

THE NIEW JOURNAL

THE VOICE OF THE NAM WOMAN

VOLUME 5 / DECEMBER 2013

Women In Leadership

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Ministry of Women,
Family and Community Development



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TUN DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD

THE NIEW JOURNAL

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FOREWORD

YB Dato' Sri Rohani Abdul Karim

*Minister of Women, Family and Community Development
Malaysia*

*There is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women.
- Kofi Annan*

Measures put in place by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) member states with regard to women's economic empowerment, eliminating barriers to their political participation and establishing them as leaders have resulted in significant achievements. In politics, an encouraging number of NAM member states have seen women's parliamentary representation nearly triple over the past two decades, to well over 30%. Rwanda which was the first country to achieve a female majority national legislature in 2008, still has the world's highest share of women in national parliaments. The Inter-Parliamentary Union reported that as of December 2013, women constitute 63.8% of the Lower House and 38.5% of the Upper House of the Rwandan parliament.

Malaysia too has seen an increase in the participation of women in politics. Compared with the 12th General Election in 2008, there has been an increase in the

13th General Election held in 2013 with regard to the number of women contesting for the Parliamentary and State Legislative Assemblies seats, and the number of women who eventually won.

I am also happy to highlight the success of the Policy of At Least 30% Women in Decision-Making in the Public Sector announced by the Malaysian government in 2004. Through this policy, the percentage women in decision-making in the public sector which was only 18.8% in 2004 had risen to 30.5% in 2009, 31.7% in 2012 and then to 33.7% in 2013.

Due to the encouraging progress in the public sector, the Government of Malaysia announced the Policy of At Least 30% Women in Decision-Making in the Corporate Sector in 2011. The target set under this policy is that by the end 2016, women will comprise 30% of those holding board positions in companies listed in Malaysia Stock Exchange. This policy received a boost under the 2012 Budget when an amount of RM3 million was allocated to train potential women leaders for directorship roles and to develop a database for potential women directors. An additional RM10 million was allocated under the 2013 Budget. From 2012 to 2013, a total of 721 women have been trained.

Building upon such achievements, we have to create more success among NAM member states so that the increase of women in high-profile positions will leave NAM girls and women with many role models and encourage them to reach for the top. Hence, there is a need to continuously ensure that NAM women do get onto a level playing field and that their empowerment is a sustainable path forward.

In this regard, I highly commend The Voice of the NAM Women “Women In Leadership” for providing the valuable inputs to policy makers, regulators and governments. I am confident that readers will gain a broader perspective of women leadership from this edition.

Thank you.

DATO' SRI ROHANI ABDUL KARIM



FOREWORD

YBhg Dato' Sri Dr. Noorul Ainur Mohd Nur
Secretary General
Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development

Life is not easy for any of us. But what of that? We must have perseverance and above all confidence in ourselves. We must believe that we are gifted for something and that this thing must be attained.

- Marie Curie, chemist and physicist

Women in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) member states are never short of capability nor the desire for leadership. In this aspect more and more women are attaining higher education, knowledge and skills to succeed as leaders. This is especially true for Malaysia whereby the enrolment of women pursuing first degree has been consistent at more than 62% for the period of 2009 - 2012. Meanwhile, for the 2013/2014 academic year, a total of 28,280 or 68.02% of 41,573 candidates who enrolled for first degree were women.

In many NAM member states, women have risen to key positions in politics, as well as in the public and private sectors. For example, Malaysia already has the critical

mass of women that will ensure women leadership will prevail in the once male-dominated professional fields. In 2013, women made up 50.3% of accountants, 64.3% of dentists, 50.5% of lawyers and 47.8% of doctors in Malaysia. With the rate of women participation in the Malaysian workforce steadily rising from 46.8% in 2010 to 49.5% in 2012, more women leaders are expected to emerge.

After five years of publication, the NIEW Journal has become a credible platform for the world-wide dissemination of knowledge on the empowerment of women in NAM member states. I would like to congratulate NIEW for coming up with this 5th edition. It is therefore my fervent hope that the theoretical and empirical research findings shared in this edition will contribute to the development of women leadership.

Thank you.

DATO' SRI DR. NOORUL AINUR MOHD NUR



FOREWORD

Normalia Ibrahim

Director

NAM Institute for the Empowerment of Women (NIEW)

Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development

NIEW is proud to present and publish our 5th edition of The NIEW Journal – The Voice of the NAM Woman. The publication of this NIEW Journal series compiles academic papers in a wide spectrum of areas of research in the field of Women In Leadership both locally and internationally. The series will serve not only to reassess past practices and performances, but to also explore possible directions to follow in the future, at both theoretical and policy levels. It is my sincere hope that this publication would serve as a useful source of reference for all women across the board – from university students to researchers, academics, women entrepreneurs, women in the decision-making positions in both the public and private sectors, and others who wish to broaden their understanding of the key issues affecting the women in leadership in many parts of the world. Many of the researches here can serve as a reference point for forecasting developments in the area of women and leadership which can facilitate the policy-makers towards moving in the right direction of achieving our national target of 30 percent women in the decision-making positions.



Women leaders from the NAM nations who have moved the world
by Norlin Nor





Indira Gandhi
Former Prime Minister of India

Indira Gandhi (19 November 1917 - 31 October 1984) was India's first woman Prime Minister who had served for fifteen years: for three consecutive terms from 1966 to 1977 and for a fourth term from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. In 1999, she was voted the greatest woman of the past thousand years in a poll carried by BBC news, ahead of other notable women such as Queen Elizabeth I of England, Marie Curie and Mother Teresa.

Born in the politically influential Nehru dynasty, her grandfather, Motilal Nehru, was a prominent Indian nationalist leader. Her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, was a pivotal figure in the Indian Independence movement and was the first Prime Minister of Independent India. Between 1947 and 1965, she served in her father's government as his unofficial personal assistant. After her father's death in 1964, she was appointed as Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the Lal Bahadur Shastri's cabinet. Shortly after, Shastri died unexpectedly, and with the help of Congress Party President, K. Kamaraj, Indira Gandhi was chosen to be the new Prime Minister of India.



Benazir Bhutto
Former Prime Minister of Pakistan

"Ultimately, leadership is about the strength of one's convictions, the ability to endure the punches, and the energy to promote an idea. And I have found that those who do achieve peace never acquiesce to obstacles, especially those constructed of bigotry, intolerance, and inflexible tradition." - Benazir Bhutto

Benazir Bhutto (21 June 1953 – 27 December 2007) was the daughter of the former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and was the first woman elected to lead a Muslim state in 1988 at the age of 35. She served as Prime Minister of Pakistan between 1988–1990 and 1993–1996. Her parents were opponents of the military dictatorship run by General Zia-ul-Haq. Benazir became the first woman to lead a political party - Pakistan People's Front (PPF) and after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan moved towards its first democratic elections in more than a decade. However 20 months later she was removed from office for alleged corruption. In 1993 she was re-elected but was again removed in 1996 on similar charges. She pursued various free market economic policies, such as deregulation, flexible labour markets and privatisation. However, rising unemployment and inflation (stagflation) made her economic policies unpopular. Whilst campaigning for the PPF in the upcoming 2008 elections, she was assassinated on 27 December 2007, in Rawalpindi.



Aung San Suu Kyi
Pro-Democracy Activist & Leader of the National League for Democracy of Myanmar

"It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it."
- Aung San Suu Kyi

Aung San Suu Kyi, born on 19 June 1945 in Rangoon, is a pro-democracy activist and leader of the National League for Democracy in Burma. She is a noted prisoner of conscience and advocate of non-violent resistance. In recent years, she was released by the Burmese military and now campaigns for the National League for Democracy in Burma. Suu Kyi won the Rafto Prize and the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought in 1990 and the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. In 1992 she was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru peace prize by the Government of India for her peaceful and non-violent struggle under a military dictatorship. She is still currently under detention, with the Burmese junta repeatedly extending her detention. According to the results of the 1990 general election, Suu Kyi earned the right to be Prime Minister, as leader of the winning National League for Democracy party, but her detention by the military junta prevented her from assuming that role.



Megawati Sukarnoputri
Former President of Indonesia

Diah Permata Megawati Setiawati Soekarnoputri (January 23, 1947 -), was the 5th President of Indonesia from July 2001 to October 20, 2004 who had faced a failing economy and terrorist attacks. She was the country's first female President, thus making her the first Muslim female head of a modern national state and the first Indonesian leader born after Independence. In office as President, she continued the democratization process after years of totalitarian rule under Suharto but has been criticized for being too passive, preferring to see herself as personifying national unity. Her term in office saw no scandals or accusations of mis-governance, showing that a Muslim woman could serve as Head of the largest Muslim country in the world. She had performed adequately in this post, from which the previous, male incumbent had been dismissed (rightly or wrongly) for incompetency. While her family heritage played a significant role in her political career, her skill, ability, and willingness to help to change the political climate from one that tolerates personal power towards one in which constitutional rule can flourish, single her out as more than merely an heir to her father's legacy. In 2004, she was ranked at number 8 on *Forbes Magazine's* list of the World's 100 Most Powerful Women.



Yingluck Shinawatra **Prime Minister of Thailand**

Yingluck Shinawatra is Thailand's first female Prime Minister at the age of 44 and the younger sister of the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra who was ousted in a military coup in 2006. Since in office, she has struggled to overcome the deep social and economic divisions that have fed Thailand's political warfare. She has led the opposition Puea Thai Party (PTP) to victory on July 2, 2011

elections, using her support in the countryside and grittier parts of urban Thailand to top outgoing Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva who appealed to middle-class voters and wealthier southern provinces. Mr Thaksin had chosen Yingluck to lead the PTP which was formed from the ashes of another pro-Thaksin party that was elected in 2007, only to be dissolved by a court the following year. While Yingluck's six-party coalition has a comfortable margin in parliament, her government is said to unlikely complete its four-year term. Among her first challenges she had to face when she took office, said analysts, was to deliver on the PTP's campaign promises, including higher wages, increased farm subsidies, and corporate tax cuts. Yingluck has never held public office and was virtually unknown before the election campaign. She previously served as an executive in Thaksin's telecommunications group, which he sold to Singapore's sovereign wealth fund in 2006.



Ellen Johnson Sirleaf **President of Liberia & Nobel Peace Prize Winner**

"Be not afraid to denounce injustice, though you may be outnumbered. Be not afraid to seek peace, even if your voice may be small. Be not afraid to demand peace." –
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

In 2011 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to 72-year old Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf who symbolized the nonviolent struggle to improve her nation and advanced the role of women's rights throughout the world. Since her inauguration as the 24th President of Liberia in 2006, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has contributed to securing peace in Liberia, to promoting economic and social development, and to strengthening the position of women. Known as the Iron Lady, the Harvard educated economist has been criticized for supporting former Liberian President Charles Taylor. She has since backed his prosecution as a war criminal, turning him over to a United Nations tribunal. When she won the 2005 election, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the world's first elected black female President



and Africa's first elected female Head of State. After graduating from Harvard she then served in the government of her native Liberia. A military coup in 1980 sent her into exile in Nairobi, Kenya as well as in the United States where she had worked as an executive in the international banking community. However, she returned in 1985 to speak out against the Doe's military regime and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. She served a partial sentence before moving to Washington, D.C. When she returned to her native country for a third time in 1997 as an economist, she worked for the World Bank and Citibank in Africa.



Tawakkol Karman
Nobel Peace Prize Winner & Human Rights Activist
- Yemen

"The solution to women's issues can only be achieved in a free and democratic society in which human energy is liberated, the energy of both women and men together." –

Tawakkol Karman

Tawakkol Karman was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 in recognition of her work in non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work in Yemen. At the age of 32, she is not only the youngest Nobel Peace Laureate to-date, but she is also the first Yemeni, the first Arab woman and the second Muslim woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize. Karman is a human rights activist, journalist, politician, and senior member of the Al-Islah political party. She leads the group "Women Journalists Without Chains" which she co-founded in 2005 as a response to the political instability and human rights abuses in Yemen. The WJWC advocates for human rights and freedom and provides media skills to journalists and the organization produces regular reports on human rights abuses in Yemen, documenting more than 50 cases of attacks and unfair sentences against newspapers and writers to-date. In 2007, Karman began organizing weekly protests in Sana'a, targeting systemic government repression and calling for inquiries into corruption and other forms of social and legal injustice. In 2011, she redirected protestors to support the Arab Spring and brought Yemen's revolution to the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon in New York and organized rallies at the UN headquarters. She is known as the "Iron Woman" and "Mother of the Revolution" by the Yemenis. Karman grew up in a politically tumultuous country and witnessed the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990, followed by a civil war between the two factions in 1994 in which the North triumphed over the South.



Indra Krishnamurthy Nooyi Chairman and CEO of PepsiCo Inc

Madras born American businesswoman, Indra Krishnamurthy Nooyi was made the first female CEO and President of PepsiCo on October 1, 2006 who then assumed the role of Chairman on May 2, 2007. According to *Forbes* she is consistently ranked among the World's 100 Most Powerful Women and is ranked 10th in the list of *Forbes World's* 100 most powerful women in 2013. The Yale graduate Nooyi is one of the most influential and powerful women

in business in the United States, and is also believed to be the highest-ranking woman of Indian heritage in corporate America. The *Fortune* magazine has named Nooyi number one on its annual ranking of Most Powerful Women in business for 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010. Her career in PepsiCo, the 4th largest food and beverage company in the world, started in 1994 as Senior Vice President (SVP) of Strategic Planning and in February 2000, she was promoted to the positions of SVP and Chief Financial Officer (CFO). Nooyi was promoted to President and was elected to the Board in May of 2001. She has directed the company's global strategy for more than a decade and led PepsiCo's restructuring including the divestiture of its restaurants into the successful YUM! Brands, Inc; the spin-off and public offering of company-owned bottling operations into anchor bottler Pepsi Bottling Group; the acquisition of Tropicana and the merger of Quaker Oats that brought the vital Quaker and Gatorade businesses to PepsiCo.



Her Majesty Rania Al Abdullah Queen Consort of Jordan

Queen Consort of Jordan Her Majesty Rania Al Abdullah was born in Kuwait City and obtained her education in Kuwait City and then at the American University in Cairo, Egypt. Since her marriage to King Abdullah II in 1993, Queen Consort Rania has spearheaded efforts in Jordan to adopt a holistic approach to national education, encouraging agencies and organizations to work on classroom quality,

teaching standards, computer access, family involvement, community investment, and health awareness. She believes that the power of partnerships between the public, private, and non-profit sectors is a source of great potential for change in Jordan's education system. In 1995, she founded the NGO Jordan River Foundation (JRF), which she currently chairs, that gives a helping hand to the disadvantaged in Jordan. For over ten years it has provided families with skills and knowledge to work themselves



out of poverty. Today, it partners with the private sector and the entire communities to bring resources, energy, and change to the lives of vulnerable citizens, empowering and inspiring them to believe they can make a difference for themselves and their loved ones. JRF is also recognized as a leader in the region for its achievements in protecting children. From rescuing abused children to healing whole families, JRF is now a centre of excellence, sharing its knowledge and know-how with others in and outside of the country. In 1998 Queen Rania launched the JRF's Child Safety Program. Queen Rania is also an honorary chair of the UN Girls' Education Initiative, and sits on the boards of the World Economic Forum (WEF) and the Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA), a leading microfinance organization. Her Majesty also works for greater global action on access to quality education, and in her capacity as Eminent Advocate for UNICEF and Honorary Chairperson for UNGEI, she campaigns on behalf of children in need. As an Arab and a Muslim woman, Queen Rania is committed to reconciling people of different faiths and cultures by encouraging cross-cultural dialogue, particularly amongst young people. Her Majesty is author of the New York Times Best Seller, 'The Sandwich Swap', a children's story about two young girls, Lily and Salma, who learn the value of diversity by exchanging food at school. Queen Rania is also the author of two other stories, 'The King's Gift' and 'Eternal Beauty'. In 2008, she launched her own YouTube channel intended to open a global dialogue addressing stereotypes about Islam, Arab culture, and the Middle East.



Zainab Salbi
Founder and CEO of Women for Women
International & Activist and Social Entrepreneur
- Iraq

Iraq-born Zainab Salbi is a humanitarian, an author, a social entrepreneur and a media commentator that has dedicated herself to women's rights and freedom. When Zainab was a girl, her father served as the personal pilot to Saddam Hussein, which exposed her family to psychological abuse from the dictator along with the atrocities of the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War.

Zainab is the Founder of Women for Women International (WFWI), a grassroots humanitarian and development organization dedicated to serving women survivors in war-torn regions to rebuild their lives and communities. She served as the CEO from 1993 to 2011. WFWI has five country offices and a network of more than 35,000 women, and has supported more than 350,000 women by providing economic and

emotional aid, job-skills training, and rights-based education. The group focuses on grassroots efforts to empower women in war-torn regions, seeking to stop endemic cycles of violence and to create lasting social change at the community level. To-date the WFWI has supported women survivors of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Kosovo, Nigeria, Columbia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Democratic of Congo and Sudan. It has also distributed more than \$95 million in direct aid and microcredit loans, trained thousands of women in rights awareness, and helped thousands more to start their own small businesses. She has authored several books to spread awareness about the ongoing global issues facing women, including *Between Two Worlds: My Escape from the Inner Circle of Saddam* (Gotham 2005), *The Other Side of War: Women's Stories of Survival and Hope* (National Geographic 2006), and *If You Knew Me You Would Care* (PowerHouse 2013).



The Honorable Tan Sri Dr. Zeti Akhtar Aziz Governor, Central Bank of Malaysia

The 63-year-old Tan Sri Dr Zeti Aziz is the first woman to be appointed as Central Bank Governor in Malaysia and Asia in May 2000, and the first woman to be within the top ten rankings for Central Bank Governors of the world. She is also the second longest serving Governor of the Central Bank Malaysia (CBM) to-date. When she was appointed as the Assistant Governor in 1995 she was responsible for economics, reserve management, foreign and money market operations and exchange control. On September 1, 1998 during the financial crisis faced by Malaysia, Tan Sri Dr Zeti was appointed as Acting Governor and led the Central Bank of Malaysia team to successfully introduce and implement the selective exchange controls. Her determination to take the Malaysian economy out of the doldrums during the Asian financial crisis was clearly evident when she took over the reins at CBM in 1998. Despite the numerous criticisms and pressures from many quarters, including the IMF, she went ahead to peg the Malaysia ringgit against the US dollar and banned offshore trading of the Malaysian currency. These unconventional and drastic measures finally paid off in 2005 when foreign exchange rules were relaxed and the Malaysian ringgit began to rise against the US dollar. One of her major contributions is putting Malaysia at the forefront of the Islamic money market, and with many policies carefully planned and executed, Malaysia now has a substantial number of Islamic investors, both domestic and foreign. In 2009, Global Finance magazine, named her as one of the world's best Central Bank Chiefs. In 2010, she was named "*Tokoh Ma'al Hijrah 1432H*" at the national-level *Ma'al Hijrah* celebration. In 2013, Tan Sri Dr Zeti Akhtar Aziz has

again been accorded "Grade A" among the Heads of Central Banks for the 10th time by the Global Finance magazine. She was awarded alongside Philippines' Central Bank Governor, Amando Tetangco, Jr. and Taiwan's Central Bank Governor Perng Fai-nan, from a list of Central Bank Governors of more than 50 key countries. She was named Asia's best Central Bank Governor in 2003 by Euromoney Institutional Investors Plc. She also received the Central Banker of the Year Award 2005 from Euromoney and an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Nottingham.



The Honorable Datuk Seri Tra Zehnder Iban Woman Patriot and Pioneer of Sarawak Politics

Datuk Seri Philomena Tra Zehnder, born on October 29, 1926, in Miri, Sarawak, Malaysia and of Dayak descent was the first woman to be appointed a Member of the State Legislative Assembly in 1960, a position she held till 1963. Her political endeavours had started way back when she founded the Sarakup Indu Dayak Sarawak (SIDS) and was its Honorary Secretary from 1957 – 1960. Tra Zehnder joined the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) in 1967, determined to elevate the lives and standing of her people. In 1983, she left SNAP to head the women's wing in Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS) till 1988. Apart from these positions, she was also President of the Sarawak Dayak National Union (SDNU) for 10 years from 1981. She represented the party at many landmark events like the Cobbold Commission in 1962. Decades before phrases such as 'empowering women' and 'gender equality' became common currency like it is today, she was already blazing the 'equal rights' trail. Here untiring work for the people of Sarawak in general, and the well-being of Iban women and the rural communities in particular, are nothing short of legendary. She was very much a grass-roots leader with the ability to mobilise rural folks from the longhouses, while at the same time feel completely at home when dealing with State issues. She took up leadership positions not for self-interest but to contribute towards the cause of women, family and education. She left politics to devote her time to social work and became the first woman to be made Iban Temenggong (1988 – 96) in Kuching and was also the first woman to become President of the *Majlis Adat Istiadat Sarawak*, a cultural centre for non-Malay natives from 1996 – 2002. One very significant contribution of Tra to the Dayak community and the State today was her untiring efforts to get the annual Gawai Dayak recognized as an official celebration. Although she had made history by being a first in many things, she is ultimately being remembered as an Iban woman patriot in Malaysia, in particular, Sarawak. Datuk Seri Tra Zehnder passed away in July 2011.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS IN INDONESIA AND TIMOR LESTE: FROM DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION TO SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION

Ani Soetjipto

University of Indonesia, Depok, West Java, Indonesia

Abstract

The literature on politics and women suggest at least two major perspectives on political representation namely, the descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive perspective means that electing more women serves a symbolic purpose of gender equality. Substantive representation argues that women's representation in parliament would make substantive difference due to the fact that women and men carry different experience and priorities on political issues. In Indonesia and Timor Leste as the number of women in parliament increases, the key question is whether women's increased presence in national legislature would result in improved representation of women's interest and policy which is of direct concern to women. This paper focuses on the role of women parliamentary caucus in Indonesia and Timor Leste from 2009- 2014. The aim of the paper is to describe the organization of women parliamentary caucus in Indonesia and Timor Leste and to analyze its effectiveness to respond to gender issues faced by women in their respective country. Using the concept of substantive

and descriptive representation developed by Hana Pitkin as well as power analysis by John Gaventa and Women's Political Effectiveness by Anne Marie Goetz, this study found that women representation in parliament, that is organized and represented in women parliamentary caucus in Indonesia and Timor Leste, has not moved to substantive representation.

Keywords: *Women's parliamentary caucus, Indonesia, Timor Leste, descriptive representation, substantive representation*

INTRODUCTION

There are many things acknowledged as measures in building equal and fair democracy. Judith Squires (2002) writes in her book *The New Politics of Gender Equality* that there are three strategies generally used to increase women's representation in the political arena. The three strategies are women agency, gender fairness policy (or gender mainstreaming), and temporary quotas targeted to increase women's participation in a short period of time. In other words, these strategies are target *presence, voice* and *process*.

Indonesia and Timor Leste are two countries with different institutional arrangement formats in building democracy. In Indonesia, democratization and political transparency climate have developed earlier than in Timor Leste. The former has introduced democratization since 1998. Meanwhile, in 1999, Timor Leste decided to separate from Indonesia and achieved its full independence in May 2002 and only then was democracy introduced.

In Indonesia, the assurance for equality between men and women is written in the Constitution (UUD 45 Article 28). In addition to the Constitution, the regulations that push for increased women's participation and representation in the political arena take the form of affirmative actions through candidacy quota for women which is stipulated in the General Election Law (Law no 12/2002 amended into Law no 10/2008 that includes zipper system, i.e. one of three candidates should not consist of the same gender). The provisions on the candidacy quota and 1:3 zipper in the new General Election Law, which is Law No. 12/ 20012, are maintained. Apart from the General Election Law, the affirmative actions are also included in the Political Party Law that regulates party establishment, women's role in the organization of a Political Party (Law no 2/ 2001 that is maintained in the amendment of the new Political Party Law, i.e. Law no 2 /2011).

In Timor Leste, the assurance of the female and male equality is included in the constitution. The mandatory quota stated in the constitution requires that one of 4

candidates should be a woman. The Constitution amendment in 2011 guarantees larger women's participation and representation by stating that 1 of 3 candidates from a party in a general election should be a woman.

Briefly, the comparison between Indonesia and Timor Leste is depicted below:

Table 1. Indonesia-Timor Leste Data Comparison

DATA	INDONESIA	TIMOR LESTE
General Election System	Proportional with an open list	Proportional with a closed list
Political Party System	Multi-parties (9 parties in the National Parliament)	Multi-parties (4 parties in the National Parliament: CNFT, Gretilin, Partai Demokrat and Fretilin Mundansa)
Quota Type	Candidacy size (Voluntary), Placement mandate through 1:3 mechanism, Stated in the general election law	Mandatory 1:3 in the 2011 constitution amendment
Number of Female MPs	18% of total 560 DPR RI (House of Representatives) members, 27.7% of total DPD members (Senate)	24 women of total 65 MPs (Unicameral system of parliament)
Gender Focal Point in the Parliament	<i>Kaucus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia (KPP-RI)</i> – Indonesian Parliament Women's Caucus	Parliament Women's Caucus (GMPTL – Grupu Mulher Parlemenar Timor Leste)
Supporting System Outside the Parliament	Political party women's caucus, National Commission for Woman Affairs, Ministry and Child Empowerment (executive)	NGO initiated women's caucus – Rede Feto

If we look briefly at the table above, a question rises immediately on whether indicators as stated in the table can be used as an instrument to measure the achievement of gender justice and equality objective in the two countries (Indonesia and Timor Leste).

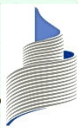
This research specifically discusses the role of parliament women's caucus in Indonesia and Timor Leste to improve participation of women representation. Although the definition on women's caucus can be various, both formally and informally, this study limits the analysis of the research to the formal women's caucus in the parliament of the two countries. Based on empirical experiences of various countries, the strategic roles of effective women's caucus may achieve the following: impact on the political process in the government that produces policies or program agendas that accommodate women's interests through advocacy; impact on their constituents to raise awareness on the issues they stand for, through advocacies and information carried by the women's caucus; women's caucus can also act as a "watch dog" to monitor the implementation of policy on issues of concern; members of the women's



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