

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON

GENDER & ELECTORAL REFORM: MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Conference Proceedings Report

26 & 27 August 2016

Bayview Hotel,
George Town, Penang,
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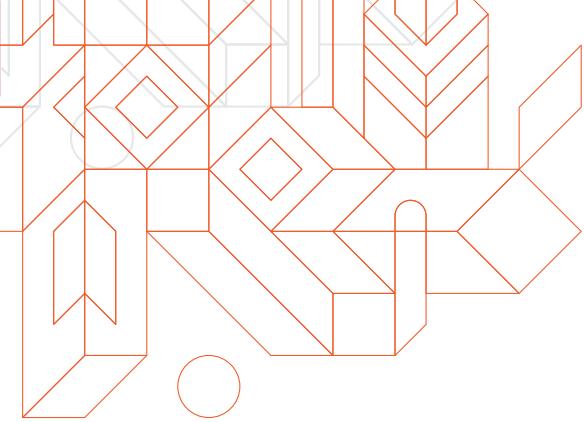


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1. CONFERENCE BACKGROUND

1.1 THE CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE

The National Conference on “Gender and Electoral Reform: Making A Difference” was envisioned to look at current debates and obstacles as well as innovative strategies and alternative models in women’s representation in the Malaysian electoral process. In particular, the Conference examined the current electoral system in Malaysia, which is the First Past the Post (FPTP) system and other country models, which are variations of FPTP or the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system.

The programme was divided into two major parts, mirroring the themes of the Conference: (1) Exploring Current Debates: Gender, Inclusive Politics and Electoral Reform; and (2) Connecting to the Ground: Experiences and Strategies for Change. The former is on systematic and cultural reform; and the latter is on strengthening women’s substantive representation.

This Conference introduced a panel of scholars and specialists to share their experiences and expertise, leading the discourse into the Malaysian context in hope of facilitating electoral reform together for a higher representation of women in politics. It is anticipated that from this Conference, the Recommendations can be translated into further actions and engagements that would push for a call for electoral reform, a call for inclusivity for women in politics.

This report covers the conference background and then explores the following areas: current debates, alternative models, the Malaysian context, experiences of politicians, barriers and strategies, and finally the conference recommendations.

Preceding this Conference was the Focus Group Discussion on Gender and Electoral Reform held on 26 June 2016, which acted as a pre-conference discussion to gather feedback and recommendations on the structure of the Conference.

1.2 OPENING ADDRESSES

The opening address and welcoming remarks were presented by YB Chong Eng, Penang State EXCO for Youth and Sports, Women, Family and Community Development and Chair of Board of Directors, PWDC; Sergio Grassi, Representative of FES International and finally the launch by YB Dato’ Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon, Deputy Chief Minister I of Penang (representing YAB Lim Guan Eng, Chief Minister of Penang and Chairperson of Penang Institute and presenting a speech on his behalf).

In setting the stage, YB Chong Eng reflected upon the words of Michelle Bachelet, the former president of Chile, and emphasized that a better democracy is not only about the access to vote and to elect others, but the right to be elected. She noted that Penang is leading the way in both participation and representation in politics. Through this Conference, Penang has marked a significant milestone in the debate of gender quality and for the first time, Penang



YB Chong Eng, the Penang State EXCO for Youth and Sports, Women, Family and Community Development, giving her welcoming remarks.



FES International's representative, Sergio Grassi, addressing the attendees.



YB Dato' Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon, the Deputy Chief Minister 1 of Penang , representing the Chief Minister of Penang, launching the conference.



YB Dato' Rashid and YB Chong Eng with other elected representatives (from left YB Dr Siti Mariah , YB Elizabeth Wong, YB Zuraida Kamaruddin, YB Dr Daroyah Alwi, , and YB Yap Soo Huey with PWDC CEO, Miss Ong Bee Leng and other attendees

substantive ways, engaging in political debates. The inclusion of women in political leadership in Malaysia is at a dismal low of 13% in the ministries and 10.4% in the Parliament. -The world average for women in parliament is 22.7% with Rwanda leading the way with 63.8%, followed by Germany (36.5%), Singapore (23.8%) and Indonesia (17.1%). At 15%, however, Penang is above the national average in the State Legislative Assembly and this is an effort that must continue.

To truly make a difference, according to YB Rashid, all actors must go deeper and examine the underlining political structures and systems that perpetuate gender imbalance, which allow for

has brought elected representatives, advocates, civil society and scholars together on the topic of women's representation in the electoral system. She pointed out that temporary special measures to accelerate women's participation via gender quotas are critically needed. It is through this Conference that participants will strategise gender and electoral reforms in the local context. She held that when there is a low representation of women, there is lack of experiences in the discourse, thus greater marginalization of women.

There are barriers, or as YB Chong Eng stated, "cracks in the glass ceiling". -When it comes to politics, more women will perceive that the electoral system is more competitive. Therefore, it is not only about the quota but also how women see themselves as candidates. The "multiple burden" of family and home responsibilities are where women have lack of support if they want to advance in their careers, especially in politics. YB Chong Eng believes that support systems will be in place through buy-in from the State Government, the Federal Government and the industries to form a vision for the future -a future where women will become legislators, more actively involved in politics and where their work in all areas of society will no longer be downplayed and undervalued.

Sergio Grassi, the representative of FES International, introduced participations to the work of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) as a political legacy of Friedrich Ebert. The aim of the organization is to promote social justice and participation and FES believes that gender equality is a key dimension of social justice. FES is committed to supporting efforts that secure more women in the political process, within national and international frameworks, through dialogues and studies, such as in its latest project on politics and feminism. The work is in constantly pushing boundaries in the media, culture and politics. Grassi also mentioned that FES is interested to continue pushing boundaries and is looking forward to future partnerships.

In his opening speech, YB Dato' Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon represented the Chief Minister of Penang YAB Mr Lim Guan Eng. YB Rashid began the Chief Minister's speech by attesting that women's rights equates to human rights. He said that women should be well represented in politics; not just in numbers but also in

biased and unjustifiable representation in politics. YB Rashid added that these challenges are not discussed enough. He also urged participants to open their minds to electoral reform and alternatives to FPTP that aim to encourage inclusion. Electoral change can happen in an incremental way, reaching out to political parties, media, civil society, academia and other stakeholders. Lastly, in light of the upcoming 14th General Elections, YB Rashid believes that this is an opportune time to delve into strategies to increase women's representation in Malaysia. On behalf of the Chief Minister of Penang, YB Rashid launched the National Conference.



1.3 GENDER AND ELECTORAL REFORM: FIRST PAST THE POST (FPTP) AND MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL (MMP)

This Conference and the pre-conference both acknowledged the great weight and obligation of the Federal Government in its ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995 in the requirement of governments to ensure equality for women in political and public life (Article 7); and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) that urges state actors to take measures in ensuring women's equal access and participation in power structures and decision making (Strategic Objective G.1 and G.2). In CEDAW, governments are to ensure that equality for women in political and public life is both de jure (in the system) and de facto (translated on the ground).

However, to reiterate, women only stand at 10.4% representation in the Parliament and 11.5% in the State Legislative Assemblies. The political arena and its international structures -from candidacy to electoral results- are still dominated by men.

The Conference looked through current global debates and alternatives models employed by countries in the region and also in European states.

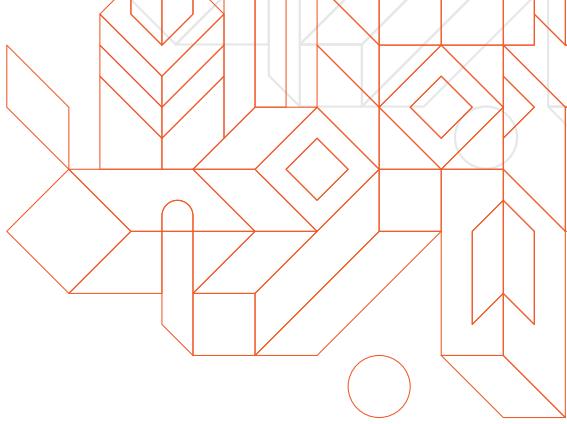
The current electoral system in Malaysia, in place since the British colonial era is the **First Past the Post (FPTP) system**, which is based on a majority-wins-all, or simple majority. Country models covered in this conference, such as Indonesia, Bangladesh and the UK, have evolved their electoral systems through out decades and worked variations of the FPTP system to make it more inclusive to women and other groups and ethnic minorities including indigenous peoples. In the FPTP system, there can be variations (additional or reserved seats for women) to make the election system more inclusive.

Germany and New Zealand have looked into the groundbreaking methods of the **Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)** system whereby voters elect for both constituency representatives (as in the FPTP) as well as lists of party representatives. In the MMP system, political parties apply gender quotas under the “party list”.



YB Haniza Mohd Talha (ADUN Taman Medan) and YB Mary Josephine (ADUN Rahang) enjoying the discussions.

2. CURRENT DEBATES ON GENDER AND ELECTORAL REFORM



2.1 OVERVIEW



Dr Cecilia Ng presenting a snapshot of women's representation and an overview of quotas and the debates surrounding it (for/against)

In the first session, "Session 1 - Debating Women's Representation and Electoral Politics", Datin Rohana Ghani Weiler, a Director of PWDC, chaired a session with speakers Dr Cecilia Ng, a Director of PWDC; Karen Lai, the Programme Manager of PWDC's Women's Empowerment and Leadership (WEL) Programme; and Maria Chin Abdullah, Chairperson of Bersih 2.0. The purpose of this session was to provide a background and overview of the debates surrounding gender and electoral reform.

Ng and Lai co-presented on women's representation and the electoral system, in particular, topics on the current national and international status of women's political representation, barriers to women's representation, gender quotas, dimensions of gender quotas and other measures of supporting women. Ng explained that in Malaysia's 58 years of electoral history, there have been no reforms with 10.4% of women representation in the Parliament being the highest number through out. In Malaysia's domestic framework, the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) there was a chapter on women's participation and in 2001, the Joint Action Group (JAG) successfully pushed for an amendment in Article 8(2) of the Malaysian Constitution that prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender. The Ninth Malaysia Plan also recommended targets or 'soft quotas'.

The three main barriers that were identified by Ng that contributed to low representation of women in the electoral system: 1) "Glass ceiling" (Legal, structural and institutional including political parties); 2) "Double burden" (Unequal roles for men and women); and 3) "Invisible women" (How women have to work extra and play the game in their careers).



Miss Karen Lai, WEL Programme Manager, shares overview of the different type of quotas - impact, strategies and good case practices in implementing them.

structural reform alone cannot change cultural norms and gender stereotypes. In recent debates, there have been questions as to what are the barriers in intra-party decision-making and the nature of candidate selection and nomination? The discussion would circle around how to connect gender quotas and electoral systems. In defining quota, historically it would mean the increase of representation and to set the percentage of formerly excluded or under-represented groups and in some countries this meant the indigenous peoples. This would usually mean minimum 30% to

40%. -therefore the idea behind electoral gender quotas that it is used as a tool to reverse gender discrimination and to level or “fast track” the political playing field.

The types of quotas or seats to encourage this would be, as examples, (1) Legislated reserved seats (setting aside seats for women, where men will not be eligible to contest); (2) Legislated candidate quotas (changes to electoral laws which require political parties to put forth certain proportion of women candidates); and (3) Voluntary party quotas (the political party itself reforms party status).

There have been debates over quotas for women. Those that have been supportive or *for* quotas reason that this is for representation, justice/equality that affirm the value of women and equality of results, and experiences and perspectives are different from men and sometimes are a conflict of interest. Arguments *against* quotas for women argue that gender is valued over merit thereby against equal opportunity, patronises women (“women are here because of quota”), because political representatives should represent the whole society, and argue the essentialist approach (different women think differently and quotas do not necessarily guarantee diversity in women representation). Empirically, global patterns show that more women are present in proportional representation (PR) systems compared to majoritarian representation.

In Karen Lai’s presentation, “Three Dimensions, One Starting Point”, focus was given to the impact of gender quotas in the three different dimensions. She began her speech by attesting that the quota system is “more women and better” – which translates to mean that the more women are represented in the political system, the better and more holistic society will understand its issues. However, she confirmed that the support and protection of quotas alone is neither efficient nor sufficient.

The following dimensions of gender quotas (descriptive, substantive and symbolic) are summarized:

DIMENSIONS OF GENDER QUOTAS	Definition	Link Between Descriptive And Substantive Representation
Descriptive Representation	Descriptive representation is in numbers, i.e. how many women elected in political office. Factors affecting descriptive representation: political context and culture, existence of sanctions and penalties, compliance.	The correlation between descriptive and substantive representation means that if more women are represented in politics, there will be (or must be) better or more gender-friendly policies. For example, the Penang Women State Assemblypersons has doubled since 2013; the correlation could be to look into the quality of debates.
Substantive Representation	Substantive representation is in quality, i.e. the extent that women are able to promote women's issues once elected, impact of policies.	
Symbolic Representation	Symbolic representation is emblematic or allegorical and based on perception of the public, i.e. how women's presence or absence in political office affects public perception. In a global survey in 2005, the public believed that their government is more democratic when women are represented.	

In addition to gender quotas, there are other measures that could go into supporting representation such as **legal measures** (sanctions and incentives, publicly-provided campaign support, laws against violence against women in politics and for women politicians), **parliamentary measures** (infrastructural, operational, institutional by highlighting gender-specific research and training within parliaments to support gender-friendly policies), **political party initiatives** (specified internal party funds and candidate subsidies for women) and **civil society initiatives**.

2.2 CHALLENGES IN MALAYSIA



Miss Maria Chin Abdullah, Chairperson of BERSIH 2.0, delves into Malaysia's challenges in electoral reform and increasing women's representation

This sub-session explored challenges in women's political participation in Malaysia, presented by Maria Chin Abdullah. Maria saw women and their parties as part of the anti-colonial struggle for independence like Aishah Ghani (AWAS), Khatijah Sidek (Kaum Ibu) and the Pan-Malayan Labour Party that drafted a Women's Charter. Reiterated from the previous sessions, Maria stated that as Malaysia progresses into looking at women in politics after 58 years, as a country there has not been significant growth. Many governmental declarations or rectification of conventions have been on paper and lesser in action. In terms of budget allocation to the Ministry of Women, an increase in budget was only observed in 2005.

The barriers for women in Malaysia to enter politics and examples:

- **Social-cultural:** Male-dominated environment, low personal confidence of one's capacity, lack of an enabling environment
- **Political, organizational, structural:** Political party barrier that view women's participation as negative, men view women as outsiders of the party, selection and nomination to stand as candidates dominated by men, even with a manifesto women's participation is not translated or visible, minimal training by political parties for women who want to run as candidates, lack of gender sensitivity, lack of resources for women candidates, overall patriarchal system
- **Legal and State:** inadequate legislation to regulate or enforce quotas

A highlight was given to legal and also monetary or economic barriers such as:

- **Growth of political funds for electioneering and intense competition:** maintaining offices, political campaigns, running advertising campaign on policies, mobilizing voters, paying party workers, campaign management
- **Implications of monopolizing funds by party:** monetization of politics, unequal access of funding, covert funding, inadequate legislation, institutions devoid of autonomy/to act without favour, money-based factionalism

Maria then defined the problems and key considerations for advocates in designing strategies for electoral reform and women's representation:

- To find out the root issue and cause of why women are under-represented and men over-represented.
- To be wary of the differences: Equal representation vs. minimum level of representation. CEDAW has set at least 30%, but international debate has also gone into 50/50 in late 1990s; this is for equality and equitable distribution of power. A quota system is needed because the system is not representing women in terms of numbers and a quota system will accelerate equal representation, but affirmative actions and quotas should be temporary or short-term.

Maria also touched on fostering an “enabling environment” to increase women’s participation and to implement a gender quota. She listed legal and state obligations (review and reform the electoral system as a whole and not just gender quota), organizational and structural changes (civil society to push for political parties to make commitments) and institutionalize political funds for women candidates. An example and emphasis was given on setting up a Women’s Caucus by women NGOs to work closely with political parties to enable women the opportunity to be candidates and as a platform for women’s NGOs to lobby and propose law amendments. This has been done in Kyrgyzstan, the US, Canada, Kenya, and East Timor and is targeted to create an enabling environment, a gender-friendly electoral system that is institutionalized, urging for a change of attitudes towards women candidates.

2.3 ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

In the Q&A Session, questions and concerns surfaced from participants:

- MMP is an alternative worth deliberating as it addresses the gaps and disadvantages in the current electoral system by focusing on representation. MMP reduces gerrymandering and ethno-religious tensions, which Wong addressed later in the conference.
- Setting a quota and reaching 30% representation of women and other affirmative actions and descriptive representations are effective but are not enough. It is a dynamic between the numbers and quality of representation, and there have been cases where descriptive representations lead to substantive representations. Substantive representation on women’s issues should rise with the increase of gender awareness amongst men. Quotas are not going to change the mind-set that women are good representatives. There has to be other complementing methods in increasing women’s representation in the legislature, such as formal recognition and acknowledgement of women’s leadership by parties and the state for symbolic representation, gender specific research and training for parliament, support and funding and overall reform. These are the efforts of PWDC in providing extensive technical support for YB Chong Eng in State Legislative Assembly Meetings and the Parliament. It is also about time to implement



Miss Janarthani Arumugam, EMPOWER's President, asking the panel a question



Suri Kempe, Program Manager for UNDP's Gender Equality & Women's Empowerment programme poses a question to the panel

local council elections, for example, which is a good opportunity for women's representation.

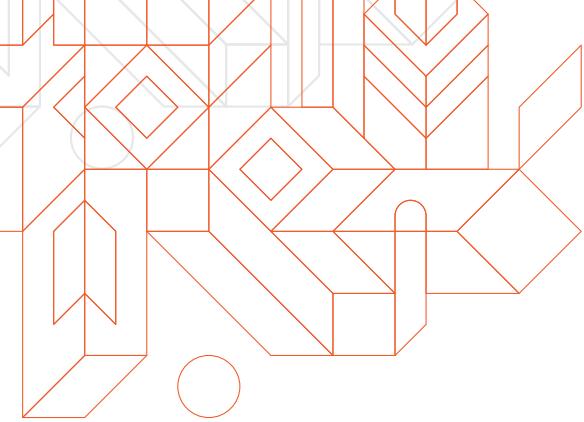
- Quotas need not only be based on gender but also on different ethnicities, income level, disabilities and **other minorities and people groups**. This would ideally address the concern of women competing with one another on the basis of race and ethnicity.
- Leadership should not only cater to women from middle-class backgrounds. There are **indigenous women and their traditional leadership roles** that are often overlooked, excluded and marginalized from political participation. In this sense their power is taken away from them. We should talk about it and look at their perspectives and cultures. There have been studies done in Sabah, for example, with women priestesses and their leadership roles. Political pressure must be used for different women in different parties, in line with the multi-ethnic context.
- Convincing political parties and especially the ruling government to take up recommendations including a gender quota and eventually, offering a review of the electoral system is a strategic challenge.



A member of the audience satisfying her curiosity by posing a question



Miss Tan Pek Leng, a Malaysian researcher poses a pertinent question to the panel



3. ALTERNATIVE MODELS: GENDER QUOTA, ELECTORAL REFORM AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In the second session, “Gender Quotas, Electoral Reform and Institutional Change: Exploring Alternative Models” chaired by YB Zuraida Kamarudin, a Member of Parliament for Ampang in Selangor, speakers Ani Soetjipto and Dr Jennifer Curtin from Indonesia and New Zealand respectively discuss the experiences, issues and challenges of their country’s electoral systems. Significant lessons and observations by Dr Thomas Meyer of Germany are also covered in this report. New Zealand and Germany illustrated a transition from FPTP to MMP.

3.1 TRANSITIONING FROM FPTP TO MMP, NEW ZEALAND

In her presentation “Gendering the Pros and Cons of the Mixed Member Proportional System: The case of New Zealand”, Curtin aptly depicted the experiences in the New Zealand electoral system by starting with its history. Viewed as a social laboratory for liberal democracy, New Zealand is the first country to implement universal suffrage where all women (including indigenous women) had the right to vote in 1893; a long campaign from 1878. In 1919, women won the right to stand for elections. While this provided for descriptive representation, the hostility of parties towards women was still felt and many women politicians were initially elected for seats that their fathers and husbands had held.

The representation of women improved from descriptive to substantive representation in the late 1980s and early 1990s primarily due to civil society and activism - women positioned themselves in their party hierarchy and were very active in their political parties with women’s organisations continuing their support from the outside. In making a case to increase women representatives, according to Curtin, the support has to be for all women, from all walks of life to ensure the diversity of representation.

New Zealand sought to change its electoral system due to significant declines in voter turnout; from 92% (in early 90s) to 66% (in 2014) and the overall weaknesses of the political system, i.e. no federal system, unbridled lower house, no senate, no upper house, weak committee system and strong party discipline which made it hard for women from different parties to come together.

The process of change began with the Labour Party in 1984 with Geoffrey Palmer, pushing for the Royal Commission on the Electoral System to be established. The Royal Commission’s report, “Towards a Better Democracy” was instrumental in the change of New Zealand’s electoral system from FPTP to MMP. The report aimed at finding a fair and effective system for representation and after visiting Ireland, Malta and Germany, they found that Germany’s model fit better. The idea of retaining the electoral seat that represented one’s geographical area was vital. The idea of making it proportional was important in having diversity in parliament.



Dr Jennifer Curtin shares the New Zealand experience with transitioning from FPTP to MMP

Women were defined under “marginal/minority and special interests groups” although women may not necessarily view themselves as a minority. The report resulted in the adoption of MMP with a 4% threshold (later changed to 5%) in 1996, retaining a form of Maori seats or representation, raising the number of MPs to 120.

Lobbying by women through public campaigns was key behind the championing of MMP, which aimed to foster an educational vote so that a voter’s choice would be a conscious support. Institutional change occurred after the 1992 and 1993 Referendums where MMP won. In 1996, the first election under the MMP system resulted in a significant increase in women’s representation where 45% of the elected women in parliament came from the party list.

Since then, however, the situation has declined: women’s representation has plateaued where women are elected for marginal seats that are not expected to win, but then do. The overall impact of the MMP system has been symbolic - there have been 3 women government generals, 2 women prime ministers and a diverse range of women in parliament. In major parties, men are still primarily dominant. There is also the rationale of “been there, done that” that looks at women’s representation as a one-off goal rather than a long-term process.

Curtin concluded her discourse by upholding that the MMP system is extremely effective. An early approach and exploration for change could be in implementing women-only/all-women short lists in current FPTP systems where setting targets and voluntary party quotas for the party list must come along with strong political champions. The speaker cautioned that list-only positions are less safe because it is depended upon party vote and political will, which is mainly controlled by men; however, she maintained that pushing for women-only safe seats is helpful in starting the discussion around electoral reform and in guaranteeing political careers for women. In implementing the MMP system, she advised for states to start with “soft” quotas with 30% as a start or minimum, and not an end in itself. Finally, Curtin stressed on the importance of supporting civil society initiatives that will meaningfully impact women’s representation.

3.2 KEY DEVELOPMENTS AND CHALLENGES, INDONESIA

In Ani Soetjipto’s presentation “Women Quota, Electoral Reform and Institutional Change: Indonesian Experience”, she outlined the gender quota, the election law, the role of civil society, and the achievements and paradoxes particularly in the post-legislative reform in Indonesia.

Soetjipto covered the reasons to push for gender equality in the political arena: due to under-representation; for political presence needed to articulate interests and needs; for justice and democracy; and to reflect different values and perspectives that would lead to a change in policy priorities.



Ani Soetjipto outlines the developments and challenges in Indonesia

In 2002, Indonesia adopted the gender quota under the election law and political party law; a political momentum and action *post-reformasi*. The gaps in women’s representation at national and local levels were 9% National, 5% Provincial and 0% Municipality. With Indonesia’s multi-party system, there are many ideologies and many groups that expect to be represented in Parliament. Women’s issues, for example, remained critical such as high maternal and infant mortality rates, migrant worker issues, and poverty, which pushed for women’s movements to demand for affirmative action. Soetjipto’s analysis on the 2002 Parliament discussions argued that

targeting election laws and political party laws are equally important to achieve optimal results since parties select, nominate and promote their candidates.

The changes in elections for house of representatives from closed list to open list (1999 to 2004) was pushed to present a proportional semi-open list and 30% quota for women candidates with a threshold of 2.5%. The reasoning was to make political representatives known to the public. In 2009 and 2014, the PR open list system, 30% quota for women and the zipper system (alternate men and women candidates on candidate lists) for electoral districts were implemented, which is a FPTP system with gender quotas.

Soetjipto then looked into the achievements and paradoxes of the Indonesian experience. In the past two elections (2009 and 2014), the total votes gained by female candidates were higher and increased from 22% to 23%. This increasing trend of women's electability in the National level is followed with increasing representation in the Provincial and District level. From these achievements, women from the domestic realm to the public arena have overcome barriers, are liberated and empowered to join politics and political parties, network and campaign, become cadres and in all, learn about the election system. In the collaboration between women's movements and women politicians, the achievements translated into a continuous push for women's interests in policy making, in issues such as domestic violence, anti-trafficking and other forms of discrimination.

With such achievements, political parties are now forced to have strategies for recruiting women, educating women cadres and developing party platform to increase women's representation. For 12 parties that run in the elections, 25,000 women would have to be politically involved. In hindsight, while this is seen as a positive impact, the call for more women representatives largely remains a competition between parties to win seats and not to champion for gender justice. Parties tend to seek for women they think would stance a chance to win, including their daughters, wives and models. Thus, women in politics face oligarchy in the highest level and are often co-opted and used as a mere extension of masculine politics.

While women's movements still face tremendous barriers and challenges including its fragmented and weakening network at the national and local level, at least, more than ever before, the talk about gender equality, justice and affirmative action no longer remains a taboo and it is openly discussed and debated.

Leading to the upcoming elections (2019), some politicians are now viewing the PR party-list as corrupted, expensive and too autonomous and there is consideration of reforming the electoral system and to return to the closed Soeharto system with the justification that it is more manageable. Other groups are advocating for the MMP system. Reiterating Lai's point, the link between descriptive and substantive representation is vital and Soetjipto stressed that a focus must be on more substantive representation.

3.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT AND OBSERVATIONS, GERMANY

Sergio Grassi from FES International briefly introduced Dr Thomas Meyer, a German political scientist and his articulate speech entitled "Proportional Representation, Gender Inclusion and Progressive Politics". Meyer's language touched on the ideals by reflecting on the possible; the philosophy behind the political world and all that humankind has attained and can achieve. Here he explored the observations, present situation and federal funding in women's representation in the electoral system and politics in general. Out of respect, he also identified his privilege as a male speaker representing a topic on women's equality.

To begin his speech, Meyer placed prominence to the values and justice Malaysians are fighting for, which is the same fight that his counterparts are striving for in Germany. He believed that this strive is aimed to create a "good society", an inclusive society where people live together in spirit of mutual solidarity irrespective of origin, education, culture or religious identity and of course, gender - Gender equality being the main pillar of a humane society and as the indicator and

measure of progress.

In order to achieve this “good society”, Meyer believes that a country needs education, political institutions and also social and political culture to make gender equality a “habit of the heart”. This is contrary to conservative values of North European countries that gave up their hierarchical, religious and conservatism less than a century ago. Sweden, Norway and Denmark have come quite close to this great idea of the “good society” after long decades of struggle by strong workers unions and parties and women groups - women and workers were the frontrunners of gender equality in institutional and cultural terms.

Meyer pointed out that gender equality in parliaments around the world have improved with more than half of the countries introducing a type of gender quota. He believes while progress is slow, it is in the right direction; more so in the political life than in the sphere of law and economic realm, especially middle, higher and top management. In Germany, Meyer stated that it was only less than 40 years ago that women needed written permission from their husbands if they wanted to work outside the confinements of their home. It was the women’s liberation movement in the 1970s that called for cultural emancipation, which was translated into legislation and politics. In the 1980s, the gender quota was introduced with Meyer being part of the movement to enforce political roles of women. The Democratic Party then decided on a target goal for women’s representation in the national and regional level, with 40% of either gender in the executive board in the party and the lists of the election in the State and Federal Republic.

Today, women’s representation is an issue of discussion after each election: *How many women are in the government and parliament? Why not? Why is there a lack of women?* It is now a ritual, a mechanism of naming and blaming, of who does enough and who does not do enough. Sociologists in Europe observed that the more women’s representation is achieved, **the more critical and impatient society is about other issues**. There are repeated demands of the government to represent female ministers in 30% of supervisory boards and this will be enforced from 2018 and onwards.



Dr Thomas Meyer giving his keynote address titled “Proportional Representation, Gender Inclusion and Progressive Politics”

phenomenon is a highly dialectical logic with contradictions and for actors to know and understand this is helpful in cultural emancipation.

During the Enlightenment period (18th century), political philosophers advocated for a self-determined and autonomous life and for equal dignity of all human beings and citizens, which would be a source for a legitimate government. However, the forefathers of democracy (including Locke, Rousseau and Hobbes) were the very thinkers who bore deeply rooted patriarchal beliefs

Meyer also mentioned the importance of changing the male mind-set and challenging their roles, including in childcare. In recent law, the duration of paid parental leave is increased when both father and mother shared the burden. This redress of work-life balance in the family has been met with success and proves that institutional devices can expedite cultural change. Meyer further explained that discrimination in cultural norms and stereotypes becomes less powerful when effective institutions work as permanent educators of society. It is here that the inter-relation between culture and institutional and state influences are often overlooked. He stated that this

that made progress and transformation slow and contradictory. Immanuel Kant in Germany, for example, wrote, “women possessed enough power of reason to possess and understand the reason and thinking of men but not enough to create those reasonable thoughts themselves”. Beyond sheer patriarchal believes and discrimination there were no real arguments.

It bore no surprise that the pioneers in gender equality were called mad, prosecuted brutality and thrown in prison. With support of another great historic emancipation movement in the 19th century, the worker’s movements, did the demand for women’s suffrage of powerful political parties succeeded. It was labour and democratic parties on the left that took gender quota absolutely seriously. One well-known feminist and philosopher, Rosa Luxemburg, supported by new laws demonstrated how powerful women were in fighting for institutional progress and cultural change.



Meyer hopes the discourse continues, as women do not struggle for 30% or 40% representation but for full parity.

In Germany’s former voting system which was the FPTP, Meyer believed that there is a gross misunderstanding that FPTP is a good system for a homogenous society; where there is contention to how a “homogenous” society is defined, and that in reality, the “winner takes all” system maximizes conflict.

Introduced after the revolution (after 1918), the MMP system was a necessary condition for gender equality. In addition, women in political parties also pushed for clear quota systems and party lists (zipper system) from within. Meyer admitted more devices are still needed to push for women’s representation. The interaction between several forces is key: a party to bring forward this progress and strong women’s voices (45-50%) who are self-organized and whose women’s wing act like the party within the party, can exercise very continuous pressure. Meyer highlighted the important link between political parties and civil society in its exchange from “the outside and inside” so that they are always connected and will fulfil what they promised. The key is to keep the pressure in public discussion.

In the federal system and funding, many issues for policies are decided at the state level, such as school and pre-school, which is the single most relevant point for women’s emancipation so that women can choose to work while their children receive care and education. Meyer noted that states have less gender equality when they do not develop full-day and even free childcare, as in some European countries.

Meyer acknowledged that Germany has one of the best party funding system where all parties receive substantial fund from the public budget. The principle is that parties serve democracy and therefore the democratic state is responsible for the parties to function democratically. Each membership fee to a party is a donation and the party will receive the same amount back; and for each vote, the party receives a budget in return. Parties are also independent from any industries and external monies. All parties, including the smallest parties, are able to get free-time broadcast in public and private TV.

To conclude, Meyer stated that there are many components to recognize in a country’s dynamic and historic past. Globally, he saw discriminatory practices and mechanisms as still and very much visible and there are glass ceilings in all areas of society. Finally, Meyer hoped for this public debate to not lose momentum, as women do not struggle for 30% or 40% representation but for full parity.

3.4 ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

In the Q&A Session, questions and concerns were brought forth:

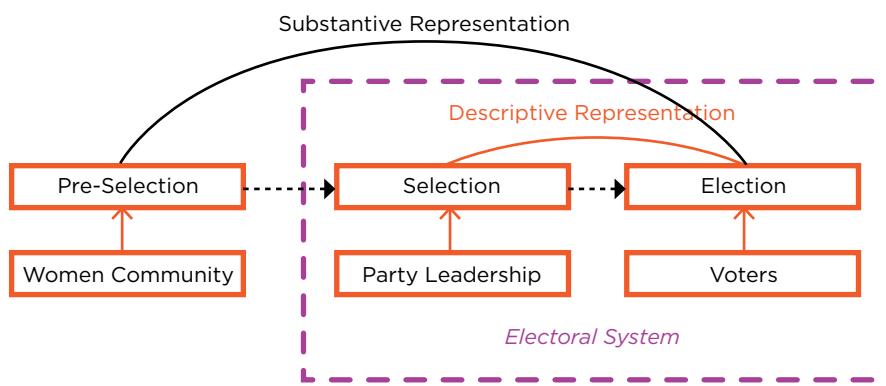
- There are barriers from within the party in its selection process and oligarchy structure, including in party reforms in Indonesia after *reformasi*. Internal democracy is crucial in making a change: pushing for financial reports, advocacy and pressures within the party, and educating young politicians. On the state level, subsidies can be given to parties that win a seat in the parliament; this reduces corruption especially in parties that are backed up and funded by businesses.
- The criteria for women politicians and select committee in New Zealand are loose and undocumented: senior member, knowledge of the system, delegate in conference, etc. There are scholars that say that if there are criterias for women there should be one for men. But women voters too need to see change and want to join political parties to make those changes themselves. Curtin added, “The reality is that parties are rational actors and we need to rationalize to them why gender equality is important”.
- It is important to equip women to be brave enough to run for candidacy and become members of parliament. In Indonesia, there was a period when many women activists were running for elections because they became convinced that to implement one’s agenda, you have move from the streets and to go into politics.
- In approaching the Malay/Nusantara culture and Islamic laws, religious leaders and the public will quote the Qur'an and the Adat to say that the woman's place is in the home. In Indonesia, moderate Islam is the majority, with Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah supporting women's political participation. There is a conception that Islam prevents women's rights but the religion actually promotes and empowers women.
- In Indonesia and New Zealand, the ruling party initiated vital changes in the political system so that they do not lose power and legitimacy. Soetjipto shared that continuous public pressure and political momentum is vital. Observations from Rwanda, Uganda and Timor Leste also show that after a political crisis, change or reform of policies happen because parties want to gain popularity and be seen as democratic. Curtin added that giving women the justice portfolio could help alongside a concerted, long-term campaign.

4. EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE ELECTORAL SYSTEMS: MMP IN MALAYSIA

Dato' Dr Toh Kin Woon introduced Dr Wong Chin Huat, the Head of Political and Social Analysis and Fellow at the Penang Institute, as the speaker. Toh noted that the FPTP system in excluding minorities leads to suppression of views and issues and enhances ethno-religious tensions, and in the context of this conference, it increases the obstacles faced in promoting women's representation.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Society and Wider Electoral Reform



selection" process, requiring more fundamental societal changes and wider electoral reform (Chart 1).

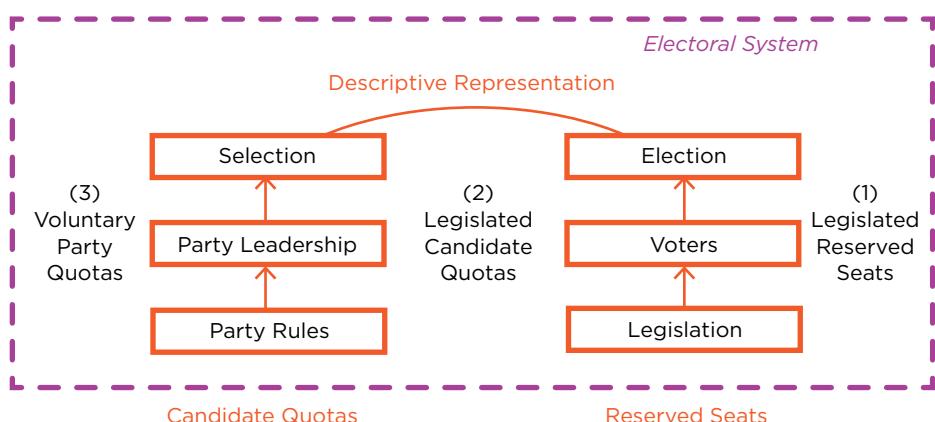
He delved into two options of gender quota: (legislated) reserved seats and candidate quota (which are further broken down into, legislated candidate quota and party voluntary quota in the literature) (Chart 2).

In applying a gender candidate quota in the FPTP system, parties (like the British Labour party) could determine to only shortlist women candidates to run in safe some safe seats but it will likely present some cases of "forced candidates" to fill in seats, thereby losing other good candidates who may happen to be men.

Meanwhile, FPTP may also adopt reserved seats as in the case of Bangladesh, where 50 women-only additional seats are added to 300 constituency seats. These seats would be allocated proportionally to the parties based on their vote share in the constituency seats. The parties have to submit their candidate list before the poll.

Wong's technical presentation on "Introducing Gender Quota in Malaysia with Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)" showed MMP as a viable alternative from the current FPTP system. He said descriptive representation of women could be improved by building gender quota into "selection" or "election" by modifying and/or changing electoral system. However, substantive representation is determined by the pool of women politicians in the "pre-

GENDER QUOTA





Dr Wong Chin Huat of Penang Institute breaks down and explains the MMP System

issue-based portfolios such as environment, gender, urban planning, etc.).

Wong illustrated the benefits of the MMP system: its diversity and representation; less electoral volatility and uncertainty induced by the system; no advantage to be gained through manipulations like, gerrymandering and voter transfer; and greater likelihood of government change. He specifically touched on the advantages of **healthier coalition politics** where partners can compete against each other for part vote.

To advocate for the MMP system or an electoral reform, the following actions must take place:



YB Elizabeth Wong poses a question on MMP to Dr Wong Chin Huat

ruling government may prefer to remain with a majoritarian or FPTP system because it amplifies the political power of the ethnic majority; however, **Malay politics** has never been so politically fragmented with 5 parties competing for Malay votes (from a Malay nationalist perspective). In the long run, the current ruling coalition would also benefit from the **MMP system**. The majoritarian system is akin to gambling, as the proportional system is akin to insurance.

- While there are benefits of the MMP system for all parties, the present government will not support it. There has to be a strategy in advocacy to the **current government**. One strategy could be to advocate to BN women's voters, for example.
- The strategy also lies in **MMP's potential to lobby the opposition** who might not be supportive of a gender quota specifically for safe seats but only a gender quota in general. It also reduces ethno-religious tensions, so one can promote the MMP as a **system that addresses multiple-issues**. We should push for opposition to include a quota recommendation in their manifesto for the next general elections.

Germany-style MMP is an explicit hybrid system where voters are given two votes, one for constituency representative and one for political party. Candidate quota in party list, preferably with placement rule, can then ensure a minimum percentage of women lawmakers.

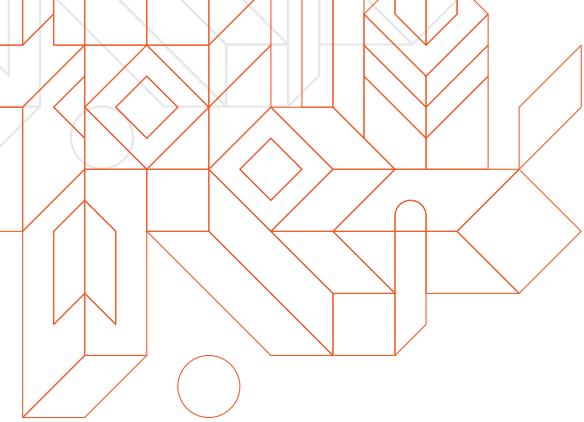
In applying the Germany-style MMP to Malaysia, there would be 222 Members of Parliament consisting of 111 Constituency Parliamentarians (that would have a constituency or geographical setting, as they do now) and the other 111 Party List Parliamentarians (that would have

amendment to Articles 116-117 of the Federal Constitution, amendment to the Election Act 1959, changes to election manifestos and other groundwork such as awareness raising and public education on the electoral system, gaining buy-ins from political parties, civil societies and opinion leaders.

Wong's presentation received much contemplation on the following issues:

- MMP is essentially a hybrid of form PR. In Malaysia, FPTP is a British colonial legacy; in the way List-PR is a Dutch colonial system in Indonesia. The

majoritarian system is akin to gambling, as the proportional system is akin to insurance.



5. EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN AND MEN IN POLITICS

In the second part of the National Conference, the theme or focus was on connecting to experiences and developing strategies for change.

Dr Maznah Mohamad, an Associate Professor at the Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore (NUS), led the forum as the Chair. The following panellists were selected to share their diverse experiences:

- YB Rodziah Ismail, current State Representative of Batu Tiga, Selangor (PKR)
- YB Dr Siti Mariah Mahmud, current Member of Parliament for Kota Raja (Amanah)
- YB Steven Sim, current Member of Parliament for Bukit Mertajam, Director of Penang Institute and PWDC

The conversations covered areas touching on the politicians' experiences of barriers and experiences according (1) to personal and cultural obstructions; (2) in the party and constituencies; and (3) to assessments of the current electoral system.

5.1 PERSONAL AND CULTURAL BARRIERS

How and why did you get into politics? Did you face personal or cultural obstructions when you wanted to get into politics?

The women politicians in this forum had stable backgrounds and income, including children who were old enough to enrol in school, and both seemed to have stumbled into politics albeit at different times of their lives. Both women politicians had very supporting environments especially within their parties, with Dr Maznah Mohamad adding a concern on tokenism. YB Rodziah's interests and strategies were of political clout in helping and developing successful women politicians.

YB Dr Siti Mariah depicted her start in politics at a momentous event in history: during Reformasi in 1998. She was not an activist before and she came from a middle class background, but found that joining politics abled her to empower the then Muslimah in PAS. At a time when PAS became a mainstream party, there was consensus that women should not be marginalized within the system and YB Dr Siti Mariah did not have to fight through the hierarchy to get to where she was politically. It was during this time that she received her political education. She had the support of her husband and it was a consensus that one of them would pursue economics because money



YB Dr Siti Mariah Mahmud, MP for Kota Raja shares her experience in politics

is for survival, and the other would join politics because that would be investing in the future. -YB Dr Siti Mariah decided to do the latter.

YB Rodziah Ismail's political education began as a student leader in university. She was a civil engineer but hoped for a flexible job and found much free time so she decided to join civil society. Her intention was to make women more aware of political issues and to encourage them to get involved in politics. She and others set-up the One Stop Crisis Centre in Hospital Kuala Lumpur. Her experiences led her to believe that working in an NGO setting was insufficient to engage in other levels of the political system. That led her to join PKR where she "started from the bottom" and was eventually elected in 2002 when the women's wing was established - she managed to establish 112 women's wings in Malaysia. In 2007, she was urged by her boss and later Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim to run as a candidate and she won.

In joining politics, YB Steven Sim did not know what he was getting himself into. His mentor was a prominent female politician, YB Chong Eng -which is rare- who mentored him through out the beginning of his political education and career. He stressed on the significance of a good mentor, noting the lack of mentorship in women's movements. Amongst male politicians, out of altruism, opportunity or egoism, they are more than willing to mentor or give direction to newer politicians. YB Steven agreed that there is a dimension of cultural, political and even ideological bias against women representatives.

5.2 RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE PARTY AND CONSTITUENCY

How would you relate your experiences with your party, the relationship between constituencies and voters, and the general public? What are challenges and levels of engagement in relation to gender issues? Do you have an open ground to do things in your party?

The following are experiences, actions, relationships and challenges depicted by the speakers:

- Political knowledge is not enough and **political experience** is needed. Learning how to carry the role as a councillor, manager and leader, and learning the multiple levels of engagement and communicating takes time.
- For women candidates and representatives, there is **lack of mentorship and support system** in seeking advice and generating ideas.
- **Finding the right person to mentor** is difficult. Developing a **style of mentoring** that can help the mentee progress is vital.
- Establishing a **think tank** as a platform for women of different backgrounds to come together and meet consistently has proven useful. Think tanks help to bridge the gap of communication and information between the government and the people.
- Generally, there are **high expectations** from the party and from the people to perform. High performance is expected and this can sometimes be a struggle.
- Facing **jealousy** from others when one performs well, i.e. male leadership hurting the progress of female leadership, internalized sexism, and women who doubt other women to lead. Priority is to **empower women and change perceptions** on how society view women's strengths and abilities.
- The difficulty of being placed in an **unwinnable seat** where the environment or constituency believes that women should not be leaders. Start with an environment which is supportive in flourishing women's leadership and roles.
- Political parties are becoming more open but there is a certain discipline to follow. Members are free to discuss and debate but within boundaries.

- Younger party members have difficulty in contributing and investing in full-time political work because of their life commitments, i.e. career, family, financial instability, gaining family trust. This will not change unless there is a good support system and members can be paid to do their political work.
- Technical know-how in planning funds and budgets for constituencies are key in balancing out voter-turn out and election results and addressing gaps and meeting the needs in the constituencies.
- Setting personal expectations, principles, rules and guidelines in the political work is important. Successful politicians aim to be approachable and good listeners to the people especially when it is the hardest to do. Developing one's own style and personality in leading and managing increases one's likeability and effectiveness.



YB Steven Sim, MP for Bukit Mertajam and Dr Maznah Mohamad Assoc. Prof at NUS share a light moment on stage

5.3 ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND MMP

What is your assessment for the present electoral system since you're working in this system? Why were you chosen to run in your constituency? What is the mechanism of the selection of candidates, particularly women? What is your opinion on the proposed MMP system; would it work better for you?

The assessment of the current electoral system, depicted by all politicians and feedback from participants, in the following:

- Reforming the system is needed, as there are problems with the current electoral system. It is in our interest to implement MMP. The biggest challenge is in convincing all key actors and stakeholders.
- Election is one part of the system that needs reform, there is also internal reform and institutionalization that is needed within the party -the evolution of 3Gs into PWDC, a now government agency is an example.
- There will always be issues with whatever system that is in place, i.e. some constituencies have more voters or are bigger geographically but politicians have the same allowance. - The system will always need reworking. MMP has to be in place with other efforts to correct and support a democratic political system. The issues also include ethnic representation and race, representation of minorities, unclear expectations of Members of Parliament, political funding, and political education for the public to understand the work of their representatives and many other national issues that need refocusing. A roadmap is needed to rehaul the entire electoral system.
- Regardless of the FPTP or MMP system, there is always the need to win voters with quality candidates regardless of gender. But because of the systemic and historic discrimination of women in all realms of society, MMP is appealing because the system can place additional quota or safe seats, and there must be the guaranteed of minimum 30% seats for women.
- Internalized sexism must be addressed in whichever electoral system. This can be done by sending male politicians to gender sensitization courses on equality and women's issues. Internalized sexism and stereotypes also exists amongst women: amongst the participants

present in the conference, it would be difficult to identify women who want to be willing candidates, even if offered the choice.

- Political parties also need to step up in scouting for women candidates and be realistic in providing and supporting quality mentorship. Mentorship is not only top-bottom, but also broad-based to include the community at-large, family and the political party. Mentorship will instil women candidates with the tactics of campaigning, knowledge of her constituencies and funding opportunities.

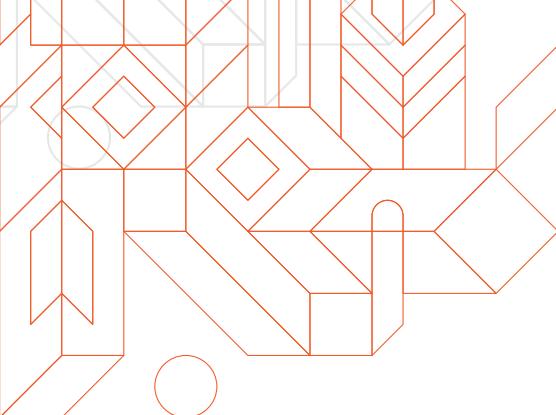


YB Rodziah Ismail, ADUN of Batu Tiga sharing her thoughts

- Performing one's role successfully and knowing how to strategize in elections is an important skill and convincing power to the public.
- Criteria for women candidates (or for any candidates) need not be from a strong academic background and it should not be the first criteria although that is an advantage. Knowledge and experience of the political world is important and these skills can be learnt over time, i.e. knowledge in the laws, by-laws and enactments, analysing budgets, engaging the media, etc.

- Funding is a big issue. YB Steven gave the ironic example of a Paul A. Samuelson quote (he was an American economist who was also the first American to win the Novel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences), "Women are men without money". Running a campaign is extremely expensive and women leaders do not always have the connections to funds. Hiring women, carrying out political assessments and funding an organization like PWDC are ways that will go into influencing the issue of women representation.
- Limited time to prepare for elections. While men may also have limited time, women have both limited time and resources.
- Gaining feedback from the *rakyat*, or the public, to know which direction or system politicians should be pushing for.

To close the session, Dr Maznah Mohamad listed reoccurring discussions and issues in this session such as (1) mentoring; (2) encouraging women's representation beyond women's spaces and in the national party structure; (3) gender quota as a feasible step towards electoral reform; (4) internal and external sexism; and (5) expediency of women representatives only to serve a temporary purpose in politics.



6. BARRIERS AND STRATEGIES

In the breakout group discussions, barriers and short-term and long-term strategies to increase women's representation in the electoral system and politics in general was deliberated.

6.1 BARRIER AND STRATEGIES: PERSONAL AND FAMILY, INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL, FINANCIAL, AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Identify main barriers to women's representation in politics and the strategies to overcome these barriers. The strategies are connected and approached in a holistic manner, i.e. structural strategies in the political party would and should address barriers in the personal, family and culture. -This approach would mirror Meyer's lessons and observations in Germany's progress in women's representation.



NO.	TYPES OF BARRIERS AND DESCRIPTION	STRATEGIES TO OVERCOME BARRIERS
1	<p>PERSONAL, FAMILY, CULTURE AND OVERALL ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>Responsibilities with children, lack of support, pressure, instability in the family.</p> <p>Patriarchy as the overarching barrier: Ingrained societal gender barriers, women's multiple burden, stereotype/mind-set of gender roles (contributing to distrust in women's leadership), lack of support system, idea of men vs. women (breeding competition) and personal fear to lead.</p>	<p>Education and awareness: Overcome family objections and encourage women's candidacy through awareness campaigns and the media, and through mechanisms in political parties, i.e. formal courses to widen perspectives</p> <p>Institutionalize funds for family support and family-friendly policies: Funds allocated for childcare, elderly care, team of carers at home or at work</p> <p>Addressing safety and harassment: Party to openly support women representatives and family, make advance arrangements with auxiliary police, establish alternative models for emergencies (need to explore further), women groups to form their own security system</p> <p>Cross-party coalition and enlarging the network: Move beyond party cliques (addresses competition)</p> <p><i>The strategy to address cultural discrimination and more restrictive religious perspectives to the law, in its form and content, against the political representation and leadership of women should be further discussed and expanded.</i></p>
2	<p>INSTITUTIONAL & STRUCTURAL</p> <p><i>(Connected to capacity building and personal barriers)</i></p> <p>Men dominate, lack of empowerment, lack of support and infrastructure to enable women's leadership, lack of qualification or education, discrimination from the media, stigma, ageism from senior politicians in the party, nomination process centralized at party head, no seats for women, institutionalized and legalized discrimination, no access in the party nomination and overall process.</p>	<p>Internal party policies:</p> <p>Work in changing structures from grassroots and up</p> <p>Institutionalize political training for women, and gender training for all candidates and politicians (regardless of gender) for sustainability and quality results</p> <p>Implement minimum 30% quota of women's representation within the internal party system</p> <p>Provide incentives for party policies that encourage women's representation and leadership, for example, in setting up party branches</p>

3	<p>FINANCIAL Lack of resources and budget, and high campaigning costs.</p>	<p>Financial improvements:</p> <p>Provide government and party allocation for women candidates, and push for transparent funding with an accountability mechanism. Ensure consistent funding for sustainable operations.</p> <p>Establish network of potential funders and donors and improve fundraising skills.</p>
4	<p>CAPACITY BUILDING Lack of (1) confidence and leadership skills; (2) opportunity and access; and (3) support and guidance.</p> <p><i>Overall absence of a process-based and rights-based approach</i></p>	<p>Overall Capacity Building:</p> <p>Overall capacity building organized by the party, but ideally bipartisan</p> <p>Equip women with full machinery at every level to be more political savvy and confident as candidates</p> <p>Increase political awareness within the party and especially include immediate family members to further support women in politics</p> <p>Organize comprehensive and hands-on training(s) with women's organisations or civil society groups for potential women candidates and all politicians:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To increase overall political and gender awareness / To gender sensitize male leadership • To encourage women's leadership in the highest levels of politics • To encourage a quota system • To showcase and make political support groups known / To enhance networking capacity • To develop fundraising skills • To increase leadership and negotiation skills • To encourage international exposure on political, economic and social issues <p><i>...in order to gender mainstream programmes into all political parties; to include the gender aspect in all trainings; and to educate all politicians, regardless of sex or gender on the importance of women's representation in politics</i></p> <p>Specific trainings or capacity building that were mentioned: To encourage women to lead different seats with different cultural backgrounds; and to educate all politicians on effective ways to respond to personal and sexist attacks, including within the party and with/to the media</p> <p>Noteworthy suggestion:</p> <p>Set up a Political Action Committee (Super PAC) for women candidates mirroring the US, aimed to pool campaign contributions. Another similar idea: Set up a political women's institute, crossing party lines: Responsible for capacity building for women who want to enter politics, and to raise funds for new women politicians</p>

6.2 SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM STRATEGIES: FROM FPTP TO MMP

There are different ways of increasing women's representation. A presentation by Dr Wong was prepared to recap the alternative electoral systems that Malaysia could follow:

- UK Labour model: *FPTP + Reserved safe constituencies, with voluntary party quota*
- Bangladesh model: *FPTP + Additional women-only*
- Germany model: *MMP + Legislated gender quotas, with threshold*
e.g. *111 Constituency MPs (Candidate name)*
and 111 List MPs (Party name)
= 222 seats in parliament

Participants reiterated major concerns in strategy planning in terms of how to convince all political parties, gain support from women in higher levels of the government and politics, garner family support, and encourage all women from all parties to join forces.

Suggestions for short-term strategies to achieve women's representation were:

1. Following the UK Labour model:

To remain in the FPTP system and reserve safe seats for women by either codifying a policy or more manageable is to implement reserved safe seats through **voluntary party quota** – parties will work within their own structures to set a quota. This would be relatively easy for some parties and a challenge for others.

OR,

2. Following the Bangladeshi model:

To remain in the FPTP system and to add additional seats for women on top of the constituency seats. This has to be implemented at the state level.

In other short-term strategies, the participants suggest:

- Mirroring India, to propose **67 reserved seats (30%)** for women in the parliament.
- To set a **30% minimum quota** in the Central Executive Committee.
- To push for **women to stand at all levels**, especially *Ketua Cawangan* or *Cabang*, as this is where the potential as candidates is seen.
- To push for a transparent select committee that has a quota of minimum **30% women's representation**. To develop a legal framework for compliance.
- Within the party, to provide training on the electoral system to members and candidates.
- To train, endorse and promote women candidates to the public.
- To run a public awareness campaign on the **MMP system**.

Two-thirds of the participants were supportive of the MMP system and a legislated gender quota but also stressed that long-term strategies need to be implemented to achieve parity in women's representation in politics. In the MMP system, structures must be in place so that women's representatives and their parties can negotiate and promote their perspectives and issues.

Legally, according to Wong, it is possible to implement additional seats at the Penang State level, reflected in Article 14 of the Sabah State Constitution, and Article 11 of the Penang State Constitution, both that abide by the manner or provisions of the Federal Constitution.

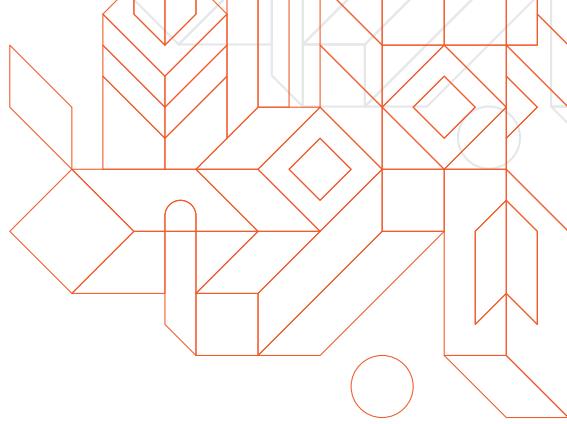
Article 117 of the Federal Constitution supports this case:

For the election of members to the Legislative Assembly of a State the State shall be divided into as many constituencies as there are elected members, so that one member shall be elected for each constituency; and the division shall be made in accordance with the provisions contained in the Thirteenth Schedule.

There was not enough time for a detailed long-term strategy but general suggestions were made and noted as below:

- Overall clearer strategies must be discussed on how to convince all political parties, the public and the media, including identifying the support that women need to raise the issue of better representation of women and electoral reform. A suggestion was to organize open dialogues and awareness raising events to convince parties that the benefit in the MMP system is not only for the opposition but for anyone that wins popular votes. Political education, awareness and outreach for the public through social media, infographics and other creative ways can be developed, especially at a time when the public is politically "fatigued" and need a new, exciting political front. This should be aimed at the media too.
- Quota must be in the party's manifesto to push for electoral reform, and equally important, free and fair elections. This should apply to reserved seats for grassroots women too.
- Influence the Independent Royal Commission to review the electoral system and come up with recommendations.
- Consideration to form a women's political institute to lobby for MMP. Another suggestion was to form a steering committee to follow up with this National Conference.

7. CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS



The Conference was brought to a close with deliberations that further strengthened the Recommendations composed by the conference committee. The overall short-term strategy would be to gain the consensus of party leaders with the support of activists and NGOs, impacting the State Legislative Assemblies. In the long-term, strategies will need to aim for impact at the Parliament level. All strategies are expected to be multi-sectorial addressing multiple dimensions: descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation. There is an expectation for further discussions and debates within this group and beyond the Conference, just as in Indonesia where the changes in electoral system and laws were experiments of trial and error, all aimed for gender inclusion.

The Recommendations gained a consensus from all participants, with six key leaders agreeing to support the action points and overall issue of women representation in the electoral system: YB Zuraida Kamarudin (MP), Jannie Lasimbang (JOAS), YB Yap Soo Huey (PWDC Board Member), Aloyah Bakar (Former CEO of PWDC), Datin Rohana Ghani Weiler (PWDC Board Member), and Hajjah Aida Yusof Rawa (PWDC Board Member).

FINAL CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

Preamble

1. Conference notes the slow progress made in women's participation in electoral politics and the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political barriers thereto.
2. Conference notes the need and urgency to further increase women's participation to a minimum 30% in all levels of decision making.
3. Conference also notes that the current electoral system of First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) which hinders inclusion and women's participation in electoral politics.
4. Conference recognises the need for electoral gender quotas to be instituted.
5. Conference endorses
 - 1) in the short term,
 - (i) to have additional women-only non-constituency¹ seats at the State Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary levels;
 - (ii) to have minimum 30% candidate quotas for seats voluntarily imposed by parties
 - 2) in the long term, a change of electoral system from First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) to Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

Therefore, Conference recommends:

1. Each participant to take concrete steps to organise trainings/dialogues/workshops in her/his political party, constituency, and/or organisation to advocate for an increase in women's participation in all levels of decision-making, and on the need for electoral gender quotas and electoral system change.
2. Each participant from political parties to advocate for her/his party to appoint a minimum of 30% women in all JKKK and local authorities and work towards fielding a minimum of 30% women candidates at state and parliamentary elections.

¹ Reference to Sabah

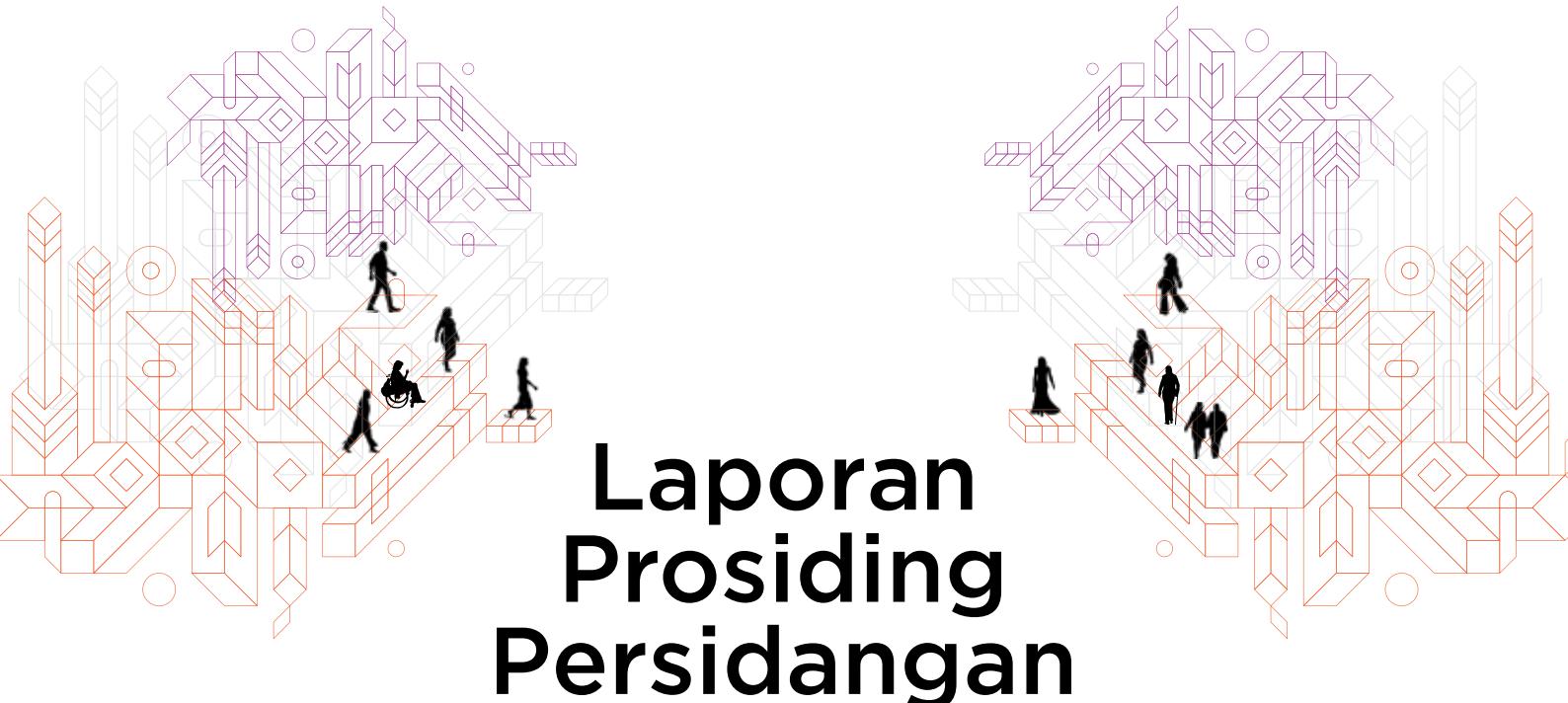
3. Each participant belonging to a political party to recruit more women members into her/his party, and men and women who can advocate and lobby on behalf of women and their concerns towards increasing the talent pool of women candidates.
4. That the federal government and state governments provide public financing for political parties for elections which will level the playing field for all candidates.
5. That special funds be set up to support women candidates.
6. That a multi-sectoral Steering Committee be set up to pursue the above Recommendations.



Women activists from various women's organizations and civil society support the Gender & Electoral Reform

PERSIDANGAN KEBANGSAAN

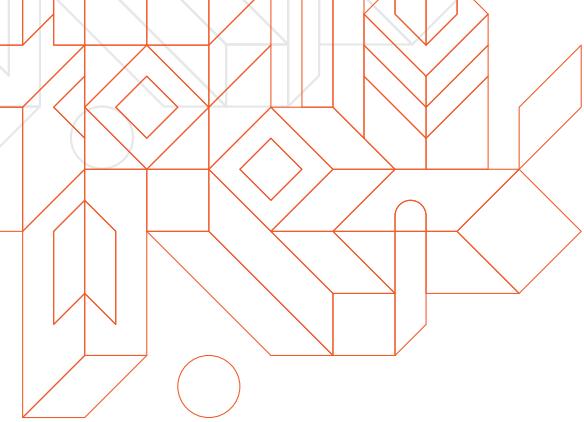
GENDER & REFORMASI PILIHAN RAYA: MELAKAR PERUBAHAN



Laporan Prosiding Persidangan

26 & 27 Ogos 2016

**Bayview Hotel,
George Town, Pulau Pinang,
Malaysia**



1. LATER BELAKANG PERSIDANGAN

1.1 KONTEKS PERSIDANGAN

Persidangan Kebangsaan “Gender dan Reformasi Pilihan Raya: Melakar Perubahan” dianjurkan dengan visi untuk meneroka pendebatan semasa, halangan serta strategi dan model inovatif untuk perwakilan wanita dalam proses pilihan raya di Malaysia. Khususnya, Persidangan ini telah meneliti sistem pilihan raya semasa di Malaysia, iaitu sistem *First Past The Post (FPTP)* dan model negara lain, yang merupakan variasi FPTP atau sistem *Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)*.

Program Persidangan telah dibahagikan kepada dua bahagian utama yang mencerminkan tema Persidangan: (1) Menerokai Perdebatan Semasa: Gender, Politik Inklusif dan Reformasi Pilihan Raya; dan (2) Berpijak Di Bumi Nyata: Pengalaman dan Strategi untuk Perubahan. Tema pertama adalah mengenai reformasi sistematik dan reformasi budaya; tema kedua adalah mengenai pengukuran perwakilan substantif wanita.

Persidangan ini turut memperkenalkan panel cendekiawan- cendekiawan dan pakar-pakar yang berkongsi pengalaman dan kepakaran mereka, justeru menggerakkan wacana ke konteks Malaysia dengan harapan untuk bersama-sama memudahkan reformasi pilihan raya demi meningkatkan perwakilan wanita dalam politik. Adalah dijangkakan bahawa hasil dari Persidangan ini, Syor-Syornya boleh dijadikan asas kepada tindakan dan penglibatan selanjutnya yang akan membangkitkan seruan untuk reformasi pilihan raya, serta seruan untuk politik yang inklusif bagi wanita.

Laporan ini meliputi latar belakang persidangan dan kemudian menerokai bidang-bidang berikut: perdebatan semasa, model alternatif, konteks Malaysia, pengalaman ahli-ahli politik, halangan dan strategi, dan akhirnya syor-syor persidangan.

Sebelum Persidangan ini diadakan, sebuah Perbincangan Kumpulan Sasaran tentang Gender dan Reformasi Pilihan Raya telah diadakan pada 26 Jun 2016. Ianya berfungsi sebagai perbincangan pra-persidangan untuk mengumpul maklum balas dan saranan-saranan mengenai struktur Persidangan.

1.2 UCAPAN-UCAPAN PEMBUKAAN

Ucapan pembukaan dan kata-kata aluan telah disampaikan oleh YB Chong Eng, EXCO Kerajaan Negeri Pulau Pinang untuk Belia dan Sukan, Pembangunan Wanita, Keluarga dan Komuniti dan Penggerusi Lembaga Pengarah PWDC; Sergio Grassi, Wakil FES International dan akhirnya diikuti pelancaran oleh YB Dato’ Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon, Timbalan Ketua Menteri I Pulau Pinang (menyampaikan ucapan bagi pihak YAB Lim Guan Eng, Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang dan Penggerusi Penang Institute).



YB Chong Eng, EXCO Belia dan Sukan, Pembangunan Wanita, Keluarga dan Komuniti Negeri Pulau Pinang, memberikan ucapan aluan.

Untuk renungan hadirin sekalian, YB Chong Eng berkongsi kata-kata hikmat dari Michele Bachelet,



Wakil dari FES International, Sergio Grassi sedang memberikan ucapannya.



YB Dato' Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon, Timbalan Ketua Menteri 1, mewakili YAB Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang memberikan ucapan pembukaan dan merasmikan persidangan.



YB Dato' Rashid dan YB Chong Eng dengan wakil-wakil rakyat yang lain (dari kiri: YB Dr Siti Mariah, YB Elizabeth Wong, YB Zuraida Kamaruddin, YB Dr Daroyah Alwi, dan YB Yap Soo Huey) dengan CEO PWDC, Puan Ong Bee Leng dan hadirin sekalian.

salah satu dimensi utama bagi keadilan yang mengekalkan lebih ramai wanita dalam proses politik, dalam kerangka kebangsaan dan antarabangsa, melalui dialog dan kajian, misalnya melalui projek terbarunya mengenai politik dan feminism. Tumpuan usaha ini adalah untuk sentiasa menolak sempadan dalam media, budaya dan politik. Grassi menyebut bahawa FES mengalu-alukan kerjasama pada masa depan.

Dalam ucapan perasmianya, YB Dato' Haji Mohd Rashid bin Hasnon telah mewakili Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang, YAB Lim Guan Eng. YB Rashid memulakan ucapan Ketua Menteri dengan menekankan bahawa hak wanita adalah hak asasi manusia juga. Beliau berkata bahawa wanita

bekas Presiden Chile sebagai permulaan ucapan beliau. Dia menekankan menekankan bahawa demokrasi yang lebih baik bukan hanya tentang akses untuk mengundi dan memilih wakil politik, tetapi juga tentang hak untuk dipilih. Beliau berkata bahawa Negeri Pulau Pinang menerajui dari segi penyertaan dan juga perwakilan dalam politik. Melalui Persidangan ini, Negeri Pulau Pinang telah menandakan satu *milestone* dalam perdebatan isu kesaksamaan gender malahan buat kali pertama, Negeri Pulau Pinang telah berjaya membawa bersama wakil-wakil rakyat, pejuang-pejuang masyarakat sivil dan cendekiawan-cendekiawan mengenai isu perwakilan wanita dalam sistem pilihan raya. Beliau berkata bahawa langkah-langkah yang khusus dan sementara untuk mempercepatkan penyertaan wanita melalui kuota gender adalah sangat diperlukan. Melalui Persidangan ini, adalah diharapkan bahawa para peserta akan mengatur strategi untuk gender dan reformasi pilihan raya dalam konteks tempatan. Beliau berpendapat bahawa apabila perwakilan wanita berada pada tahap yang rendah, maka kuranglah pengalaman dalam wacana dan menyebabkan wanita dipinggirkan lagi.

YB Chong turut menyatakan bahawa terdapat pelbagai halangan tetapi terdapat juga "retak pada siling kaca" - dalam bidang politik sekarang, ramai wanita yang berpendapat bahawa terdapat persaingan yang sengit dalam pilihan raya. Oleh itu, ia bukan sahaja mengenai kuota tetapi juga bagaimana wanita melihat diri sebagai calon. "Beban berganda" tanggungjawab keluarga dan rumah adalah di mana wanita kekurangan sokongan jika mereka mahu maju dalam kerjaya mereka, terutamanya dalam bidang politik. YB Chong Eng percaya bahawa sistem sokongan akan ditubuhkan melalui *buy-in* (sokongan) daripada Kerajaan Negeri, Kerajaan Persekutuan dan industri bagi membentuk visi untuk masa depan –iaitu masa depan di mana wanita akan menjadi penggubal undang-undang, lebih aktif terlibat dalam politik dan di mana kerja mereka dalam semua bidang masyarakat tidak akan dipandang rendah dan dikurangkan nilainya.

Sergio Grassi, wakil FES International, telah memperkenalkan para peserta kepada tugas Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) sebagai warisan politik Friedrich Ebert. Tujuan organisasi ini adalah untuk menggalakkan keadilan sosial dan penyertaan, dan FES percaya bahawa kesaksamaan gender adalah dimensi sosial. FES komited untuk menyokong usaha-usaha

harus diwakili dengan baik dalam politik; bukan sahaja dari segi jumlah perwakilan tetapi juga dalam cara yang substantif, misalnya terlibat dalam perdebatan politik. Penyertaan wanita dalam kepimpinan politik di Malaysia adalah terlalu rendah iaitu sebanyak 13% di peringkat kementerian-kementerian dan 10.4% di Parlimen - purata antarabangsa untuk wanita dalam Parlimen adalah 22.7% yang diterajui oleh Rwanda dengan 63.8%, diikuti oleh Jerman (36.5%), Singapura (23.8%) dan Indonesia (17.1%). Namun, Negeri Pulau Pinang dengan 15% di Dewan Undangan Negeri adalah lebih baik daripada purata kebangsaan dan usaha ini perlu diteruskan.

Mengikut YB Rashid, untuk benar-benar melakar perubahan, semua pelaku perlu mendalamkan lagi usaha dan meneliti struktur politik dan sistem yang mendasari dan mengekalkan ketidakseimbangan gender, yang membolehkan berlakunya perwakilan yang berat sebelah dan tidak wajar dalam politik. YB Rashid berkata bahawa cabaran-cabaran ini tidak cukup dibincangkan setakat ini. Beliau juga menggesa peserta-peserta untuk membuka minda mereka kepada reformasi pilihan raya dan alternatif kepada FPTP yang bertujuan untuk menggalakkan keterangkuman. Reformasi pilihan raya boleh berlaku dengan sedikit demi sedikit, dengan menjangkau kepada parti-parti politik, media, masyarakat sivil, ahli akademik dan pihak berkepentingan yang lain. Akhir sekali, YB Rashid menyebut bahawa dengan mengambil kira Pilihan Raya Umum ke-14, perbincangan ini berlaku tepat pada masanya untuk menerokai strategi bagi perwakilan wanita di Malaysia. Bagi pihak Ketua Menteri Pulau Pinang, YB Rashid telah melancarkan Persidangan Kebangsaan.



1.3 GENDER DAN REFORMASI PILIHAN RAYA: *FIRST PAST THE POST (FPTP) DAN MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL (MMP)*

Kedua-dua Persidangan dan sesi pra-persidangan telah memperakui beban dan tanggungjawab besar Kerajaan Persekutuan dalam meratifikasi Konvensyen Mengenai Penghapusan Segala Bentuk Diskriminasi Terhadap Wanita (CEDAW) pada tahun 1995 di mana kerajaan-kerajaan dikehendaki memastikan kesaksamaan untuk wanita dalam kehidupan politik dan awam (Perkara 7); dan Pelan Tindakan Beijing (BPFA) yang menggesa pelaku kerajaan untuk mengambil langkah-langkah bagi memastikan akses, penyertaan dalam struktur kuasa dan pembuatan keputusan yang sama untuk wanita (Objektif Strategik G.1 dan G.2). Menurut CEDAW, kerajaan-kerajaan wanita dalam kehidupan politik dan awam adalah di bumi nyata).



YB Haniza Mohd Talha (ADUN Taman Medan) dan YB Mary Josephine (ADUN Rahang)

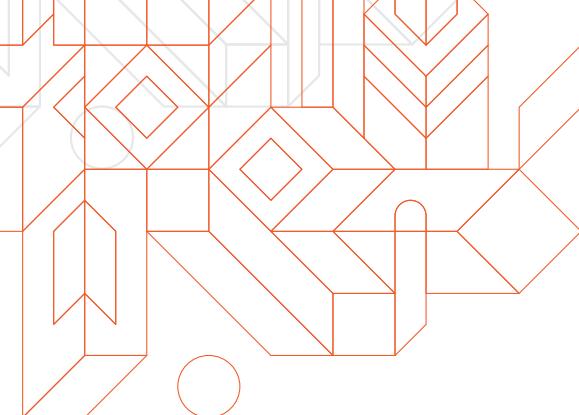
Namun, harus ditekankan bahawa perwakilan wanita kini hanyalah 10.4% di Parlimen dan 11.5% di Dewan Undangan Negeri. Arena politik dan struktur antarabangsanya - dari pencalonan hingga

ke keputusan pilihan raya – masih dikuasai oleh lelaki.

Persidangan juga telah meneliti perdebatan antarabangsa semasa dan model alternatif yang digunakan oleh negara-negara di rantau ini dan juga di negara-negara Eropah.

Sistem pilihan raya yang sedia ada di Malaysia, yang telah wujud sejak zaman penjajahan British, merupakan sistem *First Past The Post (FPTP)*, yang berasaskan majoriti-menang-semua, atau majoriti mudah. Model negara yang dibincangkan dalam persidangan ini, seperti Indonesia, Bangladesh dan UK, telah mengembangkan sistem pilihan raya mereka sejak beberapa dekad ini malahan telah melaksanakan variasi kepada sistem FPTP untuk menjadikannya lebih inklusif kepada wanita dan kumpulan-kumpulan lain seperti minoriti etnik termasuk masyarakat pribumi. Dalam sistem FPTP, variasi sistem boleh dibuat (kerusi tambahan atau yang dikhaskan untuk wanita) untuk menjadikan sistem pilihan raya lebih inklusif.

Jerman dan New Zealand telah meneliti kaedah-kaedah perintis dalam sistem *Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)* di mana pengundi mengundi untuk wakil kawasan pilihan raya (seperti dalam FPTP) serta senarai-senarai wakil-wakil parti. Dalam sistem MMP, parti-parti politik melaksanakan kuota gender di bawah “senarai parti”.



2. PERDEBATAN SEMASA TENTANG GENDER DAN REFORMASI PILIHAN RAYA

2.1 GAMBAR KESELURUHAN

Dalam sesi pertama iaitu “Sesi 1 - Membahaskan Perwakilan Wanita dan Pilihan Raya Politik”, Datin Rohana Ghani Weiler, salah seorang Pengarah PWDC, telah mempengaruhi sesi yang disertai oleh penceramah-penceramah berikut: Dr Cecilia Ng, salah seorang Pengarah PWDC; Karen Lai, Pengurus Program Pemerksaan dan Kepimpinan Wanita (WEL) PWDC; dan Maria Chin Abdullah, Pengurus Bersih 2.0. Tujuan sesi ini adalah untuk menghuraikan latar belakang dan memberikan gambaran keseluruhan perdebatan-perdebatan tentang isu gender dan reformasi pilihan raya.

Ng dan Lai telah membuat pembentangan bersama tentang isu perwakilan wanita dan sistem pilihan raya, khususnya topik mengenai status perwakilan wanita di peringkat kebangsaan dan antarabangsa, halangan terhadap perwakilan wanita, kuota gender, dimensi kuota gender dan kaedah-kaedah lain untuk menyokong wanita. Ng telah menjelaskan bahawa dalam 58 tahun sejarah pilihan raya di Malaysia, langsung tiada reformasi berlaku dengan 10.4% menjadi peratusan tertinggi perwakilan wanita di Parlimen dalam seluruh jangka masa itu. Dalam rangka kerja dalam negeri di Malaysia, Rancangan Malaysia Keenam (1991-1995) mengandungi satu bab tentang penyertaan wanita dan pada tahun 2001, Kumpulan Tindakan Bersama (JAG) berjaya menggesa agar pindaan dibuat terhadap Perkara 8 (2) Perlembagaan Malaysia yang melarang diskriminasi atas dasar gender. Rancangan Malaysia Kesembilan juga telah mencadangkan sasaran-sasaran atau ‘kuota lembut’.

Tiga halangan utama yang dikenal pasti oleh Ng yang menyumbang kepada perwakilan rendah wanita dalam sistem pilihan raya adalah: 1) “siling kaca” (halangan perundangan, struktur dan institusi termasuk parti-parti politik); 2) “beban berganda” (peranan lelaki dan wanita yang tidak saksama) dan 3) “kehiliman wanita” (di mana wanita perlu bekerja lebih dan ‘menyertai permainan politik kerjaya’ untuk berjaya dalam kerjaya mereka).

Beberapa perkara tumpuan semasa pembentangan Ng adalah seperti berikut. Beliau menyebut bahawa dalam sesi pra-persidangan (perbincangan kumpulan sasaran), terdapat kata sepakat bahawa reformasi struktur sahaja tidak boleh mengubah norma budaya dan stereotaip gender.



Dr Cecilia Ng sedang menyampaikan presentasi berkenaan perwakilan wanita, kuota dan rumusan hujah yang menyokong dan menentang implementasinya.



Cik Karen Lai, Pengurus Program WEL PWDC, berkongsi memberikan gambaran terperinci tentang pelbagai jenis kuota - impak, strategi dan “good case practice” dalam pengimplementasian.

Dalam perdebatan baru-baru ini, terdapat persoalan terhadap apa halangan yang wujud dalam proses pembuatan keputusan dalam parti dan sifat pemilihan dan pencalonan calon? Adalah diperhatikan yang kebanyakkan perbincangan mengenai peningkatan perwakilan wanita di sesi pra-persidangan berkisar kepada persolan hubung kait kuota gender dan sistem pilihan raya. Secara teorinya, kuota digunakan untuk meningkatkan perwakilan sesuatu kumpulan yang kurang diwakili atau dikecualikan, sebagai contoh, di beberapa negara masyarakat pribumi ('indigenous people') sering tidak diwakili dalam politik. Kuota yang ditetapkan selalunya adalah minima 30% - 40% - ini bermaksud yang idea disebalik menggunakan kuota gender pilihan raya ialah sebagai sebuah mekanisme untuk membetulkan diskriminasi gender yang ada dalam sistem sekarang dan untuk menyamaratakan atau mempercepatkan peningkatan perwakilan wanita dalam bidang politik.

Jenis-jenis kuota atau kerusi untuk menggalakkan ini adalah, sebagai contoh: (1) *Legislated reserved seats* (kerusi yang dikhaskan dan ditetapkan oleh undang-undang - yang dikhaskan untuk wanita, di mana lelaki tidak dibenarkan bertanding); (2) *Legislated candidate quotas* (kuota calon yang ditetapkan oleh undang-undang - perubahan kepada undang-undang pilihan raya yang memerlukan parti-parti politik untuk mencalonkan wanita pada kadar yang ditentukan); dan (3) *Voluntary party quotas* (kuota sukarela parti - di mana parti politik mereformasikan status parti itu sendiri).

Terdapat perdebatan tentang kuota untuk wanita. Mereka yang menyokong kuota berpendapat bahawa ianya meningkatkan perwakilan, adalah selari dengan nilai keadilan/kesaksamaan, menggalakkan kesaksaman hasil ('equality of results/outcome') dan megesahkan pengalaman dan perspektif wanita yang berbeza daripada lelaki. Mereka yang menentang kuota untuk wanita berhujah bahawa ianya lebih mementingkan gender berbanding merit dan dengan itu menentang prinsip kesaksamaan peluang, merendah-rendahkan wanita ("wanita di sini hanya kerana kuota"), kerana wakil-wakil politik harus mewakili seluruh masyarakat, dan mengambil pendekatan essentialist (wanita yang berbeza berfikir secara berbeza dan kuota tidak semestinya menjamin kepelbagaian dalam perwakilan wanita). Secara empirikal, corak global menunjukkan bahawa lebih ramai wanita hadir dalam sistem perwakilan berkadar (PR) berbanding sistem perwakilan majoritarian.

Dalam pembentangan Karen Lai bertajuk "Tiga Dimensi, Satu Titik Permulaan", tumpuan diberikan kepada kesan kuota gender dalam tiga **dimensi yang berbeza**. Beliau memulakan ucapan beliau dengan menekankan bahawa sistem kuota adalah "lebih ramai wanita dan lebih baik" - yang bermaksud bahawa apabila lebih ramai wanita diwakili dalam sistem politik, masyarakat akan memahami isunya dengan lebih baik dan lebih menyeluruh. Namun, beliau mengesahkan bahawa sokongan dan perlindungan daripada kuota sahaja adalah tidak cekap dan tidak mencukupi.

Ringkasan dimensi kuota gender (deskriptif, substantif dan simbolik) adalah seperti berikut:

DIMENSI KUOTA GENDER	Maksud	Hubungan Antara Perwakilan Deskriptif Dan Substantif
Perwakilan Deskriptif	Perwakilan deskriptif adalah dari segi bilangan, iaitu berapa ramai wanita diundi masuk ke jawatan politik. Faktor yang mempengaruhi perwakilan deskriptif adalah: konteks dan budaya politik, kewujudan sekatan dan denda, dan pematuhan.	Hubung kait antara perwakilan deskriptif dan substantif bermakna bahawa jika lebih ramai wanita diwakili dalam politik, akan ada (atau mesti ada) dasar mesra gender yang lebih atau lebih baik. Sebagai contoh, jumlah Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri Pulau Pinang yang merupakan wanita telah bertambah dua kali ganda sejak 2013; hubung kait yang boleh dibuat adalah untuk meneliti kualiti perbahasan.
Perwakilan Substantif	Perwakilan substantif adalah dari segi kualiti, iaitu sejauh mana wanita dapat memanjangkan isu wanita selepas diundi menjadi wakil rakyat, dan kesan dasar.	

Perwakilan Simbolik

Perwakilan simbolik adalah berdasarkan *emblematic* atau *allegorical* dan berasaskan persepsi awam, iaitu bagaimana kehadiran atau ketidakhadiran wanita yang memegang jawatan politik memberi kesan terhadap persepsi awam. Menurut kajian antarabangsa pada tahun 2005, masyarakat awam percaya bahawa kerajaan mereka adalah lebih demokratik apabila wanita diwakili.

Selain daripada kuota gender, terdapat kaedah-kaedah lain yang boleh digunakan untuk menambah perwakilan misalnya **kaedah perundangan** (sekitan dan insentif, sokongan kempen dari sektor awam, undang-undang yang mencegah keganasan terhadap wanita dalam politik dan untuk ahli politik wanita), **kaedah Parlimen** (infrastruktur, operasi, institusi dengan memberi tumpuan kepada kajian yang berkhususkan gender dan latihan dalam Parlimen untuk menyokong dasar mesra gender), **inisiatif parti politik** (dana dalam parti yang dikhkususkan dan subsidi calon untuk wanita) serta **inisiatif masyarakat sivil**.

2.2 CABARAN DI MALAYSIA

Sesi ini telah menerokai cabaran-cabaran untuk penyertaan politik wanita di Malaysia, yang dibentangkan oleh Maria Chin Abdullah. Maria melihat wanita dan parti-parti mereka sebagai sebahagian daripada perjuangan anti-penjajahan demi kemerdekaan seperti Aishah Ghani (AWAS), Khatijah Sidek (Kaum Ibu) dan Parti Buruh Malaya yang telah menderaf Piagam Wanita. Maria telah menekankan bahawa seperti yang disebut dalam sesi sebelumnya, Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara tidak melihat perkembangan ketara dari segi wanita dalam politik selepas 58 tahun. Banyak kenyataan kerajaan ataupun rektifikasi konvensyen telah dibuat di atas kertas tetapi tindakan sebenar adalah jauh lebih kurang. Dari segi peruntukan belanjawan Kementerian Wanita, penambahan dalam belanjawan hanya telah dibuat pada tahun 2005.



Maria Chin Abdullah, Pengurus BERSIH 2.0, menjelaskan cabaran reformasi pilihan raya dan peningkatan perwakilan wanita dalam konteks Malaysia.

Contoh halangan untuk wanita di Malaysia memasuki politik adalah seperti berikut:

- **Sosio-budaya:** Persekutuan yang dikuasai lelaki, keyakinan yang rendah terhadap keupayaan sendiri, kekurangan enabling environment (persekitaran yang membolehkan)
- **Politik, organisasi dan struktur:** Halangan parti politik yang melihat penyertaan wanita sebagai unsur negatif, lelaki melihat wanita sebagai orang luar parti, pemilihan dan pencalonan

dikuasai oleh lelaki, penyertaan wanita tidak menjadi realiti atau dapat dilihat walaupun ada manifesto, kekurangan latihan oleh parti politik bagi wanita yang mahu bertanding sebagai calon, kekurangan kepekaan gender, kekurangan sumber untuk calon wanita, sistem yang bersifat patriaki secara keseluruhannya

- **Perundangan dan Kerajaan:** perundangan yang tidak mencukupi untuk mengawal atau menguatkuasakan kuota

Halangan perundangan dan juga kewangan atau ekonomik telah diberi tumpuan, misalnya:

- **Pertumbuhan dana politik untuk kempen pilihan raya dan persaingan sengit:** mengekalkan pejabat, kempen politik, menjalankan kempen pengiklanan tentang dasar-dasar, menggerakkan pengundi, membayar pekerja parti, pengurusan kempen
- **Implikasi apabila parti memonopoli dana:** pengewangan politik, akses kepada dana yang tidak sama, pembentukan secara rahsia, undang-undang yang tidak mencukupi, institusi yang tidak mempunyai autonomi / berat sebelah, faksionalisme berdasarkan wang (*money-based factionalism*)

Maria kemudian mentakrifkan masalah dan pertimbangan utama untuk penyokong dan aktivis dalam membentuk strategi untuk reformasi pilihan raya dan perwakilan wanita seperti berikut:

- Untuk mengenalpasti isu pokok dan punca mengapa wanita kurang diwakili dan lelaki lebih diwakili.
- Untuk berhati-hati terhadap perbezaan antara perwakilan yang saksama berbanding dengan tahap minima perwakilan. CEDAW telah menetapkan sekurang-kurangnya 30%, tetapi perdebatan antarabangsa pada akhir tahun 1990-an juga telah mempertimbangkan 50/50; tujuannya adalah demi kesaksamaan dan pengagihan kuasa secara saksama. Sistem kuota diperlukan kerana sistem yang sedia ada tidak mewakili wanita dari segi bilangan dan sistem kuota akan mempercepatkan perwakilan yang sama, namun tindakan afirmatif dan kuota seharusnya dilaksanakan untuk sementara atau jangka pendek sahaja.

Maria turut menyentuh tentang memupuk “persekitaran yang membolehkan” untuk meningkatkan penyertaan wanita dan untuk melaksanakan kuota gender. Beliau telah menyenaraikan kewajipan undang-undang dan kerajaan (mengkaji dan mereformasikan sistem pilihan raya secara keseluruhan dan bukan hanya kuota gender), perubahan organisasi dan struktur (masyarakat sivil menggesa parti-parti politik untuk membuat komitmen) dan menginstitusikan dana politik bagi calon wanita. Contoh dan penekanan telah diberi kepada menubuhkan sebuah Kaukus Wanita yang ditubuhkan oleh NGO wanita untuk bekerja rapat dengan parti-parti politik di mana wanita boleh menjadi calon dan NGO wanita boleh melobi dan mencadangkan pindaan undang-undang. Ini telah dilakukan di Kyrgyzstan, Amerika Syarikat, Kanada, Kenya, serta Timor Timur dan disasarkan untuk mewujudkan persekitaran yang membolehkan, sistem pilihan raya yang mesra gender yang diinstitusikan, yang mendorong perubahan sikap terhadap calon wanita.

2.3 ISU DAN PERSOALAN

Dalam Sesi Q&A, soalan-soalan dan kekhawatiran berikut telah diutarakan oleh peserta-peserta:

- **MMP adalah alternatif yang harus dipertimbangkan** kerana ia menangani jurang dan kelemahan dalam sistem pilihan raya semasa dengan memberi tumpuan kepada perwakilan. MMP mengurangkan *gerrymandering* dan ketegangan etnik ataupun agama, seperti yang diterangkan oleh Wong kemudian dalam persidangan.
- Menetapkan kuota dan mencapai 30% perwakilan wanita serta tindakan afirmatif lain dan perwakilan deskriptif adalah berkesan tetapi tidak mencukupi. Ia adalah dinamik

antara bilangan dan kualiti perwakilan, dan terdapat kes-kes di mana perwakilan deskriptif membawa kepada perwakilan substantif. Perwakilan substantif mengenai isu-isu wanita seharusnya meningkat dengan adanya peningkatan kesedaran gender di kalangan lelaki. Kuota tidak akan mengubah pemikiran kepada pemikiran positif bahawa wanita adalah wakil yang baik. Perlu ada **kaedah pelengkap** lain untuk meningkatkan perwakilan wanita dalam badan perundangan, misalnya pengiktirafan rasmi dan pengakuan terhadap kepimpinan wanita oleh parti-parti dan kerajaan demi perwakilan simbolik, penyelidikan berkhususkan gender dan latihan untuk parlimen, sokongan dan pembiayaan dan reformasi secara keseluruhan. Itulah usaha PWDC dalam menyediakan sokongan teknikal yang luas untuk YB Chong Eng dalam Mesyuarat Dewan Undangan Negeri dan Parlimen. Malahan sudah tiba masa untuk melaksanakan pilihan raya kerajaan tempatan, sebagai contoh, yang merupakan peluang yang baik untuk perwakilan wanita.

- Kuota tidak perlu bertumpu kepada wanita sahaja tetapi boleh juga diberi berdasarkan etnik berbeza, tahap pendapatan, kekurangan upaya, serta **kumpulan minoriti dan golongan lain**. Dalam situasi yang unggul, ianya akan menangani kekhawatiran bahawa wanita akan bersaing dengan satu sama lain atas dasar bangsa dan etnik.
- Kepimpinan bukan sahaja harus melibatkan wanita dari latar belakang kelas pertengahan. Ada wanita pribumi dan peranan kepimpinan tradisional mereka yang sering terlepas pandang, dikecualikan dan terpinggir daripada penyertaan politik. Dengan ini, kuasa mereka telah dirampas dari mereka. Ini harus dibincangkan malahan perspektif dan budaya mereka harus diteliti. Sebagai contoh, terdapat kajian yang dijalankan di Sabah tentang pendeta wanita dan peranan mereka sebagai pemimpin. Tekanan politik harus digunakan untuk wanita yang berbeza dalam parti-parti yang berbeza, selaras dengan konteks kepelbagaian kaum.
- Tugas meyakinkan parti politik dan terutamanya kerajaan pemerintah untuk melaksanakan syor-syor termasuk kuota gender, dan akhirnya mensyorkan kajian semula sistem pilihan raya, adalah satu cabaran strategi.



Janarthani Arumugam, Presiden EMPOWER memberikan pandangan dan bertanya soalan.



Suri Kempe, Pengurus Program Kesaksamaan Gender & Pemberdayaan Wanita di UNDP sedang berkongsi engalaman dan bertanya soalan.

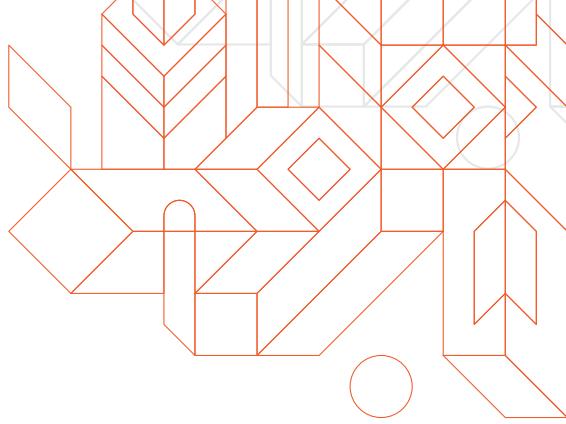


Hadirlin giat bertanya dan memberikan pandangan semasa sesi Soal & Jawab



Tan Pek Leng, seorang penyelidik Malaysia mengambil bahagian dalam sesi Soal & Jawab

3. MODEL ALTERNATIF: KUOTA GENDER, REFORMASI PILIHAN RAYA DAN PERUBAHAN INSTITUSI



Dalam sesi kedua, “Kuota Gender, Reformasi Pilihan Raya dan Perubahan Institusi: Menerokai Model Alternatif” yang dipengerusikan oleh YB Zuraida Kamarudin, Ahli Parlimen Ampang di Selangor, penceramah Ani Soetjipto dan Dr Jennifer Curtin dari Indonesia dan New Zealand masing-masing telah membincangkan pengalaman, isu-isu dan cabaran-cabaran sistem pilihan raya negara mereka. Pengajaran penting dan pemerhatian oleh Dr Thomas Meyer dari Jerman juga diliputi dalam laporan ini. New Zealand dan Jerman telah digunakan sebagai contoh peralihan dari FPTP untuk MMP.

3.1 PERALIHAN DARI FPTP KE MMP, NEW ZEALAND

Dalam pembentangan beliau bertajuk “Gender – Kebaikan dan Keburukan Sistem Mixed Member Proportional: Kes New Zealand”, Curtin telah dengan tepatnya menggambarkan pengalaman dalam sistem pilihan raya New Zealand dengan memulakan dengan sejarahnya. Dilihat sebagai makmal sosial untuk demokrasi liberal, New Zealand adalah negara pertama yang melaksanakan hak kebebasan mengundi di mana semua wanita (termasuk wanita pribumi) telah mendapat hak untuk mengundi pada tahun 1893; hasil kempen panjang yang bermula dari tahun 1878. Pada tahun 1919, wanita telah memenangi hak untuk bertanding dalam pilihan raya. Walaupun ini membawa kepada perwakilan deskriptif, permusuhan parti-parti terhadap wanita masih dirasai dan ramai ahli politik wanita pada mulanya telah dipilih untuk kerusi-kerusi yang pernah dipegang oleh bapa dan suami mereka.

Perwakilan wanita telah bertambah baik daripada deskriptif hingga ke substantif pada lewat 1980-an dan awal 1990-an yang kebanyakannya disebabkan oleh masyarakat sivil dan aktivisme. Wanita telah mengambil kedudukan dalam hierarki parti mereka dan sangat aktif dalam parti-parti politik mereka malahan pertubuhan-pertubuhan wanita meneruskan sokongan mereka dari luar. Menurut Curtin, dalam berjuang untuk meningkatkan perwakilan wanita, perlu ada sokongan untuk semua wanita dari semua lapisan masyarakat untuk memastikan kepelbagaian perwakilan.

New Zealand telah berusaha untuk mengubah sistem pilihan rayanya oleh kerana berlakunya penurunan ketara dalam peratusan keluar mengundi; iaitu daripada 92% (dalam awal tahun 90-an) kepada 66% (pada tahun 2014) dan kelemahan keseluruhan sistem politik, iaitu tiada sistem persekutuan, Dewan Rakyat yang tidak terkawal, tiada Senat, tiada Dewan Negara, sistem jawatankuasa yang lemah dan disiplin parti kuat yang menyukarkan wanita dari parti yang berbeza untuk berkumpul bersama-sama.

Proses perubahan bermula dengan Parti Buruh pada tahun 1984 di mana Geoffrey Palmer dari Parti Buruh telah menggesa agar sesebuah Suruhanjaya Diraja mengenai Sistem Pilihan Raya ditubuhkan. Laporan Suruhanjaya Diraja bertajuk ‘Ke Arah Demokrasi Yang Lebih Baik’ telah memainkan



Dr Jennifer Curtin berkongsi pengalaman negara New Zealand dalam peralihan sistem dari FPTP kepada MMP

peranan penting dalam perubahan sistem pilihan raya di New Zealand dari FPTP ke MMP. Laporan tersebut bertujuan untuk mencari satu sistem yang adil dan berkesan dari segi perwakilan dan selepas melawat Ireland, Malta dan Jerman, mereka telah mendapati bahawa model Jerman adalah lebih sesuai. Fikiran untuk mempertahankan kerusi pilihan raya yang mewakili kawasan geografi seseorang adalah penting sekali. Fikiran untuk membuat ia berkadar adalah penting untuk mewujudkan kepelbagaian dalam parlimen.

Wanita telah ditakrifkan di bawah “kumpulan marginal / minoriti dan kepentingan khas” walaupun wanita tidak semestinya melihat diri mereka sebagai minoriti. Laporan itu telah membawa kepada pelaksanaan MMP dengan ambang 4% (kemudian ditukar kepada 5%) pada tahun 1996, yang mengekalkan sebentuk kerusi Maori atau perwakilan, dan meningkatkan bilangan ahli Parlimen ke 120 ahli.

Pelobian oleh wanita melalui kempen awam adalah kunci di belakang sokongan untuk MMP, yang bertujuan untuk menggalakkan pengundian yang terdidik supaya pilihan pengundi akan merupakan sokongan yang penuh sedar. Perubahan institusi berlaku selepas referendum 1992 dan 1993 di mana MMP menang. Pada tahun 1996, pilihan raya pertama di bawah sistem MMP telah menghasilkan peningkatan yang ketara dalam perwakilan wanita di mana 45% daripada wakil parlimen datang daripada senarai parti.

Namun sejak itu, keadaan telah merosot: perwakilan wanita telah mencapai tahap mendatar di mana wanita dipilih untuk kerusi marginal yang tidak dijangka dimenangi, namun mereka masih menang. Kesan keseluruhan sistem MMP adalah simbolik. -Setakat ini telah muncul 3 jeneral kerajaan wanita, 2 perdana menteri wanita dan wanita di Parlimen dari pelbagai golongan. Dalam parti-parti utama, lelaki kebanyakannya masih memegang kuasa. Terdapat juga rasional “ianya sudah pun dilakukan” yang melihat isu perwakilan wanita sebagai matlamat semata-mata dan bukan proses jangka panjang.

Curtin telah mengakhiri pembentangannya dengan menegaskan bahawa sistem MMP adalah amat berkesan. Pendekatan dan penerokaan untuk perubahan awal boleh dibuat dengan melaksanakan ‘senarai pendek’ khas untuk wanita sahaja dalam sistem FPTP semasa di mana kerja menetapkan sasaran dan kuota parti sukarela untuk senarai parti perlu diiringi dengan juara politik yang kuat. Namun beliau memberi amaran bahawa kedudukan berdasarkan senarai sahaja kurang selamat kerana ia bergantung kepada undi parti dan politik, yang sebahagian besarnya dikawal oleh lelaki; bagaimanapun, beliau menegaskan bahawa menggesa untuk ‘kerusi selamat’ yang khas untuk wanita adalah membantu dalam memulakan perbincangan tentang reformasi pilihan raya dan menjamin kerjaya politik untuk wanita. Dalam melaksanakan sistem MMP, beliau menasihatkan agar kerajaan-kerajaan bermula dengan kuota “lembut” iaitu dengan 30% sebagai permulaan atau minima, dan bukannya sebagai matlamat semata-mata. Akhir sekali, Curtin menekankan kepentingan menyokong inisiatif masyarakat sivil yang akan memberi kesan yang bermakna terhadap perwakilan wanita.

3.2 PERKEMBANGAN DAN CABARAN UTAMA, INDONESIA

Dalam pembentangan Ani Soetjipto bertajuk “Kuota Wanita, Reformasi Pilihan Raya dan Perubahan Institusi: Pengalaman Indonesia”, beliau menggariskan kuota gender, undang-undang pilihan raya, peranan masyarakat sivil, dan pencapaian dan paradoks terutamanya dalam era pasca reformasi perundangan di Indonesia.

Soetjipto menerangkan sebab-sebab untuk menyokong kesaksamaan gender dalam arena politik: kerana perwakilan yang tidak mencukupi; kerana perlunya kehadiran politik untuk menyuarakan kepentingan dan keperluan; demi keadilan dan demokrasi; dan demi mencerminkan nilai-nilai dan perspektif berbeza yang akan membawa kepada perubahan dalam keutamaan dasar-dasar.

Pada tahun 2002, Indonesia telah melaksanakan kuota gender di bawah undang-undang pilihan raya dan undang-undang parti politik; hasil daripada momentum politik dan tindakan pasca reformasi. Jurang dalam perwakilan wanita di peringkat kebangsaan dan tempatan adalah 9% Nasional, 5%



Ani Soetjipto menghuraikan perkembangan dan cabaran di Indonesia

Propinsi dan 0% Perbandaran. Dengan sistem pelbagai parti di Indonesia, terdapat banyak ideologi dan banyak kumpulan yang berharap untuk diwakili di Parlimen. Sebagai contoh, isu-isu wanita kekal kritikal seperti kadar kematian ibu dan bayi yang tinggi, isu-isu pekerja migran, dan kemiskinan, yang mendorong pergerakan wanita untuk menuntut tindakan afirmatif. Analisis Soetjipto terhadap perdebatan Parlimen tahun 2002 adalah bahawa penting untuk mensasarkan undang-undang pilihan raya dan undang-undang parti politik demi mencapai hasil terbaik memandangkan parti-parti memilih, mencalonkan dan mempromosikan calon-calon mereka.

Perubahan dalam pilihan raya Dewan Rakyat dari senarai tertutup ke senarai terbuka (1999 hingga 2004) termasuk penggesaan agar senarai berkadar separa terbuka dan kuota 30% untuk calon-calon wanita dengan ambang 2.5% dilaksanakan. Sebab yang diberi adalah untuk memperkenalkan wakil-wakil politik kepada orang ramai. Pada tahun 2009 dan 2014, sistem senarai terbuka PR, kuota 30% untuk wanita dan sistem zip (bersilih ganti calon lelak dan wanita dalam senarai calon) untuk daerah pilihan raya dilaksanakan, yang merupakan sistem FPTP dengan kuota gender.

Soetjipto kemudian merujuk kepada pencapaian dan paradoks pengalaman Indonesia. Dalam kedua-dua pilihan raya yang lalu (2009 dan 2014), jumlah undi yang diperolehi oleh calon wanita adalah lebih tinggi dan meningkat daripada 22% kepada 23%. Tren peningkatan peluang kemenangan wanita di peringkat Nasional dituruti dengan peningkatan perwakilan di peringkat Propinsi dan peringkat Daerah. Dari pencapaian ini, wanita dari alam rumah tangga hingga ke arena awam telah mengatasi halangan-halangan, telah dimerdekakan dan diperkasa untuk menyertai politik dan parti-parti politik, menjalin hubungan dan berkempen, menjadi kader dan secara keseluruhannya belajar tentang sistem pilihan raya. Dalam kerjasama antara pergerakan wanita dan ahli politik wanita, pencapaian-pencapaian mereka membawa kepada desakan berterusan untuk kepentingan wanita dalam penggubalan dasar, dalam isu-isu seperti keganasan rumah tangga, anti-pemerdagangan manusia dan bentuk diskriminasi yang lain.

Dengan pencapaian-pencapaian tersebut, parti-parti politik kini terpaksa mengatur strategi bagi merekrut wanita, mendidik kader wanita dan membina platform parti untuk meningkatkan penyertaan wanita. Untuk 12 parti yang bertanding dalam pilihan raya, seramai 25,000 wanita akan perlu terlibat dalam politik. Meninjau kembali, walaupun kesan ini boleh dilihat sebagai positif, seruan untuk mendapatkan lebih ramai wakil wanita kebanyakannya kekal sebagai persaingan antara parti-parti untuk memenangi kerusi dan bukannya untuk memperjuangkan keadilan gender. Parti-parti cenderung untuk mendapatkan wanita yang mereka fikir ada peluang untuk menang, termasuk anak-anak perempuan dan isteri-isteri mereka serta model-model. Oleh itu, wanita dalam politik berdepan dengan oligarki di peringkat tertinggi dan sering diserapkan dan dipergunakan sebagai lanjutan politik maskulin semata-mata.

Gerakan Wanita masih menghadapi halangan dan cabaran yang besar termasuk rangkaianya yang berpecah-belah dan lemah di peringkat kebangsaan dan tempatan. Namun sekurang-kurangnya, lebih daripada sebelum ini, perbincangan mengenai kesaksamaan gender, keadilan dan tindakan afirmatif tidak lagi dianggap sebagai pantang dan ia dibincangkan dan dibahaskan secara terbuka.

Menjelang pilihan raya akan datang (2019), sesetengah ahli politik kini melihat senarai parti PR sebagai korup, mahal dan terlalu autonomi dan terdapat pertimbangan untuk mereformasikan sistem pilihan raya dan untuk kembali kepada sistem tertutup Soeharto dengan alasan bahawa ia

adalah lebih terkawal. Pada masa yang sama, kumpulan lain pula sedang berjuang untuk system MMP. Mengulang kembali hujah Lai, hubungan antara perwakilan deskriptif dan substantif adalah penting sekali dan Soetjipto menegaskan bahawa fokus perlu diberi kepada perwakilan yang lebih substantif.

3.3 PEMIKIRAN DAN PEMERHATIAN POLITIK, JERMAN

Sergio Grassi dari FES International telah memperkenalkan Dr Thomas Meyer, seorang saintis politik Jerman yang telah memberi ucapan petah bertajuk “Perwakilan Berkadar, Penerangkuman Gender dan Politik Progresif.” Ucapan Meyer menyentuh *ideals* (cita-cita unggul) dengan merenungkan apa yang mungkin; falsafah di sebalik dunia politik serta semua yang telah pun dicapai dan boleh dicapai oleh manusia. Di sini beliau menerokai pemerhatian, keadaan semasa dan pembiayaan persekutuan untuk perwakilan wanita dalam sistem pilihan raya dan politik secara umum. Sebagai tanda penghormatan, beliau juga mengakui ‘*male privilege*’ beliau sebagai penceramah lelaki yang membentangkan topik tentang kesaksamaan wanita (dan bukannya seorang wanita membentangkan dan mewakili gender sendiri).

Dalam memulakan ucapannya, Meyer telah menonjolkan nilai-nilai dan keadilan yang diperjuangkan oleh rakyat Malaysia, yang turut diperjuangkan oleh rakan-rakan beliau di Jerman. Beliau percaya bahawa usaha ini bertujuan untuk mewujudkan “masyarakat yang baik”, yakni sebuah masyarakat yang inklusif di mana orang ramai hidup bersama-sama dengan semangat solidariti bersama tanpa mengira asal, pendidikan, budaya atau kesaksamaan agama dan sudah tentu, gender. -Kesaksamaan gender menjadi tunggak utama masyarakat yang berperikemanusiaan malahan sebagai petunjuk dan pengukur kemajuan.

Untuk mencapai matlamat “masyarakat yang baik” ini, Meyer percaya bahawa sesbuah negara memerlukan pendidikan, institusi politik dan budaya sosial dan politik untuk menjadikan identiti gender “tabiat dari hati”. Ini adalah bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai konservatif negara-negara Eropah Utara yang telah menolak hierarki, agama dan nilai-nilai konservatif mereka kurang daripada satu abad yang lalu. Sweden, Norway dan Denmark telah agak mendekati idea ‘masyarakat yang baik’ ini selepas perjuangan selama dekad-dekad yang panjang oleh kesatuan-kesatuan sekerja, parti-parti dan kumpulan-kumpulan wanita yang kuat. -Wanita dan pekerja telah menjadi barisan pertama kesaksamaan gender dari segi institusi dan budaya.

Meyer berkata bahawa kesaksamaan gender dalam parlimen di seluruh dunia telah bertambah baik dengan lebih daripada separuh negara memperkenalkan sejenis kuota gender. Beliau percaya bahawa walaupun kemajuan sampai dengan perlahan, ia sedang menuju ke arah yang betul; lebih-lebih lagi dalam kehidupan politik berbanding dalam bidang undang-undang dan bidang ekonomi, terutamanya di peringkat pengurusan pertengahan, tinggi dan atasan. Meyer berkata bahawa kurang daripada 40 tahun lalu di Jerman, wanita memerlukan kebenaran bertulis daripada suami mereka jika mereka mahu bekerja di luar rumah mereka. Pada tahun 1970-an, gerakan pemerdekaan women telah mendesak untuk pemerdekaan kebudayaan, yang telah diterapkan ke dalam undang-undang dan politik. Dalam tahun 1980-an, kuota gender telah diperkenalkan



Dr Thomas Meyer memberikan ucaptama bertajuk “Perwakilan Berkadar, Penerangkuman Gender dan Politik Progresif”

dan Meyer telah menyertai pergerakan untuk menguatkuasakan peranan politik wanita. Parti Demokratik kemudian memutuskan tanda untuk perwakilan wanita di peringkat kebangsaan dan serantau, dengan 40% lelaki atau pun wanita dalam lembaga eksekutif parti dan senarai-senarai pilihan raya di Republik Negeri dan Republik Persekutuan.

Kini, perwakilan wanita adalah isu perbincangan selepas setiap pilihan raya: *Berapa ramai wanita dalam kerajaan dan parlimen? Mengapa tidak? Mengapa bilangan wanita kurang? Ia kini menjadi sesuatu upacara, mekanisme untuk ‘menamakan dan menyalahkan’, dan persoalan siapa yang cukup berusaha dan siapa yang tidak cukup berusaha?* Ahli sosiologi di Eropah telah memerhatikan bahawa semakin tinggi perwakilan wanita yang dicapai, masyarakat menjadi lebih kritikal dan tidak mentolerasikan isu-isu lain. Terdapat desakan berulang terhadap kerajaan untuk mewakilkan menteri wanita dalam 30% daripada lembaga penyeliaan dan ini akan dikuatkuasakan bermula dari 2018.



Meyer berharap usaha ini tidak kehilangan momentum, kerana wanita bukannya berjuang untuk 30% atau 40% perwakilan sahaja tetapi untuk parti penuh.

Meyer juga menyebut tentang pentingnya mengubah pemikiran lelaki dan mencabar peranan mereka, termasuk dari segi penjagaan anak. Dalam undang-undang baru-baru ini, tempoh cuti ibu bapa berbayar bertambah apabila kedua-dua bapa dan ibu berkongsi beban. Penyelarasian isu keseimbangan kerja dan kehidupan dalam keluarga ini telah bertemu dengan kejayaan dan membuktikan bahawa peranti institusi boleh membantu perubahan budaya. Meyer menjelaskan bahawa diskriminasi dalam norma dan stereotaip budaya dilemahkan apabila institusi yang berkesan berfungsi sebagai pendidik masyarakat yang kekal. Di sinilah hubung kait antara budaya dan pengaruh institusi dan kerajaan sering

diabaikan. Beliau menyatakan bahawa fenomena ini adalah satu logik yang sangat dialektik dengan percanggahan, dan pelaku-pelaku perlu mengetahui dan memahami bahawa perkara ini membantu dalam pemerdekaan budaya.

Dalam Zaman Pencerahan (abad ke-18), ahli falsafah politik memperjuangkan kehidupan yang ditentukan sendiri serta berautonomi dan untuk maruah sama rata bagi semua warga manusia dan rakyat, yang akan menentukan kerajaan yang sah. Walau bagaimanapun, pengasas faham demokrasi (termasuk Locke, Rousseau dan Hobbes) juga merupakan pemikir yang kuat berpegang kepada kepercayaan patriarki yang menyebabkan kemajuan dan transformasi menjadi perlahan dan bercanggah. Immanuel Kant di Jerman, sebagai contoh, menulis bahawa “wanita mempunyai kuasa pemikiran yang cukup untuk memiliki dan memahami pemikiran lelaki, tetapi tidak cukup untuk sendiri mencipta fikiran-fikiran yang munasabah itu.” Selain daripada fahaman patriarki yang mendiskriminasikan wanita, tiada hujah yang nyata yang dikemukakan penfalsah-penfalsafah ini.

Ia tidak mengejutkan bahawa pelopor-pelopor kesaksamaan gender didakwa gila, ditindas dengan kejam dan dipenjarakan. Hanya dalam abad ke-19, dengan sokongan daripada pergerakan pemerdekaan lain yang besar dan bersejarah, iaitu gerakan pekerja, desakan untuk hak mengundi wanita daripada parti-parti politik yang sangat berkuasa akhirnya berjaya. Pihak buruh dan parti-parti demokratik kiri yang benar-benar memandang serius isu kuota gender. Seseorang feminis dan ahli falsafah, Roxa Luxemburg, yang disokong oleh undang-undang baru, telah menunjukkan betapa kuatnya wanita dalam berjuang untuk kemajuan institusi dan perubahan budaya.

Merujuk kepada bekas sistem pengundian Jerman iaitu FPTP, Meyer percaya bahawa terdapat salah faham besar yang FPTP adalah sistem yang baik untuk masyarakat *homogenous* (seragam);

di mana makna masyarakat *homogenous* boleh didebatkan, dan sebenarnya system “pemenang mengambil semua” memaksimumkan konflik.

Diperkenalkan selepas revolusi (selepas 1918), sistem MMP adalah keadaan yang perlu untuk kesaksamaan gender. Selain itu, wanita dalam parti-parti politik juga mendesak dari dalam untuk sistem kuota dan senarai parti (sistem zip) yang jelas. Meyer mengaku bahawa lebih banyak peranti diperlukan untuk mendesak demi perwakilan wanita. Interaksi antara beberapa pihak adalah kunci: pihak untuk mengutarakan kemajuan ini dan suara wanita kuat (45-50%) yang bersatu sesame sendiri dan sayap wanita yang bertindak seperti parti dalam parti, boleh mengenakan tekanan yang sangat berterusan. Meyer telah mengetengahkan hubung kait antara parti-parti politik dan masyarakat sivil yang penting dari segi pertukaran dari “luar dan dalam” supaya mereka sentiasa berhubung dan akan memenuhi apa yang mereka janjikan. Kuncinya adalah untuk meneruskan tekanan dalam perbincangan awam.

Dalam sistem dan pembiayaan persekutuan, banyak isu untuk dasar-dasar diputuskan di peringkat negeri, seperti sekolah dan pra-sekolah, yang merupakan tempat yang paling relevan untuk pemerdekaan wanita supaya wanita boleh memilih untuk bekerja sementara anak-anak mereka menerima penjagaan dan pendidikan. Meyer berkata bahawa negara-negara kurang kesaksamaan gender apabila mereka tidak membangunkan sistem penjagaan kanak-kanak yang sepenuh hari dan juga percuma, seperti di beberapa negara Eropah.

Meyer mengakui bahawa Jerman mempunyai antara sistem pembiayaan parti yang terbaik di mana semua parti menerima dana yang besar daripada belanjawan awam. Prinsipnya adalah bahawa parti-parti berkhidmat untuk demokrasi dan oleh itu negara demokrasi bertanggungjawab memastikan agar parti-parti dapat berfungsi secara demokratik. Setiap yuran keahlian parti dikira sebagai sumbangan dan parti itu akan menerima jumlah yang sama; dan untuk setiap undi, parti itu menerima belanjawan secara balasan. Parti-parti juga bebas daripada mana-mana industri dan sumber kewangan luar. Semua parti, termasuk parti-parti terkecil, mampu mendapatkan masa siaran percuma di TV awam dan swasta.

Sebagai kesimpulan, Meyer menyatakan bahawa terdapat banyak komponen untuk dikenalpasti dalam masa silam sesebuah negara yang dinamik dan bersejarah. Di peringkat dunia, beliau melihat amalan diskriminasi dan mekanisme yang masih dan amat kelihatan dan terdapat siling kaca dalam semua ruang masyarakat. Akhirnya, Meyer berharap bahawa perdebatan awam ini tidak akan kehilangan momentum, kerana wanita bukannya berjuang untuk 30% atau 40% perwakilan sahaja tetapi untuk pariti penuh.

3.4 ISU DAN PERSOALAN

Dalam sesi Q&A, soalan-soalan dan kekhawatiran berikut telah diutarakan:

- Terdapat halangan dari dalam parti dalam proses pemilihan dan struktur oligarki, termasuk dalam reformasi parti di Indonesia selepas reformasi. Demokrasi dalaman adalah penting dalam membuat perubahan: mendesak untuk laporan kewangan, advokasi dan tekanan dalam parti, dan mendidik ahli-ahli politik muda. Di peringkat kerajaan, subsidi boleh diberikan kepada parti-parti yang memenangi kerusi di Parlimen; ini mengurangkan rasuah terutamanya untuk parti-parti yang disokong dan dibiayai oleh perniagaan-perniagaan.
- Kriteria untuk ahli-ahli politik wanita dan jawatankuasa terpilih di New Zealand adalah longgar dan tidak didokumenkan: anggota kanan, pengetahuan tentang sistem, perwakilan dalam persidangan, dan lain-lain. Terdapat cendekiawan yang berkata bahawa jika wujud kriteria untuk wanita, kriteria untuk lelaki perlu wujud juga. Namun, pengundi wanita juga mahu melihat perubahan dan mahu menyertai parti politik untuk membuat perubahan itu dengan sendiri. Curtin menambah, “Sebenarnya parti-parti adalah pelaku rasional dan kita perlu merasionalkan kepada mereka mengapa kesaksamaan gender adalah penting”.

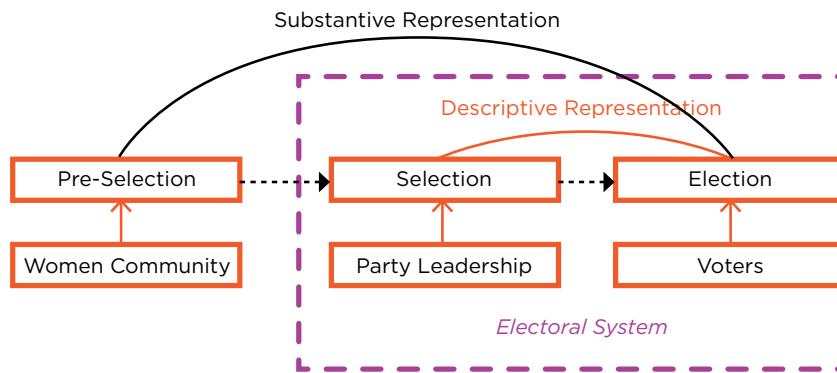
- Adalah penting untuk melengkapkan wanita agar cukup berani untuk bertanding sebagai calon dan menjadi ahli parlimen. Di Indonesia, terdapat satu tempoh di mana ramai aktivis wanita bertanding untuk pilihan raya kerana mereka menjadi yakin bahawa untuk melaksanakan agenda seseorang, seseorang itu perlu bergerak dari jalanan dan masuk ke dalam politik.
- Dalam menghampiri budaya Melayu / Nusantara dan undang-undang Islam, pemimpin agama dan orang ramai akan memetik al-Quran dan Adat untuk mengatakan bahawa tempat wanita adalah di rumah. Di Indonesia, Islam sederhana adalah majoriti, dengan Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah menyokong penyertaan wanita dalam politik. Terdapat anggapan bahawa Islam menyekat hak wanita tetapi agama ini sebenarnya menggalakkan dan memperkasakan wanita.
- Di Indonesia dan New Zealand, parti pemerintah telah memulakan perubahan penting dalam sistem politik supaya mereka tidak kehilangan kuasa dan kesahihan. Soetjipto berkongsi bahawa tekanan awam secara berterusan dan momentum politik adalah penting. Pemerhatian dari Rwanda, Uganda dan Timor Leste juga menunjukkan bahawa selepas krisis politik, perubahan atau reformasi dasar berlaku kerana parti-parti mahu meraih populariti dan mahu dilihat sebagai demokratik. Curtin menambah bahawa memberi wanita portfolio keadilan boleh membantu seiring dengan kempen yang bersepada dan berjangka panjang.

4. MENEROKAI SISTEM PILIHAN RAYA ALTERNATIF: MMP DI MALAYSIA

Dato' Dr Toh Kin Woon telah memperkenalkan Dr Wong Chin Huat, Ketua Analisis Politik dan Sosial dan Fellow di Penang Institute, sebagai penceramah seterusnya. Toh teringat bahawa sistem FPTP yang meminggirkan minoriti membawa kepada penindasan pandangan dan isu-isu serta meningkatkan ketegangan bangsa ataupun agama, dan dalam perbincangan forum ini, turut menambah halangan yang dihadapi dalam menggalakkan perwakilan wanita.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Society and Wider Electoral Reform



deskriptif. Beliau menyatakan bahawa perwakilan deskriptif wanita boleh ditambah dengan mengintegrasikan kouta gender kedalam proses "pemilihan" dan "perlantikan" dengan mengubahsuai dan/atau menukar sistem pilihan raya. Perwakilan substantif wanita pula ditentukan oleh kualiti dan permahaman substantif kumpulan calon wanita dalam proses "pra-pemilihan" (*pre-selection*) yang memerlukan perubahan sosial yang mendalam dan reformasi pilihan raya secara meluas. (Carta 1)

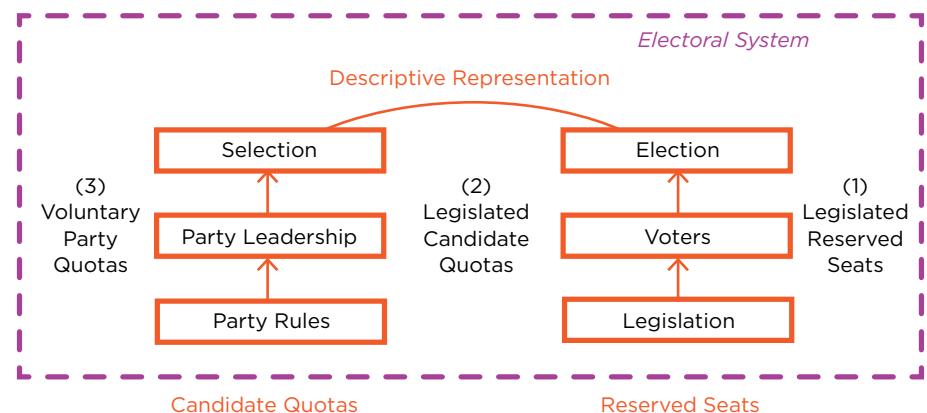
Wong juga menjelaskan secara terperinci 2 jenis kuota gender yang boleh digunakan: '(legislated) reserved seats' dan 'candidate quota' (yang boleh diperincikan lagi kepada 2 jenis iaitu '*legislated candidate quota*' dan '*party voluntary quota*') (Carta 2)

Untuk penggunaan kuota gender dalam sistem FPTP, Wong menjelaskan bahawa sistem itu boleh menentukan untuk mempunyai calon wanita dalam bentuk kerusi selamat untuk wanita (kerusi di mana wanita akan menang, bukannya kalah) tetapi ia mungkin akan menghasilkan beberapa kes "calon paksa" yang mengisi kerusi, justeru menghilangkan calon baik lain yang mungkin adalah lelaki.

FPTP juga boleh diubah suai dengan menerima pakai '*reserved seats*' atau kerusi selamat seperti dalam contoh negeri Bangladesh, di mana terdapat tambahan 50 kerusi-wanita-sahaja kepada 300 kerusi sedia ada. 50 kerusi-wanita-sahaja akan diperuntukkan secara berkadar kepada parti-parti mengikut perkadaran undian konstituensi. Parti-parti politik perlu mengemukakan senarai calon mereka sebelum pilihan raya.

Pembentangan teknikal Wong mengenai "Memperkenalkan Kuota Gender di Malaysia dengan Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)" menunjukkan MMP sebagai alternatif yang berdaya maju berbanding sistem semasa iaitu FPTP. Beliau menyatakan bahawa walaupun bukan kesemua peringkat pemilihan dan pengundian calon wanita boleh diubah, masih terdapat banyak perkara yang boleh diperbaiki melalui kaedah substantif dan

GENDER QUOTA





Dr Wong Chin Huat dari Penang Institute sedang menerangkan Sistem MMP



YB Elizabeth Wong bertanya tentang MMP kepada Dr Eong Chin Huat

sihat di mana rakan seperjuangan boleh bersaing dengan satu sama lain melalui senarai parti.

Untuk memperjuangkan sistem MMP atau reformasi pilihan raya, tindakan berikut perlu dibuat: pindaan kepada Perkara 116-117 Perlembagaan Persekutuan, pindaan kepada Akta Pilihan Raya 1959, perubahan kepada manifesto pilihan raya dan tindakan aras lain seperti peningkatan kesedaran dan pendidikan awam mengenai sistem pilihan raya, mendapat *buy-in* daripada parti-parti politik, masyarakat civil dan pemimpin pendapat.

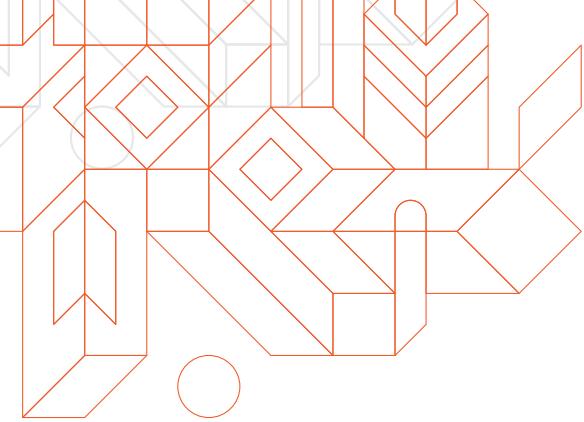
Pembentangan Wong telah berfikir panjang mengenai isu-isu berikut:

- MMP sememangnya adalah *hybrid* (kacukan) sistem PR. Di Malaysia, FPTP adalah warisan penjajah British; seperti mana List-PR adalah sistem penjajah Belanda di Indonesia. Kerajaan pemerintah mungkin lebih suka untuk kekal dengan sistem *majoritarian* atau FPTP kerana ia menguatkan kuasa politik etnik majoriti ; namun, **politik Melayu** sebelum ini tidak begitu berpecah dengan 5 parti bersaing untuk undi Melayu (dari perspektif nasionalis Melayu) seperti yang ditunjukkan oleh penurunan jumlah pengundi untuk parti pemerintah dari 2004-2005. Dalam jangka masa panjang, parti pemerintah semasa juga akan mendapat manfaat daripada sistem MMP. Sistem majoritarian menyerupai perjudian, kerana sistem berkadar menyerupai insurans.
- Walaupun terdapat kebaikan sistem MMP untuk semua pihak, kerajaan sekarang tidak akan menyokongnya. Perlu ada satu strategi untuk advokasi kepada **kerajaan semasa**. Salah satu strategi yang mungkin adalah advokasi kepada pengundi wanita BN, sebagai contoh.
- Strategi ini juga melibatkan **advokasi kepada pembangkang** yang mungkin tidak akan menyokong kuota gender menggunakan kaedah 'safe seats' (kerusi selamat) tetapi mungkin akan menyokong kuota gender secara umum. Ia juga mengurangkan ketegangan bangsa-agama ('ethno-religious tensions') dan boleh dipromosikan sebagai penyelesaian untuk **pelbagai isu**. Kita boleh menggesa pihak pembangkang untuk memasukkan cadangan kuota ke dalam manifesto mereka untuk pilihan raya umum akan datang.

MMP-gaya Jerman merupakan sistem hibrid di mana pengundi diberikan dua undi, satu untuk calon konstituensi dan satu untuk parti politik yang hendak dipilih.

Dalam melaksanakan MMP gaya Jerman di Malaysia, akan terdapat 222 Ahli Parlimen yang terdiri daripada 111 kawasan Parlimen (yang akan mempunyai tetapan geografi atau kawasan, seperti sekarang) dan 111 lagi ahli Parlimen senarai parti (yang akan mempunyai portfolio berdasarkan isu seperti alam sekitar, gender, perancangan bandar, dan lain-lain).

Wong menghuraikan manfaat-manfaat sistem MMP: kepelbagaian dan perwakilan; kurang kememuapan dan ketidaktentuan pilihan raya yang disebabkan oleh sistem; tiada kelebihan yang akan diperolehi melalui *malapportionment*, *gerrymandering* dan pemindahan pengundi; dan kemungkinan besar pertukaran kerajaan. Beliau menyentuh khususnya mengenai kelebihan **politik pakatan** yang lebih sihat di mana rakan seperjuangan boleh bersaing dengan satu sama lain melalui senarai parti.



5. PENGALAMAN WANITA DAN LELAKI DALAM POLITIK

Dalam bahagian kedua Persidangan Kebangsaan, tema atau fokusnya adalah untuk berhubung dengan pengalaman dan membangunkan strategi untuk perubahan.

Dr Maznah Mohamad, Profesor Madya di Jabatan Pengajian Melayu di Universiti Nasional Singapura (NUS), telah mempengerusikan forum. Ahli-ahli panel adalah ahli-ahli politik yang mempunyai banyak dan pelbagai pengalaman:

- YB Rodziah Ismail, Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri semasa untuk Batu Tiga, Selangor (PKR)
- YB Dr Siti Mariah Mahmud, Ahli Parlimen Kota Raja (Amanah) semasa
- YB Steven Sim, Ahli Parlimen Bukit Mertajam semasa, Pengarah Penang Institute dan Pengarah PWDC

Perbualan mereka telah menyentuh pengalaman ahli-ahli politik tentang halangan dan pengalaman mengikut (1) halangan peribadi dan budaya; (2) dalam parti dan kawasan pilihan raya; dan (3) penilaian sistem pilihan raya semasa.

5.1 HALANGAN PERIBADI DAN BUDAYA

Bagaimana dan mengapa anda masuk ke dalam politik? Adakah anda menghadapi halangan peribadi atau budaya apabila anda mahu masuk ke dalam politik?

Kedua-dua ahli politik wanita dalam forum ini mempunyai latar belakang dan pendapat yang stabil, termasuk kanak-kanak yang sudah cukup dewasa untuk bersekolah, dan mereka seolah-olah telah tidak sengaja terjerumus ke dalam politik tetapi pada masa yang berlainan dalam hidup mereka. Kedua-dua ahli politik wanita mempunyai persekitaran yang menyokong terutamanya dalam parti-parti mereka, dengan Dr Maznah Mohamad mengutarakan satu kekhuitiran mengenai *tokenism*. Minat dan strategi YB Rodziah membawa kepada pengaruh politik dalam membantu dan membangunkan ahli-ahli politik wanita yang berjaya.

YB Dr Siti Mariah menceritakan permulaan beliau dalam politik yang berlaku tatkala peristiwa yang penting dalam sejarah: semasa Reformasi pada tahun 1998. Beliau bukan seorang aktivis sebelum itu malahan berasal dari latar belakang kelas menengah, tetapi beliau mendapati bahawa dengan menyertai politik beliau dapat memperkasakan Muslimah dalam PAS. Pada masa PAS menjadi parti arus perdana,



YB Dr Siti Mariah Mahmud, Ahli Parlimen Kota Raja, berkongsi pengalamannya dalam bidang politik

terdapat kata sepakat bahawa wanita tidak harus dipinggirkan dalam sistem dan YB Dr Siti Mariah tidak perlu meredah hierarki untuk mencapai kedudukan politiknya. Pada masa ini juga beliau telah memperolehi pendidikan politiknya. Beliau mendapat sokongan daripada suaminya dan mereka mencapai sepakat bahawa salah seorang daripada mereka akan terus mengejar ekonomi kerana wang adalah perlu untuk terus hidup, dan seorang lain akan menyertai politik kerana itu adalah pelaburan bagi masa depan. YB Dr Siti Mariah telah memilih untuk mengejar matlamat kedua.

Pendidikan politik YB Rodziah Ismail telah bermula ketika beliau menjadi pemimpin pelajar di universiti. Beliau adalah seorang jurutera awam tetapi mengharapkan kerja fleksibel dan oleh kerana mempunyai banyak masa lapang, beliau membuat keputusan untuk menyertai masyarakat sivil. Niat beliau adalah untuk membuat wanita lebih peka terhadap isu-isu politik dan menggalakkan mereka untuk terlibat dalam politik. Beliau dan orang lain telah menubuhkan *One Stop Crisis Centre* di Hospital Kuala Lumpur. Pengalaman beliau telah membuat beliau mempercayai bahawa bekerja dalam NGO tidak mencukupi untuk terlibat di peringkat lain dalam sistem politik. Ini telah mendorong beliau untuk menyertai PKR di mana beliau “bermula dari bawah” dan akhirnya dipilih dengan pengundian pada tahun 2002 apabila sayap wanita telah ditubuhkan. -Beliau telah berjaya menubuhkan 112 sayap wanita di Malaysia. Pada tahun 2007, beliau telah digesa oleh ketuanya dan kemudian Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim untuk bertanding sebagai calon dan menang.

Ketika menyertai politik, YB Steven Sim tidak tahu apa sebenarnya yang beliau akan hadapi. Namun beliau mendapat panduan dari seorang ahli politik wanita yang terkenal iaitu YB Chong Eng – yang jarang berlaku – dan YB Chong Eng telah membimbing beliau pada permulaan pendidikan politik dan kerjaya beliau. Beliau menegaskan mengenai kepentingan *mentor* (pembimbing) yang baik, dan kekurangan *mentor* dalam pergerakan wanita. Antara ahli-ahli politik lelaki, sama ada berpunca dari sikap pemurah, peluang atau *egoism*, mereka adalah lebih daripada bersedia untuk menjadi *mentor* atau memberi bimbingan kepada ahli-ahli politik yang lebih baru. YB Steven bersetuju bahawa terdapat dimensi bias dari segi budaya, politik dan juga ideologi terhadap wakil-wakil wanita.

5.2 HUBUNGAN DALAM PARTI DAN KAWASAN PILIHAN RAYA

Apakah pengalaman anda dengan parti anda, hubungan antara kawasan pilihan raya dan pengundi, dan orang ramai? Apakah cabaran dan tahap penglibatan yang berhubung kait dengan isu-isu gender? Adakah anda mempunyai kelapangan untuk menjalankan tindakan dalam parti anda?

Berikut adalah pengalaman, tindakan, hubungan dan cabaran yang digambarkan oleh penceramah:

- Pengetahuan politik adalah tidak mencukupi dan pengalaman politik diperlukan. Ianya mengambil masa untuk belajar bagaimana untuk menjalankan peranan sebagai ahli majlis, pengurus dan pemimpin, dan mempelajari pelbagai peringkat penglibatan dan komunikasi.
- Bagi calon-calon dan wakil-wakil wanita, terdapat kekurangan mentor dan sistem sokongan dalam mendapatkan nasihat dan menjana idea.
- Mencari orang yang sesuai untuk *dimentor* adalah sukar. Adalah penting untuk membangunkan gaya *mentor* yang boleh membantu kemajuan *mentee* (orang yang dibimbing).
- Mewujudkan *think tank* (kumpulan pemikir) bagi menyediakan platform untuk wanita dari latar belakang yang berbeza untuk berhimpun dan bersua secara konsisten telah dibuktikan berguna. *Think tank* membantu untuk merapatkan jurang komunikasi dan maklumat antara kerajaan dan rakyat.
- Secara umumnya, parti dan rakyat menaruh harapan yang tinggi terhadap prestasi ahli politik. Prestasi yang tinggi diharapkan dan ini ada kalanya boleh menjadi susah payah.
- Menghadapi perasaan cemburu daripada orang lain bila seseorang menunjukkan prestasi

yang baik, contohnya apabila pemimpin lelaki menghalang kemajuan pemimpin wanita, *internalized sexism* (seksisme yang terbatin) dan wanita yang ragu terhadap kebolehan wanita lain untuk memimpin. Keutamaan adalah untuk memperkasakan wanita dan mengubah persepsi tentang bagaimana masyarakat memandang kekuatan dan kebolehan wanita.

- Kesukaran apabila diletakkan di kerusi yang sukar dimenangi di mana persekitaran atau kawasan percaya bahawa wanita tidak boleh menjadi pemimpin. Mulakan dengan persekitaran yang menyokong dalam memperkembangkan kepimpinan dan peranan wanita.
- Parti-parti politik sedang menjadi lebih terbuka tetapi ada disiplin tertentu untuk diikuti. Ahli-ahli bebas untuk berbincang dan berdebat tetapi dengan tidak melangkaui batasan.
- Ahli-ahli parti yang lebih muda mengalami kesukaran untuk menyumbang dan melabur dalam kerja politik sepenuh masa disebabkan oleh komitmen kehidupan mereka, iaitu kerjaya, keluarga, ketidakstabilan kewangan, mendapat kepercayaan keluarga, melainkan jika terdapat satu sistem sokongan yang baik dan ahli-ahli boleh dibayar untuk melakukan kerja politik mereka.
- Pengetahuan teknikal dalam merancang dana dan belanjawan bagi kawasan pilihan raya adalah kunci dalam mengimbangi kehadiran pengundi dan keputusan pilihan raya serta menangani jurang dan memenuhi keperluan di kawasan pilihan raya.
- Menetapkan harapan peribadi, prinsip, peraturan dan garis panduan dalam kerja-kerja politik adalah penting. Ahli-ahli politik yang berjaya berhasrat untuk menjadi orang yang mudah didekati dan mendengar luahan rakyat terutamanya pada masa di mana ia paling sukar dilakukan. Pembentukan gaya dan keperibadian sendiri dalam bidang kepimpinan dan pengurusan menjadikan seseorang lebih digemari dan lebih berkesan.



Dr Maznah Mohamad, Profesor Madya NUS bersama YB Steven Sim, Ahli Parlimen Bukit Mertajam

5.3 PENILAIAN SISTEM PILIHAN RAYA SEMASA DAN MMP

Apakah penilaian anda terhadap sistem pilihan raya memandangkan anda bekerja dalam sistem ini? Mengapa anda dipilih untuk bertanding di kawasan pilihan raya anda? Apakah mekanisme untuk pemilihan calon, khususnya wanita? Apakah pandangan anda terhadap sistem MMP yang dicadangkan; adakah ia akan berfungsi lebih baik untuk anda?

Penilaian terhadap sistem pilihan raya semasa, yang diberi oleh semua ahli politik dan maklum balas daripada peserta, adalah seperti berikut:

- Adalah perlu untuk mereformasikan sistem, kerana sistem pilihan raya semasa bermasalah. Pelaksanaan MMP memenuhi kepentingan kami. Cabaran yang paling besar adalah dalam meyakinkan semua pelaku utama dan pihak yang berkepentingan.
- Pilihan raya adalah sebahagian daripada sistem yang memerlukan reformasi, kerana reformasi dalaman dan institusionalisasi diperlukan dalam parti. -Satu contoh adalah evolusi 3Gs ke PWDC, yang kini merupakan sebuah agensi kerajaan.
- Masalah akan sentiasa wujud dalam apa juu sistem yang ada, iaitu sesetengah kawasan pilihan raya mempunyai lebih ramai pengundi atau lebih besar dari segi geografi tetapi ahli



YB Rodziah Ismail, ADUN Batu Tiga berkongsi pendapat dan pengalaman

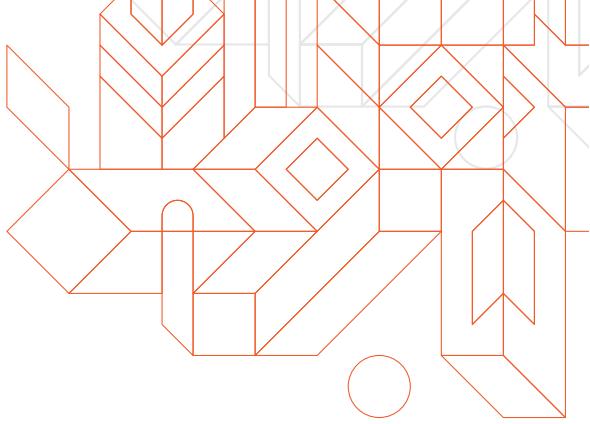
politik mendapat elauan yang sama. - Sistem akan sentiasa memerlukan pembaharuan. MMP perlu dilaksanakan dengan diiringi usaha-usaha lain untuk membetulkan dan menyokong sistem politik demokrasi. Isu-isu juga termasuk perwakilan etnik dan kaum, perwakilan minoriti, harapan yang tidak jelas terhadap Ahli Parlimen, pembiayaan politik, dan pendidikan politik bagi orang ramai memahami kerja-kerja wakil-wakil mereka dan banyak isu-isu nasional lain yang perlu diberi fokus. Sesebuah *roadmap* (peta jalan) diperlukan untuk membaikpulih sistem pilihan raya secara keseluruhan.

- Tidak kira sistem FPTP atau MMP, sentiasa ada **keperluan untuk memenangi hati pengundi dengan calon yang berkualiti tanpa mengira gender**. Namun disebabkan diskriminasi yang sistemik dan bersejarah terhadap wanita dalam semua alam masyarakat, MMP adalah menarik kerana sistem ini boleh termasuk kuota tambahan atau kerusi selamat, dan sebanyak 30% kerusi boleh *dijamin* untuk wanita.
- ***Internalized sexism*** perlu ditangani dalam mana-mana sistem pilihan raya. Ini boleh dilakukan dengan menghantar ahli-ahli politik lelaki ke kursus kepekaan gender mengenai kesaksamaan dan isu-isu wanita. *Internalized sexism* dan stereotaip juga wujud di kalangan wanita: daripada peserta yang hadir ke persidangan, adalah sukar untuk mengenal pasti wanita yang ingin menjadi calon secara sukarela, meskipun ditawarkan pilihan itu.
- Parti-parti politik juga perlu meningkatkan usaha untuk mencari calon wanita dan bersikap realistik dalam menyediakan dan menyokong mentorship yang berkualiti. *Mentorship* bukan sahaja berbentuk atas-bawah, tetapi juga berbentuk luas untuk termasuk komuniti, keluarga dan parti politik. *Mentoring* akan mananamkan taktik berkempen, pengetahuan terhadap kawasan pilihan raya sendiri dan peluang pembiayaan dalam calon wanita.
- **Memainkan peranan dengan berjaya dan mengetahui bagaimana untuk menyusun strategi dalam pilihan raya** adalah satu kemahiran yang penting dan memberi keyakinan kepada orang ramai.
- **Kriteria untuk calon wanita** (atau untuk mana-mana calon) tidak semestinya termasuk latar belakang akademik yang kukuh dan ia tidak seharusnya menjadi kriteria pertama walaupun ianya adalah kelebihan. Pengetahuan dan pengalaman dalam dunia politik adalah penting dan kemahiran ini boleh dipelajari dari masa ke masa, iaitu pengetahuan perundangan, undang-undang kecil dan enakmen, menganalisis belanjawan, berinteraksi dengan media, dan lain-lain.
- **Pembiayaan** adalah satu isu yang besar. YB Steven memberi contoh ironis daripada petikan kata Paul A. Samuelson (iaitu seorang pakar ekonomi Amerika Syarikat yang juga merupakan warga Amerika Syarikat yang pertama untuk memenangi Hadiah Peringatan Nobel dalam Sains Ekonomi), "Wanita sebenarnya adalah lelaki yang tiada wang". Pelaksanaan kempen adalah sangat mahal dan pemimpin wanita bukan sentiasa mempunyai hubungan dengan sumber dana. Menggaji wanita, menjalankan penilaian politik dan membiayai organisasi seperti PWDC adalah antara kaedah-kaedah yang boleh mempengaruhi isu perwakilan wanita.

- Masa yang terhad untuk bersedia untuk pilihan raya. Walaupun lelaki mungkin juga menghadapikekangan masa, wanita menghadapi kekangan masa dan juga kekangan sumber.
- Mendapatkan **maklum balas daripada rakyat** atau orang awam, untuk mengetahui arah mana atau sistem jenis apa yang harus ditujui oleh ahli-ahli politik.

Untuk menutup sesi, Dr Maznah Mohamad menyenaraikan perbincangan dan isu-isu yang kerap kali ditimbulkan dalam sesi ini seperti (1) *mentoring*; (2) menggalakkan perwakilan wanita di luar ruang-ruang wanita dan dalam struktur parti nasional; (3) kuota gender sebagai langkah yang berdaya maju ke arah reformasi pilihan raya; (4) *sexism* dalaman dan luaran; dan (5) wakil wanita diperlakukan hanya untuk tujuan sementara dalam politik.

6. HALANGAN DAN STRATEGI



Dalam sesi perbincangan kumpulan kelompok, halangan dan strategi jangka pendek dan jangka panjang untuk meningkatkan penyertaan wanita dalam sistem pilihan raya dan politik secara umum telah dibincangkan.

6.1 HALANGAN DAN STRATEGI: PERIBADI DAN KELUARGA, INSTITUSI DAN STRUKTUR, KEWANGAN, DAN PEMBINAAN KEUPAYAAN

Mengenalpasti halangan utama kepada perwakilan wanita dalam politik dan strategi untuk mengatasi halangan-halangan ini. Strategi ini adalah berhubung kait dan didekati secara holistik, iaitu strategi struktur dalam parti politik akan dan harus menangani halangan peribadi, keluarga dan budaya. -Pendekatan ini mencerminkan pelajaran dan pemerhatian Meyer tentang kemajuan Jerman dalam perwakilan wanita.



NO.	JENIS HALANGAN DAN PENJELASAN	STRATEGI UNTUK MENGATASI HALANGAN
1	<p>PERIBADI, KELUARGA, BUDAYA DAN PERSEKITARAN KESELURUHAN</p> <p>Tanggungjawab dengan kanak-kanak, kekurangan sokongan, tekanan, ketidakstabilan dalam keluarga.</p> <p>Patriarki sebagai halangan menyeluruh: Halangan gender yang terbatin dalam masyarakat, pelbagai beban yang dipikul wanita, stereotaip / pemikiran terhadap peranan gender (menyumbang kepada rasa tidak percaya terhadap kepimpinan wanita), kekurangan sistem sokongan, pemikiran lelaki lawan wanita (yang mendatangkan persaingan) dan ketakutan peribadi untuk memimpin.</p>	<p>Pendidikan dan kesedaran: Mengatasi bantahan keluarga dan menggalakkan pencalonan wanita melalui kempen kesedaran dan media, dan melalui mekanisme dalam parti politik, iaitu kursus formal untuk memperluaskan perspektif</p> <p>Menginstitusikan dana untuk sokongan keluarga dan dasar mesra keluarga: Dana yang diperuntukkan untuk penjagaan anak, penjagaan warga emas, pasukan penjaga di rumah atau di tempat kerja</p> <p>Menangani isu keselamatan dan gangguan: Parti secara terbuka menyokong wakil-wakil wanita dan keluarga mereka, meningkatkan membuat perancangan terlebih dahulu dengan polis bantuan, mewujudkan kaedah alternatif untuk kecemasan (perlu meneroka ini dengan lebih lanjut), kumpulan-kumpulan wanita membentuk sistem keselamatan mereka sendiri</p> <p>Pakatan merentasi parti dan membesarangkan rangkaian: Bergerak ke luar konco parti (menangani persaingan)</p> <p><i>Strategi untuk menangani diskriminasi budaya dan perspektif agama yang mengetarkan undang-undang dari segi bentuk dan kandungannya, dan yang turut menentang perwakilan wanita dalam politik dan kepimpinan wanita, perlu dibincangkan dan diperkembangkan lagi.</i></p>
2	<p>INSTITUSI DAN STRUKTUR</p> <p>(<i>Berhubung kait dengan pembinaan keupayaan dan halangan peribadi</i>)</p> <p>Lelaki menguasai, kekurangan pemerkasaan, kekurangan sokongan dan infrastruktur untuk membolehkan wanita memimpin, kekurangan kelayakan atau pendidikan, diskriminasi media, stigma, ageism (diskriminasi umur) daripada ahli politik kanan dalam parti, proses penamaan calon berpusat pada ketua parti, tiada kerusi untuk wanita, diskriminasi yang dimaktubkan dalam institusi dan undang-undang, tiada akses dalam pencalonan parti dan keseluruhan proses.</p>	<p>Dasar dalaman parti:</p> <p>Berusaha mengubah struktur dari akar umbi dan ke atas</p> <p>Menginstitusikan latihan politik untuk wanita, dan latihan gender untuk semua calon dan ahli politik (tanpa mengira gender) untuk hasil yang mampan dan berkualiti</p> <p>Melaksanakan kuota 30% minima perwakilan wanita dalam sistem dalaman parti</p> <p>Menyediakan insentif bagi dasar-dasar parti yang menggalakkan perwakilan dan kepimpinan wanita, sebagai contoh, dalam menubuhkan cawangan parti</p>

3	<p>KEWANGAN Kekurangan sumber dan belanjawan, serta kos berkempen yang tinggi.</p>	<p>Penambahbaikan kewangan: Menyediakan peruntukan kerajaan dan parti untuk calon-calon wanita, dan mendorong untuk pembentukan telus dengan mekanisme akauntabiliti. Memastikan dana yang konsisten demi operasi yang mampan.</p> <p>Menubuhkan rangkaian penaja dan penderma yang berpotensi dan meningkatkan kemahiran mengumpul dana.</p>
4	<p>PEMBINAAN KEUPAYAAN Kekurangan (1) keyakinan dan kebolehan kepimpinan; (2) peluang dan akses; dan (3) sokongan dan bimbingan.</p> <p><i>Ketiadaan pendekatan berdasarkan proses dan berdasarkan hak secara keseluruhannya</i></p>	<p>Pembinaan Keupayaan Secara Keseluruhan: Pembinaan keupayaan secara keseluruhan yang dianjurkan oleh parti, tetapi sebaik-baiknya <i>bipartisan (untuk kedua-dua parti)</i></p> <p>Melengkapkan wanita dengan jentera penuh di setiap peringkat untuk menjadi lebih celik politik politik dan yakin sebagai calon</p> <p>Meningkatkan kesedaran politik dalam parti dan terutamanya termasuk ahli keluarga terdekat demi lebih menyokong wanita dalam politik</p> <p>Mengadakan latihan komprehensif dan amali dengan pertubuhan-pertubuhan wanita atau kumpulan-kumpulan masyarakat civil untuk calon wanita yang berpotensi dan semua ahli politik demi:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meningkatkan kesedaran politik dan gender secara keseluruhan/untuk menambahbaik kepekaan gender di kalangan pemimpin lelaki • Menggalakkan kepimpinan wanita di peringkat tertinggi politik • Menggalakkan sistem kuota • Mempamerkan dan memperkenalkan kumpulan-kumpulan sokongan politik/meningkatkan keupayaan untuk menjalankan hubungan • Membangunkan kemahiran mengumpul dana • Meningkatkan kemahiran kepimpinan dan rundingan • Menggalakkan pendedahan antarabangsa mengenai isu-isu politik, ekonomi dan sosial <p><i>...demi mengarusperdanakan gender ke dalam program untuk semua parti politik; untuk memasukkan aspek gender ke dalam semua latihan; dan untuk mendidik semua ahli politik, tanpa mengira jantina atau gender, mengenai kepentingan perwakilan wanita dalam politik</i></p> <p>Latihan atau pembinaan keupayaan yang khusus yang telah disebut: memimpin kerusi yang berbeza; dan mendidik semua ahli politik mengenai cara-cara yang berkesan untuk bertindak balas terhadap serangan peribadi dan seksis, termasuk dalam parti dan dengan / kepada media</p> <p>Cadangan menarik: Menubuhkan Jawatankuasa Tindakan Politik (Super PAC) untuk calon wanita yang mencerminkan situasi di Amerika Syarikat, bertujuan untuk mengumpulkan sumbangan kampen. Satu lagi cadangan yang serupa: Sediakan institut wanita politik yang menyeberangi garis parti: Bertanggungjawab membina keupayaan wanita yang ingin menyertai politik, dan untuk mengumpul dana bagi ahli-ahli politik wanita baru</p>

6.2 STRATEGI JANGKA PENDEK DAN JANGKA PANJANG: DARI FPTP KE MMP

Terdapat pelbagai cara untuk meningkatkan perwakilan wanita. Dr. Wong telah menyediakan satu pembentangan untuk mengulang kembali sistem pilihan raya alternatif yang Malaysia boleh ikuti:

- Model UK Labour: *FPTP + Kawasan pilihan raya yang selamat dan dikhaskan, dengan kuota sukarela parti*
- Model Bangladesh: *FPTP + Penambahan bilangan wanita sahaja*
- Model Jerman:
 - MMP + Kuota gender yang ditetapkan dalam undang-undang, dengan ambang*
 - misalnya 111 Ahli Parlimen Kawasan Pilihan Raya (Nama Calon) dan 111 Ahli Parlimen Senarai (Nama Parti)*
 - = 222 kerusi Parlimen*

Peserta-peserta telah mengulang kekhawatiran besar terhadap perancangan strategi dari segi bagaimana untuk meyakinkan semua parti politik, meraih sokongan dari wanita di tahap yang lebih tinggi dalam kerajaan dan politik, memperoleh sokongan keluarga dan menggalakkan semua wanita daripada semua parti untuk bekerjasama.

Cadangan untuk strategi jangka pendek strategi jangka pendek:

1. Mengikuti model UK Labour:

Untuk kekal dalam sistem FPTP dan memperuntukkan kerusi selamat untuk wanita sama ada dengan menggubal dasar atau lebih terkawal adalah untuk melaksanakan kerusi selamat yang diperuntukkan melalui kuota sukarela parti. -Parti-parti akan beroperasi dalam struktur mereka sendiri untuk menetapkan kuota. Ini akan menjadi agak mudah bagi sesetengah parti dan satu cabaran untuk orang lain.

OR,

2. Mengikuti model Bangladesh:

Untuk kekal dalam sistem FPTP dan untuk menambah kerusi tambahan untuk wanita sebagai tambahan daripada kerusi kawasan pilihan raya. Ini perlu dilaksanakan di peringkat negeri.

Untuk strategi jangka masa pendek yang lain, peserta-peserta telah mencadangkan:

- Mencerminkan India, dengan mencadangkan 67 kerusi yang dikhaskan (30%) di Parlimen untuk wanita.
- Untuk menetapkan kuota minima 30% dalam Jawatankuasa Eksekutif Pusat.
- Untuk menggesa supaya wanita bertanding di semua peringkat, terutamanya Ketua Cawangan atau Cabang, kerana ini adalah di mana potensi sebagai calon dilihat.
- Untuk menggesa agar adanya jawatankuasa pilihan yang telus dan mempunyai kuota minima 30% perwakilan wanita. Untuk membangunkan rangka kerja undang-undang untuk pematuhan.
- Dalam parti, untuk menyediakan latihan mengenai sistem pilihan raya kepada ahli-ahli dan calon-calon.
- Melatih, menyokong dan mempromosikan calon wanita kepada orang ramai.
- Untuk menjalankan kempen kesedaran awam mengenai sistem MMP.

Untuk strategi jangka panjang bagi mencapai perwakilan wanita dalam politik, kira-kira dua pertiga daripada peserta menyokong sistem MMP dan kuota gender yang ditetapkan melalui undang-undang. Dalam sistem MMP, struktur-struktur mesti ditubuhkan supaya wakil-wakil wanita dan parti-parti mereka boleh berunding dan mengutarakan perspektif dan isu-isu mereka.

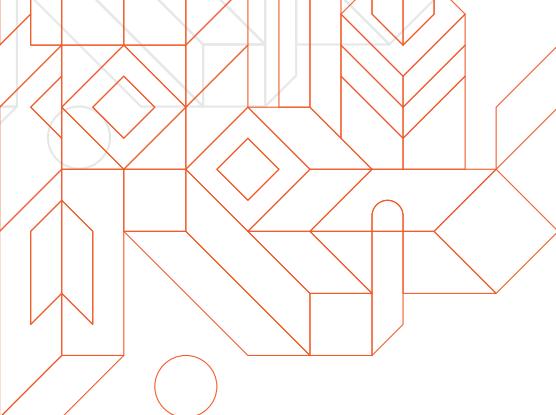
Menurut Wong, ia adalah mungkin di sisi undang-undang untuk melaksanakan kerusi tambahan di peringkat Negeri Pulau Pinang, yang dicerminkan dalam Perkara 14 Perlembagaan Negeri Sabah, dan Pasal 11 Perlembagaan Negeri Pulau Pinang, di mana kedua-duanya mematuhi cara atau peruntukan Perlembagaan Persekutuan.

Artikel 117 Perlembagaan Persekutuan menyokong hujah ini:

*Bagi pemilihan ahli-ahli ke Dewan Undangan sesuatu Negeri, Negeri itu hendaklah dibahagikan kepada seberapa banyak bahagian pilihan raya mengikut bilangan ahli yang dipilih supaya seorang ahli **dipilih** bagi setiap bahagian pilihan raya; dan pembahagian itu hendaklah dibuat mengikut peruntukan yang terkandung dalam Jadual Ketiga Belas.*

Strategi jangka panjang tidak dihuraikan tetapi cadangan-cadangan umum telah dibuat:

- Strategi menyeluruh yang lebih jelas perlu dibincangkan berkenaan tentang bagaimana untuk meyakinkan semua parti politik, orang awam dan media, termasuk mengenal pasti sokongan yang wanita diperlukan bagi membangkitkan isu perwakilan wanita yang lebih baik dan reformasi pilihan raya. Satu cadangan adalah untuk mengadakan dialog terbuka dan acara untuk meningkatkan kesedaran bagi meyakinkan parti-parti bahawa manfaat dalam sistem MMP adalah bukan sahaja untuk pembangkang untuk sesiapa sahaja yang menang undi popular. Pendidikan politik, kesedaran dan *outreach* kepada orang ramai melalui media sosial, infografik dan cara-cara kreatif yang lain boleh dibangunkan, terutamanya pada masa di mana orang ramai “penat” terhadap politik dan memerlukan barisan politik yang baru lagi menarik. Ini harus ditujukan kepada media juga.
- Kuota mestilah terkandung dalam manifesto parti untuk mendesak reformasi pilihan raya, dan yang sama penting, **pilihan raya bebas dan adil**. Ini harus digunakan ke atas kerusi yang diperuntukkan untuk wanita dari peringkat akar umbi juga.
- Mempengaruhi Suruhanjaya Diraja Bebas untuk mengkaji sistem pilihan raya dan mengemukakan syor-syor.
- Mempertimbangkan pembentukan sebuah institut politik wanita untuk melobi bagi MMP. Satu lagi cadangan adalah untuk membentuk satu jawatankuasa pemandu untuk membuat tindakan susulan selepas Persidangan Kebangsaan ini.



7. SYOR-SYOR PERSIDANGAN

Persidangan ini telah ditamatkan dengan perbincangan yang mengukuhkan lagi Syor-Syor yang dihasilkan oleh jawatankuasa persidangan. Strategi jangka pendek yang menyeluruh adalah untuk mendapatkan persetujuan pemimpin parti dengan sokongan aktivis dan NGO, yang memberi kesan kepada Dewan Undangan Negeri. Untuk jangka masa panjang, strategi-strategi perlu ditujukan untuk memberi kesan di peringkat Parlimen. Semua strategi dijangka akan meliputi pelbagai sektor dan menangani pelbagai dimensi: perwakilan deskriptif, substantif dan simbolik. Perbincangan dan perdebatan lanjut diharapkan akan dilakukan dalam kumpulan ini dan selepas Persidangan, sama seperti di Indonesia di mana perubahan dalam sistem pilihan raya dan undang-undang adalah eksperimen *trial and error* (percubaan dan kesilapan), di mana semuanya bertujuan untuk penerangkuman gender.

Syor-Syor telah mendapat kata sepakat daripada semua peserta, dengan enam pemimpin utama bersetuju untuk menyokong butir-butir tindakan dan isu keseluruhan tentang perwakilan wanita dalam sistem pilihan raya: YB Zuraida Kamarudin (Ahli Parlimen), Jannie Lasimbang (JOAS), YB Yap Soo Huey (Ahli Lembaga Pengarah PWDC), Aloyah Bakar (Bekas Ketua Pegawai Eksekutif PWDC), Datin Rohana Ghani Weiler (Ahli Lembaga Pengarah PWDC), dan Hajjah Aida Yusof Rawa (Ahli Lembaga Pengarah PWDC).

SYOR-SYOR TERAKHIR PERSIDANGAN

Pendahuluan

1. Persidangan mengambil maklum terhadap kemajuan yang perlahan untuk penyertaan wanita dalam politik pilihan raya dan halangan sosio-ekonomi, budaya, agama dan politik yang berhubung kait dengannya.
2. Persidangan mengambil maklum terhadap keperluan dan keterdesakan untuk meningkatkan lagi penyertaan wanita kepada 30% minima di semua peringkat pembuatan keputusan.
3. Persidangan juga mengambil maklum bahawa sistem pilihan raya semasa iaitu *First-Past-The-Post (FPTP)* menghalang keterangkuman dan penyertaan wanita dalam politik pilihan raya.
4. Persidangan mengakui keperluan untuk kuota gender pilihan raya diinstitusikan.
5. Persidangan menyokong
 - 1) dalam jangka masa pendek,
 - (i) untuk mempunyai tambahan kerusi bukan kawasan pilihanraya¹ bagi wanita sahaja di peringkat Dewan Undangan Negeri dan Parlimen;
 - (ii) untuk mempunyai kuota sukarela parti untuk minima 30% calon bagi kerusi
 - 2) dalam jangka masa panjang, untuk mengubah sistem pilihan raya daripada *First-Past-The-Post (FPTP)* kepada *Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)*

Oleh itu, Persidangan mengesyorkan agar:

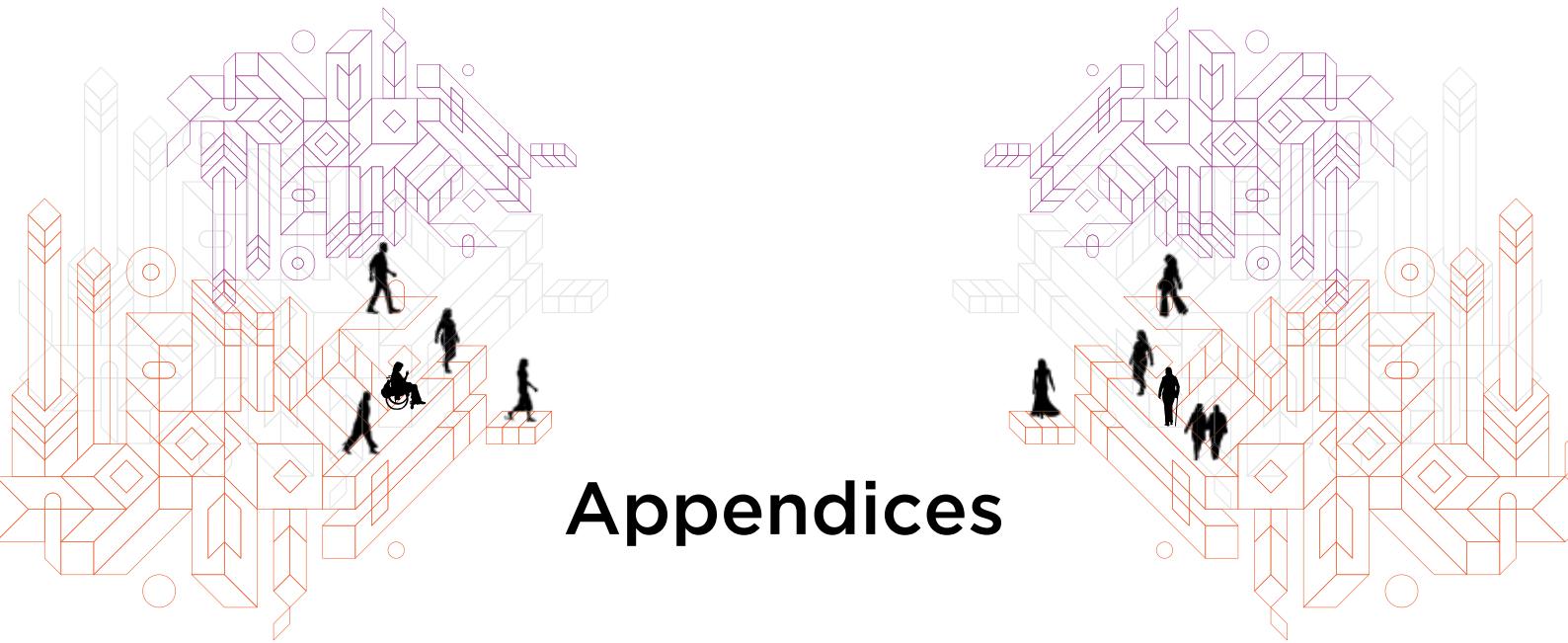
1. Setiap peserta mengambil langkah-langkah konkret untuk menganjurkan latihan / dialog / bengkel dalam parti politik, kawasan pilihan raya, dan / atau organisasi beliau untuk menyokong peningkatan dalam penyertaan wanita dalam semua peringkat pembuatan keputusan, dan keperluan untuk kuota gender pilihan raya dan perubahan sistem pilihan raya.

¹ Merujuk kepada Sabah

2. Setiap peserta dari parti politik menggesa partinya untuk melantik sekurang-kurangnya minima 30% wanita di semua JKJKK dan pihak berkuasa tempatan dan berusaha ke arah meletakkan sekurang-kurangnya minima 30% calon wanita pada pilihan raya negeri dan parlimen.
3. Setiap peserta dari parti politik merekrut lebih ramai ahli wanita ke dalam parti beliau, dan lelaki dan wanita yang boleh menggesa dan melobi bagi pihak wanita dan kekhawatiran mereka ke arah meningkatkan talent pool calon wanita.
4. Kerajaan persekutuan dan kerajaan-kerajaan negeri menyediakan dana awam bagi parti-parti politik untuk pilihan raya yang akan meratakan padang permainan untuk semua calon.
5. Dana khas ditubuhkan untuk menyokong calon-calon wanita.
6. Bahawa Jawatankuasa Pemandu pelbagai sektor ditubuhkan untuk mengimplementasikan Syor-Syor di atas.



Aktivis hak wanita dari pelbagai organisasi hak wanita dan masyarakat sivil menyokong Kesaksamaan Gender dan Reformasi Pilihan Raya.



Appendices

Outline

- I. Status on women's political representation
- II. Barriers to political participation
- III. Gender quotas and electoral systems
- IV. Dimensions of women's representation
- V. Other measures supporting representation

Debating Women's Representation &
Electoral Politics

Cecilia Ng & Karen Lai
National Conference on
“Gender and Electoral Reform : Making A Difference”
26-27 August 2016
Penang, Malaysia

Global and National Context

• THE WORLD

- In 2003 – women comprised 15 % of parliamentarians
- In 2013 – percentage INCREASED to 21 %
- In 2013 – 37 countries have at least 30% of women in lower house

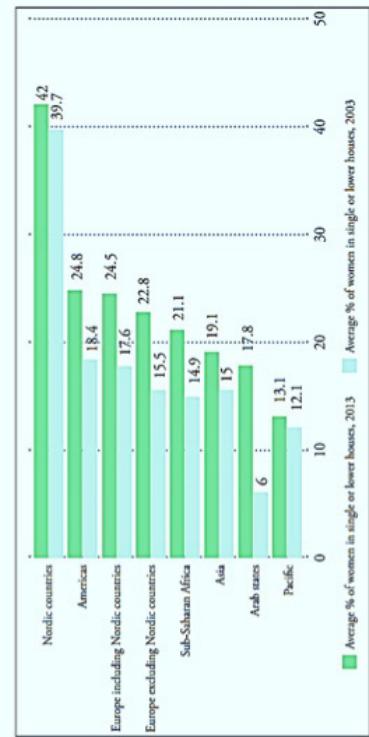
STATUS ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

• MALAYSIA

- In 58 years of electoral history, number of women in Parliament **never exceeded 11 %**

Number of women in parliaments: 2003 and 2013

Figure 1: Number of women in parliaments, 2003 and 2013 regional averages



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arct/world011013.htm>>.⁴

Figure taken from Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas by International IDEA, 2014

Malaysia: Percentage Share of Elected Parliamentarians

Year	Women	Men
1980	4.5	95.5
1990	5.3	94.7
2000	10.4	89.6
2008	10.8	89.2
2013	10.4	89.2

Malaysian Women in Parliament

	2004		2008		2013		222 seats	%
	219 seats	%	222 seats	%	222 seats	%		
BN	182	17	8.5	13	9.3	11.9	14	10.5
PAS	6	0	0.0	20	3	13.	19	2
DAP	9	3	25.0	24	4	14.	34	4
PKR	0	1	100.0	28	3	9.7	27	3
Total	9.6% women		10.4% women		10.4% women			

Malaysian Women in State Legislative Assemblies

JADUAL 8.4
Ahli Dewan Undangan Negeri (ADUN) Mengikut Negeri dan Jantina, 2008, 2013 dan 2015
Table 8.4
State Legislative Assembly Members by State and Sex, 2008, 2013 and 2015

Negeri / State	Jumlah		Lelaki		Perempuan		Jumlah	Lelaki	Perempuan	Total	% Female
	Total	Male	Female	% Female	Total	Male	Female				
Johor	56	51	5	8.9	56	47	9	56	47	9	16.1
Kedah	36	34	2	5.6	36	32	4	36	33	3	8.3
Malaka	45	43	2	4.4	45	42	3	6.7	42	3	6.7
Negeri Sembilan	20	25	3	10.7	20	26	2	7.1	26	2	7.1
Pahang	36	34	2	5.6	36	34	2	5.6	36	2	5.6
Perak	42	40	2	4.8	42	37	5	11.9	42	37	5
Penins	59	51	8	13.6	59	52	7	11.9	59	51	8
Pulau Pinang	15	15	0	0.0	15	13	2	13.3	15	14	1
Sabah	40	37	3	7.5	40	36	6	15.0	40	36	6
Sarawak	60	55	5	8.3	60	56	4	6.7	60	56	4
Selangor	71	65	6	8.5	71	64	7	9.9	71	64	7
Terengganu	56	48	8	14.3	56	42	14	25.0	56	42	14
Jumlah	376	330	46	12.0	376	311	65	11.3	376	312	64
Total											11.1

Note & Notes:

Berasaskan Pihak Rayu Umum 2015

Based on General Election 2015

Sumber: Berita Harian Matrika

Source: Berita Harian Matrika

International Frameworks

- The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) **requires government(s) to ensure equality for women in political and public life, on both *de jure* and *de facto* terms.**
- The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA- 1995) urges State actors to “**take measures to ensure women’s equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making**”

Domestic Framework (Malaysia)

- National Women's Policy: **1989**
- Sixth Malaysia Plan (**1991-1995**) : Chapter on Women in Development
- CEDAW ratified & Beijing Platform for Action endorsed :**1995**
- Art 8(2) Amendment to Federal Constitution to prohibit gender discrimination: **2001**
- Ninth Malaysia Plan (**2006-2010**): minimum 30% women in decision-making
- MWFCD and UNDP consultancy on minimum 30%: **2007- 2008**
- National Women's Policy (revised) and Action Plan for Women: **2009**

BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- 6 Sectors :**
- Parliament & political parties
 - State Assemblies, Excos & Local Councils
 - Ministries
 - Statutory Bodies & Universities
 - Judiciary
 - Private Sector

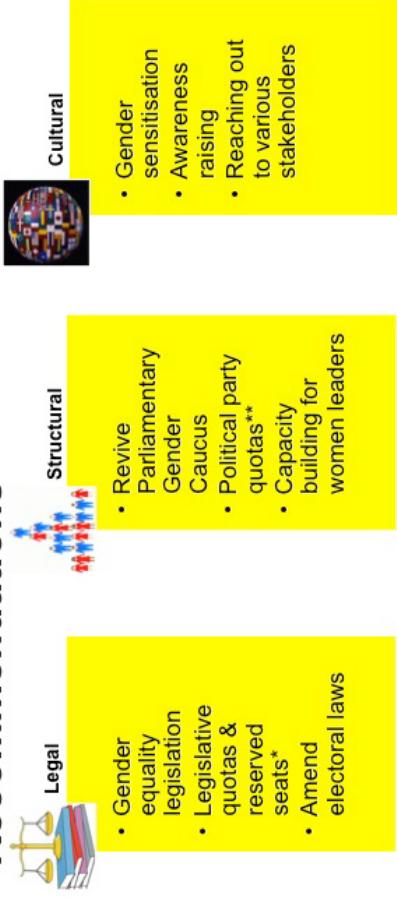
MWFCD & UNDP Study (2008): Towards at Least 30% Women in Decision Making

THREE MAIN BARRIERS



“Glass ceiling” “Double burden” “Invisible woman”

MWFCD & UNDP Report 2008: Recommendations



BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION: FINDINGS FROM PRE-CONFERENCE FGD IN JUNE 2016

1. Reforms needed at all three levels – legal, structural and cultural. Structural reform alone cannot change cultural norms/gender stereotypes
2. Key barrier:
Party/institutional : whether they are accepted/selected by the party;
their worth and bargaining power determined by their level of influence and vote bank; women have to play the game along men-dominated terms; younger women struggle more than more established, senior women leaders

GENDER QUOTAS & ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Recent developments in debates

- Addressing institutional barriers
 - examining intra-party decision-making
 - nature of candidate selection and nomination
- Examining patterns of political funding and campaign spending
- Further debates on women's representation
- Connecting gender quotas and different electoral systems

What are Quotas?

- A measure to **increase representation of historically excluded or under-represented group**
- Setting up a percentage for representation of a certain group
 - Form of a minimum percentage e.g. 30% or 40%
 - Or a range of between X (e.g. 40%) and Y (e.g. 60%) for gender parity

What are Electoral Gender Quotas?

- Numerical targets re number or percentage of women in candidate list or number of seats for women in a legislature
- **Objective: reverse gender discrimination and level playing field**
 - Gender quotas the most **effective tool to 'fast track' women's representation in elected bodies**
 - Over the past decade, the number of countries with gender quota policies has grown from about 20 to about 130
 - 60 countries – legislated candidate quota
 - 36 countries – legislated reserved seats
 - 37 countries – voluntary party quota

Three Types of Gender Quotas

Legislated Reserved Seats	Legislated Candidate Quotas	Voluntary Party Quotas
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Places set aside for women that men not eligible to contest<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Pakistan, India, Bangladesh	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Changes to electoral laws or constitutions which require parties to put forward a certain proportion of women candidates<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 85 countries as of 2013: Latin	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Voluntary reforms of party statutes to nominate a certain percentage of women candidates<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Western Europe

Debates over Quotas for Women

Those for: RATIONALE

Representation

DISCUSSION

- Political representatives tend to speak for interests of their constituencies instead of interests of all

Justice / Equality

- Women represent half the population and hence have the right as citizens to equal representation; quotas acknowledge equal value and ensure equality of results

Experiences/ Perspectives

- Women's experiences / perspectives ought to be represented/ counted; men cannot represent women because they have partly conflicting interests

Debates over Quotas for Women **Those against:**

- Against principle of equal opportunity for all, since women are given preference over men; puts gender before merit
- Patronising to women
- Political representatives should represent the interests of whole society
- Essentialist approach - presumes all women think the same way or have identical interests (more diverse group of women may not be interested in "women's issues" and may be less effective)

Gender Quotas and Electoral Systems

- Beijing Platform for Action Article 190: Governments are required to:
 - Take measures, including, where appropriate, in **electoral systems that encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions** in the same proportion and at the same levels as men; [and]
 - Review the **differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems;**

GLOBAL PATTERNS SHOW THAT MORE WOMEN ARE PRESENT IN PR SYSTEMS COMPARED TO MAJORITARIAN SYSTEMS

Two Electoral Systems

FPTP

Single Member
(one per constituency)

e.g.
Malaysia & UK

Party List-PR

Multiple Members
(several per constituency)

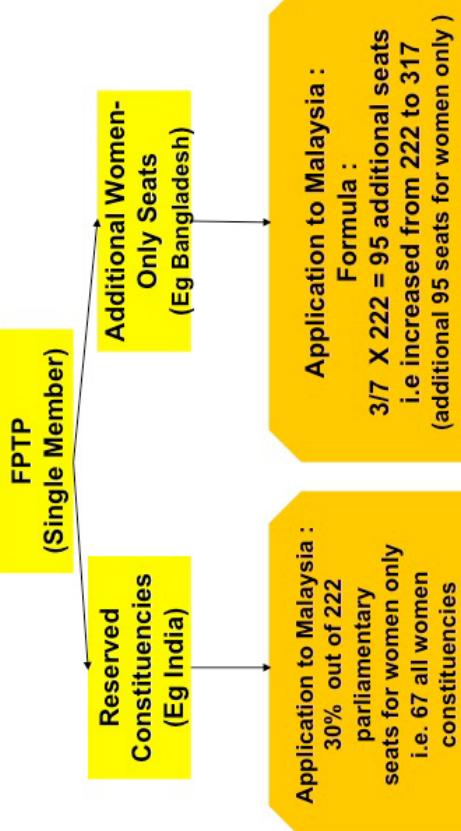
Whole country is one big constituency
e.g.
Netherlands

Multiple constituencies
e.g.
Indonesia

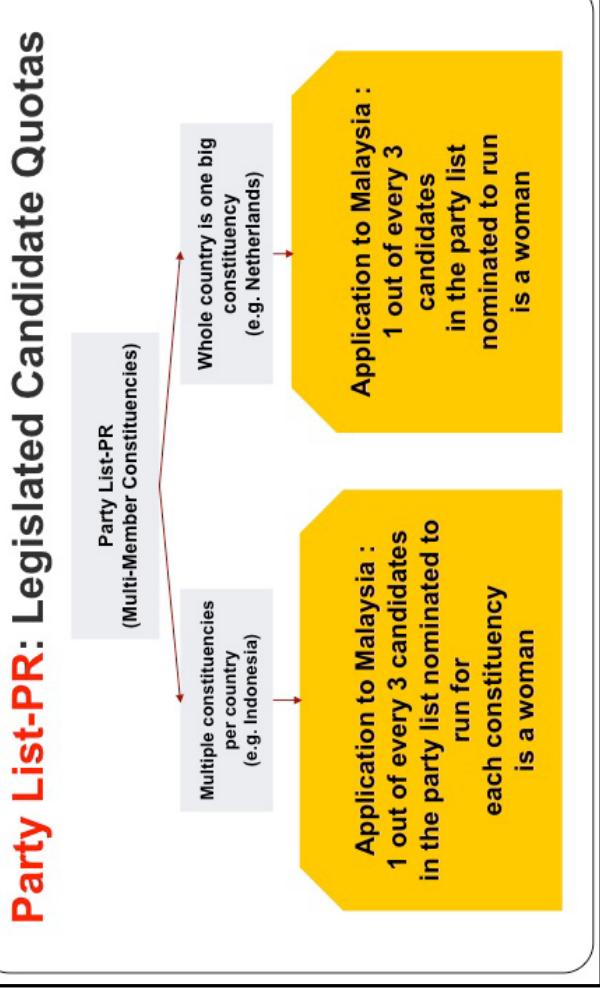
Connecting Gender Quotas into Electoral Systems

- First Past the Post (FPTP)
- Party List-Proportional Representation (Party List-PR)

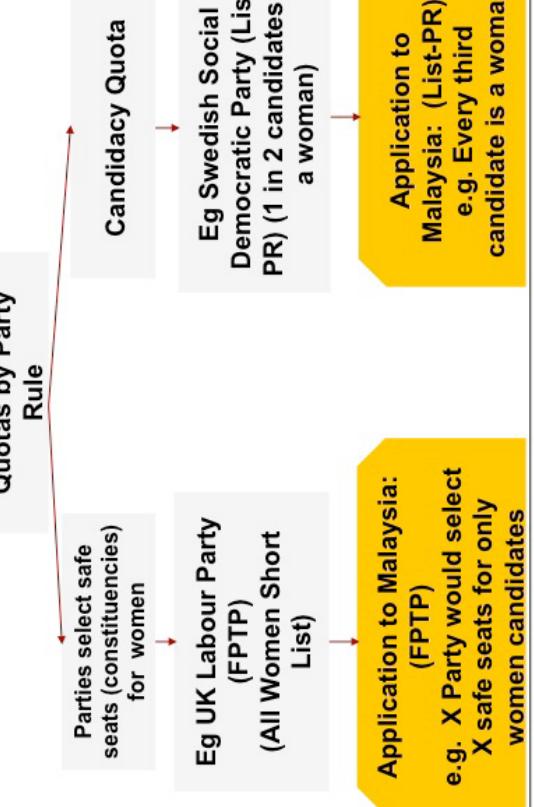
FPTP: Legislated Reserved Seats



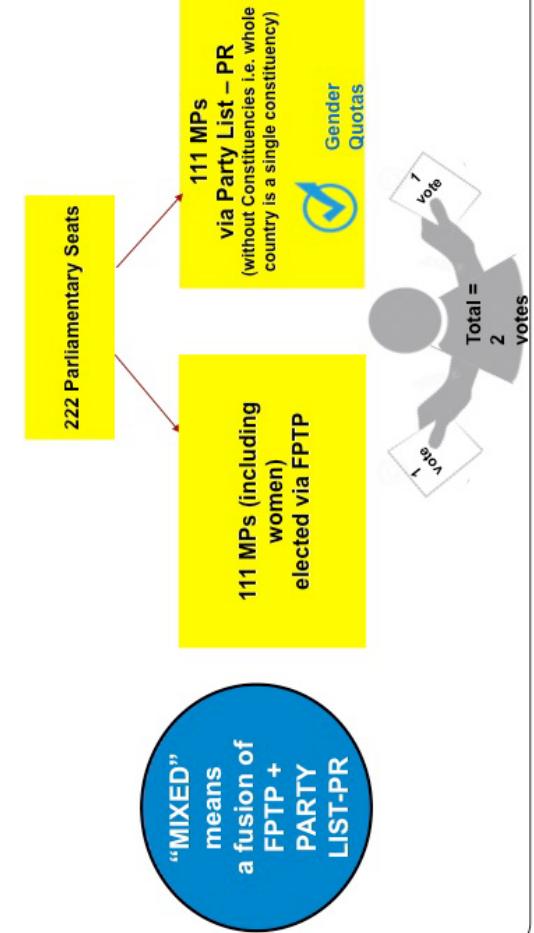
Party List-PR: Legislated Candidate Quotas



Voluntary Party Quota



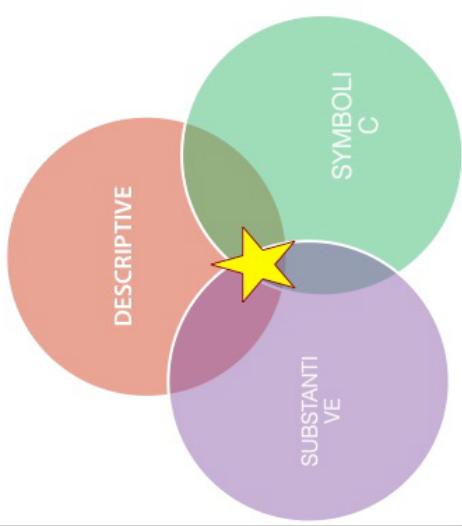
Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system



DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Women's representation :
Three dimensions, ONE STARTING POINT

These approaches
are not mutually
exclusive



Women should be fairly represented in terms of numbers, substantive policy concerns and political presence

DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

- **DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION** : How many women are elected to political office? (numbers)

- **SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION** : Are women able to promote women's issues once they are elected to political office? (policies, impact)

- **SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION** : How do women's presence (or absence) in political office affect public (constituent) perceptions and opinions?

Factors affecting WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

- Type of Electoral System
 - More women in PR vs FPTP, closed list, multi-member constituencies
 - Eg Sweden, where multiple seats are available in each constituency and candidates are elected from lists put forward by political parties compared to only one seat per constituency (eg FPTP)

Factors affecting WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

• Political Context & Culture

- Quotas more effective where
 - several parties co-exist & larger parties responsive to suggestions from smaller
 - parties with left-wing ideologies and leadership are better able to enforce party/national regulations
 - **party elites willing to recruit women candidates**
- Quotas less effective where
 - **political elites resist / undermine quotas**

Positions Where Parties Directly Influence Appointments : Women in Malaysia's Cabinet

Year	Ministers	Deputy Ministers
2009	28	40
	26	2
	7.1% women	20 % women
2010	28	42
	26	2
	7.1% women	16.7% women
2015	35	34
	32	3
	8.6% women	20.6% women

Malaysia : other positions where parties directly influence appointments

Position	No of Seats/Positions	% Women
Supreme Council Members of Political Parties	384	10.2
Members of State Executive Committees (EXCOs)	154	11.0
Local Council Members	2567	14.1

(MWFC 2015)

Factors affecting WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

• Existence of sanctions

- e.g. in France, financial penalties under 50% quota law
 - larger parties tend to ignore the requirements
 - smaller parties are more likely to comply due to greater pressure to maximise amount of state funding received

Factors affecting WOMEN'S DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION

- Role of other actors in enforcement & monitoring
- Enforcing quota provisions & monitoring accountability by :
 - women's organisations
 - national courts

Linking Descriptive & Substantive Representation MORE WOMEN = BETTER / GENDER-FRIENDLY POLICIES?



- Sweden : 43.6 per cent (152/349 seats) women in Parliament post-2014 election
- 12 / 24 (50%) government ministers are women
- Some of the most progressive gender equality policies in the world including 480 days paid parental leave
- Never finished lower than 4th in Global Gender Gap rankings

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION : Points To Consider

- “Critical acts/actors” (women and men)
- Important for women to provide gender lens on macro and social justice issues
- Ultimately, it is about
 - equal participation
 - equitable distribution of power and decision-making at all levels



- Working closely with many elected women reps, we have initiated important substantive changes for women and communities in the State
- Gender Responsive Participatory Budgeting (GRPB)
 - Women's Leadership Training
 - Lean IN @ Penang
 - Brigid Wanita Pulau Pinang
 - Gender Awareness Raising
 - Penang Goes Orange
 - Childcare Policy & Taska D'Komtar

SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION :

Points To Consider

- “Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) also highlighted other measures to support **gender-balanced decision-making** e.g.
- career planning, tracking, mentoring, coaching, training, and retraining
- public debate on the new roles of men and women in society and in the family

Measures Supporting Representation:

More Ideas on The Way Forward

• **LEGAL MEASURES**

- Party funding regulations (including sanctions & rewards/incentives)
- Publicly-provided campaign support (e.g. television broadcasting air time; trust fund for women candidates)
- Laws against VAW in politics

• **PARLIAMENTARY MEASURES**

- Infrastructural e.g. more women's toilets; breastfeeding rooms
- Operational e.g. adjusting Parliamentary sitting hours for work-life balance, provisions to cover parental leave when elected reps are absent
- Institutional e.g. **gender-specific research and training within parliaments** to support gender-friendly policy-making
- Women's Caucuses and/or Gender Equality Committees

• **POLITICAL PARTY INITIATIVES**

- “Soft quotas” i.e. recommendations and targets
- Internal leadership quotas
- Recruitment initiatives
- **Internal party funds & candidate subsidies for women**

- CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES
- Recruitment
- Training and awareness raising
- Fundraising



"For me, a better democracy is a democracy where women do not only have the right to vote and to elect, but to be elected."

Michelle Bachelet, President of Chile and former Head of UN Women

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- Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development (MWFCD), Malaysia
- Dr Prema Devaraj, ALIRAN

Women's Political Participation - Malaysia

Maria Chin Abdullah

Chairperson

BERSIH 2.0 (Coalition for Clean and Fair Elections)

Women's participation in politics

Women as part of anti-colonial independence struggle:



Aishah Ghani, Sakinah Junid, Shamsiah Fakih



Pan-Malayan Labour Party - Women's Charter

Women in Elected and Appointed Offices

	Year	No. of Men	No. of Women	Total	% of Women	In 1990	2	25	8.0		
Members Of Parliament (by election)	1990	171	9	180	5.0	26	2	28	7.0		
	1995	179	13	192	6.8	29	3	32	9.4		
	2000	174	19	193	9.8	30	2	32	6.3		
	2004	196	23	219	10.5	20	2	32	6.3		
	2006	198	21	219	9.6	27	3	30	10		
	2008	198	24	222	10.8	28	2	30	6.0		
	2013	199	23	222	10.4	25	2	27	7.0		
State Assembly Representatives (by election)	1990	428	15	443	3.4	38	3	39	7.7		
	1995	474	24	498	4.8	32	6	38	15.8		
	2000	235	15	250	6.0	21	5	26	19.2		
	2006	536	40	576	6.9						
	2008	530	46	576	8.0						
	2013	448	57	505	11.3						
Senators (by appointment)	1990	40	11	51	21.6	12	3	15	20.0		
	2000	NA	NA	NA		14	6	20	30.0		
	2004	N/A	NA	NA							
	2006	44	18	62	29.0	2,878	306	3,184	9.6		
	2008	47	19	66	28.8	2004	2,751	320	3,071	10.4	
	2013	44	14	58	24.1	appointment)	2006	2,774	398	3,172	12.5
							2008	2,869	405	3,274	12.1

Government's Response

- In 1995 Government also ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- 2004 Policy of 30% women's participation at all decision making levels in a public sector
- 2011 30% involvement of women in a decision making level in a private sector as well as GLCs

Government's Response

Budget for the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development:
2005 RM 30.5 million
2013 RM1.85 billion

Barriers Entering Politics

Political

- Patriarchal style politics
- Lack of party support
- Access to resources
- Lack of political will to implement CEDAW & to connect between women's work and domestic caretaking burdens
- Inadequate support from CSOs

Social-Cultural

- Persistent Gender Roles
- Family work & Time Constraint: Dual burden
- Politics is dirty/for men-only
- Portrayal of women in media
- Illiteracy and access to education

Legal

- Electoral System
- Absence of specific measures to increase participation (minimally 30%)
- Non-existence of Local Council Elections

Growth of Political Funds for Electioneering & Intense Competition

Political Campaigns



Maintaining Temp. Offices



Paying Party Workers



Mobilising Voters



Running Advertising Campaigns On Policies



Growth of Political Funds for Electioneering & Intense Competition

- Prime Minister Najib Razak has acknowledged the existence of donations from foreign sources to run elections. His admission highlighted two longstanding controversial issues involving the financing of Malaysian politics:
 - Existence of secret political funds controlled by individuals or trustees
 - Access to phenomenal foreign funding, suggesting illegal political financing that undermines the legitimacy of parties.

Source: Political Finance Reform, Terence Gomer (2015)

Implications

- Monetization of politics
- Unequal access to funding
- Covert funding
 - Growing monetization of politics as private funds seep into political arena in large quantum to BN & Opposition
 - Unequal access allows those with greater capacity to obtain funds to ascend political hierarchy & win seats during general elections; undermines electoral fairness and competition
 - Worrying allegations of covert funding of parties & politicians – 1MDB-foreign.

Implications

- Inadequate legislation
- Institutions devoid of autonomy
- Money-based factionalism
 - Current legislation & disclosure requirements inadequate to restrict covert funding of politics or ensure fair elections & competition.
 - Institutions with oversight of electoral competition reputedly devoid of autonomy to act without fear or favour (EC / MACC).
 - Money-based factionalism threatening existence of parties

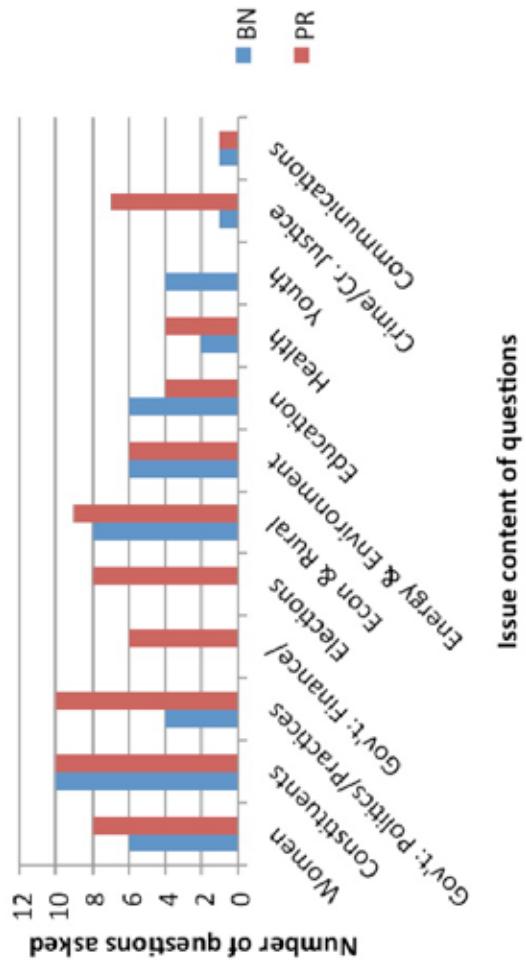
QUESTIONS ASKED IN PARLIAMENT

1. 77 questions asked by MPs (first seating)
2. 52 were asked by women and 26 by men.
3. Most questions were answered by the Minister of Women, Family and Community Development

QUESTIONS ASKED IN PARLIAMENT

Women ask:

- 31% about work;
 - 19% violence against women
 - 17% woman and elections, governance
 - 17% women and the law (domestic violence / syariah)
- Men ask:
- 38% about single mothers and baby dumping
 - 27% about waw, women workers & citizenship
 - Five men asked about causes and negative effects of a policy, and the adequacy of resources (personnel).



Defining problems and strategies – some key consideration

- 1. Why women under-represented and men over-represented**
- 2. Equal representation vs minimum level of representation**
- 3. Affirmative action**

Source...Divya Dalmia (2009)

Enabling Environment

Legal & State's Obligation

- 1. Equality/ Non-discrimination Act for all**
- 2. Reform electoral laws to ensure clean and fair elections**
- 3. Review and Reform electoral system for inclusive representation – MMP & legal quotas (constitution / electoral laws)**
- 4. Parliament and State Assemblies – Effective Gender Equality Select Committees to propose gender responsive laws, policies and action plan.**
- 5. Ministry of Women, Family & CD. Post-election – financial allocation for political parties with reserve funds to build capacity for women and male politicians including gender sensitisation**

Enabling Environment

Organisational / structural

1. Political parties make awesome commitments:

- Democracy without women is not democracy.
 - Every open seat can be a woman's seat
- Transform & bring about reforms for purpose of including participation of women in politics by imposing quotas/target, pressing for electoral reforms, early announcement of seats allocation & better control over political funding for candidates, political parties and government

2. Institutionalising gender sensitising capacity of both men and women, in political parties

3. Need for women's movement to champion for women in politics and to pressure parties and state e.g. have score cards on MPs/ DUNs/Senators [Timor Leste – Women Caucus]

4. Institutionalise political funds for women candidates

Women's Campaign Fund in Washington

➤ Forum of Women's NGOs, Kyrgyzstan – women's rights issues

Emily List – focus on pro-choice [Early Money Is Like Yeast]

➤ Margaret Campbell Fund set up by the Canadian Liberal Party provide funds for women candidates & additional C \$1000 for those who have never contested. Whereas the New Democrats Party provide fund that will also cover childcare while candidates are campaigning

Women in Kenya in 2016 suffered a double loss in the National Assembly when male MPs rejected changes to the law to set up a special fund to give all women candidates in the country campaign money in the next election.

Conclusion

➤ Malaysian women had the opportunity since the inception in the 1940s and 1950s to play a critical role in political developments which had helped to bring about prosperity, growth and progress for the country.

➤ Malaysian women have become an important component of the nation's human capital and made an impact on Malaysian politics moving towards a high income nation by 2020.

Gendering the Pros and Cons of the Mixed Member Proportional System: The case of New Zealand¹

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Abstract

In 1993, New Zealand voted to replace its traditional First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) electoral system with Mixed Member Proportional Representation (MMP). This paper will discuss why this change happened, and how the introduction of MMP has impacted on women's descriptive representation. Specifically, it focuses on what has happened to women under two quite contrasting electoral systems thereby providing some insights into the extent to which electoral systems are mediated by other factors in affecting the descriptive representation of women. New Zealand's new electoral system has retained a plurality component, meaning proportionality in itself may not ensure gender parity in parliamentary representation. As such, this paper looks at what other institutional changes are needed to achieve gender equality in political representation, and investigates the relevance of the structure and culture of political parties and their selection processes to women's chances of electoral success and the extent to which the substantive representation of women can be advanced as a result.

Introduction

New Zealand is one of a growing number of countries that has adopted, in a mixed electoral system. New Zealand's Mixed Member Proportional system (MMP) is derived largely from the German model and was first employed in the 1996 national election. This means the system is now twenty years old, making it a useful time to take stock on its capacity to underpin gender equality in political representation. It is also important to remember that, as elsewhere, New Zealand did not shift away from plurality completely. More specifically, New Zealand's version of MMP asks voters to cast two votes. One vote is used to elect an individual candidate in a single-member district (electorate) seat, using a plurality formula

¹ Some of this material appears in J. Curtin (2012), 'New Zealand: A mixed system producing mixed results' in M. Tremblay (ed) *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas*. NY, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 197-209.

associated with the original FPTP. The second vote is used to choose a party list, which is closed, meaning that the ranking of list candidates is done by the party not the voter (so voters cannot preference women candidates). The proportional “Sainte-Laguë” formula is used to allocate seats to parties that win at least one electorate seat or 5 percent of the votes cast nationally. This proportional ballot is used to compensate parties for their poor performance in the electorate ballot. In other words, it is the party vote nationwide that determines the overall allocation of parliamentary seats. As such, MMP counts as a fully proportional system. However, because a plurality component remains this has meant that attaining gender parity in parliamentary representation remains a difficult task. This paper looks at what other institutional and other changes are needed to achieve gender equality in political representation, including feminist activism in both civil society and political parties, and the potential need for more than a one quota reform strategy. It also investigates the relevance of the structure and culture of political parties and their selection processes to women’s chances of electoral success and the extent to which the substantive representation of women can be advanced as a result.

The Voting System

For most of its democratic and electoral history, New Zealand has had a first-past-the-post electoral system (FPTP). This plurality electoral system did not come under scrutiny until increased voter concern with executive power culminated in a Royal Commission on Electoral Reform in 1986. The Commission recommended a change to a proportional electoral system, in particular the adoption of MMP.

In recommending this change, the commission highlighted the need for effective representation of minority and special interest groups and the importance of parliament reflecting other characteristics of the electorate including gender (Catt 1997). While the issue of increasing women’s representation did not receive significant attention during the campaign for electoral reform, the Women’s Electoral Lobby (WEL) was committed to a proportional system. WEL made a submission to the Royal Commission, and its representatives were active members of the Electoral Reform Coalition, a network that proved critical in the campaign for change between 1986 and 1992. By contrast, most high-profile women parliamentarians (from the two major parties) argued against change (McRobie 1993).

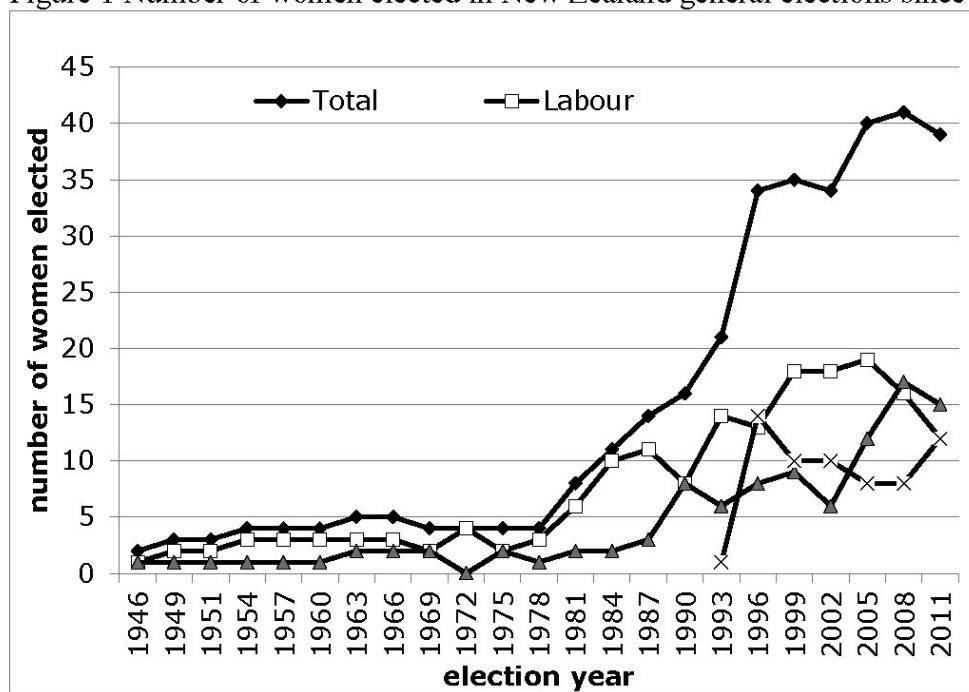
More generally, there were mixed reactions in the press by feminists in the lead-up to the 1992 referendum on the preferred model. Mary Varnham, active women’s liberationist in the 1970s, noted that “if you are female and less than enamoured with a system which produces an 84 percent boys club on the hill, there’s another persuasive reason to vote for a change to proportional representation: it will almost guarantee more women in parliament” (Varnham 1993: 151). Meanwhile ex-National MP Marilyn Waring, who was a supporter of STV, argued that MMP would primarily favour political parties, rather than individual candidates, thereby further entrenching the presence of “a middle-aged white majority regardless of party in office” (Waring 1993: 204). Survey research later found that 68 percent of those who voted for MMP in 1993 wanted to see more women in parliament (Catt 1997). When the National-led (conservative) government was elected in 2008, it instigated another referendum on electoral reform, in an attempt to return to a system that delivered single party government. Women’s groups were again active in their campaigns

to retain the proportional system of MMP, framing their arguments around suffrage claims and the need for diversity in representation (Women for MMP 2011).

Women in the Legislature: Historical Trends

Prior to 1981 the number of women elected to parliament was tokenistic at best (Figure 1). Then the trend begins to change, with a significant increase in the percentage of women elected: from 4.3 to 8.7 percent. At the 1981 election three new Labour women were elected to parliament, doubling the Labour women's caucus from three to six. All three were elected to relatively safe Labour seats, thereby providing these women with a possible political career. The election of Labour women was a major factor contributing to the continued increase in women's representation prior to the introduction of MMP in 1996.

Figure 1 Number of women elected in New Zealand general elections since 1945-2011



Source: Electoral Commission

Also important was the large swing to the conservative National Party in the 1990 election, which enabled a considerable number of National Party women in marginal electorates to win a place in parliament, several of whom kept their seats in the 1993 election. Labour was decimated in the election of 1990, yet the number of Labour women in parliament only decreased by three, highlighting the fact that a solid proportion of Labour women politicians had gained selection to safe Labour seats. With the implementation of MMP, it is impossible to say whether the incremental increase in women's representation would have continued under FPTP.

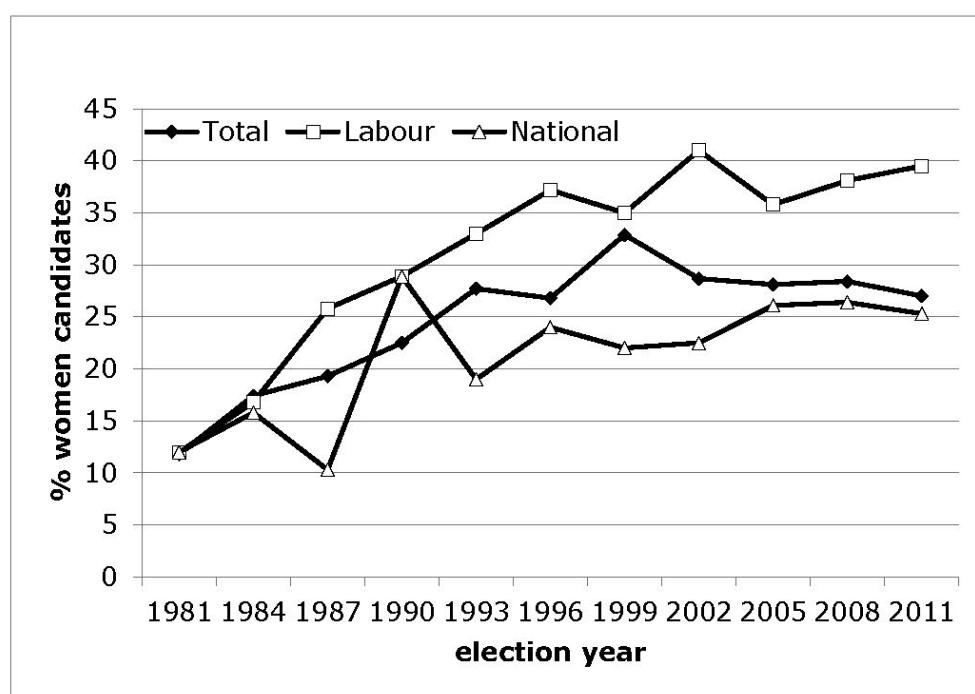
What we do know is that the first election under MMP in 1996 had an immediate effect on women's parliamentary presence. Women constituted 28.3 percent of the new 120-member parliament, with a large number of these women elected from minor parties (14 compared with 13 Labour women and 8 National women). In the 1999 and 2002 elections, there was little overall increase in the proportion of women elected, but the makeup

changed, with the number of Labour women increasing from 13 to 18. Then, in 2005, for the first time, the percentage of women parliamentarians surpassed 30 percent (reaching 33.1 percent) with 19 Labour women and 12 National women sitting in parliament, supplemented by 8 women from the minor parties. Indeed, 2005 was the first year since the introduction of MMP that the number of National women elected has exceeded the number of women parliamentarians from the minor parties. National's success in getting women elected continued in 2008 when a record 17 National women won parliamentary office although this decreased by two in 2011. Meanwhile in 2011 the number of Labour women elected dropped to its lowest level since 1990, although it increased again in 2014 (to 37.5 per cent).

The Impact of the Voting System on the Proportion of Women in the Legislature

In order to better understand how the proportional element of MMP has had an impact on women's representation, it is necessary to look more closely at two interconnected aspects associated with the election of women within mixed proportional systems. The first concerns the changes in women's candidacy rates over time; that is, does the advent of proportional representation lead to an overall increase in the selection of women as candidates? Second, to what extent is the increase in women's representation attributable to the selection of women for party lists?

Figure 2 Women's candidacy rates, 1981-2011



Sources: McLeay (1993), Electoral Commission (1999, 2002, 2006, 2011)

Looking first at women's candidacy rates overall, it is evident that there was no significant increase in the percentage of women candidates selected for the first election under MMP in 1996. And, in 2005, the percentage of women candidates was only 1 percentage point higher than it had been in 1993 under FPTP. The deviation is in 1999, when there is an upward shift despite a decrease in the proportion of women selected by the major parties,

highlighting the impact of several minor parties' propensity to select women. Since 1993, the Labour Party has consistently selected a higher proportion of women than has the National Party (Figure 2).

Several stories emerge when looking at women's candidacy rates in electorate seats compared with party list selection (Table 1). First, women are consistently more likely to appear as list candidates, where the district magnitude is large, than as electorate candidates where only one candidate can be the winner. While there has been some increase in women's candidacy rates for electorates, at no time has it reached over 30 percent. This is despite electorate seats making up the majority of parliamentary seats.

However, the election of women from lists has been less predictable. In 1996 and 1999, there was a significant difference in the proportion of successful women list candidates compared with the proportion of women who won electorate seats. Then, at the 2002 election, there was little difference between the two; women were 29.4 percent of list politicians and 27.5 percent of electorate politicians. By 2005, women were, once again, more likely to be represented through the party list than through electorate success and this trend has continued.

Table 1 Women candidates and politicians (%) under MMP

Electio n	Women list candidates	Women list politicians	Women electorate candidates	Women electorate politicians	Total women politicians
1996	28.1	45.5	24.7	15.4	28.3
1999	34.4	39.6	29.3	23.9	29.2
2002	31	29.4	28.2	27.5	28.3
2005	31.8	44.3	27	23.2	33.1
2008	29.3	42.3	28.2	27.1	33.6
2011	28.5	39.2	26.7	27.1	32.2
2014		38		30.9	34.1

Source: Electoral Commission (2002; 2006; 2011)

So how might we interpret such fluctuations? Part of the answer lies in the placement of women on party lists. In the campaign for electoral reform, there had been an expectation that the introduction of the party list vote would force political parties to select a balanced list to attract voters. However, there was no uniform response from parties on this issue. The anatomy of party lists in 1996, 2005 and 2011 reveals that parties on the Left are significantly more likely to place women in their top ten positions on their lists.

In seeking to explain the divergence between the parties, an important factor is the degree of central party involvement in the selection process. While the introduction of MMP has

required parties to implement new rules on selection for party lists, the Labour Party and the Green Party have ensured some element of central influence in the selection and ranking of candidates: and it is these parties that have the more gender-balanced party lists. By contrast, the National Party has a highly decentralized system of selection, with central intervention frowned upon. This was highlighted when Jim Bolger, ex-leader of the parliamentary National Party, was unable to use his influence to ensure local branches selected more women (Miller 2005: 11). The exception to the rule is New Zealand First, which has a highly centralized selection system but a poor record in placing women in winnable positions. By contrast, alongside the Greens, the Maori Party and the now defunct Progressive Party, indicates that, as is the case elsewhere, minor parties on the Left are more likely to select women to winnable positions on their lists. Interestingly, the Greens and Maori parties have female and male co-leaders, which may also influence the propensity for women to be selected.

Where women are positioned on the party list matters differently depending on whether the party is a major or minor party. For example, minor parties are likely to win few, if any, electorate seats because of the plurality element of the system, meaning that gender balance in the ranking of the top ten party list candidates is significant. It also means there will be considerable intraparty competition for the top ten list positions, which may explain the lack of female selection by several of the minor parties on the Right. However, because the major parties are most likely to win the electorate seats, the positioning of women on party lists becomes more complicated. If one major party wins a large number of electorate seats then its allocation of party list seats may decline; the opposite is also true. That is, if the party wins fewer electorate seats but gains a significant proportion of the national party vote, its list allocation may increase, producing a volatility factor.

Moreover, there is a tendency for the parties to allow dual candidacy for most of their electorate candidates, meaning there are increasingly few list only candidates selected by the major parties. In combination, these two factors (volatility and dual candidature) not only enhance the importance of gender parity on party lists but also necessitates that female and male candidate names are alternated *throughout* the list. So, in contrast to the minor parties, gendering the middle-order list positions (25–45) of the major parties becomes as important as gendering the top positions.

In summary then, MMP can only result in equal representation for women if equal numbers of women and men are selected for winnable electorate seats as well as winnable party list positions. Otherwise, theoretically, parity would only result if women were significantly overrepresented in winnable list positions. In other words, women's underrepresentation as electorate candidates would be "compensated" for through the list selection process. There is little chance such a strategy would be considered, especially given that to date there has been only limited discussion of adopting voluntary party quotas.

Instead, (safe) electorate seats are more likely to produce high incumbency and are deemed to be a better route to a parliamentary career for women in the major parties than seeking a (safe) position on a party list. While significantly better than the National Party at selecting women, many of Labour's "safe" constituency seats are still held by male incumbents. Because there is a tendency to rank incumbents higher on the party list, the

gender disparities in representation are compounded. By contrast, for women from the new, smaller political parties, the party list has become the primary route because the plurality system employed in the single-member districts undermines minor-party representation. The representation of women has been enhanced by the election of the minor parties on the Left, which have consistently fielded large numbers of women candidates, but there is a considerable degree of voter volatility in support for minor parties, so the fortunes of women in these parties are less assured over the long term.

The Impact of Other Variables on the Proportion of Women in the Legislature

Since the 1980s, there have been several aspects of women's representation in New Zealand that warrant attention and reviewing these provides a more nuanced understanding of how other "political" variables have mediated the impact of proportional representation. The first significant factor is that by 1993, women's representation in the New Zealand parliament had reached 21.2 percent under a pure plurality system, with neither of the major parties having a gender quota in place. This is a feat achieved in no other majoritarian single-member system. So, although the introduction of MMP in New Zealand in 1996 has been important to women's increased parliamentary presence, much of the transformation in women's representation occurred between 1981 and 1993.

As indicated earlier, much of this increase was a direct result of the Labour Party more than doubling the number of women elected to parliament during this time and important was women's agency within the Labour Party. A core group of Labour women pursued a conscious strategy to advance the descriptive and substantive representation of women. They created a number of institutionalized separate spaces within the party, establishing the Labour Women's Council in 1975 and the Women's Policy Council and reintroducing Labour Women's Conferences. By 1984, the Labour Party looked completely different as a result: the membership, candidates, and elected parliamentarians included significantly more women. By 1995 there had been three women party presidents—Helen Clark became deputy leader in 1989 and took over the party leadership in 1993.

With the introduction of MMP, new rules have been introduced governing the selection and rankings on party lists. The gendering of Labour Party culture has ensured that these new rules incorporate an "equity review" whereby after each bloc of five candidates has been chosen, the selection committee pauses to ensure the list fairly represents Maori, women, men, ethnic groups, the elderly, and young people (Catt 1997). In practice, this "equity review" has contributed to a second "milestone"; that is, a more diverse Labour caucus. By contrast, there are few, if any, proactive measures taken by National Party selection committees to ensure that its lists adequately reflect New Zealand society. While the National Party has had several women party presidents, it is not evident these women have used what little indirect influence they possessed to increase the proportion of women selected.

A third "milestone" is the feminization of political leadership that has become a feature in New Zealand from the mid-1990s onward. In 1997, Jenny Shipley of the National Party became the country's first woman Prime Minister. At the 1999 election, the Shipley government was replaced by a Labour-led government headed by Helen Clark. Seven women were given ministerial positions, constituting 35 percent of Clark's first cabinet (this

had dropped to 30 percent in 2006, with one ex-cabinet minister taking the role of first woman Speaker of the House). There have also been three women governors general appointed since 1990. The National government has continued to include around 6 women in its Cabinet.

It is hard to say how this gendering of political leadership has impacted on political culture in New Zealand. In the very least, there is an increasing public expectation that women will be selected to winnable positions. This is evident by the backlash against the leader of New Zealand First in 1999 after he dumped the party's only two women parliamentarians to unwinnable positions on the party list. By contrast, the presence of Clark as party leader in the 1996 election campaign appears to have contributed to winning the women's vote for Labour (Aimer 1997), and evidence suggested that until 2011, Labour continued to attract more of the women's vote than did National although that gap has now closed (Curtin, 2014).

Conclusion

In New Zealand, the introduction of MMP has produced mixed results for women. A multiparty system has resulted, with "new" parties emerging on both the Right and the Left of the two major parties, several of which have been proactive in their recruitment of women candidates. It was expected that new system would require the "old" parties to attend to the gendering of representation in order to attract voters. However, while the Labour Party has undergone a process of feminization, it remains a party that is resistant to implementing a gender quota in electorate seats. The reticence of the National Party to take any initiatives highlights the fact that the increased parliamentary representation of women evident in recent years still largely depends on left-wing parties winning elections or gaining a considerable proportion of the national vote. While the Labour Party in New Zealand headed minority governments between 1999-2008, since then National has been in government and there has been no significant increase in the representation of women. Thus, if the parties of the Right maintain their share of the vote without providing more gender balance in candidate selection, the parliamentary presence of women in New Zealand may decline, irrespective of proportionality.

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Gendering the Pros and Cons of the Mixed Member Proportional System: The case of New Zealand

Paper presented to the National Conference on
Gender and Electoral Reform: Making a Difference.
26-27 August 2016, Penang

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What we can learn from history

- Women win right to vote in 1893
- Won after 7 bills were presented between 1878-1892 (by supportive men)
- Large petitions signed by women mattered
 - 50,000 signatures
- Win right to stand finally won 1919,
 - three women stood for election, none elected
- Often stood as independents, without success

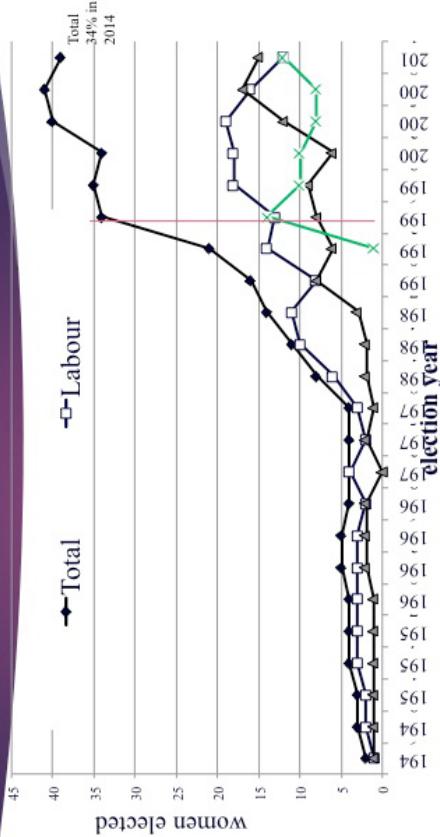
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Women's representation

- New Zealand becomes an entrenched two-party system
- In 1933 Elizabeth McCombs (Labour)
- In 1945 Hilda Ross (National)
- 1949, Iriaka Ratana (Labour, first indigenous woman)
- 7 of the 16 women elected prior to 1979 were initially via by-elections (seats held by fathers, husbands, male relatives)
- Between 1946 and 1975 around 93 per cent of general election candidates were men.

Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

Women elected 1945-2011 by Party



Total
34% in
2014

Why did New Zealand undertake electoral system change?

- Increased vote for small parties but few seats won (1970s +)
- Declining turnout and disillusionment (90% => 72%)
- Discontent with 'Unbridled Power' of executive
- Not a federal system
- No upper house
- Weak committee system
- Strong party discipline

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The process for change

- Royal Commission on the Electoral System (Reported 1986)
 - Political Entrepreneur: Labour MP, Deputy Leader, Justice Minister and Attorney General, (Sir) Geoffrey Palmer.
 - Remits through the Labour Party for Commission (RC seen as benign strategy parties could ignore)
- Terms of reference:
 - Fair and Effective representation
 - Women part of "minority and special interests"

Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

WHY RECOMMEND MMP?

- MMP option was a SURPRISING choice
- But it attended to desire for constituent representation (electorate vote)
- And diversity and minor party representation (closed party list vote)
- Report became basis for civil society mobilization
- Public information and petitions
- Feminist groups supported change
- Submissions and educating women voters

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Institutional change (1992+)

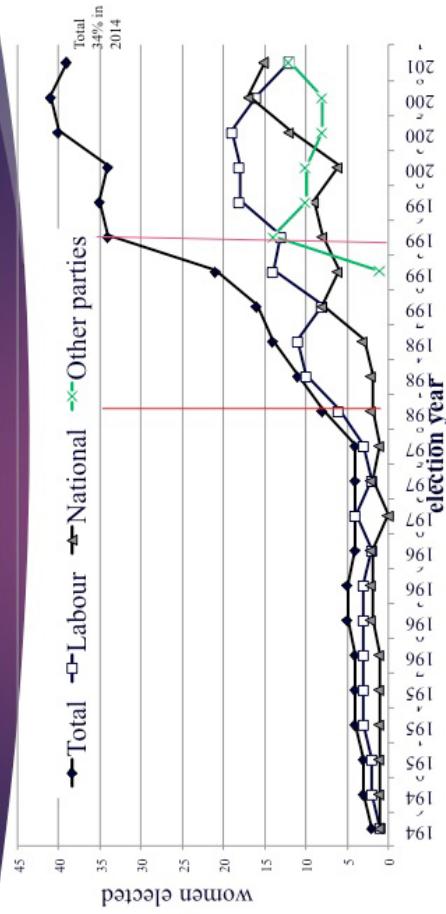
- Referendum in 1992 (2 votes: 1 for change and 1 preferred system)

8 Referendum in 1993 (FPTP vs MMP)

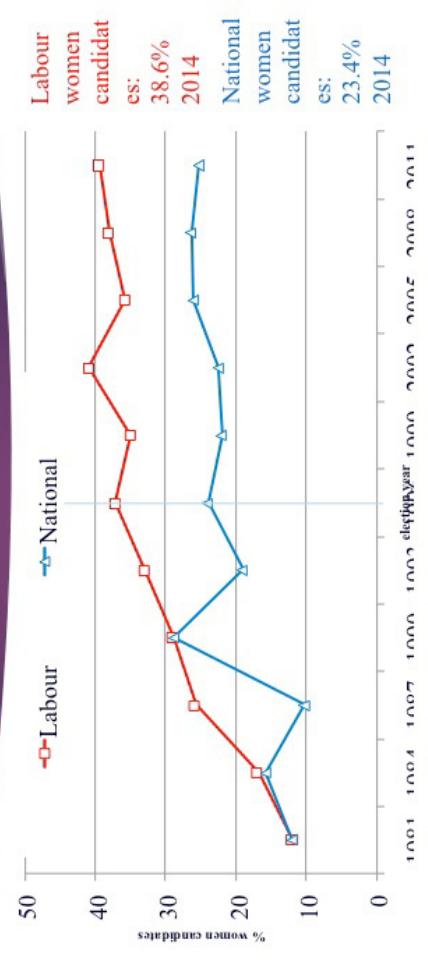
- First MMP election held in 1996
 - Two votes; one for an electorate MP, one for a Party
 - Threshold of 5% or 1 seat
 - 120 seats;
 - 64 General Constituency seats
 - 7 Maori seats
 - 49 List seats

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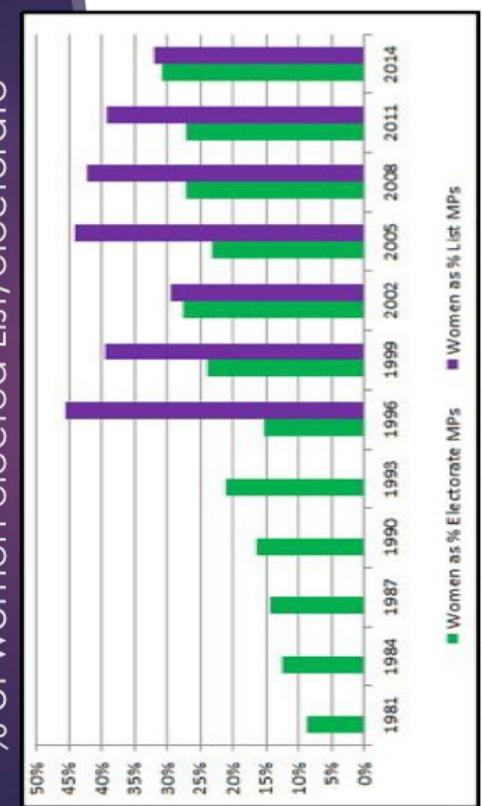
So what is the result for women under MMP?



Women's candidacy rates, 1981-2014



% of women elected List/electorate



Female/Male List winners in 2014

	Women	Men	Total	% Women
National	5	14	19	26
Labour	2	3	5	40
Greens	8	6	14	57
Māori	1	0	1	
NZ First	3	8	11	27
United Future	0	0	0	
ACT	0	0	0	
TOTAL	19	31	50	

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Impact

- ▶ Prime Ministers: Helen Clark Jenny Shipley
- ▶ Three female Governors General
- ▶ A third of cabinet female since 1999 (Helen Clark as PM started this trend)
- ▶ Increased diversity amongst women since the introduction of MMP
- ▶ Two small parties have female-male co-leaders (Greens and Māori Party)
- ▶ But male leaders till prevalent across most parties
- ▶ Women Prime Ministers? "Been there done that" so seen as "box tick" not norm

Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

Conclusions from the numbers

- ▶ Historically women thought their vote would be enough
- ▶ Parties resisted women as candidates except as substitutes
- ▶ Growth of women's representation post 1975 under FPTP = Feminist activism
- ▶ Women's structures and the Labour Women's Council

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MMP is very good (BUT remember)

- ▶ List seats support diversity and enable 'targets', hard/soft quotas
- ▶ Greens exceptional on parity
- ▶ Labour target of 40% of caucus
- ▶ List-only positions are less safe - depends on party vote;
- ▶ First Past the Post element still has an impact
- ▶ Electorate seats provide guaranteed political career
- ▶ Dependent on political will of all parties
- ▶ Women-only short lists for FPTP?

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New Zealand's gender quota debate

The New Zealand "Man Ban" debate and the issue of gender quotas in New Zealand has been discussed in J. Curtin, Parliament's Gender Balance', *The Listener*, 11 July, <http://www.listener.co.nz/current-affairs/politics/coming-to-the-party-5/>



Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

New Zealand Election Study (2014) suggests respondents would like to see more women represented, but they are not interested in quotas to achieve this.

Takeaway points

Two pronged approach to quotas needed in Mixed Member Proportional Systems:

- ▶ Legal quotas unlikely in NZ
- ▶ Targets and voluntary party quotas work for the party lists;
- ▶ Need to consider all-women short lists for FPTP
- ▶ Wins requires increased (feminist) civil society activism;
- ▶ Women's structures inside parties and on selection panels;
- ▶ Political will from political leaders;
- ▶ Sliding targets (don't stop at 30%) (NZ has stalled)

Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

Women's Quota, Electoral Reform and Institutional Change: Indonesian Cases

by Ani Soetjipto

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This article discusses the issue of women's representation in Indonesia's electoral politics in the post-affirmative action era since 2004. What has been achieved in both regulatory and non-regulatory fields? What can be evaluated ? What critical insights can be generated from the lessons in the past three elections (2004, 2009, 2014)?

This article argues that there has been some progress made with regard to women's political representation in Indonesia, which is marked by the increasing number of women representatives in legislative institutions (House of Representatives/DPR and House of Regional Representatives/DPD) at the national level coupled with the increasing number of women being elected into legislative institutions at the provincial and district/municipality levels (Provincial DPRD/ District DPRD). The open election system which relies on majority votes provides women with the platform to accumulate political experience as well as a wide opportunity to overcome various domestic barriers to enter into politics, network, compete, collect votes, as well as to gain an understanding of the electoral system and the vote counting procedure, methods to campaign, and how to safeguard votes. In other words, women have enjoyed a better semblance of equality to compete with men in the electoral arena. The opportunities gained by women in Indonesia have been very open and guaranteed through various national regulations in favour of gender equality in politics.

In addition to all these achievements, women's political representation in Indonesia has also created some paradoxes. Currently, due to prevalent oligarchical practices, the political sphere in which women operate in is not conducive to their substantive representation, in that aspirations to correct the gender-gap through affirmative action policies are often undermined, including through cooptation. Such policies tend to benefit only a small group of women who have already established relationships or links with political and economic elites, or have otherwise garnered massive popularity at the grassroots level.

Thus, the challenge for women's political representation in Indonesia is to translate the descriptive representation of women, in terms of their numbers, into more substantive representation, and to widen the struggle from (merely focusing on) equality of access to opportunities, towards striving for equality in access to justice. The shift towards the politics of justice encompasses not just electoral processes but also political movements initiated by civil society, organisations and communities working in synergy with each other and with electoral actors.

INTRODUCTION

The struggle for equality in politics for women in the Indonesian democratic context is a long and arduous road. Still, for many, giving up is not an option.

There are compelling reasons why women's equal representation in politics is important. First, there is to begin with descriptive underrepresentation of women in public office where numbers remain very

low. Secondly, in terms of substantive representation, feminists believe that giving more space to women to participate in policy discussions and formulation will positively influence the policies being developed. Thirdly, the principle of justice requires that women, who constitute half the population, be fairly represented in decisionmaking. Women's political presence in equal numbers as men is important to adequately raise and articulate women's interests and needs in the various policies developed. Finally, it is believed that women bring in different values and perspectives, which in turn will lead to different policy priorities compared to those promoted by their men counterparts. Eventually, the increased and meaningful participation of women in political decisionmaking will contribute towards an improvement in the overall quality of democracy in Indonesia.

Empirical evidence shows a severe gap in women's political representation in the post-reform era as well as several critical issues faced by Indonesian women such as the economic crisis, high maternal and infant mortality rates, issues surrounding migrant workers, and poverty. These circumstances pushed women to demand for an affirmative action policy (temporary special measure) in the form of a provisions or quota mandating a minimum of 30% women representatives in the Election Law in 2003.

Todate, the affirmative action policy design in the Indonesian regulatory framework has been more comprehensive as compared to when the policy was first adopted through the Election Law No.12 of 2003. Article 65 in the Law grants juridical opportunities for women to enter into politics. Over time, different revisions in the Election Law have strengthened the women's affirmative action policy through three significant changes, i.e. from Election Law No.12 of 2003 to Election Law No.10 of 2008 and Election Law No.8 of 2012.

Other than the Election Law, affirmative action policies have also been integrated into the Political Party Law (Law No.2/2007 and Law No.2/2011), Election Procedure Law (Law No.15/2011), as well as the Law on the House of Representatives/Regional Representatives Council, and Regional House of Representatives Structure (DPR/DPD, DPRD Structure) (Law No.17/2014).

The current regulatory designs that govern the affirmative action policies (at various levels) in Indonesia (2015) are as follows:

Political Party Law	Election Law	Law on DPR/DPD, DPRD Structure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Party is required to have 30% women in its central board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportional representation election system (in selecting candidate) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Composition of DPR, DPD and DPRD chiefs must consider women's representation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 30% of the daily board at various levels shall include women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 30% of party candidates must be women in every electoral district. Any party that fails to fulfill this requirement will be sanctioned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Composition of speaker, complementary organs of DPR, DPD and DPRD must consider women's representation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legislative candidate recruitment shall include 30% women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parliamentary threshold for DPR/DPRD seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender mainstreaming in the code of conducts and code of ethics of DPR, DPD and DPRD members

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional chief candidate recruitment must take into account women's representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Candidate list in each electoral district must include 1 woman candidate for every 3 candidates 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political party's manifesto/platform shall include the party's internal quota for women MP candidates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Election Commission (KPU) and Subnational Election Commission (KPUD) must announce the percentage of women's representation in each electoral district 	

The regulatory design as shown in the above table is set forth in the Election Law No.8 of 2012, Political Party Law No.2 of 2011, and MD3 Law (Law on MPR, DPR, DPD, DPRD) No.17 of 2014. In addition, the affirmative policies are also strengthened with PKPU (Election Commission Regulation) which ensures that the permanent candidate list in every electoral district includes a minimum 30% quota for women and shall place at least 1 woman candidate in every 3 candidates named.

In the Political Party Law, parties are obliged to include a minimum of 30% women at national level as a requirement for a party to be eligible to run in the elections. However, it has been observed that not all parties participating in the elections actually implement it in their manifesto/platform.

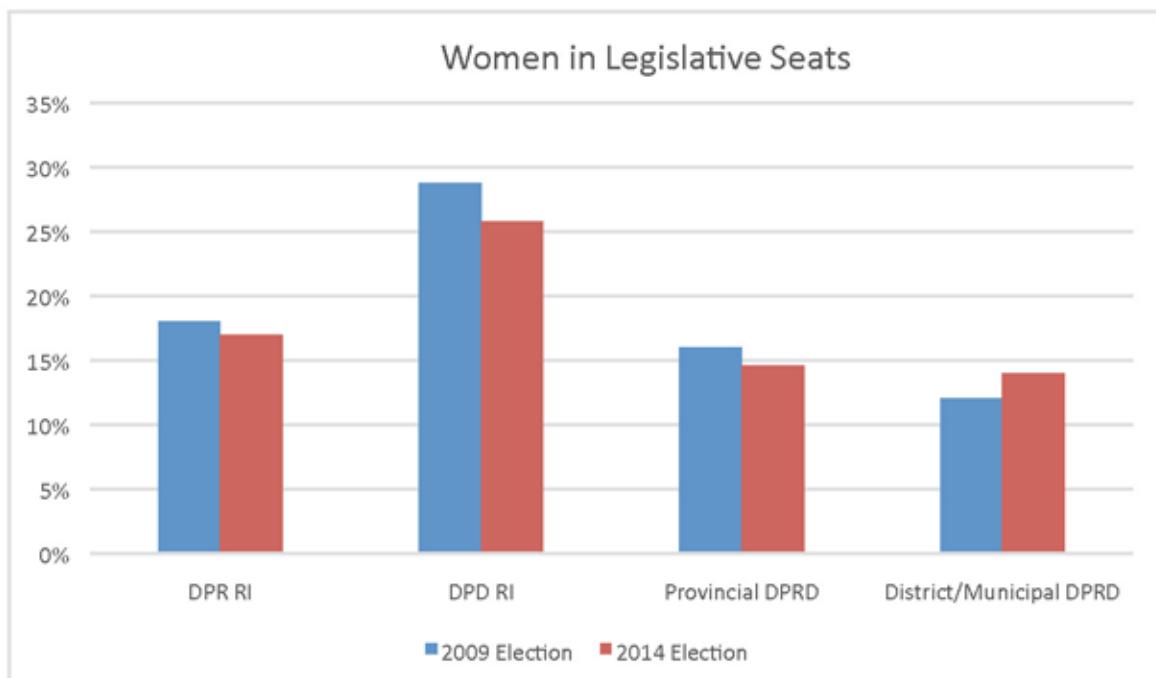
Up to now, the number of women in leadership in parliament remains low as the women rely on the party's decision to promote them as parliament leaders. However, most of the political parties are indifferent in proposing women as leaders in parliament.

ACHIEVEMENTS

There was an increase in the number of women being elected for DPR and DPD in the 1999, 2004 and 2009 but the number became stagnant and in fact decreased slightly in the last election in 2014.

Legislative election	DPR election system	National Parliament (DPR) Representation	DPD RI from SNTV Election System
1999	Closed proportional (voting for party)	9 % (45 of 500 seats)	-
2004	Semi open proportional	11 % (61 of 500 seats)	25 % (29 of 132)
2009	Open proportional	18 % (101 of 560 seats)	28,30 % (37 of 132)
2014	Open proportional	17 % (97 of 560 seats)	25,3 % (34 of 132)

The number of women representatives elected at provincial and district/municipal level also increased. In fact, in some district/municipal parliaments, women's representation constituted more than 30% in the 2009 and 2014 elections, as illustrated in the graph and table below :



The current trend on women's electability in legislative bodies shows a stagnation compared to figures in the 2009 election. The only increase is in the number of women in District/Municipality DPRD. from 12% in 2009 to 14% in 2014.

Legislative seats won in 2014 Election :

Legislative Body	Women	Men	Total Seat
House of Representatives	97 (17 %)	463 (83%)	560
House of Regional Representatives	34 (26 %)	98 (74%)	132
Provincial House of Representatives	336 (16%)	1776 (84%)	2112
District/Municipal House of Representatives*	2303 (14 %)	14302(86%)	16605

- Data source: Puskapol UI
- * Data from 481 districts/municipalities

PARADOXES OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN INDONESIA

Despite all the achievements in three post-reform elections, women's political representation in Indonesia has also resulted in several unexpected and unplanned paradoxes.

Paradox 1

Women's electability has increased in the past four elections, as shown above. The past two elections (2009 and 2014) show a gap between electability and total votes obtained by women candidates. The total number votes gained by women candidates has grown higher, accounting for 22% of the votes in the 2009 election and 23% in the 2014 election. In comparison, women's electability was only at 18% in the 2009 election and 17% in the 2014 election. This vote gap needs to be reviewed.

Paradox 2

The increasing trend of women's electability at the national level is followed by increasing women's representation at the local level in the past two elections, namely in 2009 and 2014. In the 2009 election, the total percentage of women provincial MPs was 16%. In 2014, the number decreased slightly to 14.62%. The province with the highest women's representation in 2009 was Maluku (31%), while in 2014, North Sulawesi replaced Maluku with the highest representation at 31%. In 2014, the number of women's electability in Maluku decreased to 26.67%.

At the district/city level (there are 528 districts/cities in Indonesia), there has been an increase in women's representation in the district/city House of Representatives (DPRD) from 12% in 2009 to 14% in 2014. In terms of specific districts / cities, eight regions (Gowa, Tomohon, Depok, Madiun, Kendari, Batu, Surabaya, Probolinggo) showed women's representation above 30% in 2009. This number increased in 2014 to 20 regions. As compared to the total 528 districts/cities, that number is certainly still insignificant, yet the positive side is that those regions that have passed the 30% mark may serve as role models for the still unsuccessful ones. Despite the positive trend, there are still regions with very low women's representation in six provinces and in no less than 160 districts/cities. For comparison purposes, very low representation ranges between 0-9%, low representation ranges from 10-19%, moderate representation ranges from 20-29%, and high representation indicates above 30%. The data can be summarised in the following table:

Women's representation	DPR (n: 560)	Provincial DPRD (n: 33)	District/City DPRD (n: 475)*
Very low (0-9%)		6 (18 %)	160 (34%)
Low (10-19%)	17 %	19 (58%)	199 (42%)
Moderate (20-29%)		7 (21%)	92 (19%)
High (> 30%)		1 (3 %)	25 (5%)

- The data is processed from 476 district/city DPRD. Data is unavailable for 16 other districts/cities.

Paradox 3

With such achievements, political parties are forced to think about recruitment and women cadres' education, and to determine the party's platform in order to increase representation. However, the party's interests are not limited to increasing women representation and gender justice; they also focus on expanding the support base from women's groups to win elections.

Paradox 4

There are various important lessons that women candidates have obtained through their involvement in elections, such as a better understanding the electoral system, vote counting, and campaign strategies (including how to package a campaign message, “safeguard” votes, as well as network to gather voter support). Ironically, all these areas of expertise are not what is officially or intentionally designed, developed and shared by the respective parties in support of women candidates.

Paradox 5

The affirmative action policy and minimum 30% quota for women in each electoral district and at every level requires sufficient women cadres. Parties that fail to meet the 30% requirement in each electoral district may risk not being eligible to run for election in that electoral district. In an open system (majority vote), parties compete to raise candidates who have high chances of winning. In most cases, these are candidates who have easy access to money and mass support, as well as close family ties with party leaders. This has resulted in a situation where only women with the aforementioned profile have bargaining positions vis-à-vis the party. At the same time, the potential of the civil society and women's movements' diaspora to penetrate the formal political arena, including standing for election as MPs, is enhanced through affirmative action and the open list proportional system.

Paradox 6

Collaborations between women's movements and women MPs and members of other legislative bodies have been ongoing since 1999. Such collaborations have succeeded in advancing political agendas in the form of policies that support women's interests, such as the Anti-Domestic Violence Law (UU PKDRT), Anti-Human Trafficking Law (UU PTPPO), Civic Law, Health Law, Political Party Law, Election Implementation Law, and so on. However, on the other hand, there are still some Bill which have yet to be passed successfully, such as the Gender Equality and Justice Law (UU KKG), Domestic Worker Law (UU PRT), Sexual Violence Eradication Law and so on. At the local level, many local regulations (Perda) remain which discriminate against women, including those governing clothing, prostitution, and curfews for women.

Paradox 7

Women's movements in the political arena face many internal barriers and challenges such as strong group egos, fragmentation, weakening networks at national and local levels, and the declining number of women activists who become public officials in parliament. Nevertheless, the gender dimension in electoral political discourse has been widely accepted. Affirmative action policies today do not only govern electoral political affairs, but also include the establishment of parties, recruitment in election committees, as well as in state commissions. In addition, the issue of gender equality and justice is no longer a taboo for discussion and debate. Unfortunately, affirmative action is until now largely seen merely as an effort to take over political office rather than as a corrective measure to redress the gender-based power relations gap.

Paradox 8

The current Indonesian political system is dominated by oligarchical practices which are not conducive to women's representation. Women in politics are often coopted and utilised as strategic tools by the oligarchy in the context of patriarchal and male dominated politics. Discussions and studies on women's representation and gender justice are therefore becoming more fluid and more widely encompassing other issues such as anti-corruption, the environment, resource politics and so on. The goal of equality is now accompanied by the appeal for social justice. This situation calls for citizens' political participation that is wider, more diverse, fluid, and cross-cutting in terms of issues.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Women's political representation in the Indonesian context must not only be perceived as limited to descriptive representation, despite the fact that numbers are indeed important as an entry point to overcome the marginalisation of women.

The real political representation must also have substantive meaning, in that descriptive representation must be able to bring forward the interests of marginalised and minority groups, as well as articulate women's interests, women's needs, and gender-related interests.

In Indonesia, one of the biggest challenges in women's political representation is how to link the descriptive representation and substantive levels of representation, as has been discussed in the above paradoxes. Consistently low numbers of women represented (below 30%) disappointingly suggest that the open proportional election system does not necessarily lead to optimum results. The issue of supply of quality women candidates is an important one, and is related to the issue of political parties acting as barriers against more substantive women's representation. This includes the selection of certain groups of privileged (though not necessarily politically experienced) women, with close links to the elite, at the exclusion of other (better qualified) candidates. In turn, this has an impact of the women representatives' capacity to advocate for policies aimed at achieving social justice, including for other marginalised groups.

The phenomena of money politics, dynasty politics, and corruption are recurrent and highly inter-related problems in the context of Indonesia's democratic elections. In particular, money politics and corruption are committed by both men and women. It may take different forms and happens within parties, election candidates as well as election committees. Due to the high cost of running for elections (including campaigns), once a candidate is elected, they concentrate their efforts on accumulating capital to recover the campaign money they have spent, often at the expense of their campaign promises to advance their constituents' interests. In other words, their relationship with their constituents is immediately cut off after the votes are in. The aggregation of interests does not happen, and the accountability process between candidates and their constituents quickly declines.

Societal control over these phenomena is weak, as the civil society and women's movements are also weakening and becoming increasingly fragmented because they are preoccupied with too many public issues that require their attention and resources.

This leads to a kind of "democracy deficit" in Indonesia – not so much caused by the absence of formal civil rights and liberties, but rather the non-functioning public control over authorities in terms of policy and governance. This in turn results in the loss of public faith in the so-called democratic system and its institutions.

The challenges faced are complex and require multi-pronged solutions at different levels. Some recommendations on the way forward are included below :

- At the level of candidate supply, the selection mechanism must be improved by cutting off the oligarchic chain and opening up opportunities for independent candidates. These independent candidates must be eligible to run for election by being provided with more lenient requirements in order to obtain leaders from outside the political party oligarchy.

- Changes at the level of political parties are of prime importance, particularly in relation to undemocratic internal mechanisms and mere lip service to gender equality and gender justice. Their commitment to these causes must go beyond the level of rhetoric at which it stands now.
- At the election campaign level (a matter closely tied to political corruption), a significant amount of campaign fees could be saved by involving the election supervisory institution in Indonesia in supervising candidates' income and expenses. Relatively cheap campaigns can be conducted through different kinds of substantive programmes, as opposed to through mass gatherings and mobilisation such as rallies or musical concerts.
- To improve the poor quality of political representation by elected representatives described earlier, a new formula is required. In this context, the aggregation of interests in the electoral system works through the majority votes logic. The majority vote is the basis for electing a new leader. The statistic aggregation needs to come along with aggregation of interest and identity.
- The loss of voter diversity in elections is another problem in an electoral democracy. In the past elections, campaigns only involved the 'menu' containing the candidates, instead of the 'dish' to be offered to the voters once the candidates are elected. Substantive democracy, including substantive representation of women, requires a continuous deliberation and communication process between the legislative candidates and the constituents, not only during the campaign, but continuously from the beginning of the process until they are elected.

The next challenge is how to strengthen citizens' active participation beyond mere statistical turnout (by voting) towards their integral involvement in developing the candidate and party's work programmes. These programmes must be continuously monitored after elections to ensure a just distribution and allocation of resources through the legislations and budget produced. In the Indonesian context, the way to improve the current "democracy deficit" is not by changing the electoral system, but rather by improving the existing open proportional system, which enables and encourages relations between candidates and voters, through effective and substantive programme ties instead of patronage.

Recommended Reading

Books:

Lovenduski, Joni ed (2005). *State Feminism and Political Representation*. Cambridge University Press
 Iwanaga, Kazumi ed (2008). *Women's Political Participation and Representation in Asia*. Nias Press
 Hinojosa, Magda (2012). *Selecting Women, Electing Women*. Temple University Press
 Krook, Mona Lena and Sarah Childs (2010). *Women, Gender and Politics: A reader*. Oxford University Press

Journals

Jurnal Perempuan no 34
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Papers

Ardiansa Dirga, *Menghadirkan kepentingan perempuan dalam representasi politik di Indonesia*, 27 April 2015

Puskapol (2016). *Peta jalan representasi politik perempuan pasca 2014*

Puskapol (2015). *Grand Design peningkatan keterwakilan perempuan di lembaga legislatif*

Other Documents

Puskapol, Profil anggota DPR dan DPD RI 2014-2019

Introduction

1. Ideas behind the adoption of Quota Policy
2. Type of quota adopted
3. Achievement and Paradox of Women political Representation in Indonesia
4. Conclusion and recommendation

Women Quota , Electoral Reform and Institutional Change: Indonesian Experience

Ani Soetjipto

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Background

Reason to have women equality in political arena

1. Under representation of women in politics which remain very low
2. Political presence at equal number is important to articulate women's interest and needs
3. Justice- women constitutes half of the population which deserves to be fairly represented
4. Women bring different values and perspectives which in turn will lead to different policy priorities
5. Improve quality of democracy

Indonesian situation when quota was adopted (2002)

- Post Reformasi (political momentum)
 - Gap in women political representation at national and local level (data 1999 only 9 % DPR RI, 5 % DPRD Province, and 0 % at DPRD municipality
 - Critical women issues high maternal and infant mortality rate, migrant worker, poverty
 - No effective policy to address women issues and concern
 - All those reason pushed women movement to demand for affirmative policy to be adopted in political laws

Why Election law ?

1. Adoption quota through electoral law effective to increase women political representation and it was widely used in many countries and regions
2. In theory adoption quota is best with proportional system (PR) closed list election system compare with First Past the post syst (FPTP / majoritarian) system
3. Bigger district magnitude better for women 6-12 compare to small district magnitude 3-5
4. Small number parties participate in election is better compare big number of parties compete in election

Current Election system (2009-2014)

3 Election system:

1. Presidential election : First past the post using two round if candidates can't get more than 50 %
2. Election of DPD (Regional representative assembly / senate) : Majoritarian, SNTV, bloc vote
3. Election member of the house of representatives at national, provincial and local level: Proportional with open list system

Election for DPD (Senate / Regional representative assembly)

- DPD election is individual, not party. The electoral district is province. The voter would checklist the name of the candidate, and seat is given according to the number of vote (the highest) obtained by the candidate. The votes could not be transferred (non transferable) and 4 candidates with majority votes in every province would be automatically elected as the DPD member of the province, so that it is referred to as a majoritarian system using block vote.

ELECTION FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Election system	Procedure	
1999 PR System closed list NO QUOTA	Voters gave their votes to the party and party give seat to candidate at the top number	
2004 PR semi open list + Quota 30 % party candidates must be women in every electoral district national and local level Parliamentary Threshold 2.5 %	Voters vote party symbol and name of candidates. Candidate on the top list has better chance to be elected if candidate can meet the seat quota (BPP) provision. If the candidate couldnt meet the seat quota, then the order number of the candidate will be used to elect the candidate.	
2009 and 2014 PR open list system + 30 % party candidate must be women and Candidate list in each electoral district must include 1 female candidate for every 3 candidate	Voters give the votes to the party and candidate. The selection of the candidate is done using the majority vote mechanism . Parliamentary Threshold 3.5%	

Achievement and Paradox # 1

- Women electability increased in 4 election from 9 %, 11 %, 18 % and 17 %
- The past two election (2009 and 2014) the total votes gained by female candidates are higher (22 % in 2009) and (23 % in 2014)

Achievement and Paradox # 2

- The increasing trend of women electability at national level is followed with the increasing women representation in the provincial level 16 % and 14,6 % and district level from 12 % to 14 %

Despite the positive trend at the same time there are also region with still very low women representation in at least 6 province and in no less than 160 district/ cities

Achievement and Paradox # 3

- But actually party logic is not for the idea of gender justice. The main agenda for party is how to get seat and win election. (party didn't have gender strategy)
- With such achievement, political parties are forced to have strategies for women recruitment , educating women cadres and develop party platform to increase women representation

Achievement and Paradox # 4

- Women learn election system, networking, campaign vote counting
- women involve in politics, join political party, become cadres and political parties board
- Women overcome domestic barrier

Achievement and Paradox # 5

- The regulation of quota policy in the election law requires party to have sufficient cadres. With an open system multi party, party compete to have candidate who have high chance to win (have money, mass and related to party leaders)
- Proportional open list election system give opportunity for women with the background of activist access to enter formal political arena and compete to become MP (this situation will not possible with proportional closed list election system)

Achievement and Paradox # 6

- Collaboration between women movement and female MP has succeeded in pushing forward policy to support women interest e.g law on domestic violence, anti trafficking etc
- But at the local level there are remain regulation which discriminate women such as curfew for women

Achievement and Paradox # 7

- Women movement in political arena are still face a lot of barrier and challenge such as fragmentation m weakening network at national and local level
- Nevertheless gender dimension in electoral politics is something that widely accepted in Indonesia. Affirmative policy , gender equality and justice no longer taboo and open to be discussed and debated

Achievement and Paradox # 8

- Currently women representation in politics is face un conducive environment, with phenomena of oligarchy. Women in politics is often coopted and utilized as extension of masculine politics
- Responds of the situation – discussing women representation and gender justice nowadays are more fluid and extend to other issue such as anti corruption , environment etc

Women Elected in National Parliament

Party	2004 women total	% total	2009 women	% Total	2014 women	% total
PDIP	12	11%	17	18%	21	19%
Golkar	18	14%	18	16%	16	18%
Gerindra	-		4	15%	11	15%
Demokrat	6	10%	35	23%	13	21%
PAN	7	13%	7	15%	9	18%
PKB	7	13%	7	25%	10	21%
PKS	3	6%	3	5,3%	1	2,5%
PPP	3	5%	5	13%	10	25%
Nasdem	--	-	-	-	4	11%
Hanura			4	25%	2	12%

Conclusion

- Women political representation is not limited to descriptive representation but also has substantive meaning
- Biggest challenge is link descriptive and substantive representation
- Open proportional election system does not bring optimum result.
- Political party is barrier for more substantive representation
- Money politics, dynasty politics and corrupt politics is a problem faced by Indonesian democratic election context

Conclusion

- Change and improvement of election system will not optimal without any change in political party particularly to their undemocratic internal mechanism as well as their half hearted support for gender justice and gender equality

Keynote Address by Dr Thomas Meyer

During my past stays in Malaysia, in the many discussions that I have had with friends here, I was not surprised to learn that we share the same ethical values, the same political objectives and the ideal of a society in which all people live together as equals in a spirit of mutual solidarity, irrespective of their origins, their education, their cultural or religious identity and – in particular, irrespective of their gender - women and men alike. I call it a social democracy and a good, inclusive society.

In order to make this possible, the country needs not only the adequate cultural, educational, economic and political institutions, but also a social and political culture that makes democracy, solidarity and gender equality a habit of the heart for most people. This is, contrary to conservative, neoliberal or fundamentalist sceptics, not beyond reach – simply because it is, in the final instance, in the interest of the vast majority of our societies.

Some North European countries (Sweden, Denmark, Norway) that have been poor, non-democratic and far from gender equality much less than a century ago have in recent decades come quite close to the realisation of these ideals of a social democracy and a good society. Of course, they have not achieved this by accident or as a gift of history but after long decades of ceaseless struggle with the help of strong Trade Unions, powerful Workers' Parties, women's liberation movements and a highly active Civil Society. These countries are now the global frontrunners when it comes to gender equality both in institutional terms and in cultural terms (as a habit of the heart). It is obvious that fully-fledged gender equality is a main pillar of a humane society; its indicator and measure.

Let me start with an excuse. It might be perceived by some as inappropriate that it is a male speaker like my humble self who delivers a talk on gender equality with particular respect to ways for enhancing the position of women in society and politics. Let me explain my feelings about this with a small anecdote that, at the beginning of last century, really happened in southern Germany – at a time when all official public functions with some authority were absolutely restricted to male professionals only - even when this led to clear absurdities.

It was in the time of World War I in Stuttgart, Germany. At the entrance of a women's department of a public swimming pool there was an urgent warning sign. It read in big letters: access for males strictly prohibited in this area. And then - because like everywhere else in such contexts the actual attendant of that swimming pool was in fact a male –the crucial qualification followed in small letters: the attendant of this swimming pool is not a man according to the spirit of this ban.

Today this sounds like a grotesque joke to everybody in our country – yet it was not so long ago that grotesque situations like this were bitter reality and – as I need to add – in certain, though not many, situations they still are.

I'm here to share with you some observations and reflections about gender equality in political elections generally, but particularly concerning promising strategies towards success. My frame of reference is our special experience in Germany. Let me start with a brief status quo report, followed by more analytical observations:

First, it may appear satisfying to notice that visible progress of gender equality regarding parliamentary elections has been made worldwide. Half of all countries of the world have introduced some form of gender quotas for national elections. 45 of them by way of electoral law, 50 by way of voluntary rules in the statutes of the political parties. Today women represent near to 20% of all members of parliament in the world. This is a big confirmation of our conviction that progress is possible everywhere in the world –and that progress goes on, slowly but in the right direction.

When addressing the German situation now, my main purpose is not to present many details or the history but to make visible the mechanisms, the obstacles and the drivers of the progress of gender equality, including some examples as well as my own analyses and reflections. Gender equality in Germany, like in most other central and North European countries, has been achieved in legal terms almost fully. In the laws and before the courts, discrimination against women has been stopped as far as the formal aspect is concerned. This is a remarkable achievement when we remember that not more than 40 years ago a wife still needed the written permission of her husband when she wanted to take a job

outside her home. If the husband denied her permission, she had to stay at home – to present just one example from our near past. This type of situation has been overcome since the 1970's - an epoch of cultural and political emancipation under the social democratic Willy Brandt government with his claim "We need to dare more democracy". The continuous pressure of a strong and growing women's movement was one of the conditional forces of this progress.

In the realm of political life, substantial progress has also been made in the last thirty to forty years, but a little less than in the sphere of law. The political parties introduced gender quotas since the 1980's. Most of them were for 30% or 40% for either gender for all relevant seats in local, regional and national executive boards within the parties and likewise for the places on the election tickets or lists. Consequently, women's representation in the national and regional parliaments approached just this mark countrywide. Women's representation in state and national governments alternates normally between 1/3 and 40% and only sometimes and at certain places reaches full parity.

What indicates a remarkable progress too is the fact that today, after each election and the building of each new government, the question of women's representation is a big issue for public discussion and the mass media. And as all the parties and top leaders can anticipate, this is a time of education for them, of learning lessons through this ritual of naming and blaming. Hardly any new prime minister would dare to produce less than 1/3 women ministers. This is all achieved by way of voluntary quotas established by all political parties of the country. The overall results clearly lag a full step behind the norm of political gender equality but it represents substantial headway. What is more, the public discussion on how to do better in this field has never ended, and remains a permanent driver for further steps.

Notwithstanding some progress, major gender gaps still exist in the economic area. This holds true for both crucial dimensions: the presence of women in the middle, higher and top echelons of management and the principle of equal pay for equal jobs. In top management women hold just less than 10% of the positions and the overall gender pay gap is still around 20%. As the repeated demands of our government, especially by our female ministers, that all big enterprises should reserve 30% of the seats on their supervisory boards for women

was not met, a law was recently issued to enforce this. I'm sure, like in other fields, this will help here, too.

A quick glance at the gender situation regarding the work-life balance shows that the situation is similar to that in the economy: the lion's share of childcare and housework still rests with women, although a continuous change of the male mindset and behaviour in the right direction has been underway in small steps since the 1960's. It is supported by institutional change, e.g. by a parents' allowance that increases the duration of paid time out from the job when father and mother share the total amount somehow.

In summary, the overall balance of gender equality in Germany is still mixed but with the positive components dominating. The dynamics for the completion of this historic task are fuelled by ongoing competent and serious public debates. At the institutional level the gender gaps have become much smaller during the last two or three decades.

It is also true that the inter-gender culture has changed remarkably in the last decades in most other European countries and in Germany. Yet, in most of the main dimensions of discrimination against women the basic problems that are at work everywhere in the world are still visible: the *glass ceiling phenomenon*, the *invisible woman syndrome* and *work-life imbalance*. They have been analysed for Malaysia in detail and have been found to have tremendous impact on women's participation and representation. They have less of a stronghold in most European countries today – least of all in the Scandinavian world – but they are still there. These three phenomena are strong cultural factors that represent something like habits of the heart and a tacit consensus between a substantial majority of men – they are elements of an omnipresent and still dominant male culture. Whatever the achievements of gender equality at the institutional level might be, it remains difficult to neutralise these cultural factors that are present in almost all real life situations: in the job, at home and in informal public life. But our experience is that this culture becomes less dominant when effective institutions are in place.

I'm now going to address the issue of the respective roles of the *electoral system*, the *quota question* and measures of *positive discrimination in general* for the achievement of gender

equality. Let me present some reflections about the interrelations between the cultural and the institutional factors for sustainable progress in this respect. Like in most other political fields what we observe in the sphere of gender equality is a highly dialectical logic, a logic of mutual promotion and generalisation between the cultural and the institutional factors, not without contradictions and backdrops. To know and understand this is helpful for the practical struggle for equality. It can give us orientation and motivation. Here some illustrations from our German history. Generally, our experience is that slight cultural changes, sometimes triggered by progressive minorities or even from outside the country, make first steps of institutional progress possible, and even small institutional innovation fosters further cultural transformation.

The foundations of democracy in Europe, the state of law and the culture of equality – including gender equality – were laid in the thinking of enlightenment in the late 18th century. From there stem the ideals of the equal dignity of all human beings and of the fundamental equality of all citizens as the only legitimate source of all state sovereignty.

It was the interaction between these bold ideals, the first feeble institutions that they engendered and the deeply rooted patriarchal interests and societal habits, that were the crucial causal factors of the very slow and contradictory process of political transformation. Even its glorious beginning in the heyday of enlightenment was burdensome. Beacons of enlightenment – like Immanuel Kant in Germany – who laid the lasting intellectual and cultural foundations of human emancipation, excluded women from the full enjoyment of citizenship rights. They revived a very old standing prejudice with new rigour and tried to reconcile it somehow with the spirit of enlightenment. Women, they claimed, possessed enough power of reason to assess and understand the reasonable thoughts of men, but not enough to create them by themselves. Thus they were equal human beings before the law (passive citizens), but not equal citizens in the process of the making of law (active citizens); merely second class citizens, as it were, under the tutelage of men.

The British suffragette movement a few decades later refuted this kind of self – contradictory male intellectual acrobatics in the service of male interests. These women,

pioneers of gender equality starting from the UK and later in Germany were prosecuted and imprisoned as crazy and bad mannered. Yet, but their arguments worked in the European public life with the non- violent power of reason and truth. They were to become the historic catalysts for the gradual elimination of all gender barriers against the unrestricted universality of human rights and democratic citizenship, beginning with public thought and reasoning and gradually in practical, real life terms. With the support of the other grand historic emancipation movement of the 19th century - the workers movement - they succeeded in putting the demand for equal women's suffrage at the top of the agenda of some powerful political parties. The German Social Democrats were the first political party to support this demand and enshrine it in the first democratic constitution of Germany when they built the government in 1918.

Incidentally, until today, everywhere in the world it is the parties of the left camp - Green, Left, Social Democratic - who are the clear forerunners when it comes to the strict implementation of gender quotas. They are the ones who appear to take gender equality most seriously, with average quotas of 40% or even the full 50 % for women's political participation and representation.

At the symbolic and cultural level, some outstanding socialist women of the early time, such as Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin, demonstrated how powerfully engaged women could become with the support of new institutions of electoral equality. These women used their influence to advance the agenda and processes of political, economic and civil gender equality, encouraging more women to seize new opportunities and participate in public life and paving the way for further institutional progress. The dialectical nature of this progress became even more apparent: triggering institutional change requires a qualified and substantial part of a society (not the quantitative majority in the beginning) with compelling arguments. Successful institutional change broadens cultural support for the new reality, leading to further advances in institution building. Continuous discussion, advocacy and additional measures such as campaigns and training are also critical.

The crucial point in a situation of change is often not how large the supporting majority and how big the present step of institutional progress can be, but how active the supporting

group is. What matters most is how clear and convincing the forerunners are and whether the institution building goes in the right direction.

These experiences are particularly relevant for the establishment of an electoral law and the accompanying regulations that bring forward gender equality in the exercise of political power. We know that there are generally two basic options for the choice of an electoral system. What is not so well known is that this choice cannot be made arbitrarily because there is a strong correlation between each of the available options and the reality, the structure, the traditions and the basic cleavage lines of the society for which it is meant. This holds especially true on the issue of gender equality.

The **First Past the Post (FPTP) system** makes democratic sense only for societies that are highly homogenous in most respects and share a broad and deep political consensus, and that accept the Anglo-Saxon gambling philosophy of winner takes all. Hence, it suits a society that is not split into various interest groups that are distributed very irregularly across the country, or that are distributed in such a way that a certain minority is in a permanent minority position in all constituencies.

The FPTP system also makes special measures towards achieving gender equality, such as effective gender quotas, complicated to implement. In each country with a culture and a social structure of perpetuating discrimination against women, there is a strong tendency to translate the existing gender bias into the institutional system of politics: parliament, government and therefore the very process of lawmaking.

Under an FPTP system, sidelined minorities would consistently be denied access to institutionalised political power, with virtually no hope for change. They would be confronted with having to choose between two unpleasant options: to either become resigned to the system, or to resist in the form of systemic opposition through boycott, obstruction and such.

Thus, it is a **gross error** to attribute the public good of political stability to the FPTP system, let alone to apply it everywhere in the world. Countries like the UK in which the FPTP system

seems to work, due to the high degree of homogeneity or a special political culture, are not automatically a valid reference for the rest of the world. In addition, the FPTP system always suffers from a tremendous trade-off between a certain degree of institutional stability and a lack of electoral equality. Hence, its democratic substance is always questionable.

The grand alternative to this is the **electoral system of proportional representation**, particularly when it is combined with certain provisions for casting one's vote for individual candidates, like the **Mixed – Member Proportional (MMP) system**. Normally it is added by a minimum percentage (threshold) that parties must reach (in Germany 5%, in other countries 3% or 10%) in order to get seats in parliament. In Germany the MMP is tailored in such a way that in each constituency one candidate is elected through a central party list, and a second one directly, but also on behalf of a party. The lists go state-wise. Each candidate who is elected directly wins a seat in parliament. The rest are elected depending on their place in the party list.

With this electoral system in place, in combination with the voluntary commitment of all political parties to realise between 30% and 50% gender quotas on their election tickets, 35% of the Members of Parliament (MPs) in the German Bundestag today are women; a huge step forward from the 9% four decades back. The discussion on the importance of gender quotas is settled; the only open question is which other social sector should be the next target for quota implementation.

The MMP system guarantees a fair representation of almost all voters in parliament, but it requires in most cases the building of coalition governments that are based on a broad political compromise. It is most appropriate for countries in which **all kinds of differences and contradictions** shape the society and in which the Anglo-Saxon cultural habit of winner takes all is not taken as being fair and just. The system is very inclusive and draws its stability from the credibility of coalitions that are built after elections. This system allows small and new parties to enter the political system early and exercise a certain measure of political influence at any given time. Sometimes, even 5% or 6% of the votes can have great influence in a coalition government.

What is most interesting for us is not the MMP in and of itself, but its superior qualification for accommodating additional regulations for temporary special measures to address gender inequality in the elections at all levels of the system and in societal organisations. These practical measures include effective **gender quotas**, either in the form of electoral laws which are mandatory, or, like in Germany, in the form of voluntary commitments of “self-obligation” within the political parties. In Sweden and Germany, for instance, voluntary party quotas have proved to be very successful whereas in other countries like France, even strict electoral laws have met with relatively little success.

Little wonder then that worldwide, national parliaments with the MMP system in place display percentages of women MPs that are twice as high than that of parliaments under the FPTP system. Yet, the institutional superiority of the MMP can only be fully and effectively realised when a several additional conditions are implemented, namely:

First: the lists of candidates need to be composed according to the zipper principle, alternating between a woman and man candidate throughout each entire list.

Second: for the direct candidates, some form of twinning is indicated, i.e. pairing similar constituencies and nominating at least one woman in each pair.

Third: there needs to be active women’s sub-organisations within the political parties to supply suitably qualified candidates as well as to provide continuous support for elected women representatives. This is one of the necessary conditions to achieve substantive instead of merely descriptive representation of women.

Fourth, it is important to establish strong networks among women MPs, the women’s groups within respective political parties and existing social movements advocating for gender equality outside political parties.

These conditions are important to ensure that the descriptive representation of women in political decision making will also result in substantive representation at the level of policy changes and so on.

Isolated women MPs, especially when they are small in number, will always run the risk of becoming overwhelmed by the patriarchal culture, hierarchies and routines that dominate parliamentary life. Institutionalisation of women's equal political participation will tend to transform the political and social culture of the country. It educates even men candidates for mandates and offices, because they also need a share of women's votes.

In Germany, the federal political system has also been helpful in promoting gender equality. It supports a good balance between federal and state political participation. The general rule is that cultural and educational issues, including childcare, schools and pre-schooling as well as public safety are within the jurisdiction of the decentralised states (with foreign policy, the social system and economic policy being matters under federal jurisdiction). It has been easier for women to enter parliaments and cabinets and become prime ministers at the state level. Additionally, much of social welfare and in particular, public childcare and pre-schooling matters fall under the jurisdiction of local authorities, making it easier also to push for critical women-friendly changes such as a comprehensive system of free full day childcare and schooling.

Let me finally mention that after more than half a century of experimentation, Germany has finally found a very effective system of political party funding that successfully keeps big money away from the political process. Half of the funds of the political parties, depending on their electoral outcome and the membership fees they succeed in raising, come from the state budget. In addition, all the parties are given free television broadcasting airtime in order to enable them to conduct their electoral campaigns free from having to rely on large sums of private funding. All this is both enabled by and strengthens the bottom-up approach of the democratic process, and prevents manipulation through money- and media-based power strategies of cronies intended to affect the content of electoral campaigns as well as support for candidates.

We must never forget: culture matters crucially, but even a change of the habits of the heart can be fostered and fastened by appropriate institutionalisation and the permanent presence of gender issues in public life. We know that much of the lip service for gender

equality in the public sphere is hypocrisy, caused by public pressure. But even public lip service is progress. Why? For two reasons: the first, as Oscar Wilde has it: *hypocrisy is the bow of vice to virtue, an unavoidable recognition of the superiority of virtue*. Frequent bows of this kind change first the habits and finally even the thoughts of those who bow in public. Secondly, it demonstrates the power of the demands and justifications for gender equality. This alone is the guarantee for lasting progress not only in the big institutions but even in the remote corners of real life as well, where arguably it matters most.

The pressure and the lobbying for gender equality must never wane. Attention and support must always be drummed up. Invisible women will never meet with success, not even when they sit in a powerful institution. In politics you seldom get what you deserve, but only what you take. Pressure, social mobilisation and publicity remain the key instruments for women's substantive representation, even when the numbers of women MPs or ministers grow. The fight for gender equality is not just for 20% or 30%, not even for 40% women representation – it is for no less than full parity.

Overview

Introducing Gender Quota in Malaysia with Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

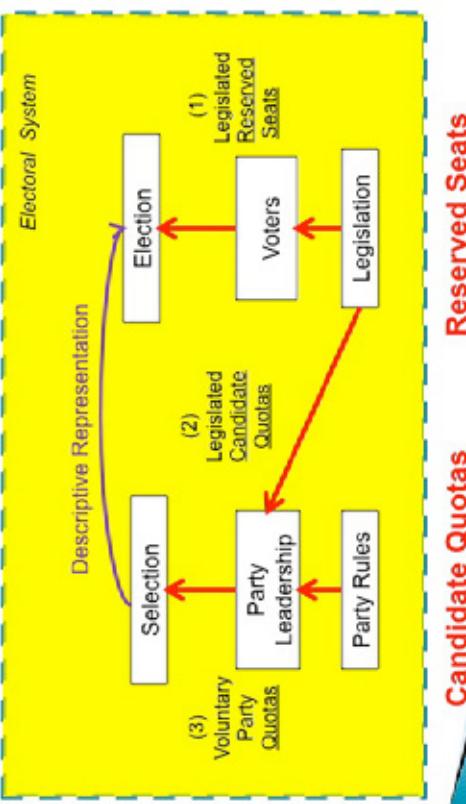
Dr Wong Chin Huat
Penang Institute

National Conference on
Gender and Electoral Reform – Making a Difference
By PWDC and PI
2016-08-26
Georgetown Bayview Hotel

► Gender Quota and Electoral System

- Gender Quota in FPTP
- Gender Quota in List-PR
- Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

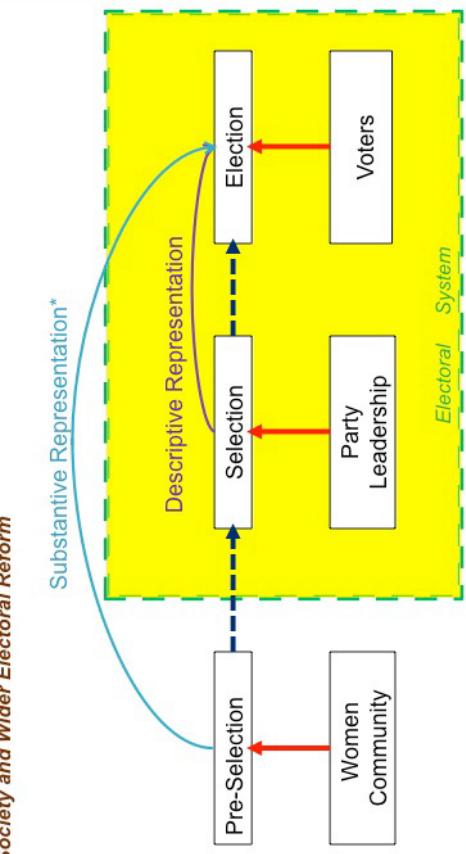
Women's Representation



Reserved Seats

Candidate Quotas

Gender Quota



Society and Wider Electoral Reform

Overview

- ▶ Gender Quota and Electoral System
- ▶ **Gender Quota in FPTP**
- ▶ Gender Quota in List-PR
- ▶ Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

Electoral Systems

	Single -Member	Multi-member
Party	Party Block Vote	<u>Closed-List Proportional Representation</u>
Both		<u>Open-List Proportional Representation</u>
		<u>Block Vote</u>
Candidate	<u>First-Past-The-Post</u> Two-Round/Run-off <u>Alternative Vote</u>	<u>Block Vote</u> Two-Round/Run-off <u>Single Transferable Vote</u> <u>Single Non-Transferable Vote</u> <u>Proportional/Semi-Proportional Plurality/Majoritarian</u>

Gender Quota in FPTP



Gender Quota in FPTP

- ▶ Voting for individuals (even if representing parties)
- ▶ Also applies to other single-member systems
 - Two Round (France)
 - Alternative Vote (Australia)
- ▶ **Candidate Quota** 1
 - Overall quota
 - **Quota in Safe Constituencies (UK Labour)**

Gender Quota in “FPTP ++”

- **Reserved Seats**
 - Best Losers (Jordan)
 - Additional FPTP Tier (Kenya)
 - By Directly-elected List (Mauritania)
 - **By Indirectly-elected List (Bangladesh)** ②
 -
- **Mixed Member System**
 - Most commonly, FPTP + List-PR
 - Two variants: **Proportional** v Majoritarian
 - ③

The Bangladesh Model

- In Bangladesh,
 - 300 MPs from FPTP constituencies, open for all
 - 50 non-constituency seats are reserved for women
 - Every party nominates their candidates before election
 - Seats will be allocated proportionately to the parties according to the overall FPTP vote share
 - Parliament – total 350 members
 - Minimum Women % = 50/350 = 1/7
- Concerns:
 - Women (Reserved Seat) MPs may be seen as ‘ornamental’
 - Party leadership will have power in deciding which women to fill up the seats

If applied in Malaysia,

- 222 MPs from FPTP constituencies, open for all
- 95 more non-constituency seats, women-only
- Parliament – total 317 members
- Minimum Women % = 95/317 = 30%

Overview

- Gender Quota and Electoral System
- Gender Quota in FPTP
- **Gender Quota in List-PR**
- Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

Gender Quota in List-PR

- Voting for teams (and individuals)
- Theoretically also applies for other multi-member systems
 - **Party Block Vote** (Singapore’s GRCs)
 - **Single Transferable Vote** (Ireland)
 - **Single Non-Transferable Vote** (Afghanistan)
 - **Party List Proportional Representation** (Indonesia)
- **Candidacy Quota**



Gender Quota in List-PR

Effectiveness is determined by:

- Size of Quota
- Placement Rule
- Threshold for Allocation of Seats
 - If smaller parties are more likely to place women on top

Overview

- Gender Quota and Electoral System
- Gender Quota in FPTP
- Gender Quota in List-PR
- **Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)**

Mixed-Member Systems

- 1 vote for Constituency ▶ 1 vote for Constituency
- 1 vote for Party ▶ 1 vote for Party
- Seats = Constituency + List ▶ Seats = Constituency + List
- Party Vote % decides overall seat % ▶ Party Vote % decides only List seat %
- More proportional ▶ More Majoritarian
- **MM Proportional** ▶ **MM Majoritarian**

German-style MMP + Gender Quota

- **Proportion of Party List MPs = 50%**
- **Threshold = 5% votes or 3 Constituency seats**
- **Quota and Placement rule = every 1 in 3**
 - More women-friendly : F, M, M, F, M, M
 - Less women-friendly : M, M, F, M, M, F
- **Minimum women %**
 - **Proportion X (Quota + Placement Rule)**
 - Minimum Women% = $50\% \times 1/3 = 16.67\%$

German-Style MMP in Malaysia



Imagine: GE13 under MMP

Main Parties	Actual Seat N	Vote %	Adjusted vote%	Total Seats	FPTP Seats	Party List Seats	Vote Value
BN	133	47.38%	48.22%	107	67	40	1.02
PKR	30	20.39%	20.75%	46	15	31	1.02
DAP	38	15.71%	15.99%	36	19	17	1.03
PAS	21	14.78%	15.04%	33	10	23	1.01
Total	222	98.26%	100.00%	222	111	111	1.00

Assumptions:

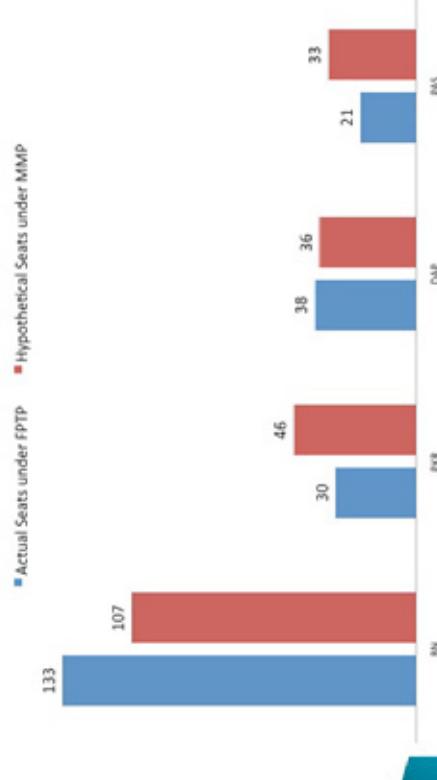
1. FPTP vote % = Party vote %
2. Formula : Hare Quota
3. Threshold: 5% of votes or 1 Seat

How Placement Rule Works

No of seats won (N)	Party A (more women-friendly; list F,M,M)	Proportion of Women MPs if N Seats are won	Party B (less women-friendly; list M,M,F)	Proportion of Women MPs if N Seats are won
1	Female	1/1 = 100.00% Male		0/1 = 0.00%
2	Male	1/2 = 50.00% Male		0/2 = 0.00%
3	Male	1/3 = 33.33% Female		1/3 = 33.33%
4	Female	2/4 = 50.00% Male		1/4 = 25.00%
5	Male	2/5 = 40.00% Male		1/5 = 20.00%
6	Male	2/6 = 33.33% Female		2/6 = 33.33%
7	Female	3/7 = 42.86% Male		2/7 = 28.57%
8	Male	3/8 = 37.50% Male		2/8 = 25.00%
9	Male	3/9 = 33.33% Female		3/9 = 33.33%
		Minimum Women %	33.33%	Minimum Women %
		Maximum Women %	50.00%	Maximum Women %

Distribution of Parliamentary Seats in GE13

FPTP v MMP



Imagine: Women MPs under MMP

Main Parties	Party List Seats	Minimum No of Women Party List MP	% of 222 MPs	Maximum No of Women Party List MP	% of 222 MPs
BN	40	13	5.86%	14	6.31%
PKR	31	10	4.50%	11	4.95%
DAP	17	5	2.25%	6	2.70%
PAS	23	7	3.15%	8	3.60%
Total	111	35	15.77%	39	17.57%

Assumption:

1. Every 1 in 3 candidates on party list must be woman.
(Since 50% MPs are from Party List, a 1/3 rule means minimum ≈ 16 women)

What other benefits of MMP?

- More diverse and representative legislatures, **including better gender representation**
- Less electoral volatility and uncertainty induced by the system
- No advantage to be gained through malapportionment, gerrymandering and voter transfer**
- Greater likelihood of **government change**
- Healthier coalition politics**
 - Coalition(s) is formed after election
 - Coalition partners can compete against each other through party list

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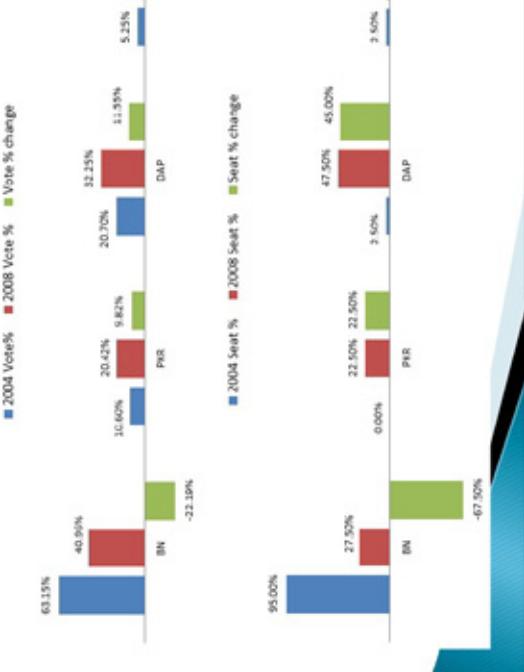
What needs to be done?

- Goals:**
- Amendment to Articles 116-117 of Federal Constitution
- Amendment to the Election Act 1959
- Milestone:** Election Manifestos
- Groundwork:**
 - Information/education on electoral system
 - Buy-in from political parties, CSOs and opinion leaders

Electoral Volatility under FPTP – Selangor 2004–2008



Electoral Volatility under FPTP – Penang 2004–2008



Gambling v Insurance

Majoritarian



Proportional

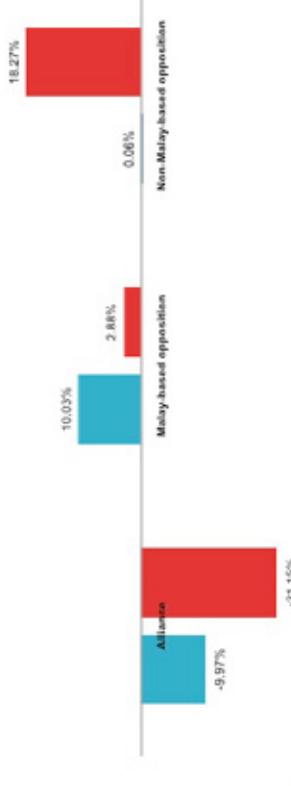


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<http://www.123rf.com/images/balazsbalazs/balazsbalazs1204/14080344/2715474-down-to-earth-majority-vs-majoritarianism-stock-photo.jpg>

Electoral Volatility under FPTP – Peninsula 1964–1969

Change in Vote Share





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