

Review: “Increasing Women’s Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia” program

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Leya Cattleya

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"Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good
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Jakarta

FINAL REPORT

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Table of Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations
Activity Summary
Acknowledgements

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY VI

A. OVERVIEW	1
The Current Setting : Election and Women Representation	1
A Summary of the Project Description	3
Review Objectives and Methodology.	3

B. PROGRESS AND RESULTS	3
Relevance	3
Effectiveness	4
Efficiencies	8
Sustainability.	10
Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation and Results Based Management.	11
Gender Equality and Justice	11
Governance	12
Institutional Learning and Adaptation	12

C. FURTHER SUPPORT TO A NEW PROJECT WITHIN THE SAME PROGRAMME 13

D. OVERALL ASSESSMENTS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED 14

ANNEXES

Annex 1	Summary of Project Description as per Contract Document
Annex 2	Project’s Log-Frame
Annex 3	List of Consulted People
Annex 4.	Project Implementation – Approaches, Project Activities, and Selection of Local Partners.
Annex 5	Number of Women Candidates trained by the Project
Annex 6	Potential Purposes Of Planning and M& E In Promoting Democracy And Learning
Annex 7	An Example of Caucus’ Action Plans (South Sulawesi) , based on SWOT Analysis.
Annex 8	Summary of the Concept Notes
Annex 9	Review’s Terms of Reference ‘s review
Annex 10	Pictures from the Project’s review

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Bupati	Head of the District Government
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CEDAW	Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CD	Capacity Development
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah – Local Parliament
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GE	General Election
GOI	Government of Indonesia
JPPR	The People's Voter Education Network (Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih Rakyat)
Kabupaten	District
Kecamatan	Sub-district
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum, Electoral Commission
LPPM	Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat
LSKP	Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik (Institute for Public Policy Studies)
M & E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MISPI	Partners of Indonesian Women (Mitra Sejati Perempuan Indonesia,
MP	Members of Parliaments
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non Government Organisation
PILKADA	Local Election
PME	Planning Monitoring and Evaluation
PUSHAM UNAIR	Pusat Hak Asasi Manusia Universitas Erlangga
PUSKAPOL UI	Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia
RNE	Royal Norway Embassy
SMS	Short Messaging Service/Text Messages
SOP	Standard of Operating Procedures
TA	Technical Assistance
TAF	The Asia Foundation

Program Summary

Program Name	Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia
Commencement date	1, April, 2007
Completion date	31, May, 2010 (No cost extension of 2 months period)
Total	\$1,200,000
Total other	NA
Partner Organisation(s)	The Asia Foundation (TAF) Indonesia
Implementing Partner(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Center for Political Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia 2. Partners of Indonesian Women (Mitra Sehati Perempuan Indonesia, MISPI) 3. Institute for Public Policy Studies (Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik, LSKP) 4. Institute for Research – Center for Law and Human Rights Studies, University of Airlangga (Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat, Pusat Studi Hukum dan HAM, LPPM-PUSHAM UNAIR) 7. Radio 68H Network 8. The People's Voter Education Network (Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih Rakyat, JPPR) 9. Women's Journal Foundation (Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, YJP)
Project's Area	Indonesia - Jakarta (National level), South Sulawesi, East Java, and Aceh
Primary Sector	Gender, Women Participation, Governance

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This Review Report summarizes a the progress of the implementations and achievements of the above mentioned program, and may provide a basis for future supports of RNE in the area of women political participation in within the political context in Indonesia.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With the backdrop of Indonesian women have been under-representation in political participation, with a trade off on lingering high poverty level, slow economic growth, high inequality, and weak governance, since April 2007, the Royal Norwegian Embassy has supported the Asia Foundation with the total funding of \$ 1,200,000 to work in the area of women's political participation, with intertwined objectives of reducing barriers to women's political participation and strengthening capacity and skills of women in politics. The Project design, which was systemic in its approach, has been highly relevant within Indonesia's political context and setting, with over ten years into a democratic transition, which (and is still) not serviced by other donors. The Project had considered the radical shape and character of political processes and the relationship between citizens and the state in Indonesia. The Project largely met its objectives of reducing barriers to women's political participation; and strengthening capacity and skills of women in politics.

The project has increased women political participation and strengthened good governance in Indonesia. These have been indicated by a long list of outcomes and a numbers of good practices. The General Election 2009 processes had increased of about 7.5% women representation, from 10.5% in 2004 and to 18% in 2009, to cover the parliament and regional councils (DPD). The Project has contributed its significant value added, by integrating a 30% women quota system, the 'zipper' approach into the Electoral Law, and a 30% women quota system of officials of new political parties into the political party law. The Project established a data base of potential female candidates, supported women candidates to carry out public campaigns and debates, and provided entry points for women to exercise and contextualize their rights in political participation and to increase their understanding and skills in election, in practical manners. The compositions of which women who were elected in the parliament, including in the targeted Project's area, however, called for attention.

The designated partnerships between TAF and Puskapol UI that has worked over years in advocating the electoral legal frameworks and supporting Indonesia's electoral CD (CD) as well as building electoral networks are very complementary to the Project's design that is holistic, in its approach, to cover legal framework and its mechanisms and media campaign on the supply side, and to introduce CD on the demand side. These are the three key aspects for assuring the success of efforts to promote women political participation and strengthening of good governance within the Project's context.

In general, TAF and its partner organizations have implemented results based approach and the Project has been able to report its progress timely. The Project could benefit, however, from a more systematic and more participatory M&E system and procedures to map and consolidate the Project's quality results, improved governance, and stronger learning.

The gap that urgently needs to be addressed is between having a comprehensive and systematic CD framework that promotes higher level of women political participation in the longer run and equipping the Project with proper selection criteria for targeting beneficiaries. Significant challenges occurred in relation to the Project's implementation in Aceh, where issues with regard to availability of appropriate partner organizations, heavy political issues, and the nature of Acehese parties, which required special treatments, were not easily responded.

TAF's future initiatives in this sector need to sustain the existing Projects' objectives and the Project's principles, including the use of systemic approach, valuing local CSOs partners and their role in the Project, emphasising on CD for CSOs partners, promoting multi-stakeholder engagements at the targeted area, and promoting the use of flexible delivery approaches. In addition, TAF needs to consider new principles for better valuing and promoting learning; introducing a comprehensive CD framework; promoting participatory M&E that enhance outcomes and strengthen partnerships among TAF and key CSO partners and stakeholders; the use of qualitative indicators; stronger gender equality and justice approach to include balanced representatives of beneficiaries; and support the provision of experiences to key CSO partners and beneficiaries on a complete electoral cycle.

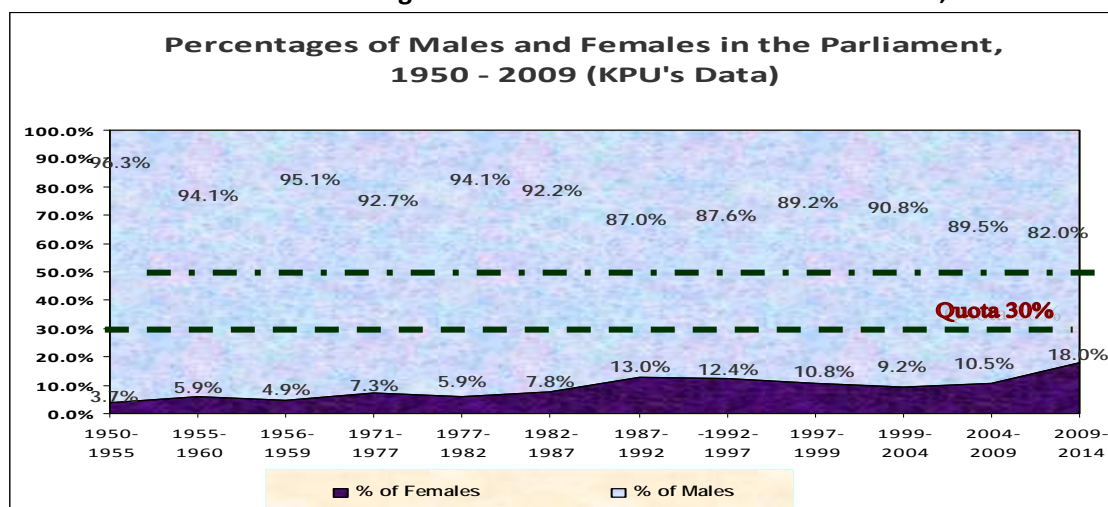
A. OVERVIEW

The Current Setting : Election and Women Representation

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia promotes equal rights between men and women. The 1999 democratic reforms led the Government of Indonesia (GOI) to enhance its commitment to issues of women rights, including in refining the Constitution's basic definition of the subject. In 1984, through Law No. 7, Indonesia ratified CEDAW, which determines the fundamental basis for ensuring support for the full participation of women in all aspects of human life. Furthermore, the Presidential Decree number 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming directs all government ministries and agencies at the national and local levels to adopt a gender mainstreaming strategy in the planning, implementation, and monitoring of development policies and programs. These policies provide sound foundations for the promotion of equal rights between men and women in electoral processes. Much remains to be done to translate the principles into electoral legislation and electoral machineries' practices.

2. The GOI, donor agencies, and civil society organizations (CSOs), including women organizations have worked very hard to promote and improve the political party's legislations as well as on general election's legislations, with regards to women political participation. Since the general election of 1999, for example, a quota 30% for women representation has been introduced. In the 2009's election, efforts to promote this quota system was also secured, and also strengthened through the introduction of some measures such as the 'zipper' system, 'women vote women', in addition to carrying out a series of media campaign. Nevertheless, women have still been under represented in the Indonesia's parliament, and the 30% quota has not met. Only in the 2009's general election, women representation reached higher level of 18% than that in election during the Soeharto's era, in the 1987's election, which was 13%.

Chart 1. Percentages of Males and Females in the Parliaments, 1950 - 2009



Source : KPU Data

3. Many women organizations and CSOs in Indonesia have worked in efforts to expand the pool of women who are qualified for recruitment in political careers through giving women access, from an early stage, to work patterns that are conducive to political leadership, such as special training in community-based organizations (CBOs). Some knowledge in relation to women's leadership, including basic understanding of the concerns of women, gendered political awareness-raising, lobbying skills and networking are important for the process of training women for political careers have been introduced. It has been expected (assumed) that women's leadership training could play a special role, since they are the places where links can be made between the wider groups of women and women politicians; and they are very often the only place where women can be prepared and encouraged for a political career in parliament. Nevertheless, some concerns occurred regarding the reality that asymmetric information and knowledge transferred between and among the elites of the women organizations and their members at the grass root level¹.

¹ A Project's Workshop, organized by PUSKAPOL UI reflected Indonesia's women efforts to promote women political participation.

4. The political playing field in Indonesia is, still, uneven and not conducive to women's participation. Barriers to women participation in parliament are numerous. They comprise of political, socio-economic, and cultural. The political structure that is masculine, the electoral system that has not favourable to women candidates, lacking of financial supports for women candidates, and the absence of well-developed education and training system for women's leadership, has played a significant role in the recruitment of women parliamentarians. Structural barriers such as party regulations that prevented women from entering political institutions and patriarchal values that discouraged women from taking up public positions were noted. Women's incentive to participate in politics and decision-making was inadequate as most policies and decisions made in the national and local politics were, in any case, insignificant to the improvement of quality of life of local communities. Other barriers that women in Indonesia experience are among others, education, poverty and unemployment, lack of adequate financial resources, multiple burdens of women within the house and between the house and in the public sector², lack of confidence, gendered traditional believes and ideology, the believes about politics being 'dirty', the negative pictures of women by media, women hesitance toward corruption and money politics, lack of party supports, as well as masculine standards in politics³.

5. Increasing women's political participation requires a long-term strategy for changing long-standing situation of keeping women out of politics and legislations are not enough to do so. The introduction of 30% women quotas has been considered by women organizations in Indonesia as a legal mechanism to facilitate women's access to elected office. While quota considers a temporary remedy and is not a sustainable strategy. However, it is recognized as one among ways to create radical measures to achieve the critical mass of women's representation needed to promote a new culture of balance representation of women in parliaments and political parties.

6. Women organizations and civil society organizations (CSOs) have assumed roles in working with women at the grass root level, thus, enabling them to understand politics, to be further participating in politics and parties, and to be empowered. To close the gaps of women representation in the parliament, women activists and CSOs, at the same time, also have assumed roles in politics through their participation in parliamentary elections as well as in local elected positions within the executives. The assumptions and theories to claim the women organizations and CSOs strong relations with their constituents as assets for them to get votes during election, however; have not necessarily true. While there have been some women activists become women parliamentarians, many others have faced realities that the communities with whom they have worked on the ground, have had 'special' relationships with political parties.⁴

7. Which women who are sitting at the parliamentarians today? They are those who are within the political parties' organizational structure and those who come from the elite groups, such as wives of former governors, younger sisters of head of districts, daughters of former parliamentarians, daughters of traditional leaders, and also wives of the Head of Sub-districts/Camat. This means, elected women MPs who gained from the Project's activities (the promotion of women political participation as well as from CD programs) had been the elite groups⁵. The social and economic status of women has significant influences to their participation in politics and elected bodies, due to their higher chances to have wider access to fund for covering the high costs of election. Profiles of potential women and elected women that are included in the Asia Foundation's Program data base showed that the more women are working outside the house and the higher the proportion of women reaching higher education, the more likely that they will

² An FGD with women MPs in East Java showed that an elected woman MP in East Java declared herself for agreeing her husband to have polygamous marriage in order for her to have bigger opportunities to be an active elected MP. Having another woman in her marriage made her possible to leave her husband and children with care.

³ Ibid

⁴ Money politics through giving money or goods before the 'D' day, 'Serangan Fajar' has been one women's barriers to politics.

⁵ In South Sulawesi and East Java, the GE of 2009 has released a significant proportion of female parliamentarians coming from the elites- family of the governor, daughters of district heads, wife of 'Camat', and daughters of 'Tokoh Adat'. In East Java, they came from universities, wife of senior police officers, and wives of former Head of BAPPEDA. Women CSOs who won the sit have generally been those who have worked for the grass root women in the area of improved welfare and livelihood of women, women cooperatives, and saving and lending programs for women.

participate in politics. With Indonesia's political setting that are rough and very much involve money politics, efforts to empower and enable women to participate in politics to extend the scope of women's involvement at the grass-roots level have faced challenges. These asymmetric perceptions, understanding, and assumptions over the process of moving supposedly 'empowered' women to the parliamentary seats occur among women CSOs, CSOs in the mainstream, within and across political parties, and in the parliaments.

A Summary of the Project Description

8. The Asia Foundation (TAF) submitted an unsolicited proposal "Increasing and Enhancing Women's Political Participations in Indonesia" in February 2007. The main development issues that were identified by the Proposal with regard to women's under-representations in politics have been the low status of women in politics due to legal and institutional barriers and limited experience of women in politics. The Proposal, then, recognized the presumptions and opportunities that were emerging for candidates with strong community and grassroots experience, which could be achieved by enhancing the links between women candidates and Indonesia's broad-based and well-organized women's associations. With the above setting, the Proposal employed a set of strategies and approaches to increase and enhance women's political participation in Indonesia through building constituencies for reform at all levels, facilitates both the supply and demand side of reforms to promote women political representation, adapting non-partisan approach to increasing women's representation, ensuring women have equal opportunities to compete, and guaranteeing broad-based representation. The Proposal focus in four diverse provinces – Jakarta, Aceh, East Java, and South Sulawesi to derive dynamic lessons learned, and outlined two major components of reducing barriers to women's political participation and strengthening capacity and skills of women in politics. The Project has some reporting mechanisms⁶. Annex 1 presents the agreed Project's structure.

Review Objectives and Methodology.

9. Norway commissioned preparation of this review as part of its agreement with TAF. The review uses standard evaluation questions on relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact. More detail review objectives and questions defined by Norway as well as information sources of the review are included in Appendix 9 Independent Review's Terms of Reference. The in-country review mission was carried out between 7 and 11 February 2010, and was ended with a presentation on preliminary finding to the officials of the Norway Embassy and TAF in Jakarta. A list of people met is provided in Appendix 3.

B. PROGRESS AND RESULTS

Relevance

10. The Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia concept was highly relevant to the Indonesia's and the targeted provinces context with regard to women political representation issues, which was serviced in systematic way by TAF. In addition, there have been some efforts to relate efforts in the targeted area and in TAF's other on-going projects on gender budgeting and PILKADA's monitoring interventions. The good and committed partner organizations as well as competence individuals⁷ that TAF had worked with its local partners' networks had built up the collective efforts to promote better results for increasing women political participation in Indonesia⁸, considered a

⁶ They are annual progress report period, with budget and work plan, annual financial statements, an audited financial statement of the entire project financial statement, and a final report for the whole project.

⁷ Staffs members and professionals of LSKP, comprising of former head of the Provincial Electoral Commission in South Sulawesi in the GE 2004, media persons, former chair of association of electoral monitorers in South Sulawesi were huge assets for the Project.

⁸ *Puskapol*, for example, has had a long history of research, publications, trainings, and work on public policy, including electoral reform and women's political participation. It is unique and one of the few organizations with such capacities and work to develop data base of potential women for parliament, to develop reference books for training manuals for candidates and elected MPs, and for further revising the key Laws on political parties and election. In Aceh, TAF had worked with MISPI (the True Partner of Indonesian Women (MISPI), a women's organization promoting women's rights and gender sensitive local policy-making. In East Java, Pusham Unair, the Centre for Human Rights Studies - Airlangga University (*Pusham Unair*), was TAF's key partner. In South Sulawesi, the project worked with *Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik* (LSKP), with strong networking with CSO, media and universities.

good practice. To better control these variables, the Project should actually incorporate a training material on electoral witness within the JPPR networks at the relevant targeted area, for more meaningful results⁹.

11. The objectives proposed in TAF's Proposal were strong and well defined. The agreed component objectives (Table 1) were relevant to the situation and practically link to the purpose level objectives (1) 'To reduce barriers to women's political participation and (2) To strengthen capacity and skills of women in politics. The objectives were properly addressing medium term outcomes and improving processes, providing proper funding allocation towards inputs to produce outputs up to the end of the Project. The design (proposal) for the program was satisfactory. The objectives (and outputs) have been cohesively linked, and activities included in the Women Political Participation Program were consistent with activities of TAF and TAF's partner organizations, with respect to promoting gender equality and women participation in politics.

Effectiveness.

12. The Program has been considered as being successful in mobilizing its full tracks efforts for increasing awareness of women and broader community members on the importance of women representation in the parliaments¹⁰. The first year of the Program recorded the success of the collective efforts of parliamentary advocacy program, which achieved three notable successes: (a) the adoption of a 30% quota for women candidates, with media exposure by election committees for failure to comply; (b) the adoption of the "Zipper" system which mandates that one in every three candidates listed on a party ballot must be a woman; and (c) the new adoption for new political parties, where women must comprise at least 30% of party officials¹¹. The development of database of 996 potential women candidates – activists from both political parties and CSOs – in the four provinces in which this program operates: Aceh, South Sulawesi, East Java and Jakarta, while challenging in its development, had been useful and facilitated parties to identify qualified female candidates to include on their ticket. TAF was a champion on this arena¹².

13. In its second year, the Program had faced alternated dynamics within the election setting for women where a Constitutional Court ruling in December 2008 nullified the zipper system, finding it to be unconstitutional. Such ruling had offered significant impacts on women participation in the elections as it situated women candidates against one another from within a party and against those from other parties. Decision to nullify the zipper system had been assumed and considered by women at the national level to be more difficult, while provided some feelings among women, both that grass root level and at the party for having more opportunities for them to win. Within these series of situational changes, however, the Program (both TAF and its implementing partners at the national and provincial level) has quickly adjusted their approaches and activities, enabling the Program to maintain its effectiveness. The program mobilized broad public support for women in politics by providing women candidates the opportunity to take their message to the public through candidate debates in East Java and South Sulawesi¹³. The debates received much media coverage due to their popularity. Over a hundred of radio stations aired women campaigns and thousands of brochures were also distributed through the JPPR's network, TAF's program for electoral monitoring¹⁴. As the 2nd objectives of the Program has been to reduce barriers to women's political participation, and PUSKAPOL had carried out some analysis on the barriers to women's political participation in Indonesia and incorporate remedies into the new key legislations, it would be more useful if such critical studies are to be appropriately documented and widely published, for public's knowledge and exposures. These would highly contribute to the Program's efforts to carry out other interventions, in addition to its interventions in improving legislations, to improve measure for the Program's performance

⁹ Some good experiences were recorded on a strong collaboration between JPPR network and MISPI in Aceh for election witness and monitoring training and for distributing postcards as well as a proactive collaborations with trainers/facilitators of gender budgeting in some targeted area (South Sulawesi and East Java) for candidate women MPs and elected women MPs trainings.

¹⁰ Deployments of workshops, face-to-face political awareness-raising meetings, publications, radio campaigns, face-to-face discussions with 4,000 union members about the importance of women representations in the parliaments, and SMS campaign.

¹¹ TAF, *Increasing Women's Political Participation*, Annual Report, April 2008 page 5. A series of advocacies to and debates with the parliaments had led the women coalitions to win their demand, making the 30% of women quota was to be put into the Law.

¹² TAF, *Increasing Women's Political Participation*, Annual Report, April 2009 page 3

¹³ Some debates, carried out through creative and innovative ways, were organized at two levels in East Java and South Sulawesi: once for candidates standing for national and provincial level seats, and again for candidates standing for the district level.

¹⁴ No systematic assessment, however, has ever carried out to review the effectiveness of the media campaigns

indicators, and to build learning within the public debates and any electoral support programs that promote women political participants in the parliaments in Indonesia on the gender barriers in politics.

14. The Program largely met the objectives defined in the Asia Foundation's Proposal, which focused on outputs of reducing barriers to women's political participation and strengthening of capacity and skills of women in politics. A listing of Project's Purpose Level Achievements is provided in Table 2. The Project produced high visibility and high impact activities at the national level, in the form of legislative reform and the compiling of a database of women candidates. Beneficiaries have significantly improved access to women political participation, making them more confidence and accessible to involve in decision making processes in the development of budget, drafting legislations, and overseeing government's works. In the longer period of the Project up to, at least, a full cycle of election experience, wider communities could enjoy the benefits of having women representatives in the parliaments whom work for the benefit of the poor and women. The longer terms expected outcomes, however, consider beyond the Project's control as no on-going supports are provided by the Project to assure such longer terms target are to happen. It has been some challenges were found for identifying attribution of the Project to its potential impacts, particularly on the fact that the Project mostly used quantitative indicators. Nevertheless, the improved strategies among women collisions at the national and local level to advocate legal reforms, which was critical for reducing barriers for women to participate in the political area was developed as well as the existence of legislations that pushed parties to consider taking gender balance within their internal parties and externally in the way the candidates are determined on the ballots as serious matters. The fact that women now have better opportunities being elected than ever before, could be identified as a proxy of such attribution.

15. Training for Women Candidates and Elected Women MPs. Fifteen training, involving 487 women candidates in Jakarta, Aceh, Makassar, and East Java that provided material on understanding the political system, the election system and the electoral districts, how to organize a campaign, and public speaking has been highly valued by most informants, not only by training participants, but also by members of local CSOs, observers of the Project. Program may have gained higher effectiveness if they were designed with targeting, based on a proper needs assessment, clarifying the level of knowledge regarding election and politics was considered needed. These could be done in conjunction to the development of the data base development¹⁵. The high quality training that was provided by the Project for the elected women would not be sufficient for fulfilling their roles and mandates as legislators. More frequent but shorter classes, to enable them absorbing the subjects better, should have offered better results. A mentoring approach, where elected women could discuss cases that they brought from the parliamentarian's meetings into the next courses considered for them as necessary. A summary of the Project's outcomes can be seen, below.

Table 2. Summary of Review Findings on the Project's Purpose Level Achievements

Main Indicators	Outcome Results	Unintended Outcome Results
Women's representation in politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 18% of female representation in politics in Indonesia (GE 2009); - 487 female candidates of MPs in 3 targeted provinces and at the national level were trained; - 164 female elected MPs were trained and equipped with basic knowledge and skills on the roles and mandates of legislators - 300 people were trained in electoral witness and monitoring in Aceh. Additional numbers of people were trained for the same program in Jakarta, and in East Java 	<p>A series of reflection process has been carried out by the Project's partners and beneficiaries to learn the lessons regarding Indonesia's political maps, and CSOs movements as well as the implications of political constellations into the CSO movement, to think about the future strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) 'beyond numbers' (2) to deepen democracy and governance; (3) promote equal and just representation;

¹⁵ Classifications of participants training such as that are grouped into basic, elementary, and advance, should have been more favorable.

Women's rights advanced by women in politics	1. Trained Elected Female MPs exercised women's rights into their party's platform; 2. Some initiations to bring women's rights into agenda and to include them into the '3 Divas' media - CSO - MP's action plan (South Sulawesi)	Some first hand experiences among Project's beneficiaries who have started putting their violation cases in the electoral processes (S. Sulawesi) as well as due to sexual harassment (Jakarta) to the justice system.
Legal framework produced to support women's political participation	2 Laws, concerning 3 issues to include more women in the legislative bodies were amended; (1) Adoption of 30% of women candidates, (2) Adoption of 'zipper system', (3) For new political parties, at least with 30% of female officials	A deeper understanding, resulted from a series of reflection process of key actors and broader women movements and CSOs (and those who are MPs) regarding Indonesia's political maps, and CSOs movements as well as the implications of political constellations into the CSO movements.
Media coverage of women in politics/questions of equality and gender	(1) 3 supplements through 20,000 exemplars of a national magazine; (2) political debates are covered by media;	Implementing partner organizations in South Sulawesi have exercised media as part of their PME tools, beyond its traditional dissemination's roles, to enter its diverse and overlapping roles: (1) Free area for debates, (2) a forum for educational and cultural expressions, (3) a public watchdog, The Project could expand media's functions to include roles to correct asymmetry of information a wider space for spreading democratic and governance values, including election and anti corruptions; and an actor of democracy in its own rights. Annex 6 presents elaborative potentials of roles of media in promoting governance and democratization.

16. The beneficiaries and CSO observers highly regarded the Project's training material as comprehensive and systematic, as well as users friendly – using a binder with pictures and illustrations. Not only female but also male members of the parliaments found the reference books had been useful, particularly on vote mapping, so called 'Dapil', how to conduct public debates, and knowledge regarding what is healthy politics¹⁶. Practical gender analysis tools, which are followed with clear steps and exercises, to enable elected women MPs to exercise identifying gender issues in their related mandated sector, however, was still needed and the roles of facilitators, in these respects, are critical¹⁷. While the Project's team claimed that there is a set of lessons plan, 'Alur Pembelajaran', the availability and the use of such tools should be made clearer for the Project's effectiveness¹⁸.

17. Overall, it was noted there have been lacking of a comprehensive CD framework and strategies for candidates of women MPs and elected women MPs as well as CD with empowerment's objectives within the Project's design. Proper CD's needs assessments were also absence from the design to enable catering significant and longer terms of interventions. Overall, these could not be contested with the current 3 cramped days short-term training for women candidates of MPs and elected women MPs. Longer term

¹⁶ 'Daerah pemilihan'

¹⁷ Experts or resource persons delivered the training material, while facilitators delivered detailed discussions and exercises. Unfortunately, facilitators who participated in the training and material development but not all resource persons involved.

¹⁸ The Project's team reported that such lesson plans were available, but were kept in the Program's system for protection reason.

engagement for such empowerment, in this regard, requiring significant resource implications¹⁹. These approaches may provide higher outcomes if they are done within a complete electoral cycle and deliver activities with sufficient time for participants to internationalize the new knowledge and techniques.

18. Various activities for media campaigns were carried out through the development and distribution of various media campaigns, such as postcards and posters as well as the use of SMS in the effort to build conducive environment to promote women political participation were carried out. It has been unfortunate that no systematic assessment on the effectiveness of the Program's media campaigns were carried out, making the Program's credit to its success has been anecdotal²⁰.

19. At the end of the third year, the Project organized workshops with a purpose of establishing networks for promoting stronger networks among CSOs, trainers, elected women members of parliamentarians, candidates of women parliamentarians, and media were carried out in Jakarta and two target provinces in Makassar and Surabaya. At the national level, the Project organized a reflective workshop with regard to achievements and challenges of CSOs in promoting women political participation in Indonesia as well as in mapping out the relations among the democracy pillars – the government, political parties, private sector, CSOs, and media. Annex 8 presents²¹ an example of documented caucus' action plan.

20. While some initiatives and meetings were carried out by the Project to facilitate senior members of key parties to meet and to discuss the importance of women political participation within the parties, no strong indication for fostering political party reforms could be made. The limited familiarities of CSOs working with political parties as well as the lack of conducive environment for improving the health of political parties have contributed to such situation.

21. A major element of the Project's successes in its implementation was the Project using a system-based approach where the supply of and demand for reform are integrated into the Program. The Project has operated during a period when there was a high demand for electoral supports, but limited resources, in total, were provided by the Government and donor organizations to improve women political participation. This was compounded by the relative lacking of readiness of government bureaucracy to prepare the general election. To compare to other donors' supports, the Project has provided effective CD activities for local CSO partners, facilitators, and women at the levels. The Project's synergy with other TAF's projects – electoral monitoring and gender budgeting, made this Project was a major player, could be the biggest resource allocation in this particular sector, with bigger impacts. Detailed comparisons between TAF and other donors, in terms of their approaches can be seen in Annex 4.

Table 3 Achievement of Training's Outputs

Project Output	Indicator	Achievements	Standard
Training for Prospective Women to be Members of the Parliament and for Women MPs	Increased knowledge of women candidates on political and election systems and on gender and politics in Indonesia. Increased skill of women candidates on	The Outputs : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guide book for women candidates published and distributed 487 women candidates (Aceh : 77; Aceh – 120; South Sulawesi – 103; and East Java – 187) are trained 15 trainings were conducted in 4 target 	Standard of Outputs : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beneficiaries and stakeholders highly regarded the designs of the reference books for the training. They were considered comprehensive, and were high in printing quality. • The reference book was developed based on consultation processes with trainers and experts, using good presentation and style and with good quality printing materials. • Books' distribution experienced issues. In

¹⁹ Resources may include fund allocation (training events, mentoring, and facilitation), methods, and time.

²⁰ No systematic review and studies were carried out to assess the effectiveness of the publication and distribution of 40,000 fliers, 10,000 postcards and 1,000 posters by all participating partners through their networks and coalitions

²¹ The review consultant participated as an observer for a reflective workshop that was organized by PUSKAPOL in Jakarta and a stakeholder workshop that was organized by PUSHAM Unair in Surabaya. CSOs faced realities that for not being able to contest themselves during the GE 2009 and previous PILKADA, due to some gaps on the required capacities and asymmetry of information.

	campaign management and articulating political messages.	provinces <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 264 elected women MPs (Jakarta 20; Aceh : 48; S. Sulawesi – 90, E. Java – 106) are trained 	February 2010, elected women MPs and CSOs in East Java reported not receiving the reference books; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentoring is critically needed for elected women MP. • See also Annex 5.
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Source : TAF's Report, " *Increasing Women's Political Participation*, Annual Report, April 2009

22. Aceh is unique and has special needs, not only for promoting women political participation but also for getting supports to eliminate violence and discrimination against women in this area. Issues of distrust in this province were high. The increasingly competitive nature of intra-party rivalry, had led many candidates to deploy their impartial witnesses to the polling stations, alongside the official party witnesses. Being the only province in Indonesia that allowed for having local parties that are not affiliated with national parties, Aceh experienced higher tensions and violence during its election, both from the internal and external, as there were tight competitions for loyalty between the national and local parties. While the training was called due to the request of the local partners, such trainings also revealed some other issues with regard to the lack of awareness, preparedness and understanding that many candidates and their witnesses (the broader community) faced on the election system. Understanding on how votes would be counted and aggregated from the local to the national level was critical. Holding women candidates' debates were almost impossible to be carried out. Facing such unique challenges, an organization such as MISPI²² had faced significant difficulties to progress women political participation. More serious attention to the resource allocation and more coordinated efforts across donors seemed needed.

Efficiencies

23. There are recorded benefits coming from the individual, institutional, as well as at the system level.

a. **At the individual level**, improved capacities of women candidates of MPs and elected women MPs at the national level and in three provinces (Aceh, South Sulawesi, and East Java) occurred from the Project's training activities. These benefits are particularly experienced by women candidates whom gained understanding new strategies in election, new experiences from handling the public debates and campaign, and from the improved skills to calculate or anticipate votes ' Dapil' as well as for their gained understanding on what a healthy election is. The number of women elected in the targeted area, except for Aceh, increased. Such increase has not only occurred in terms of numbers, but also in the compositions across political parties and more parties is now having women representations. Improving the Project's ability to demonstrate quality results, both the intended and unintended results are needed, for wider donors and the government organization's learning.²³.

b. **At the institutional level**, improved understanding of CSOs, including women NGOs and women MPs and candidates MPs on the critical boundaries and barriers of women in their political participation in Indonesia and how they become aware of effective strategies to progress the promotion of women participation in politics were recognized. Local partner organizations have increased their confidence in carrying out more innovative project as well as improved their management capacity.²⁴

c. **At the system level**, through the legal reform, women in Indonesia, have significantly improved access to higher political participation, making them more accessible to their representations in political parties and in parliaments. Women representation from the last gender election increased from 11.5% in 2004 to 18% in 2009. At this level, strengthened women's networking is also part of the benefits. The Project had helped women parliamentarians, women from the government organizations, broader CSOs, to include media and universities that are working for electoral works to establish and/or strengthen their networking for promoting higher women political participation. The review indicated that these have need to be maintained for preparing the next electoral cycle, for PILKADA as well as for the 2014's general election.

24. Timeliness and Appropriateness.

²² MISPI worked with JPPR, often in conjunction with members of the local KPU or Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwas*)

²³ In addition to beneficiaries from the national level and the three targeted provinces, the candidate trainings had expanded to reach candidates from the neighboring province. No records, unfortunately, were available on these additional beneficiaries.

²⁴ Before participating in this Project, LSKP was considered by other women activists as a new comer 'Anak Bawang'

a. **Introduction of systemic based approach and legal reform.** TAF and staffs of PUSKAPOL had carried out studies on issues and barriers of women participation in politics long before the Project proposal was developed, and this had provided rich information on the needs of systemic based approach in the electoral reform for increasing women political participation in Indonesia. The implemented initiatives were very appropriate and timely, and some informants stated it as a 'trend setter', to the needs of Indonesia to strengthen woman political participation through improved key legislations²⁵.

b. **The development of systematic data base** of potential women to be members of parliamentarians was the first effort ever done in Indonesia. It has been very useful and was considered as a good practice. Nevertheless, the limited availability of human resources to carry out this laborious work had been indicated as a serious challenge. Having the only organization that has the knowledge on the concept of such database and the capacity and networks to develop the database, PUSKAPOL of UI has stretched to thin to carry out coordination roles, at the same time laborious work to develop the database.

c. **Training for women candidates of MPs and elected MPs** with systematic and comprehensive training material were considered appropriate and critically needed.

d. While the Project provided timely contribution with regard to handy and systematic **reference books** for candidates of women members of parliament and for elected women of members of the parliament, critical time was noted in the development of reference books. Some delays were recognized in the distribution and use of reference books for women MPs who participated in training in East Java²⁶.

25. While the Project has been able to quickly respond the necessary steps to adjust its strategies, for example during the Constitutional Court that nullified the zipper system for securing women representation in parliament, which happened only three months before the election²⁷, some challenges remained. Such challenges, in general, had been mostly due to the lack of readiness of the whole electoral system to start discussing the need to prepare the revision of the key legislations, to prepare strategies for identifying potential women within the political parties, and to train women candidates to be members of the parliamentarians. In addition, sudden changes and political dynamics with regards to the substance of the electoral legislation with significant implications to women political participation in Indonesia, pushed implementers of the Project to change strategies. The other main 'cost' of the reduced timeliness is that there was little time left (as well funding resources) for Project staff to support elected women MPs further exercise and implement proposed action plan's activities on the full cycle of the general election of 2009 and followed up for mentoring elected women MPs and monitoring their works where local funding to sustain the work was inadequate.

In summary, the timeliness of implementation activities was restricted by:

- (i) Both uncertainties and substantial changes of the electoral legislation that happened only three months before the election;
- (ii) The difficult and challenging setting of promoting women political participation in Indonesia, due to the cultural bias in the community towards the promotion of gender equality in politics;
- (iii) The lack of preparedness among political parties in identifying their women candidates; and
- (iv) The lack of familiarity among CSOs, including women NGOs, to work with political parties;

28. **Value of money.** Through systematic coalition building and advocacies to the parliamentarians and political parties, PUSKAPOL had carried out consistent interventions, approaches, and policy dialogues to revise the two key legislations, led to the reduction of barriers to women's political participation. With two legislations had been revised and the electoral networking at the national and local level had been established and strengthened as well as a list of outputs and significant number of outcomes, in addition to unintended qualitative outcomes to be delivered²⁸, the Project had been highly cost effective.

²⁵ TAF and its partner organizations have marked not only its comparative advantage, but also competitive advantage in this sector.

²⁶ The changes of dynamics with regard to the nullification of the 'zipper system' within the electoral legislation had made some implications to the development of material for the reference books, which delayed the organization of the training of trainers (facilitators), the printing and the publication as well as the distribution of the books, and the organization of the training activities.

²⁷ JPPR network is one of TAF's program for electoral monitoring

²⁸ If the Project had been careful and more creative in measuring its results, more outputs could have been identified.

29. Budget of the Project was broken down into twelve major line items, comprising of main activities (advocacy for legal/institutional reform, mobilizing public support, database of women candidates, training for women candidates, training for women parliamentarians, and facilitating networks for women in politics), for evaluation meetings, for personnel (Technical Assistance and program support), Operational, Program Supports, and General Administration. The ability of this Project to match the need of works in the area of women political participation is to be commended given the additional resources put into providing advice and coordinating roles across CSOs (and donors) in this sector, and the general results indicated beyond the Project's initial expectation. About 62% of the total budget was allocated for funding Project/Program's activities. 16.5% of the total budget was used to fund Technical Assistance (TA) and 22% to accommodate other costs (Other direct costs, indirect cost, and TAF Program Support Costs). Compared to the proportion of Supports Costs that other donors have put into Projects of about 30% of total project cost, the 38% out of total costs to cover the TA budget and programming supports is a little too high.

Table 4 Budget Summary – Whole Project (US \$)

Description	Total US\$	%
I. Program Activities		
Objective 1 : Reducing Barriers to Women's Political Participation	317,568	26.5%
Objective 2 : Strengthening Capacity and Skills of Women in Politics	403,356	33.6%
Midterm/Annual Evaluation Meeting	15,833	1.3%
II. Technical Assistance	198,332	16.5%
Sub Total	935,089	
III. Asia Foundation Program Support Costs	15,993	1.3%
IV. Other Direct Cost	97,326	8.1%
V. Indirect Cost	151,600	12.6%
GRAND TOTAL	1,200,008	100.0%

Source : TAF's Financial Matrixes, 2010.

Sustainability.

30. The Project used several approaches to strengthen its sustainability :

- (i) The existing workable networks, under the coordination of an experienced and competence organization such as PUSKAPOL - a research based organization resides at one among the best universities in Indonesia with professionals and staffs who have worked in the area of election for over 10 years and has wide networks, including at the targeted three provinces within the Project²⁹.
- (i) TAF had been responsive to the local needs. In Aceh, for example, TAF had responded to the need for the Program to organize candidates' witness trainings, recognizing the implication of the Constitutional Court ruling that emphasis on candidate rather than on parties. This was considered a good practice³⁰;
- (ii) Competence and experienced individuals within the Project (of both TAF and PUSKAPOL) in both the electoral cycles and issues of women participation in politics in Indonesia had contributed to timely and proactive responses to be carried out during the implementation of the Project;
- (iii) With TAF is being a champion for an international NGO working on electoral monitoring and voter education as well as on gender budgeting, efforts that TAF had initiated to link with the two TAF's projects were considered a good practice.

Some potential challenges occur, with regards to the Project's sustainability. They are, among others :

- a) CSO program is management intensive, and to date, TAF has worked on several sub-grants to CSOs, which each with their own reporting and monitoring requirements. While reviewing the TAF financial and management systems was beyond the scope of this review assignment, some management burdens for implementing this Project was evident;

²⁹ The PUSKAPOL's significant experiences working in this sector contributed to the quality of overall Project's implementation

³⁰ While the witness training program was, later, expanded to include Banyuwangi and Malang in East Java, and Jakarta, no explanations were systematically recorded on why such area selection was chosen

- b) Little evidence has been showed on Indonesia's CSOs that are financially self-sustained. Their reliance to donors' funding has still been great. While at the beginning of reform in 1998 there were many donor organizations focused their supports to CSO works, these have dried up;
- c) Issues of accountability within CSOs work in Indonesia still occurred. When key CSO partners have matured themselves, with regard to their management capacities, it is critical for the local partners to assess themselves on their readiness to play a critical role to continued collaborating with TAF or Norway Embassy, in a different modality or mechanism;
- d) Sustainability of women's networks or caucus will be tested through availability of resources (time, fun, and organizers). While workshops to facilitate members of women's caucus in East Java and among Media, NGOs, and women parliamentarians in South Sulawesi to meet and develop their action plan, and meant to be preparing the Project's exit strategy, there was little indications that sufficient resources are available to sustain them. These have been classical issues in Indonesia; and
- e) The Project's scope and timeline of three years, which is less than one electoral cycle, reduced the potentials for women to gain a complete learning and experience on the whole electoral processes.

31. Limited indication was found whether systematic efforts were carried out to liaise to the wider donor supported programs in the promotion of women political participation. It was noted during the review that IRI as well as Indonesia's Women Collision (KPI) worked also in similar areas such as South Sulawesi. Consultations and coordination with the UNDP could also be made so that the legal reforms at the national level and the work to carry out public media campaigns could be maximized, and works on voter education for women as well coverage of voter registration could also be monitored. These all may have been useful in strengthening the sustainability of the program initiatives, and for shared learning purposes.

Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation and Results Based Management.

32. As part of the agreement, TAF implemented a set of reporting mechanisms and tools, guided by a set of LFA, with the Norway's Embassy. Then, the approved LFA was used by TAF to measure the Project's performance. TAF's implementing partners used the LFA unevenly. There have been both advantageous and disadvantageous from this aspect³¹. The LFA had helped the Project to work in logical hierarchy and structures. On the other hand, the Project's LFA, which tended to focus to quantitative measures had reduced the Project's potentials to portray the richness, experiences, and dynamics as well as lessons from the ground³². No indications were showed that the Project uses of the M&E beyond the reporting purpose. While, in general, reporting has been done in regular term, the Project may gain significant benefits from more systematic efforts to manage and consolidate the collected data and information. PME tools that aimed at setting up quality assurance (and triangulation) of training activities were inexistence. Potential roles of PME for future projects can be seen at Annex 6.

33. Some innovative uses of PME tools were recognized, for example on the use of media in South Sulawesi³³. Limited efforts were indicated to build the maximum learning benefits from a joint visit between the Norway's Embassy and TAF to the Project's field. The main indicators " Women Representation in Politics", while strategic, as it links closely to the efforts to improve and strengthen the implementation of the 30% of women quota system in legislations, it had suggested lack clarities during its implementation. No discussions within TAF and its implementing partners, for example, whether the quota has also been used as the Project's performance indicator. See also Gender Equality and Justice, below.

Gender Equality and Justice

34. The Project considered a women specific program, and at the same time, a gender equality project. Although a gender strategy was not specifically articulated in the Proposal, as an attachment to the Contract, the Project attempted to promote gender equality within its activities. Some training activities,

³¹ The use of M&E approaches has been flexible. LSKP, for example, has focused its M&E from (a) its committee's meetings, involving program's staffs and facilitators and (b) media as an M&E tools to act as electoral witness, training activities to promote openness and transparency within the parliamentarians, and to strengthen mechanisms for promoting checks and balances and accountability. PUSHAM UNAIR has used consultations with its internal and external actors and stakeholders. Yet, no learning consolidations on the Project's PME have been carried out. Limited information are available from MISPI/Aceh's PME.

³² Uneven understanding as well as use of the Project's Log-frame was found within the PME of the local partners.

³³ See also Table 2. The caucus' action plan of outlines efforts for building horizontal relationships among media, women MPs, CSO.

including gender training material within the training for women candidates of MPs and for elected women MPs, were recorded by informants as well as Project's reports as being implemented. Many informants, including candidates and elected women MPs, however, indicated strong needs for the Project to consider gender training for partners/husbands of the women candidates or women elected MPs so that critical gender issues that were faced by those respective women could be eased. Also, due to the changed of electoral system within the Law on General Election in 2009, which provide emphasis more on the candidates rather than party lists, it becomes critical that the Project to consider more proper gender strategy within the Project. The increase of women elected in MPs from 11.5 % in 2004 to 18% in 2009, while demonstrated a positive progress, also offered an alarming indications. 30% Quota Representation in the Election is not sufficient to promote women political participation in Indonesia. Results of the 2009's GE that put more elite women on the parliamentarian seats, instead of more diverse women to include women from disadvantaged group were challenging, and this indicated a need of serious gender equality and justice strategy in place. Issues with regard to potential conflicts due to the absence of proper and transparent selection criteria of the Project to nominate women candidates to participate in the public debates during their campaign were noted. The absence of the development of proper selection criteria for supporting women candidates of MP for getting the Project's supports for public debates, for example, has created some potential conflicts and frictions among political parties and women candidates

Governance

35. Initiatives and results to improve governance were built by the Project. These were found during the Project's supports to women's campaign that promoted good governance, in the introduction of healthy election during training of women candidates for MP, and in the organization of gender budgeting exercises for elected MPs. The Project responded the need to improve financial governance aspects within the partners' organizations, noting that issues of governance have also been the concern within CSOs.

Institutional Learning and Adaptation

36. The Project's systematic approaches have offered rooms for analysis and learning. TAF has worked in the area of election and gender equality for years in Indonesia so that knowledge has been nurtured within the organization and among staff. Also, the existing partnerships with CSO at the national level, PUSKAPOL, had built strong organizational learning, not only within TAF, but also broadly to the overall Project.³⁴ The Project could gain more learning through an introduction of participatory processes to include beneficiaries on how they have learned new values upon their participation in the Project's activities. Such approaches may provide the basis for specifying the roles and contributions of all related parties in the efforts to promote women political participation in Indonesia, and for specifying the nature of TAF as the Grant Administrator and Management. To produce notable results and introduce learning fora, the Project could actually explore and exploit some potential learning mechanisms, including its monitoring and evaluation functions and meetings, embodied within the activities' planning, reporting and budgeting system. These are relevant to the development of partnerships initiatives, where each local partner organizations have their organizational learning objectives to introduce more sustaining results.

37. Indonesia is unique and challenging when it comes to learning and a recent study³⁵ indicated that learning is not part of Indonesia's culture. Furthermore, the study recommended that stimulations for learning should be made from the supply side through provision of PME tools, where the demand side is also equipped with incentive mechanisms, i.e. in the forms of value added and recognitions. The review found that partner organizations whom recognized the value added they received from participating in the Project had used learning as part of the working mechanism. It was also learned that during the preparation and implementation of the Project, partner CSOs claimed having the learning benefits. LSKP, for example, has found itself increasing its credibility by working in cooperation with a reputable international organization such as TAF and funded by the Norway's Embassy. LSKP also has increased its capacities in program management. PUSHAM UNAIR has gained deeper understanding on the substance of

³⁴ The Chair person of the PUSKAPOL, who happened to be a former electoral officer of TAF has had strong understanding and knowledge regarding election and its gender dimensions in Indonesia. Her strong networks as well as her long experiences in this area are huge assets for the Project. Others may see these as conflict of interest, but it is strategic, in terms of effectiveness.

³⁵ Leya Cattleya for UNDP/Bangkok "Assessment on Gender Responsive CD at the Local Level", January 2010

the two key legislations, deeper understanding on the actual and emergence issues in election and their related gender issues, increased its networking with key and the right organizations working in politics and election, and revitalized the women caucuses.

C. FURTHER SUPPORT TO A NEW PROJECT WITHIN THE SAME PROGRAMME

38. The Concept Notes, in general, are in line and guiding to follow up and sustain the initiatives and results of the on-going Norway Embassy's supports. While presented differently, the major outputs of the proposed outputs within the Concept Notes remain the same, which is valid and relevant to the current situational context. They are (1) reducing barriers for women to participate in politics, and (2) strengthening capacity and skills of women in politics. These two outcomes are best catering the four focuses of the proposed activities. While under the Concept Notes, efforts to reduce barriers for women to participate in politics only covered Aceh, it is critical for TAF to widen its attention to Indonesia broadly. This could be responded through efforts to carry out as well as to document research works that have been undertaken in this area. Better articulation of budgeting aspects of the concept note is required. Summary of the concept notes can be seen in Annex 8.

39. Area of work that could be considered by the new project proposal, are among others:

(a) reducing barriers for women to participate in politics:

- Following up the monitoring and policy dialogues on legislations that will have influences to the key legislations (Law on general election and Law on political parties) that are listed in the Prolegnas;
- Identifying and reducing barriers to women's political participation in the targeted area, including Jakarta, Aceh, South Sulawesi, and East Java, with activities could include, but not to be limited to:
 - o gender training for men, husbands/partners of women elected MPs;
 - o studies on barriers of women participation in politics, including those in PILKADA;
 - o follow up discussions that were carried out during the February's Workshop in Jakarta "Reflection on Efforts to Promote Women Political Participation in Indonesia";
 - o collaborations with other donors for creating awareness on the importance of women political participation to the communities and supporting women empowerment at the local level.

(b) strengthening capacity and skills of women in politics.

- CD for women legislators (follow up activities);
- Securing and strengthening women's voices in decision-making (linking to the PILKADA);
- Strengthening Relations between Legislators and Constituents (follow up actions from the networking development that were carried out at the end of the Project in 4 targeted area; exploring the use of media as ways to consolidate and deepen democratic processes and experiences among women elected MPs).

40. Principles that need to be used and promoted to be new Project are, among others illustrated, below:

Table 5. Principles for the New Project

Things that should be maintained	Things that should be Introduced in the New Project
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systemic Approach • Valuing local CSOs partners and their role in the Project • Working with the existing mechanisms and partners • Emphasis on CD for CSOs partners • Promoting Multi-stakeholder Engagements at the targeted area • Flexible Delivery Approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valuing and Promoting Learning • Comprehensive CD Framework • Promoting M&E that enhance outcomes and strengthen partnerships among TAF and key CSO partners and stakeholders • Qualitative Indicators • Stronger Gender Equality and Justice Approach to include balanced representatives of beneficiaries • Support the provision of experiences to key CSO partners and beneficiaries on a complete electoral cycle

41. There has been a demand for having exchange programs between women parliamentarian members of Norway and Indonesia. Such program could be developed through a consultation between the House of

Representatives of the two countries. Selection criteria of candidates of the exchange program need to be developed according to the proposed project's principles, above.

D. OVERALL ASSESSMENTS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

42. **Overall Assessments.** The Project is the only donor funding support to work on post-election phase for promoting women political participation. The Project had not only reduced barriers to women's political participation through improved key legislations -on political parties and general election - and through various public campaigns to promote women political participation, but also had strengthened capacity and skills of women in politics through its training to both candidates and elected women MPs. TAF, with the support from the Norway Embassy in Jakarta had encouraged and supported the local partner agencies at the national and regional level to adopt their project's management and financial system, to enable them to properly sustain an accountable system within their organizations. TAF had encouraged its local partners' performance, proper management and financial system through the improved functioning of the local partners' Standard Operating Procedures (SOP), in addition to an introduction of the Project's M&E systems. More systematic PME system, with better collection, management and analysis of the Project's data and information, however; is critically needed some attentions. This Independent Project's Review provides a rating to help measuring the relative quality of key aspects.

Table 6 Review Ratings

Review Criteria	Rating (1-6)
Relevance	6
Effectiveness	5
Efficiency	4.5 - 5
Sustainability	5
Gender Equality and Justice for Disadvantaged Women	4.5 - 5
Monitoring & Review	5
Analysis and Learning	5
Rating scale: 6 = very high quality; 1 = very low quality. Below 4 = less than satisfactory.	

43. Conclusions.

- a) TAF's Project was a relevant and an appropriate intervention. Stakeholders acknowledged the quality of the legal framework development, the database development, and the provided training. The Project's design considered systematic and offered both supply side and demand side for improving women political participation in Indonesia. A more comprehensive CD, based on proper needs assessment may produce higher Project's effectiveness;
- b) TAF's strategy to intentionally select partner CSOs with strong knowledge and competence in the electoral sector as well as workable networks considered very strategic and a good practice;
- c) TAF could be considered of having a competitive advantage in the area of promoting women political participation – the organizational knowledge and networks has well introduced its niche;
- d) While TAF and its local partners in Jakarta and in Aceh have much experience in electoral supports and increasing women political participation in Indonesia, working in Aceh requires special strategies and resources, noting the complex political setting is in place. There were some indications that the Project underestimated the level of resources (finance, coordination, TA supports) and complexities for its activities in Aceh;
- e) The need to better promote gender equality and justice, particularly to the disadvantaged and under-represented women in the parliaments was noted.
- f) The development of the reference books and material for training for women candidates and elected women MPs involved consultations with local partners, trainers and facilitators, considered a good practice. A development and use of proper lessons plan should be done in more transparent way;

- g) The Project tended to use quantitative indicators for measuring its progress, reducing its potentials for learning the dynamics from the ground. Better documenting experiences on the ground, for both the successes (outcomes and unintended outcomes), and the challenges (Project's activities in Aceh, reforming political parties), beyond the reporting requirement is necessary;
- h) The Project is absence from a comprehensive - long-term CD framework and lacking of proper selection criteria for targeting beneficiaries, including the disadvantaged group, to promote gender equality and justice;
- i) Project's scheduling to assure proper sequences and timely deliveries of the Project's activities, following the electoral cycle is critical.

44. Recommendations to improve the current Project:

- a) TAF should consider rectifying current outstanding issue in the book distribution in East Java.
- b) TAF should more properly document the Project's outputs and outcomes. One example of important output is " Critical analysis of amendments proposed by Ministry of Home Affairs for Gender-equitable perspective", needs to be documented as it be useful for wider learning and sharing;
- c) Documentations on other outputs and outcomes should be done more properly, to build more learning. This includes an additional assessment that could be useful for future supports in this area is an assessment on the Aceh component of the Project. Instead of categorizing Aceh as 'not as a successful initiative', it is important for the Project to document reports and lessons learnt from this area; and
- d) Strengthen the PME system, balancing improved financial accountability, higher outcomes, and learning.

45. Lessons and good practices, for future supports and learning are identified. They are, among others:

- a. TAF and its CSO partners have introduced a good practice of building a strong Project's team with electoral and gender related experiences at the national and local level, which led to increased TAF's institutional knowledge to promote women political participation in the Indonesia's complex setting;
- b. CD processes take time to implement and to produce results, particularly in a challenging environment setting where women political participation was regularly questioned, and the people are fatigued with training activities. Without appropriate approaches, timely and continuing resources that are outlined within a comprehensive CD framework, initiatives will tend to be piece mill and less sustain. The importance of electoral witness and monitoring training to be carried out across project's area offers good lessons, particularly where legal reforms may also present a trade off for disadvantage women.
- c. Time variables for high CD's effectiveness are critical, for some reasons, with regards to : (i) sufficient time in preparing activities and timely organization of the events; (ii) availability of time to allow participants to internalize the new knowledge through better targeting; and (iii) sequencing from technical knowledge and tools, practical way of exercising the tools, and mentoring, particularly in legal drafting, budgeting, and oversighting; and (iv) sufficient and longer inputs in development initiatives, in the form of mentoring and provision of TA to women candidates of MPs as well as linking the Project with PILKADA's initiatives may provide higher impacts;
- d. Exchange programs between the Norwegian and Indonesian's MPs may be explored.
- b. Attention to the introduction of gender equality values into the families and/or partner/husbands of women candidates and elected MPs as well as within the political party is critical. Advocacies to the GOI and collaborations with the wider donors to carry out wider social marketing on the values of women political participation to communities, while expensive, are required. Similar urgencies are recognized on the need to this Project's objective with initiatives to support women to participate in the political ladder through PILKADA;
- c. Recruitment or selection of women as beneficiaries, including those from the disadvantaged and under-represented group needs to be set up prior to the mobilization of Project's activities, for promoting effective gender equality and justice in women political participation;
- d. Constituency building, which has been established between women candidates of MPs and their communities, considered an advantage. Recognizing the CSOs' reflections on promoting women political participation in Indonesia as well as some current studies regarding constituency building, it is important, however, for considering future efforts to work/support candidates who have started their links or works with women empowerment activities by improving livelihood of the people, women cooperative and/or women's saving lending programs. Attention to the constituency building through the identification of entry points to enter the voting area "Dapil" is still critical;

- e. Response to the emerging local needs, particularly in volatile areas, and yet very politically dynamics within the setting of Indonesia such as in Aceh, or in situations such as the nullifications of the zipper system in GE 2009, facilitated by an allocation of special fund needs to be considered;
- f. LFA is a good tool for guiding stakeholders on project's hierarchy for management purposes. A participatory LFA development process may offer potential exercises to be carried out in the next programming, for establishing common understandings regarding the Project's objectives and outcomes. The use if qualitative indicators may explore learning opportunities from the ground. Exploration to the use of 'Outcome mapping', where stakeholders could participate in its identification and development, may promote shared learning on what the Project had achieved. All of these are needed to be integrated into the new Project's design, which may require additional resources for TAs.

Annex 1 Summary of Project Description as per Contract Document

<p>Purpose: To reduce barriers to women's political participation To strengthen capacity and skills of women in politics</p>
<p>Outputs 1. Critical analysis of amendments proposed by Ministry of Home Affairs for Gender-equitable perspective 2. Program proposed amendments shared with House of Representatives 3. Briefing papers setting forth effective amendment proposals, as well as recommendations on how to advocate for passage of the amendments 4. Recommendations for political parties to reform internal regulations 5. Focus Groups Discussions and public seminars on increasing women's political participation 6. Candidate debates featuring women's candidates and their platforms 7. Multi-media campaign : articles, press releases, radio, and televisions programs, text message and postcard campaigns, leaflets, roadside banners 8. List of women candidates made available to the public 9. Training conducted</p>
<p>Inputs: Training, advocacy, database, media campaign Main Indicators - Women's representation in politics - Women's rights advanced by women in politics - Legal framework produced to support women's political participation - Media coverage of women in politics/questions of equality and gender Major Risk Factors Oppositions to women's political participations</p>

Source: TAF's Proposal outlined activities of each Project's Objectives, with proposed Program Partners were described in each of activities.

Annex 2. Project's Log-Frame

NARRATIVE SUMMARY	EXPECTED RESULTS	PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT	ASSUMPTION/RISK INDICATORS
Goal	Impact	Performance Indicators	Assumptions – Risk Indicators
To increase women's participation in democratic government in Indonesia through participation in parliament, at the national and local levels.	Political system supportive towards more women representation and equal participation in legislative decision making.	Changes in the election and political party laws will compel parties to take issues of gender balance seriously, both internally within their own structures, and externally in the way candidates for election are determined and placed on ballot papers. Through these changes, women in Indonesia now face a far better chance of being elected to office than ever before.	ASSUMPTIONS Political environment continues to allow equal participation in politics, favor transparency and accountability. RISK INDICATORS i) political parties prefer their own list candidates without having systematic cadre scheme ii) lack of political will and enforcement for 30% quota for women candidates.
Program Objective One	Outcomes	Performance Indicators	Assumptions – Risk Indicators
Reducing barriers to women's political participation	Improved environment that enables increased representation of women in national and local legislature. Increased involvement of media, CSO NGOs, and political parties in ensuring better representation of women in legislature and decision making at national and district levels.	Two laws concerning three issues amended to include provisions that support more women in legislative bodies. Four media campaigns and six public discussions on women in politics were conducted in Jakarta, Surabaya, Aceh and Makassar.	ASSUMPTIONS i) Greater roles of CSOs including coalition of women in politics, in supporting gender sensitive revision ii) Continuation of party list and potential candidate list. RISK INDICATORS i) Resistance to the compulsory quota of women candidates ii) Gender blind policy and practices that prevent women from entering politics.
Activities	Output	Performance Indicators	Assumptions – Risk Indicators
Advocacy for Legal and	Formulated and submitted draft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoption of 30% quota for women 	ASSUMPTIONS

Institutional Reform.	bill for women's equal participation in politics.	<p>candidates;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of the "Zipper" system: for every three candidates listed at least one will have to be a women; • For new political parties, at least 30% of officials must be women. 	<p>Local technical expertise is available to assist women candidates and women parliamentarians.</p> <p>Network on women and politics are seriously doing advocacy, training and mobilization programs.</p>
Mobilizing Public Support for Women in Politics.	Increased media campaigns and network/coalition effectiveness supporting political culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indonesia's first political SMS campaign, resulting in a 3,200 name petition; • The distribution of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 40,000 flyers, • 10,000 postcards and • 1,000 posters; • Face-to-face discussions for 4,000 union members about women in politics; • Three regional seminars attended by 315 participants. 	<p>RISK INDICATORS</p> <p>Male dominated culture in political party.</p> <p>Limited time and preparation for law reform.</p>
Database of Women Candidates Research.	Database available to political parties.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 996 women candidates are made known to political parties as potential candidates. • 1 National launching event, attended by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 122 participants • Leaders from seven political party leaders • 20 regional candidates 	
Program Objective Two (YEAR 2)	Outcomes	Performance Indicators	Assumptions – Risk Indicators
Building capacity of women in politics at regional and district level for better representation and governance.	Increased representation of women in local legislature and increasing number of women in politics.	<p>Number of legal framework produced and approved in supporting women in politics, including public pressures.</p> <p>Number of women from grass root and mass based organizations interested in</p>	<p>ASSUMPTIONS</p> <p>i) Greater roles of CSOs including coalition of women in politics, in supporting gender sensitive revision.</p> <p>ii) Continuation of party list and potential candidate list.</p>

	Increased participation of media, CSOs, NGOs and political parties in ensuring better representation of women in legislature and decision making at national and district level.	participating in formal political institutions (parties, DPD etc). Quality of women candidates and elected women in politics.	RISK INDICATORS i) Resistance to compulsory regulation of women quota. ii) Gender blind policy and practices that prevent women from entering politics.
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Annex 3. List of Consulted People

No	Name	Organizations
The Norway Embassy		
1	Eivind S.Homme	Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy
2	Mette Kottman	Minister Counsellor, Royal Norwegian Embassy
3	Lily L. Maramis	Development Officer, Royal Norway Embassy
The Asia Foundation		
1	Robin Bush	Country Representative
2	Laurel MacLaren	Deputy Country Representative
3	Hana Satriyo	Director, Gender and Women Political Participation
4	Natalia Warat	Program Officer
5	Indri Madewa	Program Assistant
Jakarta		
1	Ani Sutjipto	PUSKAPOL UI
2	Sribudi Eko Wardani	PUSKAPOL UI
3	Masruchah	Komnas Perempuan, Former Chair of KPI
4	Ninuk Pambudi	Kompas Daily Newspaper, Journalist
5	Maria Hartiningsih	Kompas Daily Newspaper, Journalist
6	Rike Diah Pitaloka	Women MP, PDIP
7	Ledia Hanifa	Women MP, PKS
8	Theresia EE Pardeded (Terre)	Women MP, Democratic Party
South Sulawesi		
1	M. Darwis	Program Director, LSKP
2	Salma	Program Administration
3	Tenri	Facilitator
4	Huma	Facilitator
5	Diana	Program Administration
6	Hasnah	Program Administration
7	Sumarni	Former Candidates, PKS
8	Barlihanti Hasan	Former Candidates
9	Litha Limpo	Former Candidates PDIP, Women Caucus
10	Lucia Pallulungan	LBH APIK
11	Ibrahim	Resource Person for Gender Budgeting
12	Husaima Husain	Resource Person for Legal Drafting
13	Andi Mariatang	DPRP Prov. South Sulawesi
14	Ina Kartika Sari	DPRD Prov. South Sulawesi
15	Rusni Kasman	DPRD Prov. South Sulawesi
16	Devy Santy Erawati	DPRD Prov. South Sulawesi
17	Hasniati Hayat	DPRD Gowa
18	Andi Hikmawati Kumala Idjo	DPRD Gowa
19	Hj. Rismawati Kadir	DPRD Gowa

	Nynampa	
20	Hj Sutihati Dahlan	DPRP Gowa
21	Andi Ermawati	DPRD Maros
22	Hj Suhartina	DPRD Maros
23	Tenri Muntu Djabir	DPRD Maros
East Java		
1	Bambang Budiyono	PUSHAM UNAIR
2	Salma Safitri Rahayaan	Suara Perempuan Desa, Batu Malang Facilitator of the Program in East Java
3	Erna Susanti	Former Candidate, PDIP at the National Level, Facilitator and Resource Person
4	Kartika Pratiwi (Maya)	DPRD Surabaya City
5	Sri Untari Bisowarno	DPRD Malang City, Secretary to Commission B
6	Ivy Juana	DPRD Surabaya City, Commission B

Annex 4. Project Implementation – Approaches, Project Activities, and Selection of Local Partners.

Aspect	NORWAY FUNDED TAF's WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION PROJECT	UNDP AND OTHER DONORS
APPROACHES		
SUPPLY SIDE	To improve legal framework (Law on Political Parties and Law on General Election) To Mobilize Public Supports for Women Political Participation	NA
DEMAND SIDE	A series of training for : - Local Partner Organizations/CSOs (management training, database training, and reference book development consultations) - Facilitators' training (TOT) - Female Candidates MPs - Female Elected MPs - Women Networks (national and local levels)	Voter Educations (UNDP through MOHA and MWE. A relatively small amount of fund from a total of US\$ 12 allocated budget under UNDP's Multi-donor supports for Democratic Election Program) Training for Women Candidates of MPs (NDI, RTI)
PROJECTS' ACTIVITIES		
DATA BASE DEVELOPMENT	A key National Partner (PUSKAPOL) that is a research based institution of the University of Indonesia to work with its networks in the development of the Data Base	NA
PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS	National level: Use the existing CSO partners and networks. Local level : Use a key National level partner (PUSKAPOL) that has strong networks of CSOs, media, government, and also parliamentarians at the local level. The local partners are not necessarily those who work in women political participations in specific, but those whom know the electoral system and with gender sensitivity and have strong media networks, with qualified competence and long experience working in electoral reform.	UNDP hired CSOs that work for voter educations NDI and IRI worked with individual trainers at the local level (LBH APIK, Women Studies Centre, individual women/gender consultants)
REFERENCE BOOK DEVELOPMENT	Consultative processes, to include local partners and training facilitators	RTI has adapted the TAF's reference book
LOCAL TRAINERS AND FACILITATORS	TAF considered a combination of using resource persons with specific technical skills as key trainers (once of training) and mobilize facilitators to work and mentor the participants	Women NGOs. Women Studies Centres and women activists were part of the trainers
MEDIA	The national and local partner organizations have strong networks with wider media (Women Radio Networks, Journal Perempuan, National and Local Newspapers, etc)	NA
WOMEN	Use varies modalities and informal	NA

Aspect	NORWAY FUNDED TAF's WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION PROJECT	UNDP AND OTHER DONORS
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CAMPAIGN	forums for facilitating the women candidates campaigns	
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Source: UNDP “Multi-Donors Supports for Indonesia Democratic Election” and other related documents, as compared to findings from the Independent Review Assignment (desk review of TAF’s Project Proposal, Project’s Reports, and Local Partners’ Reports as well as consultations with informants)

Annex 5 .Number of Women Candidates trained by the Project

Numbers of Women Candidates Trained		
Province	Number of trainings	Number of participants
Jakarta	3 trainings	77 participants
Aceh	3 trainings	120 participants
South Sulawesi	4 trainings	103 participants
East Jawa	5 trainings	187 participants
Total	15 trainings	487 participants

Source : TAF's Report, " *Increasing Women's Political Participation*, Annual Report, April 2009

Annex 6. Potential Purposes Of Planning and M& E In Promoting Democracy And Learning

Performance - Efficiency and effectiveness	Exercise of power	Enhance Equity of outcomes	Enhance stakeholder interactions
1. Generating location specific insights and information 2. Improve soundness of policy making 3. Facilitate adaptive and flexible management 4. Increase efficiency of resource use 5. Promote stakeholder motivation 6. Promote staff motivation (local government, service providers and other agencies)	1. Improve responsiveness 2. Promote openness and transparency 3. Strengthen mechanisms for checks and balances	1. Acknowledge and clarify diversity of expectations; 2. Identify and address barriers to participation and decision-making 3. Build voice of marginalized groups	1. Build horizontal relationships 2. Strengthen dialogue and collaboration 3. Shared analysis and agreement on options for change

Annex 7. An Example of Caucus' Action Plans (South Sulawesi) , based on SWOT Analysis.

An Example of Action Plan that was agreed by Women Networks in South Sulawesi.

Capacities between CSOs at the national and at the local level;

- Capacities among CSOs to be able to translate what is politics into sectoral issues;
- Asymmetry of information on the different perception between CSOs and political parties with respect to the definition of 'politics and empowerment'. While CSOs used strategies and assumptions to promote community's empowerment for developing constituency building, political parties used power and tangible 'benefits', mostly money, to establish their relationships with the communities;
- Lacking of minimum political platform within CSOs' organizations and working mechanisms;
- Different levels of understanding with regard to gender perspectives between women NGOs/CSOs and broader NGOs/CSOs and even among women CSOs/NGOs in Indonesia regarding the importance of promoting gender equality in politics and public spheres, and the different issues and ideologies that what women want in increasing women political participation;
- Lacking of gender perspectives among political parties; and
- Lacking of understanding among CSOs and political parties that women is not homogenous groups, where promoting women quota in the political participation is not enough, unless equity and justice is also promoted and realized.

The workshop also noted some challenges that were faced by civil society movements in Indonesia, with regard to their relations with other pillars of democracy. They were, among others the fact that the government had welcome CSOs to be active to participate and contribute inputs to the policy research and decision making in the political arena. However, the government has still been resistance to consider its engagements in the area of political economics and human rights issues and violation, and issues of corrupt practices that involved the key positions in the country, or issues in relation to the 'palace'³⁶.

At the provincial level, parallel workshops to establish and/or strengthen women caucus and networks were carried out. In Makassar, for example, CSOs, including women NGOs, elected women of MPs, and media met in the workshop to discuss their common strategies to promote women political representation and to maintain conduciveness of their working relationships to sustain results and works that had been produced during the Project's time. A set of strategies, so called 'Tiga Diva' (Three Divas) Strategies involving the three pillars of women movements in political participation comprising of activities³⁷ promote the development of trust building mechanism, develop common vision and mission, and quarterly evaluation regarding performance of the women MPs on their mandates to carry out budget, legal drafting, and oversight's roles. Details of the action planning comprise of, among others :

- Further promoting anti-poverty campaign;
- Deliver and monitor pro-poor policies;
- Carry out budget analysis (and gender budget analysis)
- Build constituency relationships;
- Follow up promises;
- Clean and Anti corruptions;
- Maximize the use of media as information sharing/dissemination and policy dialogues;
- Be aware of politicking of issues for a short term objective;
- While consider a minority group, women MPs should really work for the poor;
- Carry out public consultations in the bill/regulation development;
- Promote gender mainstreaming;
- Build networking among CSO, media, and women MPs;
- Support women empowerment programs within the local governments;
- CD for women MPs.

To realize the above plan, women MPs are required to establish complain mechanisms where the community could access the elected women MPs. CSO and media will help women elected MPs to carry out their job through carrying out consultation and feeding information. Also women MPs have carry out public accountability report. 'Tudang Sipulung' or pro-active actions are also promoted, without waiting for each partner within the network to start their initiatives. Last but not least, the three parties plan to carry out join monitoring

³⁶ Participants of the workshop defined high political issues involving the President as issues in relation to 'Istana'

³⁷ Action Planning on the Women's MP Networks, 8 February 2010

Annex 8. Summary of the Concept Notes

The Concept Note that was prepared by TAF, dated September 2009, considers the local setting of Indonesia within effort to promote women political participation is still relevant. TAF recognized its effective approach for working with existing local partner organizations, which have long and consistent worked in the area of electoral reform and women participation in politics. TAF considers the need to work in support to the women who have been elected so that they can carry out their role as representatives effectively, and their presence within legislative bodies can make a positive contribution to addressing the needs of their constituents. This will be carried out through :

- giving technical assistance to legislators; and
- constant monitoring and evaluation of their performance.

The Concept Notes will have four aspects or focuses. They are :

- Securing and Strengthening Women's Voices in Decision-Making;
- Capacity Building for Women Legislators;
- Strengthening Relations between Legislators and Constituents; and
- Identifying and Reducing Barriers to Women's Political Participation in Aceh

The Concept Notes still focus on the same geographical area of the current support, to cover Jakarta (national level), Aceh, East Java, and South Sulawesi. The Concept Notes proposed an amount of US \$ 1, 890,000 for the period of 3 years.

Annex 9. Review's Terms of Reference

Review of The Asia Foundation's "Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia" program funded by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, Jakarta.

The Asia Foundation has worked in the area of women's political participation in Indonesia for the past three years with the support from the Royal Norwegian Embassy. The 'Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia program will end in March 31, 2010 with the total funding of \$ 1,200,000.

Program and Organizational Background

Prior to program implementation, women in Indonesia are significantly under-represented in official positions at all levels. As a result, women's voices and views are not represented commensurately given that women are half of the population. At the same time, studies show societies that discriminate against women pay a high price in terms of poverty rates, slower economic growth, and weak governance. Indonesia can ill-afford to limit the potential of women to be full participants in social, political, and economic development.

Surprisingly, the representation of women in the 2004-2009 national legislature was actually lower than a decade ago during Suharto's New Order regime. In the 1987-1992 Legislature, 13 percent of national legislative members were women, while in 2004-2009 they only constitute 11.8 percent. There are a number of reasons for women's low representation, including the way political parties recruit candidates, structural barriers embedded in legislation regulating elections, and cultural prejudices against women as leaders. However, experience has shown that barriers can be reduced and women's leadership strengthened to increase their viability as candidates for elected office.

Based on those backgrounds, on February 2007 TAF proposed to draw on its tested models, strategies, partners, and networks to implement a three-year program leading up to the 2009 elections designed to achieve increased women's political participation. The program has two objectives:

- To reduce barriers to women's political participation; and
- To strengthen capacity and skills of women in politics. ([See Attachment 1, Summary of Program objectives and Activities](#))

The Asia Foundation opened a resident office in Jakarta in 1955 and over the past five decades has implemented a broad range of governance-related programming and built a reputation that enables it to program on sensitive issues, including women's rights. The Foundation provided initial funding for the National Commission for Combating Violence against Women and supported their advocacy efforts, which led to the passage of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law in 2004.

The Foundation has supported a growing number of local-level women's organizations to effectively engage in public decision-making processes at the provincial, district, and village level. Foundation-supported advocacy efforts have led to a budget allocation for better services for women and marginalized groups in several districts in Aceh, Central Java, and Sulawesi. In 2008, gender budget analysis identified approximately US\$ 1.4 million in excessive or wasteful spending that was reallocated to health and education as a result of advocacy efforts through local parliaments. With support from the Royal Norwegian Embassy, in 2008-09 the Foundation provided training for 487 women candidates for local and national parliament on understanding the election system and how to organize a campaign and public speaking, of which 86 (18 for the National Parliament). The Foundation's experience has proven that initiatives at the local level where women are active in community-based organizations and take active role as community leaders are crucial to promote women's role in formal political institutions.

Program Coverage and Implementation Partners

To date, the program has been conducted at both national and local levels. The local level covers the three provinces of Aceh, East Java and South Sulawesi. The Asia Foundation partners with local Indonesian organizations, both civil society organizations and university-based centers, to implement the program. [See Attachment 2 for list of implementing partners.](#)

The purpose of the review:

The Purpose of this external review is to assess the progress to date and the effectiveness of the programme, against the stated goals and objectives of programme documents, workplans and contracts. The objectives of the review are:

1. Assessment of progress and results

- The extent to which the TAF project has developed according to plan in relation to the goals and objectives stipulated in its programme document and work plans and assess achieved results.
- Efficiency in advocacy work

2. Assessment of organizational capacity

- Relevance and efficiency of the project
- Systems in place for ensuring results based management, including monitoring and evaluation frameworks
- The extent to which agreed reporting and auditing procedures have been followed.
- Capacity of TAF in terms of addressing capacity building of its partners and sustainability of their projects.

3. Assessment of institutional learning and adaption

- The extent to which experiences and concerns from partners and stakeholders are fed into decision making and advocacy and vice versa, the extent to which relevant information from TAF is distributed to partners.
- Ability to react to unforeseen events

4. Assessment of risk analysis

- Review mitigation measures implemented during the programme, based on previous risk analyses.
- Particular risk areas that will be assessed are;
 - policy and framework conditions
 - socio-cultural
 - economic and financial sustainability
 - anti-corruption
 - institutional and organisational

4. Review and discuss the need for further support to a new project within the same programme

- Review The Asia Foundation Concept Note to Royal Norwegian Embassy
- Identify specific technical assistance from Norway to Indonesia, including the possibility for exchange programs

Methodology

The review will be based on document review and field visits. Data collection methods will include field observations, interviews, questionnaires, participatory methodologies etc. All conclusions will be based on documentation and the data collection process will be conducted and described in an open and transparent manner, ensuring triangulation and validation of data.

1. The review will entail the following activities: Review program documents and materials relevant to programs, especially the Foundation's activity in the area of increasing women's political participation in the past 3 years, supported by the Royal Norwegian Embassy;
2. Consultations with the Royal Norwegian Embassy and The Asia Foundation staff in the Jakarta office;

3. Consultations with the Foundation's CSO partners through individual meetings and/or a group meetings;
4. Field visit that will require traveling outside Jakarta to Surabaya and Makassar;
5. Interviews with other key stakeholders in the national and local parliaments, selected CSOs working in the area of women's political participation in Jakarta, Surabaya and Makassar.

The Asia Foundation will provide list of activities that will occur between February 5 and February 15 for the purpose of travel arrangement to the regions. The Asia Foundation will also be responsible for making appointments with local implementing partners for the purpose of the review.

Sources of information will include (list the relevant documents):

- The Asia Foundation Proposal to the Royal Norwegian Embassy
- 2008 Annual Report
- 2008 Annual Meeting
- 2009 Annual Report
- 2009 Annual Meeting
- Local implementing partners' report
- September 2009 Concept Note
- Other relevant documents as needed

Implementation of the review and reporting

The consultant shall be given 3 days for preparation and review of literature and documentation before the start of the field work.

The consultant shall make a debriefing presenting the preliminary findings from the review, including a PowerPoint presentation in English immediately after the field work.

A draft report in English shall be presented by the latest 14 working days after the conclusion of the field work.

TAF, the Embassy and NORAD shall be given 10 working days to comment upon the draft. The final report in English shall be presented 14 working days after the reception of comments,

Total time frame for the consultants is xx days, consisting of:

Preparation	3 days
Field work Surabaya)	7 days (of which 3days outside Jakarta to Makassar and
Report writing	10 days
Total	20 days

The output of this review will include:

- Presentation of results to the Norway Embassy and The Asia Foundation staffs
- Two bound copies of the report in English. The main text of the final report shall not exceed 15 pages, including a summary. Complementary information deemed useful should be put in annex.
- Executive Summary in English
- An electronic data file
- Electronic copies of the reports and the presentation (in Power Point)

The consultant will coordinate and work in close collaboration with Program Staff at the Foundation. The Asia Foundation will provide input on data and information to written reports and documents. An adviser from Norad will be part of the consultants team.³⁸ The consultant will be the team leader and responsible for the report. The Royal Norwegian Embassy will supervise the review process.

³⁸ All costs related to the Norad advisers participation in the review will be covered by Norad

Summary of Project Objectives and Activities

Objective 1: To reduce barriers to women's political participation

Under this objective, the program is addressing both the legal and institutional framework and societal constraints.

Activity 1.1: Advocacy for Legal and Institutional Reform

Review and Analyze Proposed Amendments of the election and political party laws

Develop and Disseminate Recommendations and Proposed Amendments

Foster Political Party Reforms

Activity 1.2: Mobilizing Public Support for Women in Politics

Facilitate Public Dialogue

Facilitate Candidate Debates

Conduct Multi-Media Campaign

Activity 1.3: Database of Women Candidates

Compiling a Database of Prospective Women Candidates

Promoting Database to Political Parties

Publishing and Disseminating List of Women Candidates

Objective 2: To Strengthen Capacity and Skills of Women in Politics

Under this objective, the program strengthened the capacity and skills of prospective women candidates and parliamentarians through the following activities:

Activity 2.1: Training for Prospective Women Candidates

Candidates from 3 provinces and national level were trained on:

National and local government election laws and regulations;

Bargaining with political parties for party nominations and seats;

Political mapping and networking;

Campaign management, finance, and fundraising;

Recruiting campaign volunteers;

Developing political platforms that are engaging and responsive to voter needs;

Articulating and disseminating political messages; and

Communication and media interaction.

Activity 2.2: Training for Women Parliamentarians

Women parliamentarian in e provinces and the national parliament were trained on

Democratic values and accountability

Legislative drafting

Budgeting

Effective oversight

Communications

Activity 2.3: Facilitating Networks for Women in Politics

Foster mentoring relationships

Facilitate civil society support of women in politics

List of Program Partners

The Center for Political Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia

The Center was established in 1994 as an independent institution within the University of Indonesia. The Center focuses its activities on research, publications, trainings, workshops and seminars on political issues and public policy. The Center has conducted research on electoral reform and women's political participation and has been involved in various projects supported by international organizations including the National Democratic Institute (NDI), International Republican Institute (IRI), and the United Nation for Development Program (UNDP).

True Partners of Indonesian Women (*Mitra Sejati Perempuan Indonesia, MISPI*)

MISPI is a women's organization based in Banda Aceh. MISPI promotes women's rights, gender sensitive local policy and advocating for the peace process in Aceh. MISPI is an influential women-led Acehese NGO with an excellent reputation. MISPI also developed and organized training programs for women parliamentarian from all Aceh, and successfully maintained the caucus of women in politics in this province. MISPI was also partners with Unsiyah on mainstreaming gender into the law faculty curricula.

Institute for Public Policy Studies (*Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik, LSKP*)

Established in 2003, LSKP focused its activity on civic education, public policy study and election monitoring. LSKP especially concern on the issue of fair election, including electorate reform. LSKP is collaborating with local and national civil society organizations and conducted series of activities with support from several international donors.

Institute for Research – Center for Law and Human Rights Studies, University of Airlangga (*Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat, Pusat Studi Hukum dan HAM, LPPM-PUSHAM UNAIR*)

PUSHAM UNAIR, a university-based organization founded in 2000, states that its mission is to cultivate awareness of human rights among the community, academia, government and private sectors, through strengthening the consolidation of public and academic concern toward human rights principles and its implementation. The center has developed modules, methodology on increase women's participation in public policy reform in the region, especially related to gender and rights-based approach to development programs.

Radio 68H Network

The Radio 68H Network is a news agency established in March 1999 that produces, collects and distributes news for radio stations throughout Indonesia. Radio 68H has a network of over 400 radio stations across Indonesia and is a member of JPPR.

The People's Voter Education Network (*Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih Rakyat, JPPR*) JPPR is a national network that grew out of a workshop sponsored by the Foundation in 1998 in preparation for the 1999 elections. Since then JPPR has worked to monitor all elections in Indonesia to ensure that they are free and fair, as well as provided information to voters about both candidates and the elections in general. JPPR is currently the only national organization monitoring the district head elections in Indonesia.

Women's Journal Foundation (*Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, YJP*)

YJP was established in Jakarta in 1995 and since then has published a bi-monthly journal, *Jurnal Perempuan*. Articles in the journal focus on research, advocacy and features concerning women's issues. *Jurnal* is widely respected and is an important reference for academics, national and international institutions working on gender issue in Indonesia. YJP also produces weekly radio programs, books and newsletters.

Annex 10. Pictures from the Project's Review



Jakarta, Sahid Hotel "Reflection on Women Political Participation in GE 2009"



Jakarta, Sahid Hotel "Reflection on Women Political Participation in GE 2009"



Jakarta, Sahid Hotel "Reflection on Women Political Participation in GE 2009"



Jakarta, Sahid Hotel “Reflection on Women Political Participation in GE 2009”



FGD with Female MPs, Surabaya



Caucus' Workshop – Surabaya



Caucus' Workshop - Surabaya



Caucus' Workshop – Surabaya



Caucus' Workshop – Surabaya



FGD with Female MPs– Makassar



FGD with Female MPs – Makassar



FGD – Makassar

