

THE GENDER QUOTA MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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INTRODUCTION

The underrepresentation of women in parliament is a global concern addressed by various international organisations, including the United Nations (UN), the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). This issue is also discussed and addressed in international forums such as the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which includes women's rights to participate in politics on equal terms with men (Article 7). The CEDAW Committee has clearly stipulated (1997) that to achieve women's participation in politics, temporary special measures such as quotas are required. The Beijing Platform for Action 1995 (chapter IV) also recommends governments to implement special measures to address the underrepresentation of women in decision-making. More recently one of the indicators for Millennium Development Goal 3: the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment is the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament (www.undp.org).

Women's representation in the Indonesian national parliament was 18 percent in 2010; placing Indonesia in the 65th position on the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) list regarding women's parliamentary representation (www.ipu.org). The numbers of women in Indonesian local parliaments are even lower, with an average 13.5 percent at the provincial level and 10 percent at the district level in 2009. The three lowest percentages of women in provincial parliament were 5.5% in West Nusa Tenggara, 5.8% in Aceh and 4.4% in South East Sulawesi. Even though the average percentage of women in district parliaments is 10 percent, there are some districts that have no women at all such as Poso (UNDP, 2010).

Since 2003, Indonesia has adopted electoral gender quotas as a mechanism to address the low number of women in the parliament at all levels of government. This paper analyses the development of the gender quotas campaign in Indonesia from 1998 to 2008. This paper will discuss the strategies used to campaign for gender quotas, as well as the roles of women's organisations and activists in this campaign. This paper will also outline the roles of regional and international organisations in this gender quotas campaign. The primary data used in this paper is drawn from interviews with leaders of women's organisations and women activists involved in the quotas campaigns. Secondary data is obtained from newspaper articles and websites.

a. Gender quotas as a global movement

IPU data from April 2011 reveals that the average percentage of women's representation in Parliaments around the world is currently 19.3 percent. Some countries, like Belize, Nauru, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Solomon Islands have no women in parliament at all. It is important to note that the underrepresentation of women in parliament is not a developing country phenomenon. For

example, first world countries with established democracies such as Canada, United Kingdom, United States of America and Australia all have women in parliament at levels below 30% (IPU, 2011).

One of the older forms of electoral quotas are those introduced by political parties, for example the quotas introduced by the Socialist Left and Liberal Party in Norway in 1975. These two parties' gender policies triggered the largest Norwegian party, the Labour party, to increase the number of women in its party list (Matland, 2004). Since then, campaigns to implement quota systems to improve women's representation have become a global movement. According to Krook (2009), between 1930 and 1980 only ten countries applied quota provisions, however between 1980 and 2000 this grew to forty countries and now includes over one hundred countries. This shows the emerging demands and global awareness of the importance of equal representation. Quotas are a mechanism for fast tracking women's representation in politics and can also reduce the political, economic, and cultural barriers that women face when entering into politics (Dahlerup, 2003). Rwanda is an example of this where women in parliament has reached 56 percent after quota implementation. For countries that have not used gender quotas, it has taken much longer to achieve significant levels of women's representation in parliament. For example, it took seventy years to achieve 38 percent of women in parliament in Denmark using the incremental approach (Dahlerup, 2006). Underpinning the incremental approach is that the main underlying cause for women's under-representation in parliament is that women do not have the same political resources as men. Therefore, the approach used by Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries to address this is to provide trainings for women, as well as services such as child care so women can combine their political activities with their family responsibilities. The theory is that when women have the resources, equal representation can be gradually achieved (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2008).

b. Mixed motives for the adoption of gender quotas

Studies have shown that the promotion of quotas does not start until women's groups have identified quotas as a legitimate means for improving women's political representation (Kittilson, 2006). Generally, across several countries, gender quotas would not have been adopted without the persistent and tireless lobbying of grass roots, national and international women's groups. However, despite the number of countries implementing gender quotas, many have done so for different reasons some of which have not necessarily been linked to the recognition of women's rights.

Some studies have shown that women's campaigns for quotas tend to be successful when quotas are:

- identified as a strategic benefit to the political elite;
- linked to existing notions of equality and representation; and
- supported by international organisations and transnational networks (Araújo and García, 2006; Norris, 2006).

In addition to this, parties may adopt gender quotas because they want to be seen as modern and in accordance with international norms or to achieve party advantages (Tripp and Kang, 2008; Matland 2004). For example, in France, parity was supported by large parties because male incumbents expected voters would favour male candidates (most of them incumbents) over new female candidates (Fréchette et al, 2008). Meanwhile in Norway, the Socialist Left adopted gender quotas to distinguish itself from the Labour party. In this case, the implementation of quotas was seen as a strategy to attract leftist women away from Labour party. Meanwhile the reason for the Liberal party's adoption of quotas was to establish a new party identity (Matland 2004, p.6).

c. Electoral system and gender quotas – the Indonesia context

a. Electoral system and voter demography

Since the 2004 elections, Indonesia has used the semi-open list proportional representation electoral system in which parties propose a list of candidates for voters to choose from. Prior to the 2004 elections, a closed list was used. The national parliament consists of 560 elected members. In the 2009 elections, 38 political parties contested with 171,265,442 people voting (Indonesia Electoral Commission, 2009). Voter turnout for legislative elections since the 1971 elections has always been over 70 percent (www.idea.int). All Indonesian citizens who are 17 years old or over or who are married or have married are put on the electoral roll and issued with a voters card but voting is not compulsory (Elections Law, 2008).

There are 77 electorates across Indonesia. Indonesia has elections to elect members of parliament at the national and local levels, as well as heads of districts and provinces and the president. As such, there are up to four elections held in one district every five years. Ballots for the national, provincial and district parliaments contain the name of candidates and party symbols, while the ballot for the regional representative council (DPD) candidates contains the number, picture and name of candidates.

b. Comparison of gender quotas in Indonesia and other countries

Matland (2006) differentiates quota implementation at three different stages:

- at the recruitment process (aspirant quotas);
- in party lists; and
- in elected seats.

The aspirant quota is designed to influence an internal party process of choosing candidates and guarantees that women are considered when parties select nominees. Dahlerup (2006) distinguishes quotas between legal and party quotas. Legal quotas are when quotas are included in constitutional or statutory law and voluntary party quotas are when quotas are implemented by one or more political parties in a country. Indonesia has adopted legislated quotas for party lists which is regulated in the Elections Law. Political parties have to ensure that women make up 30 percent of their party lists.

Table 1: Different types of gender quota implementation

Country/ quotas	Party list	Reserved seats
Asia		
Indonesia	30 percent of women in the party list – legislated gender quotas	
India		33 percent of women in local bodies
Africa		
Rwanda		30 percent of women in decision making.
Angola	Legislated gender quotas 30 percent of women in the party list	
Latin America		
Argentina	National gender quotas law (30 percent of women) in the party lists	
Europe		
Norway	Party quotas, 40 to 50 percent of women on most party lists*	

Country/ quotas	Party list	Reserved seats
Spain	Legislated party quota (a minimum of 40 percent and a maximum 60 percent of either sex among their candidates)	

Data source: www.quota.project.org

* The Progress Party, currently the second largest party in parliament, does not adopt quotas. (<http://eng.kilden.forskningsradet.no>, <http://www.stortinget.no/en>). Meanwhile the Labour Party has a 50 percent quota and the Socialist party has a 40 percent quota for both sexes (www.quotaproject.org).

c. Advocacy strategies and networks:

When did the push for quotas start?

The term “quota” was introduced for the first time on 22 December 1998 in a Political Statement made by the Indonesian Women’s Coalition (KPI). The statement called for the Indonesian government to provide access for women to national leadership positions and to provide a 50 percent quota in legislative, judicial and executive arenas (KPI, 1999). This statement was made not long after Soeharto resigned as President in May 1998. KPI is a women’s mass organisation established as a result of the Congress of Indonesian Women in December 1998. This congress was attended by 600 women activists from across Indonesia (KPI, no date). In this Congress, participants highlighted the urgent need for women to be represented in decision-making bodies and for national leaders to voice women’s interests. Until 1998, women’s political representation had never exceeded 13 percent, despite Indonesian women having the same right to vote as men since Independence in 1945.

After the 1999 elections, there was strong opposition to women’s leadership by the United Development Party and several Moslem organisations. Much of this opposition was in relation to the victory of Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, a daughter of the first Indonesian President. These Moslem groups argued that a woman could not be the President as it is against Quran (Blackburn, 2004; Robinson 2009).

The women’s movement continued to consolidate, discuss advocacy strategies and agreed on the percentage of quotas they demanded. For example, KPI had promoted 50 percent of women’s representation, however the international community had set a target of at least 30 percent of women as stated by the United Nation’s Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Therefore the Indonesian women’s movement advocated at least 30 percent in decision-making bodies (Katjasungkana, 2002).

The slogan used by the women’s movement to promote quotas was ‘No democracy without women’s representation’ (KPI, 2001; Budiarti, 2003). The main arguments used by KPI for gender quotas included:

- Women’s representation is a key principle of democracy and gender quotas is one way of achieving this;
- Affirmative action is promoted in the international conventions ratified by Indonesia, thus the government is obliged to implement the recommendations as set out in the conventions. In addition to the international conventions, the Indonesian Human Rights Law states that the electoral system, political party systems and judicative and executive appointment mechanisms have to guarantee 30 percent representation of women;
- Gender quotas was one way to compensate for the inequality towards women; (KPI, 2002)

- Women's activists argued that women constitute more than 50 percent of the population and therefore, should be represented equally in decision-making bodies.

Actors

Various actors have participated in the gender quota campaign. These actors have included civil society organisations, academics, women in parliament, women in political parties, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, women in media, and international organisations. Among civil society organisations include KPI, the Women's Division of the Centre for Electoral Reform, the Centre for Women's Empowerment in Politics, KOWANI, Fatayat, Aisyah, the Association of Women's Small Entrepreneurs, and several women's student associations including the Islamic Women's Student Associations. Women in parliament and political parties at the organisation level have included their organisations such as the Women's Caucus in Parliament and Women's Caucuses in Political Parties. Women academics have included those from the Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia. The roles of Indonesian women's organisations, national networks and international actors will be discussed later in the paper.

Strategies and tactics

The strategies employed to lobby for gender quotas was from an integral approach *hulu to hilir* meaning every process and step that involved nominating, selecting and electing women needed intervention to ensure an increase in women's representation. This included guaranteeing women's representation in regulations/policies; in party structures, candidate selection, and the placement of women in winnable positions on party lists (interviews with Ani Soetjipto, 2009 and Yuda Irlang, 2009). The quota movement used a combination of interventions in the party structures and externally. This approach focused not just on gender quota policies, but also on how these quotas were to be implemented to increase women's representation, including creating a pool of aspirants as feeders for party lists.

• Adoption of quotas in the Constitution

Quotas are more effective if they are legislated, whether in the Constitution or statutory law. In 2000, women's organisations took advantage of the amendment to the Constitution to have gender quotas guaranteed in the Constitution (KPI, 2002). The adoption of gender quotas in the Constitution would provide a certainty in the laws and therefore policies would be adjusted accordingly. This proposal to adopt quotas in the Constitution was rejected by all political parties.

• Guaranteeing quotas in national laws

Following the failed attempt to insert quotas in the Constitution, the women's movement started to lobby for 30 percent gender quotas to be legislated in the electoral and political party laws in 2001. Usually, the national Parliament reviews the Package of Political Laws including the Election and Political Party Laws, a few years before the next round of national Elections. This means the laws change every five years to follow the Legislative and Presidential Election terms. The women's movement used this legislative reform to have quotas included in the new laws that underpinned Indonesia's transition to democracy. Therefore, the women's movement sought to have gender quotas included in the three main political laws – the Elections, Political Party, and the Election Administration Laws (Interview with Yuda Irlang, 2009). Under the new Political Party Law, new parties had to have 30 percent of women in their structure. These party structures serve as pools for political candidates (Political Party Law, 2008, Interview with Masruchah, 2009).

In 2002, the parliament passed the Political Party Law. Article 7 of this law stated gender equality should be considered in the recruitment for a party and Article 13 stated that party structures at every level should be democratically selected taking into consideration gender equality in their bylaws (Siregar, 2006). The women's movement was unhappy with these results, not only because they lobbied to have 30 percent of women in the party structure but also because the process of

decision making was unfair and involved foul play. Initially, the working committee for the Political Party Law had accepted the women's movement's proposal for 30 percent of women in political party structures. However, this policy was reviewed and then removed from the legislation by the committee in an afternoon meeting when Aisyah Amini, a female MP who was a member of the Committee was absent. Following this, Amini sent a protest letter to the chair of the working committee and requested quotas to be put back in the political party law (Sadli, 2002 www.kompas.or.id). This action was supported by women's organisations such as KPI, the Women's Caucus in Parliament, the Indonesian Women's Council and Women in Politics Network which also sent letters to the chair. Responding to this, the chair of the working committee explained that it was very hard for political parties to put 30 percent of women in the structure as there were not enough women interested in politics; and therefore they rejected the proposals (www.kompas.or.id). In 2008, the women's movement advocated successfully for better gender quotas in the political party law. This included the requirement for newly established parties to have national structures composed of thirty percent of women (Interview with Masruchah, 2009).

In 2003, the national parliament passed the Election Law which included Article 65 that *suggested* political parties have at least 30 percent of women on their party lists. This empty gesture pushed the women's movement to request sanctions for non-compliance. The women's movement also wanted one woman in every three candidates on party lists. But the demand for sanctions for non-compliance was rejected. Instead, the Electoral Commission would announce non-compliance in the mass media as a type of sanction, however the party would still be able to contest the elections (Election Law, 2008). This differs from quotas in Argentina and East Timor where parties cannot contest in elections if they do not meet the gender quotas requirement.

The women's movement also aimed to have gender quotas implemented in the appointment of the Electoral Commissions at all levels and in the appointment of the Elections Watch Body. This effort was successful with quotas being adopted in the Election Administration Law 22/2007 which states that women should make up at least 30 percent of membership in the Electoral Commission and Election Watch Body at all levels (Interview with Masruchah, 2009).

- **Pressure on political parties**

Due to the nature of the Indonesian electoral system, political parties act as gatekeepers for women's representation. This is because parties make the rules for recruitment, selection and placement of candidates on lists and therefore, the implementation of gender quotas. Political parties have the power to determine whether women candidates are elected or not. The women's movement has lobbied the main political parties to support gender quotas in the electoral and political party laws. Meetings with party leaders are held by women's organisations frequently to remind the leaders to implement quotas, show support for women candidates in their parties and to request parties to place women in the top position on the party's lists (Interview with Masruchah, 2009).

Ani Soetjipto, a senior feminist political scientist, noted that political parties are now more receptive to the idea of gender quotas compared to the 2004 and 1999 elections. None of the main political parties in 2009 opposed quotas. In 1999, 75 percent of the 48 political parties including the main parties were against the idea of gender quotas (CETRO, 2002).

Women's organisations have also proposed lists of women to party leaders to be nominated as candidates. This is to challenge of the parties' excuse that there are not many qualified women interested to contest in elections. The Centre of Political Science and Centre of Gender and Sexuality Studies of the University of Indonesia produced two books containing the almost 1000 names of women aspirants. The first book contained a pool of women aspirants from civil society and the second book contained women aspirants from political parties. These aspirant lists were

presented to political parties which resulted in some political parties nominating some women from the lists to be party candidates. However parties were not too keen to nominate women from civil society as they argued that such women do not have experience in political parties. Since there was no sufficient human resource available, this Centre did not follow up on this matter (Interview with Ani Soetjipto, 2009). Ani Soetjipto noted that only very few of the women who were nominated by parties and trained by the Centre of Political Studies won the election.

- **Special task force**

Parliament forms a special task force when a new law is proposed. Such task forces usually consist of political party representatives and government representatives. The number of representatives each party has in a task force is proportional with the number of seats the party has in parliament. To influence the process of Parliamentary sessions, women MPs lobbied their parties to nominate themselves to be members of a special task force a year before the selection of the task force members (Interview with Ani Soetjipto, 2009). President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono assigned the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Human Rights, and State Secretariat to represent the government in discussing the package of political laws. Initially, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment was not involved in the special task force to discuss the political laws because it was assumed that the laws were not related to the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry. Women's organisations urged the Women's Empowerment Minister to write to the President to request the inclusion of the women's Ministry in the special task force because the political laws related to women's issues, specifically gender quotas. Having the Ministry of Women's Empowerment as a member of the task force would increase the number of women in this task force and as a result, increase support to women MPs since there was a voice advocating gender quotas. The President approved the proposal and added the Ministry of Women's Empowerment as a government representative (interview with Yuda Irlang, 2009). This was first time the Ministry of Women's Empowerment was included in the task force. Since meetings of the task force were closed to the public and the venues for the meetings were often changed, women MPs played critical roles in ensuring that gender quotas were adopted in the laws (Interview with Ani Soetjipto, 2009). Success in the adoption of 30 percent of women in the 2008 Election Law is evidence of the importance of this role.

- **Research on party reform agenda**

The Centre of Political Studies at the University of Indonesia conducted research in 2007 and interviewed seven leaders of large parties to know their reform agenda and perspectives on women's representation. The aim of the research was to collect data for preparing working papers for advocacy of the Political Party and Election Laws. As Ani Soetjipto argued, the women's movement does not have the political influence to dictate political party's agendas, therefore it is more effective to take advantage of the parties' agenda to promote gender quotas adoption. The benefit of this is also to avoid resistance from the parties. The research found political parties are not in favour of closed list proportional representation as it is seen as less democratic but they still favoured a semi-open or open system. Given party opposition to closed lists, the women's movement promoted semi-open proportional representation, and electoral victory based on the rank of order in the party list, zipper system on the party list with sanctions for the non-compliance (Interview with Ani Soetjipto, 2009).

- **Awareness raising**

In 2007 Ansipol (Alliance of Civil Society for Revision of Political Laws), organised an electronic petition for women's representation in parliament through SMS polling, whereby the public could send texts to a certain phone number to support women's representation. Ansipol coordinated a political campaign to ask public support for gender quotas in which post cards were distributed and

people were asked to send text messages to the SMS Polling. The post cards and texts were then collated and submitted to the National Parliament. The purpose was to demonstrate that the general public wants to have women represented in parliament (interview with Yuda Irlang, 2009). Aside from that, regular rallies at the national and regional levels were held in popular public venues. To inform and raise awareness about gender quotas, the women's movement has been delivering political education in communities since 1999. As a result of this continuing political education, Masruchah, the (now former) Secretary General of KPI stated that 500 KPI members ran as candidates for all levels of parliament in 2009. There is no data collected on how many of these women were elected.

- **Media relations**

Mass media is seen as a very important and effective means to promote gender quotas. The women's movement has lobbied the mass media to educate the general public on the importance of women's representation in Parliament. Press conferences about women's representation have also been used to deliver campaign messages. Two feminist journalists, Maria Hartiningsih and Ninuk Pambudy from mainstream newspapers have also continually promoted gender quotas since 2001 up to now. The Women's Journal (Jurnal Perempuan) that has a network with local radios in several provinces also aired regular programs on women's representation. In addition to this, Ansipol used Facebook and existing mailing lists as a tool to communicate to the public on gender quotas campaigns (<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Aliansi-Masyarakat-Sipil-untuk-Perempuan-Politik/116085387379>). Ansipol also utilised various kinds of existing mailing lists to advertise their events. These media strategies have enabled the gender quotas issue to be quickly and easily promoted to the public.

National networks for gender quotas

The campaign for gender quotas has united women activists despite differences in ideology, programs, backgrounds, and interests. KOWANI (the Indonesian Women's Council), is an umbrella body of women's organisations established in December 1928 which emphasises women's responsibility towards the well being of the nation, family, community, and youth (www.kowani.or.id). Later, this organisation during New Order under Soeharto was used to promote *State Ibuism* which defines women as appendages and companions to their husbands, as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as housekeepers and as members of the Indonesian society (Suryakusuma, 1996, p101). Meanwhile the ideology of more recently established women's NGOs such as Kalyanamitra and Women's Legal Aid is to promote feminism and abolish the unequal gender roles supported by KOWANI. One example of the different points of view between KOWANI and other women's NGOs is on the issue of the Anti Pornography law in which KOWANI saw the law for protecting children. On the other hand, other women's NGOs viewed the law as a form of state control over women's sexuality. Despite these ideological differences, both KOWANI and women's organisations worked together in campaigns with two of the main women's Moslem organisations, Fatayat and Aisyah and women academics. Women from different political parties also put aside their political differences to promote gender quotas.

Ansipol, the Women's Caucus in Parliament, Centre for Political Studies at the University of Indonesia, KPI, and the Women's Journal have been women's organisations actively involved in advocating women's representation from the 2009 elections to today (Interview with Masruchah, 2009). Ansipol was established and lead by several women's organisations to promote the adoption of gender quotas in the package of Political Laws. To gain support from wider civil society organisations, the network invited other organisations to join, including KOWANI and the Alliance of Independent Journalists. Unlike the previous quota campaign, KOWANI were not as actively involved in this network due to changes of leadership.

It has become very important to build alliances with women in parliament. This can benefit both sides: women Members of Parliament can work within parliament and within parties for better policies on women's representation, while women's organisations can lobby parliament and party leaders as well as support women MPs by providing data, advice, media relations, theoretical backgrounds and position papers. Roles of women MPs and women's organisations are meant to complement each other. Women MPs in the 2008 campaigns were very active in calling for gender quotas. They understood quotas to be a tool to increase women's representation in parliament. Women MPs and women activists had already shared the same platform and agenda in previous campaigns. Ani Soetjipto had been part of campaigns both in 2002 and 2008. According to her, women MPs in the 2008 campaign knew their roles as a result of the ongoing quota campaign. The exchange of text messages between women MPs and women's activists during the discussions regarding the Elections and Political Party Laws in parliament was common practice in both 2002 and 2008 (Siregar 2006, Interview with Ani Soetjipto, 2009). These texts contained strategic information, advice and updates about the sessions. It is worth to note that it took years to establish trust and relationships with women MPs in campaigning for gender quotas.

The Ministry of Women's Empowerment plays an important role in the gender quotas campaign. Together with NGOs, the Minister, has frequently lobbied the Electoral Commission and Parliament to request the implementation of gender quotas. The Minister's presence not only pressured the task force to implement gender quotas but she also provided the women's movement with important updates on progress, given that the meetings were closed to the public (Interview with Yuda Irlang, 2009).

Roles of international organisations

The successes of the quota campaign were made possible with assistance from international organisations. International organisations not only supported the local/national networks through various trainings, but also acted as a form of political pressure. At the initial stages of the gender quotas campaign, the UNDP supported a series of dialogue between women's organisations and political parties about women's representation and voter education to raise awareness. These dialogues and campaigns were aired on national television and radio. Since 1999, International IDEA sponsored initiatives to strengthen women's political participation (www.idea.int). This organisation also facilitated the sharing of knowledge between Indonesian women's activists and international feminists about quota implementation and increasing women's representation in decision making. Funding was made available for study visits to India, Philippines and Thailand as well as workshops at the provincial level about the implementation of gender quotas in the next elections. International IDEA also held a national workshop in Jakarta that invited Drude Dahlerup and other prominent figures to give lectures on quotas and share quota implementation experiences from other countries (International IDEA, 2003). The Asia Foundation, an international organisation based in Washington, delivered a women's political participation program; it assisted women's organisations in campaigning for a quotas system in the Electoral Law and 30 percent of women in political party structures (Interview with Hana Satriyo, 2009). UNIFEM supported dialogue between women's activists and Moslem leaders about women and politics in the Islamic context and training for women candidates (Interview with Masruchah, 2009). The Regional Network of the Centre for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP), provided training on how to achieve 50-50 women's and men's representation in politics. CAPWIP and KPI conducted workshops on women in politics, leaderships, campaigning skills and fundraising campaigns. Some Indonesian women's organisations also attended meetings and trainings organised by CAPWIP on women in politics.

In addition to this, international organisations helped develop a network of women in political parties. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a non-profit organisation funded by the US government and linked to the Democratic Party (there is an equivalent International Republican Institute). NDI has delivered training for women in politics and capacity-building for the Indonesian Political Women's Caucus (NDI, 2003). The networks between the Indonesian women's movement and international organisations on gender quotas are also built through contact in conferences and seminars with women activists, and political parties. These occasions are to inform women of the experiences of other countries with gender quotas and how quotas can be implemented.

Do gender quotas work?

In the last elections, 32 political parties (84 percent) met the quota requirements. New and small parties tended to put more women on their lists, in some cases women made up 40 percent of the list. However, chances of these parties to win seats are almost zero. Large parties such as Golkar, Democrat Party and Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDIP) have increased their numbers of women candidates to meet the gender quota requirement.

So, do gender quotas of 30 percent of women on party lists translate into 30 percent of women in parliament? The answer is no, but it has coincided with a modest increase of women in parliament. Since electoral quotas were implemented, the number of women in national parliament has increased from 11 to 18 percent in 2009. This is unlike Argentina or Costa Rica where the numbers of women in parliament increased significantly after quotas were adopted. This could be because in Argentina there are sanctions for non-compliance and women are placed in winnable positions. Although gender quotas in Indonesia did not significantly increase the number of women in parliament, gender quotas have opened the door for women to become candidates and lift some of the cultural and political barriers to enter politics.

Conclusion

The gender quotas adopted in Indonesia are the result of continuous advocacy by the women's movement at the local, national and international levels. The movement's demands were presented using a range of strategies. The effective strategies in advocating gender quota policies include building alliances with women MPs, applying pressure to political parties and using media relations. The advantage of employing a wide range of strategies was that the women's movement was able to cover a range of issues and lobby a range of actors in their campaign for gender quotas. This came at considerable cost – in terms of human resources, time and energy to undertake these activities. Thus, when the Constitutional Court was processing the appeal to change the formula of electoral victory from rank of order to the majority of votes, women's organisations had no resources to respond to this appeal and lobby the Constitutional Court intensively.

Women's organisations are the key players in promoting gender quotas with support from international organisations. A strong network, clear roles for women in parliament as well as strong support from various women's organisations were essential elements of the campaign's success. Gender quotas can be an effective tool in advancing women in politics. Although commitment of political parties to place women in winnable positions has to be reinforced in order to achieve equal representation.

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