of experience and best practices in the effort to promote gender equality and eliminate discrimination
 - c. To create a network with women MPs from other parliaments of Portuguese-speaking and non Portuguese-speaking countries
 - d. To support women's participation in various activities and cooperation initiated by women parliamentarians from Portuguese-speaking and non Portuguese-speaking countries
 - e. Establish communication with other national and international institutions
- As an organization, GMPTL is led by a president, vice president and secretary.
- GMPTL is supported by one executive secretary.
- GMPTL will hold regular monthly meetings and may also call for a special session on the initiative of

the president or at the request of a majority of women MPs.

- GMPTL also has working programs that are tailored to their parliamentary schedule, and by the end of every session period, a working report is made along with the progress report and pending agendas
- In each of its meeting, a former MP, women officials from the government and other parties affiliated with GMPTL are invited and participate, even though they do not have voting rights.

The first GMPTL President in 2008 was Maria Paixao from the PSD party and the Vice-President was Josefa Alvares Pereira Soares from the Fretilin.

In an interview with Josefa Alvares Pereira Soares, the current chair of the GMPTL, she explained that leaders of the GMPTL are selected through a selection process among its members for a term of 2 years and 6 months. Although the Caucus has its own strategic plan and work programs, in reality they are not easy to implement.

"sometimes our schedule overlaps with parliamentary tasks. Sometimes we have to attend bill drafting discussions outside the group (GMPTL), as well as in the commissions. This is where we should give priority...." (interview on February 24, 2013)

Another challenge is the differing perspectives and level of awareness among women MPs about women's issues that they aspire to advocate. So, even though the Timorese Parliament has the highest number of women parliamentarians, it does not mean to say that they have made significant influences in terms of lawmaking or that they have made a big difference. In addition to differences of perspective, a lot of women MPs in the Timorese Parliament are still lacking the analytical skills on issues that are discussed in Parliament. In this case, capacity building programs are needed.

Jacinta Pereira, Chairperson of Commission D from the Democratic Party, and member of the GMPTL, made a similar statement:

"In the discussion of laws related to women's interests, based on my experience, so far I think we haven't done the best we could. But we're definitely moving in that direction."

What is also causing problems is the parliamentary code of conduct. It mostly regulates monthly attendance when reports are submitted in the plenary. Reports are made by the commissions, and they include monthly working programs for the period of one year. Parliament schedules its plenary session on Mondays and Tuesdays. Wednesdays and Thursdays are scheduled for commission agenda, while Fridays through Sundays are for activities in the electoral districts.

So far, some of the achievements of the GMPTL are laws such as the Law against Domestic Violence, Law on General Election which incorporates affirmative policy, and an amendment to the Law on Health which reduces maternal mortality. On the other hand, the group has not been successful in passing the Law on Compensation for Victims of Violent Crime year 1975-1999, while the Municipal Law (decentralization) is still pending.

3.9 NETWORKING AND COORDINATION BETWEEN THE GMPTL, THE STATE SECRETARIAT FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT (SEPI), AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT (REDE FETO) IN TIMOR-LESTE

Efforts to promote gender justice in Timor-Leste require not only a sufficient number of women in public offices and policymaking institutions, but also regulations that guarantee equality among citizens. Furthermore, it requires effective women's movements that can play an active role in the political arena and the making of public policies.

The women's movement in Timor-Leste, as an integral part of civil society movements, plays an important role in supporting the Parliamentary Women's Caucus (GMPTL) and the State Secretariat for Women's Empowerment (SEPI) as a government institution playing a strategic role in the implementation of government policies.

A discussion on the women's movement in Timor-Leste cannot be separated from the role played by Rede Feto. *Rede Feto* is a Tetum phrase meaning the *umbrella organization*. The ideas, aspirations and motivation behind the establishment of this network were founded through a lengthy process. Following the poll and in preparation of the independence, in 2000, a diverse group of women consisting of freedom fighters, those who had worked overseas through diplomatic channels, former members of resistance movements, housewives, as well as church sisters and nuns, all assembled and decided to hold a Women's Congress and discuss their shared dreams in the future.

In the first congress held on 14-17 June 2000, the recommendations made were: increased participation of women in policymaking institutions at the national level, as well as support for women's capacity building and the promotion of women's leadership in politics and public life.

The Women's Congress was supported by the women's wing of UNTAET (Gender Affairs Unit / GAU) and ensured that 50% of GAU members were Timorese women. The congress also encouraged a 30% quota of women in all sectors and ensured that women take an active part in the formation of the Constitution of Timor-Leste.

As mentioned above, during the transition period, UNTAET as the temporary administration also had its own Gender Affairs Unit (GAU). Its function was to mainstream the principle of gender equality in all policies made by UNTAET and to ensure the participation of East Timorese women in the law-making process.

Rede Feto, which at the time was the umbrella organization for 15 women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs), was the working partner of GAU in advancing the agenda of East Timorese women. In preparation for the drafting of a new Constitution, a general election was held to choose members of the Constitutional Assembly, who would be responsible for developing the Constitution of Timor-Leste.

In the drafting of the general election bill, women's organizations led by Rede Feto also submitted a proposal to include the affirmative policy of 30% women's participation in the list of party candidates. Furthermore, Rede Feto also suggested that women be placed in winnable positions, which are the top candidacy numbers.

Initially, there was debate over whether or not incorporating the affirmative policy in the General Election Law was necessary. Not only were there different views between political parties and women activists, but also between The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and UNTAET. UNTAET balked at the affirmative action proposal and threatened to revoke support for the establishment of the Constitutional Assembly if the quota was enforced.

Tensions came to an end after the UN Administration and Special Rapporteur for the UN Secretary General (SRSG) held a meeting with women's organizations in Timor-Leste, regarding the affirmative provision in the Election Law. The meeting resulted in the training for 100 women to promote their candidacy in the Constitutional Assembly.

The Election Law made to regulate the election of General Assembly did not contain provisions on affirmative action. What the SRSG did do to promote women candidates was to provide incentives by providing twice as much media coverage for parties that nominated women and put women in winnable positions. The SRSG also encouraged parties to make a manifesto that included women's interests and needs. The same policy was also adopted by the Election Commission in the education of gender equality-based election.

It is safe to say that Rede Feto plays an important role in the effort to empower women in Timor-Leste and ensuring that the principle of gender equality is included as an integral part of public policies made by the Government, and in advocating women candidates in public offices.

Initially, Rede Feto had only seven member organizations before the number went up to include 15 organizations. To date, 24 women's organizations are registered as its members. AWomen's Congress is held every four years to choose a new director, renew the agenda, and evaluate the past working programs. Today, Rede Feto is supported with office space and an operational budget from the Government.

In addition to actively cooperating with the Government, Rede Feto also works intensively with the GMPTL, primarily in making policies related to urgent women's issues, such as maternal mortality, violence against women, and women as agents of peace. Collaboration with the GMPTL has resulted in the passing of the Law on the Elimination of Violence against Women, gender related articles in the General Election Law, and others.

3.10 THE ROLE OF THE STATE SECRETARIAT FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT (SEPI)

This office was established in 2002 as an advisory unit to the Prime Minister called the Office for Promotion of Equality. In 2007, the office was upgraded and its name changed to the State Secretariat for Women's Empowerment (SEPI), gaining equal status with other ministries. The current minister for women's empowerment is Idelta Maria Rodrigues, who has served for two terms.

SEPI has a very strategic position and has the privilege of participating in the weekly meetings of the Council of Ministers consisting of all ministers, the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Youth (called the Secretary of State in Timor-Leste). In the Council of Ministers, SEPI has the capacity to voice gender issues and has full authority as leader of the Gender Working Group. In addition, SEPI is also in charge of gender issues through the establishment of gender focal points in the 13 districts of Timor-Leste.

The establishment of the Gender Working Group was a strategic breakthrough that SEPI made following the evaluation of gender focal points, which were considered ineffective and less powerful since its members were not policy makers.

The Gender Working Group should be formed in each ministry under the leadership of its directorate general and consist of a minimum of four people, including the director of planning and financial and administrative assessors, following the mainstreaming policy cycle and gender responsive budgeting at the same time.

In addition to Rede Feto, SEPI also collaborates with the GMPTL to conduct regular meetings every three months. More intensive work has been done in collaboration with the commission on women's affairs, Commission F. Well-maintained collaboration with the GMPTL has resulted in the revised General Election Law, the passing of Law on Domestic Violence, and development of integrated service posts to advocate anti-violence against women (PTP2A).

4.1 BACKGROUND

At the beginning of this report, it was established that there are two main perspectives in analyzing women's political representation: descriptive representation and substantive representation.

The descriptive perspective views that the inclusion of women in policy-making institutions, such as Parliament, symbolically shows recognition of the principle of gender equality, meaning that the representatives reflect the characteristics of the voters, who are composed of both men and women.

On the other hand, the substantive perspective argues that increased women's representation in Parliament should be seen from the extent to which they can bring about change and difference, as well as how they can effectively raise issues related to women's affairs in a political context.

These two perspectives are once again denying the fact that women MPs do not represent a homogenous gender identity. There will always be differences among women MPs in terms of party, ethnicity and race, religion, economic status, education, region of residence, etc.

The first question that arises is whether or not women parliamentarians, regardless of their diverse identities, have the same perspectives towards issues related to women's interests. Have we not always found that there are some women parliamentarians who do not think highly of gender issues or think that they do not represent women in general? While on the other hand we sometimes find male MPs who are determined to fight for the interests of women and are keen to collaborate with women in promoting women's interests and agenda.

Other than representing diverse gender identities, women parliamentarians also come from a variety of different political parties with diverse ideologies. In the discussion of women's political representation in Parliament, one must take into consideration how political parties shape their attitude as members of Parliament. Do women MPs have the right to voice women's interests of their concern or do political parties demand complete loyalty from its members to abide by the party's strict discipline? To what extent does the party's discipline affect their behavior in voicing gender issues? Are women parliamentarians more loyal to their party or their constituents?

Becoming an MP, as stated at the beginning, means measuring 'substantive representation', in terms of how they are 'acting for' the constituents they represent. This means it is important for us to know what issues or ideas are to be represented. In this regard, knowing whose interests we are fighting for should become our main concern.

The political effectiveness of women in Parliament cannot be separated from the institution in which they work. The parliamentary structure is often said to be a masculine structure where the norms, rules, and code of conduct are made in accordance with men's standards, which are oftentimes biased and inconsiderate of women's interests. The theory of 'critical mass' states that if women remain a minority in Parliament, they will tend to follow or conform to the ruling norms and regulations. As the number of women increases, the ongoing 'discussion agendas' and discourses can be shifted to also include the aspiration and interests of minority and marginalized groups, and ultimately alter the dominance patterns.

Early studies showed that when the number of women is less than 15%, they tend to be reluctant in raising women's issues. But when the number is above 20%, there is a shift in priorities towards women's interests. Women's political representation in the Indonesian and Timorese Parliaments become a relevant question in this thesis.

In connection with the above issues, it is not unusual of for women to be put in commissions that are stereotypically referred to as 'traditional women's commissions', such as commissions on education and health, and on women's empowerment. In the case of Indonesia and Timor-Leste, as discussed in the previous chapters, it would appear that women now have almost no challenges in becoming members of any commission and even occupying strategic positions as leaders of the commission or faction, something we rarely found in the past. The question is whether or not they can make a difference and make gender issues a priority once they occupy these strategic positions?

Preliminary research also questions how the Parliamentary Women's Caucus could be a positive influence in achieving better performance by women MPs when discussing laws that have positive impacts for women. The Women's Caucus is also considered to have a positive impact in driving the successful passage of laws or certain legislations. Both Indonesia and Timor - Leste have a Parliamentary Women's Caucus that serves as a gender focal point across a variety of parties. However, different from Timor-Leste, not all women MPs in Indonesia are members of the KPPRI (the Women's Parliamentary Caucus). Furthermore, the fact remains that not all women have a sense of 'togetherness' as a group in Parliament. To become an agent of change and an effective gender focal point, the main prerequisite for the Parliamentary Women's Caucus is having a feminist identity as its ideology.

Four main questions will be analyzed in Chapter 4 by highlighting women's political representation in Indonesia and Timor-Leste. This study on the Parliamentary Women's Caucus in Indonesia and Timor-Leste was a conscious decision. This research has no intention of comparing the situations in Indonesia to the situations in Timor-Leste for it is very risky to make generalizations and simplifications on the highly complex political, socio-economic, and cultural settings in the two countries. The situations in Indonesia and Timor-Leste are each very distinct both with their unique problems and achievements.

This research seeks to uncover and analyze what lies behind the facts and the data that have been presented about women's political representation, as well as analyze the role played by the gender focal point in Parliament, the Parliamentary Women's Caucus, in voicing women's interests and urging change in the political process in Parliament.

4.2 THE PARADOX OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The number of women in Indonesia and Timor-Leste total more than half the entire population, as well as over half the number of active voters. However, when it comes to fair representation, either viewed from the descriptive or substantive point of view, women are still a marginalized group in political institutions like Parliament.

Despite rapid economic growth in the region and the increasing number of educated women from year to year, the glass ceiling phenomenon is still present in the formal political arena. The reasons why this paradox occurs may be very complex and can not be generalized by the experiences in Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Both countries have only been democratic states for a short period of time: Indonesia since 1999 and Timor-Leste from 2001. Looking at the three democratic elections in Indonesia (1999, 2004 and 2009) and two in Timor-Leste (2007 and 2012) to elect members of parliament, we see a relatively slow growth in the number of women parliamentarians in Indonesia (11% in 2004 to 18% in 2009) whilst in Timor-Leste we see a more rapid leap (27.7% in 2007 and 32.5% in 2012).

The effort to boost women's political representation in both countries has been brought about by adopting a special measure known as affirmative policy. In Indonesia, it is adopted through the General Election Law and the voluntary Law on Political Parties. Meanwhile, in Timor-Leste, it is set out in the Constitution and the mandatory General Election Law.

In Indonesia, the affirmative policy lost substantive significance as the electoral system used is an open list proportional system, with a majority vote as its candidate selection mechanism. However the affirmative policy adopted in Timor-Leste has effectively boosted women's representation through a closed party list system electoral system.

The issue of women's political representation cannot simply be examined by looking at a representation that is descriptive in nature. The bigger challenge comes in interpreting it in a more substantive manner. Could women MPs be an agent of change? Could they work more effectively in voicing women's interests and issues? Does joining the Parliamentary Women's Caucus as a gender focal point make them more empowered in dealing with the political process in Parliament and make them an autonomous force able to escape the party's control?

A study of Indonesian women parliamentarians shows that the increase in women's representation generated from the election in 2009 has not been able to generate effective MPs and make their representation "substantive."

Women who are elected as members of Parliament represent different identities based on, background, party and priority. A study by the Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) on "a portrait of women's electability in the legislature in the 2009 election" reveals that most women MPs come from professional backgrounds (including doctors, lawyers, teachers, consultants) forming 35% of the total number. Other professions include entrepreneurs (27%); civil servants (11.6%); celebrities and popular figures (9.7%); private sector employees (5.8%), housewives (4.8%), NGO activists (1 person), and employees of state-owned enterprises (SOEs)/Regional SOEs, which is a minority.

Women MPs are of different ages, ranging from 36-50 (47%) to 51-65 (28%). Meanwhile, those aged between 21-35 only represent 19.4% of women MPs. The majority of women MPs are newcomers to the world of politics, and in terms of family background, the data shows that 26% of women MPs are either the daughter, wife or niece of political leaders (party, government) senior party officials, royal families, or entrepreneurs.

By looking at the track record of women MPs and their efforts and work for the advancement of women's issues, only a few of the 102 women can be categorized as feminists. Most women MPs have never come into contact with gender issues nor have experience of working for gender justice issues.

The situation is different in Timor-Leste. The data shows that all women MPs in Timor-Leste are party activists who have been active for more than five years and have a long track record as militant fighters in the struggle for the independence of Timor-Leste. A lot of these activists are also housewives, former clandestine fighters, midwives, nurses, religious leaders, and teachers. They were recruited by political parties and organized in the women's wing of the party. With their long track record in the struggle against colonialism by Indonesia, they are very aware of social issues, such as economic affairs, maternal mortality, and problems related to different ethnic groups and religion. Most of the women parliamentarians were actors in the struggle for Timor-Leste's independence with experience in gender discrimination and violence that characterizes the history of this country.

Based on the study on *Gender Mainstreaming in Parliament: A study of the 2004-2009 House of Representatives (DPR) and the House of Regional Representatives (DPD)* (UNDP 2010), which is also reaffirmed in this paper, it is evident that although the number of women MPs has increased compared to the previous period, they are yet to function optimally as agents of change. Women parliamentarians are constrained by the hegemony of their factions, which are the extension of the party's leadership board. They do not have the autonomy and freedom to exercise their representative function as mandated by the constituents.

Factions hold power over their members, including their placement and other assignments. Very few women can lead a faction or commission since the appointment of a leader is still done through an undemocratic election in which the affirmative policy is not taken into consideration. The designation model highlights the importance of women in the daily board structure, considering not all women have that position. Lobbying and debating skills require extensive experience, which many of the women MPs lack due to being newcomers to the political arena.

Political parties as political institutions suggest that their working mechanism and organizational culture is still very much patriarchal. Policy reforms that have been implemented through the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties are not an effective solution to address gender inequality. Instead, they are used for the benefit of political parties (see books *Paradoks Representasi Politik Perempuan*, Puskapol 2013 and *Politik Harapan*, Ani Soetjipto 2011). Women have little bargaining power within their party and have weak relations with the party. They need a political party as a means to ensure their existence in Parliament. Adherence to the party is of utmost importance, and it can not be dismissed. MPs rarely dare to speak up about certain issues without their party's consent.

Political parties in Indonesia have not been able to take on the role of reformers. They only adhere to the affirmation policy as the criteria to meet administrative requirements. In order to be able to participate in elections, they must fulfill the 30% quota of women candidates. Women are only seen as vote getters and as safeguarding the interests of the party.

Poor parliamentary performance resulting from the inability of women candidates to comprehend various issues, is a consequence of political parties that, through their internal mechanisms and organizational culture, tend to be a major barrier and limit the optimal role that could be played by their female cadres. Increased capacity of women party members is not an important agenda for many political parties in Indonesia. Women's inability to understand women's issues and political agendas, along with their inability to articulate ideas to the media and the public, have made it hard for them to pursue the interests of those they represent. They tend to turn to their party instead of actively striving for the advancement of their constituents' interests.

The presence of women in Parliament thereby does not represent the interests of constituents, but rather the interests of their party. The relationship between women MPs and the party can be said to be ambiguous. Rarely do women dare to be critical in expressing disapproval of party policies. Most of the times they tend to compromise with the party and perpetuate the patriarchal ideology, whether they realize it or not. Consequently, they are not able to address the imbalance of power that occurs in the party. As stated by Andi Timo Pangerang in an in-depth interview:

"... So the greatest challenge is to mobilize the members to become active and attend the regular meetings in the midst of their busy schedules. Most members are men, while the women MPs still do what their party wants them to do. In conflicting activities, they will give priority to what is required by their party... ...there are very few times when they can join the Caucus' activities since they are preoccupied with some other party agendas"

In Timor-Leste, parties also become the dominant hegemony prioritized by all MPs, both men and women. The issues discussed during meetings are mostly common issues like education, health and economy. Political parties tend to make party platforms and programs to attract voters. This situation often leads to women's interests being mistaken as public interests and confusion in distinguishing one party's program with another party's.

In Timor-Leste, women parliamentarians still rarely talk about or raise gender related issues. They are still mostly focusing on party programs:

"Here, women always follow the party's direction. People's aspirations will not overlap with party agendas because party members also come from districts; thereby the party represents all public issues"

"When disagreement occurs between parties in Parliament, like say, when Fretilin had different views to CNRT on a development issue, CNRT prioritized highways, but for us I mean, people couldn't even have 3 meals a day, so our priorities should be health and education (interview with Josefa Pereira Soares-Fretilin January 24, 2013)

If we link the statement above with the reflection of political representation models described at the beginning of this paper, it seems more like a pictorial political practice. According to this representation concept, the representatives should reflect the characteristics of the represented and act on behalf of them. Similarities between the representatives and the represented are the basis in a pictorial representation. In this case, women parliamentarians in Indonesia and Timor-Leste are considered to have a shared characteristic (both are female) and this similarity alone is enough to represent the interests of women constituents. The representation is more of a symbolic and descriptive one.

In Timor-Leste, it is clearly evident that the Parliamentary Women's Caucus (GMPTL) is working hard to push for women's interests, regardless of the diversity of their party. The GMPTL, as described in the previous chapter, is a formal institution that is an integral part of Parliament and receives financial support to carry out its functions. The Caucus includes all women parliamentarians. In undertaking its tasks, the Caucus actively collaborates with women's organizations (Rede Feto), becomes the gender focal point for the Government (SEPI) and the Women's Political caucus outside Parliament.

The GMPTL in Timor-Leste appears to be very solid, united and militant in promoting women's issues, such as the elimination of violence against women. The Caucus can play an effective role as a forum for women parliamentarians to build unity among those who share the same vision towards advancing women's interests in Timor-Leste.

Sometimes, on certain issues, women MPs may have an opposing stance to their party's. In such cases, it is completely acceptable for them to pursue what they believe. Even though the party has the full right to discharge any of its members, parliamentarians cannot be discharged and expelled from Parliament. Instead, they become Independent. In their Independent status, they can respond to a variety of issues, but their vote will not be counted.

The Indonesian Parliamentary Women's Caucus (KPPRI) has not done its best to promote women's interests today. The KPPRI (2004-2009) went through institutional restructuring by involving members of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). At the beginning, this institution served as a means of communication between members of Parliament and their parties, as well as women's organizations and the Government. Although KPPRI managed to secure institutional support, such as office space and budget allocation to run its activities in the House, the Caucus is yet to become an integral part of the parliamentary complementary bodies.

Examples of KPPRI's relatively low performance can be seen in its failure to initiate a Law on Gender Equality and Justice and a Law on Domestic Workers, to amend the Law on Marriage, and revise the Law on the Protection of Foreign Workers and so forth. The hegemony of parties is so strong that the KPPRI is fragmented and women's agendas are displaced by party priorities.

The research findings indicate that the perception of women as well as the practice of political representation of women still dominated the discourse of women's presence and understanding of identity as a homogenous identity. Discourse understanding the presence and identity of the woman who homogeneous agree on the need for special policies for women in the form of affirmative representation, but unfortunately this practice is far from substantive representation practice with the discourse of contestation.

Substantive representation is not only a question of the relationship between the representatives and the represented, but also the bond between them. This bond is missing and could not be identified during this research on women's political representation in Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

Findings and Recommendations

The four questions posed in this research are:

1. How are the Parliamentary Women's Caucuses established in Indonesia and Timor-Leste? What are the rules and regulations, and what are the political structures and contexts of the institutions where the Parliamentary Women's Caucus operates in Indonesia and Timor-Leste in the period 2009-2014?
2. How does the support system sustain the Parliamentary Women's Caucus from inside and outside Parliament to support its effectiveness?
3. How effective is the Parliamentary Women's Caucus, and what are the challenges and obstacles it encounters?
4. What are the findings and recommendations of this study?

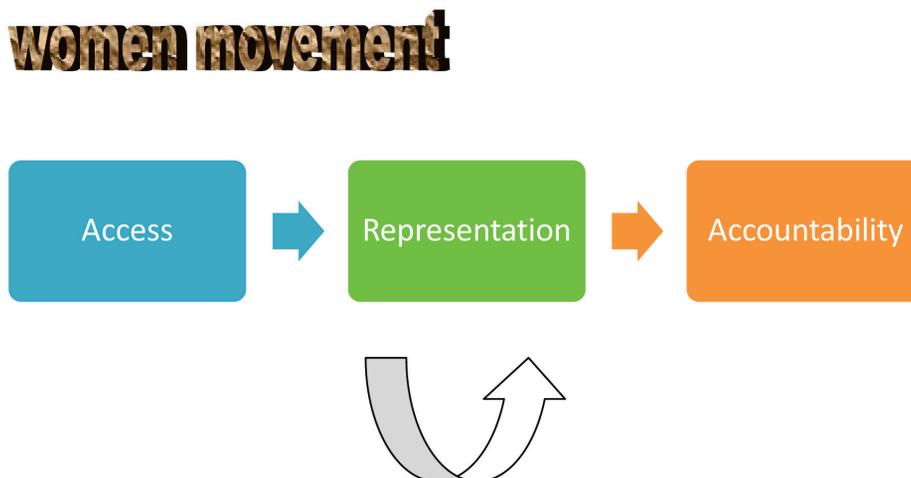
How do we explain the effectiveness of women MPs in advancing women's interests through the framework of the Women's Caucus? The effectiveness of women parliamentarians, as stated by Anne Marie Goetz in her book, *Women's Political Effectiveness: A conceptual framework*, could be seen from their functions to turn women's issues into an urgent political issue, use their electoral achievements as bargaining leverage to decision makers, and demand responsibilities from the public sector in the implementation of a variety of international commitments that have been made with regard to women's rights, as well as the law enforcement.

These are very concrete and visible elements that most political scientists and policy analysts use when measuring 'women's effectiveness in Parliament'. The indicator follows the three strategies proposed by Judith Squires in her book *The New Politics of Gender Equality* (2007), which states that there are three strategies that are generally carried out to improve women's representation in the political arena, namely the establishment of a women's agency, gender equality policy better known as gender mainstreaming, and the availability of quotas targeted at increasing the number of women's representation in a relatively short time as a temporary special measure.

In other words, these three strategies are targeted at access or voice - presence or representation -voice or accountability. Access or voice is an effort to convey and urge equal opportunities for women to participate in public affairs while promoting the "equalizing participation" policy between men and women through the affirmative policy, which is now widely adopted in many countries including Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

All these policies serve as the entry point and have an impact on the promotion of women's representation in decision-making institutions, such as Parliament. There has been an increase in the number of women's representation in the Indonesian and Timor-Leste Parliaments. Hopefully, the next process could be

shifted from voice to accountability. This process is not necessarily linear and highly dependent on the relationship between women parliamentarians and women's movements. The chart is simply described as follows:



The process from voice to representation and accountability is not a linear relationship, and it depends on the relationship between women parliamentarians and women's movements.

1. When this pattern is applied in a discussion on women in Parliament (KPPRI in Indonesia and GMPTL in Timor-Leste), it is found that women's representation in the parliament in both Indonesia and Timor-Leste is still limited to a descriptive representation. It means that Indonesia and Timor-Leste have succeeded in making laws that encourage women's involvement in the political arena, which can be a gateway for many more women to be involved in decision-making institutions such as Parliament.
2. The reasons why this descriptive representation cannot be translated into a more substantive representation are:

First, women parliamentarians in both Indonesia and Timor-Leste, as individuals and as politicians, are not women who have the 'clout' that gives them bargaining power in the form of a 'clear agenda'. In Indonesia, the reason behind women's involvement in Parliament is the requirement for parties to meet the 30% quota as a condition to participate in general elections. And who are the women parliamentarians? Most parties nominate female candidates without taking further considerations of their backgrounds or political aspirations. Most of them are not part of a women's organization such as the Indonesian Women's Congress (Kowani), Family Welfare Movement (PKK), the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI), the Civil Servants' Wives Association. If anything, they are the elite and leaders of these organizations. (see Chapter 2 of this report)

In Timor-Leste, the reason women participate in political parties and compete in the election is related to historical and political ties. The women parliamentarians are activists who were involved in the movement to liberate Timor-Leste from occupation, either as clandestine fighters, academics, housewives, students, in other words those who fought with weapons or through diplomacy. These women also do not

understand politics and are not feminists in the sense of people who want to change power relations in politics. These women are part of the Rede Feto and are close with the women's movement in Timor-Leste. Their core mandate is to work for the fulfillment of basic human rights.

Second, women parliamentarians in the Caucus cannot turn their high number of votes into 'bargaining leverage' in dealing with the party and Parliament. In a research conducted by the Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) in Indonesia, it was found that 22% of voters or 23 million voters elected women candidates in the 2009 legislative elections. These votes cannot be used as a bargaining tool for women when they are confronted with the choice of advocating their interests or their faction's in House to strive with the women's issue and women's voter interests. The reason, once again, is because of their gender identity as a woman. From a gender perspective, the interests of minority and marginalized groups in the parliamentary political process cannot be accommodated, let alone contested as a political identity. By getting nominated and elected to Parliament, women MPs are considered to have already represented the interests of their constituents (Pitkin, 1967). The open list proportional electoral system still puts parties in the most favorable position by having total control of the candidates, especially in terms of candidacy order and placement in the commissions. It also has the power to recall MPs, making women MPs reluctant to have opposing opinions.

In Timor-Leste, women's aspirations are lost in the party's agendas. Timor-Leste employs the closed list electoral system, where votes for party candidates are all mixed. Women's votes in the elections are difficult to trace.

Third, the women's movement and the political context in Indonesia and Timor-Leste have resulted in the Parliamentary Caucus not being able to play an optimal role. In Indonesia, the KPPRI only has very limited contact with the women's movement. In Timor-Leste, despite Rede Feto's support of the Parliamentary Caucus, the women MPs limited capacity becomes a constraint in making them part of the formidable 'voting bloc'.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Further studies need to be conducted on the "power" of women in the political arena through the female perspective. The findings of this research are based on the size of the visible and measurable indicators, which are often irrelevant to describe "the real potential and capacity of women in politics." It is important to conduct further research to explore whether the power that women have in the political arena is hidden, visible, or invisible.

A field study needs to be taken to measure the informal shape of effectiveness of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus such as those in Indonesia and East Timor. It would be interesting to learn from experiences in Latin American countries such as Argentina and Chile, to see how women's movements collaborate with the Women's Caucus are effectively in pushing the women's empowerment agenda.

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