Final Evaluation of the Project:


Indonesia, February 2015
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### 1. ACRONYMS & GLOSSARY

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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD/ART</td>
<td>Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Statutes and Rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAPPEDA</td>
<td>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah, National Development Planning Agency</td>
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<td>Banten</td>
<td>Offerings</td>
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<td>BKKBN</td>
<td>Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, National Family Planning Program Coordinating Agency</td>
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<td>Banggar</td>
<td>Badan Anggaran, Budget Agency</td>
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<td>Banjar</td>
<td>Village</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caleg</td>
<td>Calon Legislatif, Legislative Candidates</td>
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<td>DCT</td>
<td>Daftar Calon Tetap, List of Legislative Candidates</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDI</td>
<td>Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, Islamic Missionary Council of Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPD RI</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah Republik Indonesia, Indonesian House of Regional Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPR RI</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, Indonesian House of Representatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPRD Kabupaten/Kota</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kabupaten/Kota, District/Municipality House of Representatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPRD Provinsi</td>
<td>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi, Provincial House of Representatives</td>
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<td>DPC</td>
<td>Dewan Pimpinan Cabang, Branch Leadership Council</td>
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<td>DPP</td>
<td>Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, Central Leadership Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPW</td>
<td>Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah, Provincial Leadership Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
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<td>IWAPI</td>
<td>Association of Indonesian Businesswomen</td>
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<td>Karang Taruna</td>
<td>Youth Association in the Village</td>
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<td>KPI</td>
<td>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, Indonesian Women Coalition</td>
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<td>KPU</td>
<td>Komisi Pemilihan Umum, General Elections Commission - National</td>
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<tr>
<td>KPPI</td>
<td>Kakukus Perempuan Parlemen Indonesia, Caucus of Women in the Indonesian Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>KUBE</td>
<td>Kelompok Usaha Bersama, Joint Business Group</td>
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Majelis Taklim : Islamic study gathering
MP : Member of Parliament
MUI : Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesian Ulama Council
NGO : Non Government Organization
NTB : Nusa Tenggara Barat
OECD DAC : The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
P2TP2A : Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak, Centre for Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection
PAN : Partai Amanat Nasional, National Mandate Party
Pansus : Panitia Khusus, Special Committee in the Parliament
PAUD : Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini, Early Child Education
Partai Demokrat : Democratic Party
Partai GERINDRA : Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Great Indonesia Party
Partai GOLKAR : Partai Golongan Karya, Functional Groups Party
Partai HANURA : Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, People Conscience Party
PDI-P : Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle
PICU : Pediatric Intensive Care Unit
PKB : Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, National Awakening Party
PKS : Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Prosperous Justice Party
PPP : Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, United Development Party
PKK : Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluaga, Family Welfare Movement
Puskapol UI : Pusat Kajian Politik Universitas Indonesia, Centre for Political Study
POS WK : Pos Wanita Keadilan, Justice Women Post
RKI : Rumah Keluarga Indonesia, House of the Indonesian Family
Search : Search for Common Ground
SP : Solidaritas Perempuan, Women in Solidarity
SKPD : Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah, Regional Working Unit
TPQ : Taman Pendidikan Qur’an, Quran Learning for Children
UKM : Usaha Kecil Menengah, Small-Medium Enterprises
Upakara : Rituals in Bali
WHDI : Wanita Hindu Dharma Indonesia, Hindu Women of Indonesia
WRI : Women Research Institute
2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From February 2013 to February 2015, Search for Common Ground (Search) Indonesia, in collaboration with Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) with financial support from the European Union\(^1\), implemented a project called ‘A More Inclusive Democracy: Strengthening Women’s Participation for the 2014 Elections.’ The overall objective of the project was to strengthen the participation of women representing diverse political ideologies in the 2014 election at the district/municipality (kota/kabupaten) level elections. The project specifically aimed to build the capacity of women candidates in becoming collaborative and inclusive leaders and the capacity of political parties to foster a more diverse leadership by supporting female candidates. It also aimed to build voters’ support for women in politics.

The final evaluation assessed whether the project had successfully achieved the above objectives to bring positive changes among female candidates, political parties, and voters. The evaluation especially focused on assessing the relevance, effectiveness, coherence, and sustainability of the project. To gather the information, the evaluation used a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The methodologies employed to evaluate this project included document review, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and surveys. The evaluation covered the project’s three target areas: Bali, Lombok, and Bogor.

Summary of Major Findings:

Relevance: Overall, Search’s intervention was found to be relevant since the project focused on the district/municipal level of Parliament, which had the lowest representation of women (12%) in 2009. Furthermore, while many NGOs have already been working at improving female representation at the national and provincial levels, there have not been similar efforts at the district and municipal levels. Bali and Lombok were appropriate target areas since both of these provinces have the smallest political representation of women in the country. Moreover, the fact that some political parties had difficulties fulfilling the minimum quota of 30 percent women represented in the 2014 elections resulted in a less competitive pool of candidates and fewer attempts at recruiting competent female political candidates. Most of the women candidates were

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\(^1\) This document has been produced with financial assistance of the European Union. The contents of this document are the sole responsibility of Search for Common Ground and can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the European Union.
newcomers to politics, with little to no political experience. This project explored their leadership capacity and equipped them with the knowledge and skills needed to run an electoral campaign.

The participatory and interactive approaches were more practical and easy to absorb and remember. Most participants felt that the project significantly improved their leadership and communication skills, and ultimately boosted their self-confidence to carry out a public campaign. A few participants, however, felt that the project did not fully meet their expectations. These participants remarked that the project was focused too much on self-exploration, rather than on strategic measures that could be used to win elections.

Meanwhile, the community engagement efforts raised women’s awareness on the importance of voting for female legislative candidates. Prior to the project, most participants followed the decisions of their community and religious leaders. However, this project helped the participants realize the importance of independently voting according to their own beliefs and assessment. The community engagement activities were also opportunities for female constituents to interact directly with the candidates, which enabled the participants to assess a candidates’ merits and qualities for themselves.

One of the project’s greatest contributions to the political process was the increase of women who were committed to women’s interests regardless of party affiliation. Moreover, representatives of various political parties began to find common ground, which eased the tense interactions between different political party representatives. These representatives began to view their colleagues as partners, rather than rivals, in the efforts to achieve social welfare that would benefit society. This inclusive leadership was very beneficial in the electoral campaign because they were able to address constituents from different socioeconomic backgrounds. It also led to a more effective Parliament, where members of different political factions usually push for their party’s agendas for political points, generally at the cost of the community’s interest.

**Effectiveness:** There were significant changes in people’s perceptions of female political participation. Prior to the implementation of this project, only 24.6 percent of respondents remarked that it they felt it was important to have female representatives in the political process. This number increased to 94.1 percent at the end of the project, an increase of 69.5 percent. Most of the people (93.2%) in Bali, Lombok, and Bogor responded that it is very important to have female representatives in politics at the conclusion of the project. There were also changes in respondents’ perspectives in Tabanan and Mataram, (areas with majority Hindu and Muslim populations, respectively), where there was an increase of 80 percent in positive perceptions on women’s political representation.
While assessing the candidates, respondents considered each candidate’s education and policies, particularly those relevant to poverty alleviation, health care, and free education, as the most important criteria for choosing them in the elections. A candidate’s gender and ethnicity did not influence the respondents’ voting decision. Thus, the constituents were aware that a candidate’s successful legislative performance does not depend on his or her gender, but rather his or her ability to fight for the people’s aspirations and to deliver people-oriented policies.

Since Search and SP only held one workshop with the political party representatives in each region, these workshops were not viewed as effective as the series of trainings for the female candidates and the engagement forums with the community. Prior to the political party workshops, 96.2 percent of the participants claimed that their parties had sufficiently accommodated women in strategic political positions. After the trainings, a slight change was observed as the political party representatives were made aware of the lack of efforts from the political parties to promote women’s leadership in their structures.

Eventually, five out of the 75 participants were successfully elected as Members of Parliament. These elected candidates possessed strong social, political, and financial bases before participating in the project. Nevertheless, the unsuccessful candidates from different political parties collaborated to advocate for women’s interests to the Parliament. It was evident that these women applied inclusive and collaborative leadership skills to achieve their common objectives. To a small extent, female MPs have collaborated to fight for women’s interests beyond the boundary of their political parties’ interests.

Among all the activities, the animated video had the least impact because it was published only a few months prior the 2014 elections. The distribution was also limited to Facebook and YouTube, mediums which are not easily accessible for most Indonesian communities.

**Coherence and Coordination:** The beneficiaries remarked that the project activities were very well managed. The responsibilities were divided equally between Search and SP based on each organization’s expertise, with Search handling the candidates’ training and alumni forums and SP handling the community engagement forums.

**Sustainability:** In the workshop for political parties, the participants drafted action plans that aimed to increase women’s participation in the 2014 elections. It remains to be seen to what extent the political parties will follow these action plans and promote female leadership within their party structures in the long run. However, the involvement of female political party representatives in the trainings will serve an important part in the long-term efforts to build
structures and institutions that strengthen women’s political participation in the public sphere. The training methods will also be adopted to teach the Women’s Political Caucus of Indonesia (KPPI), a cross-party organization. This will enhance the political education within the KPPI. This is important because the KPPI will be instrumental in empowering women and advocating for the increase of female leadership. Conducting a similar training in the future will encourage more women to run for parliamentary seats in future elections.

**Major Recommendations:**
- The process to increase female participation in the political process must be initiated as early as possible. It takes time to build social, political, and financial bases, all of which are important ingredients for a successful campaign.
- Identifying serious female legislative candidates that exhibit potential is necessary to avoid nominating less qualified candidates just to fulfill the 30 percent female representation quota mandated by law. This would enable the candidates to be supported by the political parties seriously. Records of the potential candidates should be kept in a database.
- A selective process for the candidates is also necessary for capacity building. A selective process will determine what level of training is required according to their respective needs: elementary, intermediate, or advanced level of training.
- It is important to work with the women’s wing of political parties in initiating collaborative program activities for female cadres in each political party.
- Capacity building for the newly elected female MPs in the areas of legislation, supervision, budgeting, networking and accountability is necessary.
- It is important to produce simple, focused, and attractive videos to reach a broader audience in the future.
- Conventional political education at the grassroots level should be conducted in more electoral districts in the targeted areas.
3. CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Women's participation and representation in decision-making bodies at the executive and legislative levels have slowly increased in Indonesia, reflecting a long process of women's struggle in the public sphere (Parawansa, 2002). In the first democratic elections in 1999, women comprised only 8 percent of the 500 members of the national parliament. When the first gender quota legislation was introduced before the following elections in 2004, it was not actively enforced, resulting only in a slight increase of 11.3 percent among the female proportion in running candidates. When it was announced that sanctions would be levied if the minimum quota was not met in 2009, women still only comprised 18 percent of the available seats in the national parliament (103 of 560). In other words, about a third of political representatives were female even though 49.7 percent of the total population of Indonesia are women.

Women’s participation in politics and the public sphere has been argued to be one of the pre-conditions for a true democracy (Anne-Marie Goetz and Shireen Hassim, 2003). Strengthening women’s participation and representation in the decision making bodies is important because their experiences and interests are different than men's. Women have to be sufficiently represented in the political process in order for Parliament to establish gender-responsive policies. Thus far, women’s low political participation and representation have led to minimal impact on the realization of women’s rights and the fight for gender equality. Women legislators are unable to influence political decision-making because they only comprise 18 percent of the votes in Parliament.

Furthermore, there are other factors that hinder female parliament members’ capability to influence decision-making, including but not limited to their lack of leadership skills and their low levels of understanding the parliamentary processes. A survey conducted by Kompas indicated that 62.5 percent of respondents believed that female representatives did not heed their concerns. One example cited was the fact that the female politicians did not pay attention to several strategic sectors such as the legislation concerning female migrant workers and education. Female legislative members are often under pressure to promote the interests of the party rather than the issues specifically concerning women. Another problem remains in the fact that political representatives are not selected based on the candidate’s competency and capability. Thus, the parties have exhibited no commitment to improve the capacity of female candidates or legislators to work on specific issues, especially concerning gender.
Educating voters on the importance of female representation in the legislative bodies is needed. Capacity building for female legislative candidates is also necessary to improve their capacity as decision makers. Political parties must be encouraged to promote women’s political participation. In the 2014 elections, these initiatives are increasingly crucial in order to meet the requirements of the new article 55 of Law 8/2012 on Indonesian General Elections: ‘the list of nominees of candidates for members of the House of Representatives shall contain at least 30% of female representation’, and that ‘[a]t least one in every three candidates included on a list of a political party should be a woman. Political parties that do not meet the requirement are disqualified from submitting a list in the electoral district where the quota is not met’ (www.ipu.org).

In this regard, female representation needs to be improved in many sectors of Indonesians’ lives, particularly in political party structures. It is an important step on the way to gain genuine support from political parties for female candidates to run for political offices in Indonesia.

4. THE PROJECT

Realizing the need to promote women leadership, Search, in collaboration with Solidaritas Perempuan, implemented the project ‘A More Inclusive Democracy: Strengthening Women's Participation for the 2014 Elections,' funded by the European Union. The project was implemented from February 2013 to February 2015. It worked with female candidates building their capacity to participate in the political process and to lead, not only on behalf of their parties, but also for their whole constituency, including other women. Thus the project sought to enable them to become inclusive, capable leaders. Participants from all socioeconomic levels, as well as first-time women candidates, were prioritized in this project.

In general, the project aimed to strengthen the participation of women representing diverse political ideologies and to set a common platform in the 2014 district/municipality (kota/kabupaten) level elections. Specifically, it aimed to build the capacity of women candidates in collaborative and inclusive leadership, the capacity of political parties to foster more diverse leadership by supporting female candidates, and voter support for women in politics through community engagement and discussions on an animated video on women and politics. The project targeted women candidates, leaders of political parties, and local communities in the target districts. The activities included a baseline assessment, a stakeholder meeting, a workshop with political parties, a curriculum development workshop, a training for candidates,
community engagement, the production and distribution of an animated video, and alumni forums.

The theory of change on which the project was based is outlined below:

- If we build capacity of women in leadership and communication skills, they will become actively involved in public affairs including political parties.
- If more women actively participate in national elections, there will be more opportunities for women to become members of parliament.
- If political parties have an increased awareness of gender perspectives and diverse leadership, they will support female candidates in becoming parliament members.
- If more women become members of parliament, they can fight for gender equality in their community or district.
- If more people were aware of the importance of female participation in Parliament, they will vote for female candidates running for Parliament.

The project expected to achieve the following results:

1. Enhanced skills of female candidates running for district/municipality elections in promoting collaborative and responsible leadership.
2. Increased capacity of political parties to support female candidates in district/municipality elections.
3. Increased mechanisms for dialogue, coordination and cooperation among female candidates, their parties, and their constituents.
4. Changed perceptions of Indonesian citizens on the acceptable roles for women in society.

5. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

Search, as an organization, is committed to conducting program evaluations in order to assess a program’s effectiveness and continuously improve programs and the organization. The overall goal of this evaluation was to assess the contribution of the project in increasing the participation of female candidates in the 2014 elections at the district and municipal levels.

Specifically, the evaluation aimed to answer the following three specific questions:

- How did the program generate significant changes among the female candidates related to their skills in campaigning in the 2014 elections?
• How did the political parties increase their skills in and awareness of fostering more diverse leadership by supporting female candidates in the elections?
• How has the project changed voter behaviour regarding supporting women in politics?

In order to meet the objectives, the external evaluator used a mixed-methods research design, combining quantitative and qualitative methods and documenting why various approaches were effective while others were less effective. The methodologies included document review, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and surveys. Ten enumerators were employed to conduct the survey, after written and oral briefings were received from the external evaluator.

**Document review**
This evaluation reviewed academic literature discussing women and politics in Indonesia to capture and map women’s participation in Indonesian politics since the first direct elections in 1999, when a 30 percent quota for women in the election process was established to increase women's participation in politics. Literature is crucial to identify ideas that support women's participation in politics. Reviewing the project proposal, the logical framework, annual project reports and monitoring data and reports is equally important because it helps the context analysis and the comparison to the context analysis from two years prior.

**Key Informants Interviews**
Interviews were conducted with a total of 25 key informants that included the alumni of trainings for female legislative candidates, political parties’ representatives, community members, and the implementing and partner institutions. Women alumni of the trainings were interviewed to capture how their knowledge and skills changed, how they implemented the knowledge in the 2014 electoral campaign, and how those materials helped them in gaining votes. The interviews also revealed what conflicts and challenges they faced and how they solved those conflicts using approaches in the training materials. The interviews also captured the success stories and instances of failures of women running for parliament in the 2014 elections. In addition, representatives of political parties were interviewed to evaluate the changing perspectives of political parties on the importance of supporting women to become members of Parliament. The interviews with the representatives were also helpful in enumerating how the political parties developed policy to support women in Parliament and how the training materials and other activities impacted internal party support for women running for Parliament. In each location, community members were also interviewed to gather information on their views of female candidates and how these candidates communicated with them and influenced their vote. Representatives of the implementing and partner institutions, both at the national and local level,
were interviewed to evaluate the project management and gather information on the challenges faced during the project’s implementation.

**Survey**

The survey collected data to inform the changes in public perceptions on women’s leadership. The end-line survey questionnaires partially refer to the baseline survey in order to identify the changes generated by the project and to measure the progress in comparison to the baseline data. The questionnaires were randomly distributed among a total of 489 respondents that spanned a wide distribution of gender, age, religion, and ethnicity. This sample size of the end-line survey refers to the Isaac and Michael sample size table (Isaac & Michael, 1981). Based on the statistical data published on the official sites of each district, the total population of the three target areas is 371,099 people. The population of Tabanan - Bali is 66,846 (18%), the population of Kediri – Lombok Barat is 54,204 (15%), and the population of Bojong Gede – Bogor is 250,049 (67%). There was no specific age group targeted when selecting the sample population, but all respondents were 17 years old and above, as 17 is the voting age. The detailed information of the respondents’ age, sex, and education is available in the appendix. With a 95 percent confidence level, a 0.5 standard deviation, and a margin of error (confidence interval) of +/- 5 percent, the appropriate sample size of the total population according to the sample size calculator was 384 respondents. However, it was ensured that each area had at least 33 percent of the initial sample size because of the skewed population distribution across these three areas. Thus, the adjusted total sample size for the skewed population proportion was 485 respondents. In reality, there were a total of 489 respondents in three target areas: 128 in Bali, 124 in Lombok, and 237 in Bogor.

**Focus Group Discussions**

Seven focus group discussions were conducted to measure the participants’ skills and knowledge of women’s participation in politics. The first FGD involved six participants who were alumni of the trainings for female legislative candidates. This FGD got in-depth analytic perspectives of women participants. The second FGD involved six participants who represented the community members and leaders. The participants of the FGDs were selected to ensure that all voices were heard and all aspects of the evaluation questions were covered. The FGD in Bali included six women alumni, six community alumni, and nine community members. The FGD in Lombok included six women alumni and seven community members. The FGD in Bogor included six women alumni and six community members. Overall, the FGDs in the three target areas involved 46 informants.
6. EVALUATION FINDINGS

The findings below cover the desired objectives of the external evaluation as requested in the TOR. The evaluation focused on the evaluation criteria taken from the OECD DAC’s Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities. The evaluation findings were framed under the following four areas: relevance, effectiveness, coherence, and sustainability.

1. PROJECT RELEVANCE

The relevance criterion was used to assess the extent to which the objectives and activities of the intervention respond to the needs of the peacebuilding process. It was also used to determine whether the intervention contributes to peacebuilding (OECD DAC, 2008: 39). In this regard, it is necessary to assess what other actors are present and whether the intervention ties in with overall strategies and policy frameworks. The data for this line of enquiry was mainly collected using FGDs and KIIIs. To ascertain the relevance of Search’s project, the evaluation consultant explored this aspect within the following frameworks.

1.1. The extent to which the project interventions are relevant in the current social, political and electoral context of Indonesia; and the extent to which the project approach and interventions are consistent with the need for women leaders to run for the election.

As the open-list system was introduced in the 2009 elections, the parliamentary seats were determined by the first-past-the-post system of votes. The research held by Perludem found that women candidates were often proposed in non-strategic numbers like only three, six or nine setas, whereas the constituents tended to vote for the upper list of candidates\(^2\). In fact, the large number of legislative candidates confused the constituents, who expressed confusion over the voting process.\(^2\) Some voters admitted that they did not know any of the candidates. Unsurprisingly, the voters tended to choose the candidates who were posed in the upper order number.

In 2009, women constituted only 18 percent of the elected members in the national parliament – DPR RI (103 out of 560), 16 percent in the provincial level – DPRD Propinsi (321 out of 2005), and 12 percent in the district/municipal level – DPRD Kabupaten/Kota (1857 out of 15758) (Puskapol UI, 2010). These numbers emphasize the relevance of Search’s project to strengthen women’s participation in the 2014 election in the social, political and electoral context of Indonesia.

More importantly, the project’s focus on the district/municipal level elections was needed as it has the lowest representation of women, and many other institutions had previously mobilized their interventions at the national level. The selection of Bali and NTB as its target areas was appropriate as both have the worst representation of women in Parliament, with no single female representative at the national level (WRI, 2010). Hidayah from SP observed how her political party’s halfhearted support to women’s quota correlated with the random recruitment of the female legislative candidates:

Apparently, they [female candidates] were not that great, although they were not completely incompetent either. The candidates who exhibited good leadership and were attentive to women policies were not elected. Based on our experience in Bogor, they were [selected] merely to fulfill the 30 percent quota. Only few candidates were pure cadre [of a political party] (Hidayah SP Bogor).

A study held by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Indonesia found that 41.7 percent of women elected in 2009 were heiresses of political dynasties. To meet the female quota requirements, political party elites tended to place female family members (wives or daughters) on the candidate list and resorted to placing female celebrities that had no political experience in political positions (Warat, 2013). To some extent, this familial nomination also served as a compensation for a missed opportunity by the husband due to a lesser quota of men’s electoral candidacy. Joko, a functionary of PAN in Tabanan who participated in the project explained the reason why he nominated his wife in the 2014 elections:

I think most of the women who participated [in training] are new in politics. They started from zero and got the opportunity to fulfill the 30% quota. Sometimes they were nominated on the basis of family ties, they were probably wives or daughters of politicians. For instance, I nominated my wife because I did not get into the quota because the men’s quota is full. If my wife wins a seat, I too can realize my aspirations, (Joko, Bali).

As Joko said in the Bali training, all female candidates were newcomers in the 2014 electoral battlefield. They came from various educational and occupational backgrounds, with little to no political knowledge and experience. In Lombok and Bogor, however, several female participants have run in previous elections. As the main beneficiary of the project, all female legislative candidates highly appreciated Search’s project during the 2014 election. The training opened their eyes about the importance of their participation in politics, and equipped them with necessary strategies to run the electoral campaign.

Search has provided us with information and knowledge. Everything was very good and amazing for us. Especially [since] we were the legislative candidates who participated in this field for the very first time. Now we know about the politics and the strategies that must be implemented in the [electoral] battlefield. (Komang, Bali).
Despite political parties providing their own political coaching, only the old political parties (for example Golkar and PKS) have a systematic recruitment system that facilitates the nomination of female candidates. The lack of politically skilled female candidates increased the project’s significance particularly at the district and municipal levels. The participants admitted that new political parties had less selective processes to nominate effective female candidates (for instance Nasdem and PKB). Maspupah emphasized that the key to a good candidacy is a selective nomination process:

_In my political party, which is relatively new, many of their [female candidates’] educational background were at the high school level. So how would it be possible that they become members of Parliament? We wanted to see what they could do and not underestimate them. In this case, however, the political party had to be very selective and choose the potential candidates, (Maspupah, Bogor)._

Having received general briefing from their respective political parties, most of the participants felt that the project’s participatory approach was very relevant to their needs to run a successful election campaign. While the political parties’ briefings were viewed as having provided normative directions, Search’s interactive projects were considered to be more practical and easier to absorb and remember. Most of the participants responded that the project had improved their skills, particularly in public speaking, and eventually boosted their self-confidence to hold a public campaign. Many participants preferred Search’s training to those held by other institutions, which they perceived as lecturing and didactic, rather than empowering. Veronika from Bali made the following comparison:

_The other training that I joined was too formal and theoretical, and it used a one-way communication approach wherein we only acted as listeners. Only one or two participants were given the chance to ask questions. Search, on the contrary, combined a formal and an informal method. It was like learning by playing and therefore it was more relaxed. We also got to know participants from other regions very well, unlike in the other training where we did not know each other, (Veronika, Bali)._

Participants who were already politically aware also found the project beneficial. Yuni, the former head of women’s organization ‘Solidaritas Perempuan’, had acquired sufficient conceptual knowledge of political education through her previous activism efforts. In 2014 she decided to apply her political knowledge in practice by running for Parliament. She explained how the project enhanced her capacity to run for the electoral campaign:

_We were more confident and felt able to convey our vision and mission. It was like making an attractive package design. People buy something because of the packaging. Even if a product were delicious, it would not sell if it was not attractive. I also applied what I learned about conflict resolution, specifically how to make decisions without neglecting or marginalizing other parties. The most important thing was learning about the strategy of mapping, which means that_
1.2. The extent to which the project strategies and activities are relevant as perceived by the beneficiaries and other community stakeholders.

Although most of the female candidates expressed that they benefited from the project activities, a few participants thought that the project did not meet their needs in running the electoral campaign. Renea Shinta Amindah, a post-doctoral candidate who ran in the provincial elections, decided to be a passive participant since she was confused about the project’s strategies. In her opinion, the programs were too focused on self-exploration and problem solving, instead of providing real tools that can be used by participants in the electoral battlefield:

*I did not understand its targets and processes. Usually the objectives and the methods were conveyed in the beginning of the seminar. The issues were interesting but I did not obtain a clear view on which tools to use when I would return home. For example, if I were to visit those people who are not well educated with some political issues, once a week, or what kind of tactics I should use in the field... Prior to the elections, we evaluated the challenges and barriers and how could we solve them, even though the most important thing to think about would have been the action needed [to gain votes]. I was happier with the community engagement in the electoral districts. It involved direct interaction with them, (Renea, Bogor).*

Renea discussed her concerns with the Search staff who told her that the project’s real target was to encourage women to speak in public and to help them consider the characteristics of different people and communicate with them accordingly. Communication was actually the determinant factor in Renea’s unsuccessful campaign, as she admitted that one of her weaknesses was her inability to reach the people of the communities in the villages. She said that it was not because she was less popular than any other candidate but because village people did not understand her articulation that probably sounded too academic. The fact that she was not Sundanese, the major ethnicity in Bogor, West Java, constituted both a cultural and a linguistic barrier during the campaign. Compared to other similar programs, however, Renea found that the project’s training materials offered something new to her since she previously was not aware of feminist issues:

*Search was better because it used an interactive, two-way communication method instead of a one-way method seminar where we would fall asleep. Here we received the materials and explored them through the activities. It was fun because we got the knowledge and practiced it. We can also share our opinions with our colleagues, which was very positive. The political party’s seminars were like lectures. Search was on another level, (Renea Bogor).*

In contrast to Renea, Zakiah Darajat perceived that the project strategies and activities were...
highly relevant in strengthening her participation in the 2014 elections. She had run for the parliamentary seat in the previous elections as well, representing another political party. Aside from the fun and attractive method applied in the training, she appreciated Search’s emphasis on the importance of the process rather than the outcome. Although most of the trained female candidates had not succeeded in the 2014 elections, both Search and SP comforted and encouraged them to continue contributing to their surrounding community. Zakiah expressed her enthusiasm awakened by the project and her gratitude for Search:

This time I found an institution that really knows us. It was relaxing. They gave us supportive training before the elections, and they continued to support us afterwards by inviting us [to the alumni activities]. We were mentally down at that time, but Search comforted us and did not leave us. I have been trained by many institutions but Search’s training was the only training that was not stressful. Search gave us few but powerful materials. The training method was pleasant. Other institutions, excuse me, gave us many materials but they did not provoke any thoughts. Search knew our situation and invited us to Yogyakarta after we had failed. Search did not leave us, (Zakiah Darajat, NTB).

Zakiah SH in NTB is the head of Women’s Department in the Hanura party. She has been involved in women’s empowerment programs for years and has been active in various social and professional organizations. Despite her broad knowledge and experience, she felt that the project strategies and activities were quite relevant in developing her leadership skills:

It was good to have direct simulation. Prior to the elections we were given the materials of leadership styles, which was a huge help for being able to speak in public and to get to know ourselves. We know how to recognize our self-potential. Although I have been involved in women’s empowerment for a long time, I have never obtained it. We were taught about politics, how to deal with the constituents and how to adjust them to our struggle. That was a good strategy since I was new in the party at the time of the training – I had only been there for 6 months, (Zakiah Hanura).

The community participants also considered the activities to be highly relevant to the 2014 elections, as they gained awareness on the importance of voting for female legislative candidates who will be able to accommodate women’s needs and aspirations. Previously, they did not even know the value of their votes or the importance of being actively involved in politics that concern their lives. In Tabanan, this is a new issue and Search was the first and only institution that provided gender-based political education in the community:

After participating in the training [limited community engagement], we started to understand and open our minds on the importance of female legislative candidates. Although we are women, we used to underestimate that importance. Afterwards we understood that women are equally if not more capable than men in many matters. We had never had such a program in Tabanan before. The program convinced us that it is very important for us to support female legislative candidates. They are the ones who will promote our causes as women in the parliament, (Ria, Bali).

In this regard, Search held community engagement forums with 60 participants in each area.
to mediate the female candidates with their constituents and to educate them on political matters. In the first hour of the forum, Search dedicated time to provide the participants with political education. In the following two hours, Search opened the floor for dialogue between the trained female candidates and constituents in the electoral district. The materials distributed at this forum included readings that emphasized the importance of politics, including information as to why constituents have to participate in the political system and how to convey the constituent’s interests directly to the female candidates. The materials also covered topics such as conflict management, the elections, strategic voting, and avoiding money politics.

For female participants in Tabanan, the community engagement activities were new opportunities that allowed them to speak and share their opinions, which was important because many of them were not allowed to express their opinions in their households. It is not customary for women to speak their minds, particularly if their opinion differs from that of their other family members. In the fourth meeting in Bali, a participant told Leli from Search that she was previously scared to hold a different opinion. However, after the training, she remarked how she felt relieved to be able to express her opinions independent of the opinions of her family members.

Generally, women follow the decision of their Banjar leaders during elections. Thus, the decision to vote for a particular candidate has been solely made by the Banjar leaders, who supported the candidates that contributed most to the Banjar. After the project, however, participants realized that they can make their own choice. This realization was particularly potent when they first met the legislative candidates for the first time:

Political education has helped us to recognize our self-potential. I now know that everyone can lead and make decisions for themselves. We are now also able to understand and think positively about politics, its objectives and importance. [We know] why there must be female legislative candidates and why women must participate as leaders in the legislative process. Before this training, I did not know much about any female legislative candidates. Through this opportunity, I met and discussed [with the female candidates]. I am sure that these female leaders will be more successful in addressing women’s needs because women generally know most about women’s needs. This political education is very important because it will empower women to be able to make informed decisions on candidates and not be influenced by money politics, (FGD participant in Bali).

The traditional gender based division of labor and patriarchal culture that supports men as the decision-makers in the household is also commonly found in the more metropolitan areas of Bogor, in addition to Bali and Lombok. Most of the participants in the community engagement activities were housewives, who were used to following decisions made by the head of the family. The project helped these female participants recognize their independent rights to vote. They
soon realized that their political choices were very important to their daily lives. Tatik said:

In these discussions, we were told how to assess and choose which legislative candidates to vote for. I learned that we must look at their programs and policies rather than their physical appearances. Before the Search training, we were merely following our husbands’ choices. Now, even though our husbands tell us to choose certain candidates, we know to assess the candidates ourselves first. There is no need to vote for a candidate that will not support programs that are beneficial to women’s interests. We have become smarter after we joined this project. We can now also meet important people, such as members in Parliament, in Bogor to express our concerns. I am proud of that, (Tatik, Bogor).

The community engagement encouraged participants to express their opinions in the public and emphasized the importance of political awareness. Furthermore, the community engagement made the participants realize that male and female candidates have equal capacities to become effective political leaders. They knew to assess a candidate’s qualities and background rather than their gender or appearance. Liani said:

I know more about the characters of the female legislative candidates. I know now how they speak and convey their visions and missions. We know who can lead women and prioritize women’s interests. We know their track records and their educational background. Thus, we did not vote [for those] who violated human rights or who were corrupt. We have confidence in voting for the correct candidates. In terms of capacity and credibility, I see that female candidates can exceed the male candidates. They need to have more important roles in politics, (Liani, Bogor).

Many participants liked Search and SP’s roadshow that visited the House of Representatives and office of the political parties, where the participants met with their representatives and conveyed their messages and concerns directly. This was a whole new experience that gave them a sense of pride because the Parliament building had never been a place for them to visit, let alone meet and speak with the political elites.

I like the materials about the legislative members’ tasks, the budget allocation etc. As housewives, we would never know about them unless we had joined the discussion. We would not know that there is APBD (regional budget) that must be canalized [to people] and the tasks of regents. We used to pass by the offices of PPP, PKS etc without entering them. With such discussions, thank God we can visit and meet important people. We are very happy and proud, (Ipeh, Bogor).

Overall, the beneficiaries saw the project activities as relevant. Despite this high interest, some of the community engagement participants felt that the full day of community engagement meetings, which lasted from 9 am to 5 pm, was too exhausting. They remarked that they had no time for their various household chores because of the long day. Moreover, some beneficiaries had difficulties understanding ‘sophisticated’ terms used in the discussions. The younger participants suggested to hold discussions in a more fun way in new places, such as in the outdoor park. The older participants expressed that they enjoyed the field trip to the Parliament
house, other electoral districts, and the lunch in the local restaurant. One participant, Tatik said she found it difficult to concentrate in longer meetings because of her older age:

*The coordinators were good and did not intimidate us. We could express whatever was on our minds because the meetings felt casual, as if they were meetings with friends. But, if the meetings lasted too long, I got a headache. My mind went blank in these long meetings and I could no longer follow what was being discussed. Unlike the school students, I am older and have other responsibilities on my mind, such as grocery shopping, etc.,* (Tatik Bogor).

1.3. The project’s unique contributions to women’s empowerment and increased political participation that others are not providing.

The establishment of common solidarity and commitment to the fulfillment of women’s interests across party lines is one of the project’s unique contributions to women’s political participation. Several other institutions also contributed to the strengthening of the female legislative candidates through seminars, where participants listened to the presentations about the electoral system and regulations and the budget allocation. However, as suggested by the participants before, these were structured as lectures with very limited opportunities for questions and answers. The participants barely got to know each other, a factor that prevented them from networking and collaborating on ideas.

At the beginning of the project, it was evident that many of the legislative candidates felt tense because of the differences in their political ideals and parties. However, after a series of fun ice-breaking sessions and participatory activities, they started to find common ground and became tolerant towards each other’s political parties’ representatives. They began to view other female candidates as partners rather than political rivals. They realized that they could work together towards a common goal: the social welfare and inclusion of women and their representation in governance. Ni Nyoman Kusumawati recalled this initial tension:

*What was unique about this project was that we were encouraged to develop our creativity. We were playing games in order to get to know our colleagues better. Initially, we associated exclusively with members of our same political parties. However this changed during the second day when we played a game which allowed us to blend and find commonalities across party lines. We could not stay in our group because we were mingling with different participants. We felt happy. We had to leave out everything we had. Rich and poor were equal,* (Nyoman Bali).

Ni Kadek Arlini (Mangku), the head of the organizing partner Yayasan Kunthi Bhakti, noticed how female participants experienced rapid personal growth and maintained a solid common network. The solidarity among the participants is important social capital to empower women in Tabanan and elsewhere in Bali. Ibu Mangku was particularly moved by the participants’ strong sense of sisterhood:
I am very proud of their togetherness and solidarity. Raisantini and other colleagues who previously could not form strong relations have now formed empowerment groups. That moved me. They came from different political parties, but they have a strong sisterhood. I told them to maintain this relationship. We have to hold synergy not only for ourselves, but for all women in Bali and the rest of Indonesia, (Mangku Bali).

Women’s solidarity was apparent particularly in NTB and Bogor, where Search collaborated with Solidaritas Perempuan in implementing the projects. The participants started to realize the importance of working together to fight for all women’s interests. This awareness was not apparently immediately because the participants were from different socioeconomic background and represented different political affiliations. Hidaya from SP emphasized the importance to recognize the struggle for women’s interests:

They are cross-party representatives. On the first day, the sense of competitiveness was apparent among the participants. All of the representatives were wearing their political party affiliated clothing. We asked them not to wear them the second day in an attempt to have everyone come in with a blank slate. This proved to be very successful. We even invited them to a political hearing, which was very sensitive because we visited only a few political parties that are in power. We explained to them that we went there not because of the political parties, but for the sake of women’s interests, (Hidayah, SP Bogor).

The networking reached another level in Bogor when a participant Dian Siregar, who was in charge of the annual forum of the Indonesian Political Caucus for Women (KPPI), added the names of the rest of the participants of the Search project into the invitation list without prior consultation with their political parties’ elites. Dian explained that she deliberately did that to involve particularly active female participants. Otherwise, the political party elites would send representatives who would either not participate actively in the meetings or not attend them. Through the participatory activities in the Search project, Dian recognized the capacity and enthusiasm of her colleagues. She also emphasized that now women’s interests are above the political parties’ interests:

Now we no longer speak of political parties in SP or KPPI. When we come to the society, we speak of women’s interests. We talk about political parties only during regional and legislative elections, when we must return back to our respective ‘homes’. After the elections, we take off our political parties’ affiliations and reunite for the sake of women. Women’s solidarity has just been established here, (Dian Siregar, Bogor).

The inclusive leadership skills benefited the participants in their electoral campaigns, where they had to address constituents from different socioeconomic backgrounds. The skills were also viewed as beneficial to the Parliament, where members from different political factions generally push for their political party’s agendas at the expense of the larger community’s interests. Nurul Adha, who was elected a Member of Parliament in Lombok, applied these inclusive leadership
skills prior to and after her electoral campaign:

In the beginning, the differences between different political parties were very apparent. At the first training, Search united us as one entity. I am very happy because it helped us deal with various people at the grassroots level and it helped us communicate with them emphatically. Our focus was to address the needs and concerns of the society and to address the issues attractively, (Nurul Adha, Lombok).

2. PROJECT’S EFFECTIVENESS

A project’s effectiveness is evaluated based on whether the project reached its intended objectives related to its immediate peacebuilding environment in a timely fashion. The key to evaluating effectiveness and the connection among outputs, outcomes and impacts is finding out to what degree the envisaged objectives have been fulfilled. It is also important to note the changes that the activities have caused or the extent to which the activities contributed to a perceived change in the environment. Assessment should cover both the desired changes the project aimed to achieve, as well as unintended positive and negative changes (OECD DAC, 2008: 40).

2.1. Major outputs and outcomes of this project; and the progress in comparison to the relevant baseline data.

By the end of the project, Search and SP trained 67 female participants, a husband of a candidate and nine male party representatives in the three targeted areas.

- 29 participants in Bogor: 24 female candidates, a husband, four male party representatives
- 24 participants in Lombok: 22 female candidates, two male party representatives
- 24 participants in Bali: 21 female candidates, three male party representatives

Three workshops were also held for 58 representatives from the 10 largest political parties in each of the targeted areas (20 participants in Mataram, 20 participants in Tabanan, 18 participants in Bogor). Five Community Engagement Forums were held in each targeted area, with 60 participants at each forum.

A comparison of the baseline and end-line data surveys shows a large change in people’s perception on women’s political participation and representation. Prior to the project’s implementation, 75.4 percent of respondents in the three target areas either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the importance of having female representatives in the legislative council. Their disagreement drastically decreased by 69.5 percent by the end of the project, when only 5.9 percent of respondents remarked that they did not approve of women’s political participation. After the project, most of the respondents (93.2 percent out of 489 respondents) in Bogor,
Tabanan, and Mataram remarked that it was very important for there to be female representatives in the national, provincial and district/municipal legislative council. The most significant paradigm shift occurred in Tabanan and Mataram, which respectively consists of a majority of Hindu and Muslim populations, with about 80 percent of respondents remarking that they had changes in perception concerning women’s representation in politics.

Chart 1. The importance of having female representatives in the National/Provincial/Municipal-District Legislative Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>End</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DOGOR</td>
<td>TABAIN</td>
<td>MATARAM</td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/No response</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>72.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the ideal characteristics of the legislative members, the respondents perceived the candidates’ education and policies (concerning poverty alleviation, health care, free education etc.) as the most important criteria in selecting the candidates. These two criteria appeared as the first and second rank criteria both in the baseline and end-line surveys. Other qualities such as the candidates’ political experience, occupational background, and political party were chosen as the secondary criteria of the members of parliament. The candidates’ religion, unfortunately, moved from the fifth rank in the baseline to the third rank in the end-line assessment. Religious-based campaigning that was prevalent during the last presidential elections could have contributed into this priority shift. On the other hand, religious pluralism was not included in the training curriculum as the training took place in relatively homogeneous areas (Hindu community in Bali and Muslim community in Lombok). Interestingly, the candidates’ sex and ethnic identity did not really determine the respondents’ vote since they considered these as the least important criteria in their selection of legislative candidates in the elections.
### Chart 2. Respondents criteria for selecting the legislative candidates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Baseline</th>
<th></th>
<th>Endline</th>
<th></th>
<th>Graphic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate’s education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The candidate’s policies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same religion as me</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates’ political experience</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The candidate’s occupation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates’ political party</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates’ sex</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates’ age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The region the candidate is from</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates’ popularity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same race/ethnic as me</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the legislative candidate’s gender did not significantly affect the constituents’ votes as they were aware that the candidates’ successful performance in the parliament depends not on whether the candidates are male or female, but on their ability to accommodate people’s aspiration and to deliver programs that will increase people’s welfare.

### 2.2. The extent to which the knowledge and skills on collaborative and inclusive leadership, including public speaking and engaging media, improved among the participating women leaders.

All the participating women leaders stated that their knowledge and skills have improved, particularly on inclusive leadership and public speaking. Before joining the training, some of these legislative candidates admitted that they did not really understand the political system used in the elections, such as ‘dapil’ that stands for daerah pemilihan or the electoral district. Some of them did not even know how and what to say in front of their constituents before participating in the project. Sri Malini, a senior officer in the department of education in Tabanan, who ran for the parliamentary seat for the first time, expressed how the project helped her gain the courage to
address political issues during the electoral campaign:

*Prior to the campaign, we were concerned with how we should behave, how to sit or stand, how to speak and what to say. We didn’t have a clue on how to address political issues. After we worked with Search, we started to gain a little bit of knowledge as well as the courage to stand up and speak in front of large audiences. Previously, our bodies were shaking every time we stood up [due to nervousness], (Sri Malini, Bali).*

In the FGD in Bali, where the community arrangement used to be organized in a Banjar (Village) and be dominated by men, a participant of the FGD said that she started to learn how to be a leader and how to be actively involved in the communal work activities in Bali. Since they are involved in its organizing committee, the participants must handle particular tasks or delegate these tasks to other community members. She learned how to talk to her subordinates and solve problems in her community. After the training, Suti became more confident and determined to continue contributing to the society:

*Before participating in the training of Search and SP, I ran for the head of the village and did it randomly because I did not know about mapping and organizing attractive socialization. After the training, I knew the tricks to draw people’s sympathies. Initially, I did not know about it at all. I started from zero, (Supi, NTB).*

The female candidates also expressed that the training encouraged them to contribute to society and address certain societal problems such as domestic violence issues. Saijah Safiah, a senior lecturer and women’s activist who volunteers for Center for Women and Children Empowerment P2TP2A in Bogor, stated that she significantly improved her communication and inclusive leadership skills, despite already having experience giving lectures and presentations at the university. She also noticed how most of her female colleagues significantly improved their capacity, particularly in their public speaking skills:

*I am a volunteer at the Center for Women and Children Empowerment and am involved in the protection of women and children. There are many violations against women’s rights. After the training, I’m aware that as a volunteer, I need to listen to the victims and should not protest or judge them. I am able to do this because we learned communication skills and public speaking skills. The public speaking trainings were amazing. I saw firsthand the change in my colleagues. My colleagues used to listen rather than speak. Now, because I am more confident, I can express myself by speaking in public. We were also taught that gender equality and religion are not mutually exclusive matters. (Saijah Safiah, Bogor).*
Chart 3. Scale of Knowledge and Skills Improvement as Perceived by the Participants
(Scale 1 to 10)

The comparison of pre- and post-test results indicates that the training participants gained improvements in all fields. They started to understand gender issues and be sensitive towards gender-sensitive topics. This will enable them to be responsive towards women’s interests in the future. They also started gaining knowledge of and skills on conflict resolution, problem solving and decision-making. The most significant changes, however, appeared in their communication and leadership knowledge and skills. Hidayah from SP noticed how the female participants practiced collaborative and inclusive leadership:

Their [female candidates] confidence increased, and they gradually began to have a perspective of women’s interests. In the beginning they did not understand it, but now they have a commitment to fight for women’s interests. They can be agents of change in their communities. Earlier, they felt that they were different from others in their community because of their higher education statuses. Now they joke around with the community people and greet everyone. (Dayah SP Bogor).

The male candidates who joined the training also experienced a gradual change towards a more inclusive leadership. Instead of perceiving others as political enemies, they realized that they possessed a common ground and were able to collaborate even in the electoral campaign. Ketut, who is the general secretary of the Democratic Party in Tabanan, understood the importance of establishing cross-party networks to achieve their common objective:

We represent different political parties and did not know much about each other. Because the majority here is PDIP, they used to be arrogant. Now, they have changed a lot. He (a PDIP representative) participated in the training.
Previously, he probably considered us as political enemies, but now he has realized that we can cooperate in different fields including the candidacy process. We built cross-party networks. The training generated an amazing feeling of brotherhood although we come from different parties, (Ketut, Bali).

2.3. The extent to which women leaders applied these skills during and after the 2014 elections.

All participants stated that they practiced everything they learned from the project activities. The only guidance that they did not implement in their campaign was probably refraining from the use of money politics. They said that the theories were not always practical in the field, because the voters were pragmatic and money-oriented. Many people did not trust the legislative candidates who generally made promises in vain, and forgot their voters as soon as they reached their position. That is the reason why they preferred to gain short-term benefits from the candidates during the elections, instead of waiting for them to fulfill their uncertain promises. Maspupah explained how the theory is different from the reality:

Actually we were optimistic and 99%-confident that we would be elected. That was because we already implemented the guidance from SP, trainings, and methods to approach the community. But we over-trusted the electoral regulations that prohibited money politics. We were too naive with our idealism, therefore we were not prepared for the big day. We only were involved with giving ordinary charities. We learned that no matter how great we were at implementing lessons we learned in the community, it was not enough. We cannot compete with those who do distribute money on election day, (Maspupah, Bogor).

After the elections, however, some participants continued to use the knowledge and skills they had gained. Some of them participated actively in the political party structures and activities. Others contributed to the community empowerment initiatives, and so on. Sofia Nurul Islami told that the public speaking knowledge and skills in the training helped her improve her communication skills and abilities in conveying gender issues in public media including in appearances with local TV programs:

People invited us [to speak] because they considered us to have the skills. This is the outcome of the training, where we were trained how to speak and how to improve ourselves... I spoke on TV9 on some programs about women and related topics We had dialogue on violence against women in the household and on migrant labor. Regarding the elections, we talked about female legislative candidates, (Sofia Nurul Islami, NTB).

2.4. The extent to which the project contributed to empowering female candidates to act as leaders, to promoting leadership with the political parties, and to changing the way the voters perceived leaders, when leadership is practiced in a collaborative, inclusive, and diverse way.

The project helped empower female candidates to act as leaders. As previously mentioned,
some female candidates started from knowing nothing about the political process. They had no experience in working within organizations or acting as leaders in the society. The training made the participants realize their potential to contribute positively to the community around them and motivated them to be actively involved in community development. Veronika, for example, has gained more appreciation from her neighborhood in the village, which was previously dominated by male decision-makers:

*One of the things that changed, is that the surrounding society has begun to acknowledge me. For instance, I am given the priority in every communal activity in the sense that they always ask for my opinion about everything. Secondly, I used to stay silent in the women gatherings such as PKK and be underestimated, but now I have opened my eyes and realized that I can be someone, (Veronika, Bali).*

Female alumni who were politically experienced also improved their leadership skills and exercised them at a higher level. Hidayah, the former head of the village who won a legislative seat, performed well at the Parliament Budget Agency (Banggar). Her performance led to her leading the Special Committee in the Parliament despite being a relatively new member in legislation (Pansus):

*What I have done so far, as a female MP, is not so bad, even though it is my first time in the Regional Parliament Budget Agency (Banggar). Afterwards, I was selected as the head of the Regional Parliament Special Committee (Pansus). It means that they trust me, (Nur Hidayah, Lombok).*

However, transformation did not really take place within the political party structure. Search and SP only held one workshop with the representatives of political parties in each region, and that was not as effective as the series of trainings for the female candidates or engagement forums within the communities. Although these participants represented different political parties, they were not necessarily the decision-makers within their structures. There is a need to apply a specific strategy to convince the political parties’ elites to act strongly within their organizations, before enforcing this policy in the Parliament. Prior to the trainings, 96.2 percent of the political party representatives claimed that their parties had sufficiently accommodated women in strategic positions, while only 3.8 percent of them stated the contrary. A question was posed to them about ‘the percentage of women who pose strategic positions in the structure of your political party’. After the training, a slight change occurred in their perception, most likely because of the growing awareness of the political party representatives of the lack of political parties’ will in promoting women’s leadership in the structure.
The real support of a political party towards women’s candidacies could be observed from their policies concerning the female candidates’ order numbers (nomor urut) in the electoral districts. Indonesia has a proportional system where the elected MP is determined by the quantity of votes. However, the order number plays an important role as most of the voters have limited education and tend to vote for the candidates that are nominated in the upper part of the list instead of candidates who are listed at the middle or bottom. Regarding these circumstances, it was beyond the capability of the project to influence the decision of the order numbers for female candidates as the project was started after the announcement of the Fixed Candidates List (DCT). However, participants of the training who accepted the political parties’ policy on the numbers given to female candidates during the pre-test were not so happy with the policy during the post-test, once they had thoroughly discussed the policies in the training and understood the importance of having women leaders in Parliament. However, the participants of the workshop stated that the political parties had provided good enough order numbers for female candidates and their electability will be determined by their personal effort to gain votes at the grassroots level:

In Tabanan we placed a female legislative candidate as number one of the Golkar party. After this, it was no longer the political party’s business whether the candidate would succeed or not. It depended on how she managed to work at the grassroots level to gain as many votes as possible, because the regulation determined the election to be based on the majority of votes. That was decided by the KPU. Our task is to follow the regulations in our legislative candidacy, (Loka, Bali).

When it comes to the constituents, community members admitted that negative perceptions of the female legislative candidates who had never been actively involved in the community activities still prevailed. However, this was also the perception of ‘instant’ male legislative
candidates who did not have a clear track record or positive footprints within their community. Search and SP’s political education training, however, changed the constituents’ perceptions towards a more diverse leadership that included women:

Before participating in this political education, I did not care about the legislative candidates. Now I realize that my vote is important and as [a] woman I have to help women who understand women's needs and accommodate women's aspirations. Now that I have become observant, I can see the vision and mission of the female candidates. Previously I only knew their names. Here, we met these female candidates and discussed their visions with them. I began to realize that they were good candidates, (FGD participant in NTB).

2.5. Positive examples of successful electoral campaigns of female candidates who participated in the project activities.

In the 2014 elections, there were two successful female alumni in NTB, a male and a female in Bali, and a female alumnus in Bogor. In terms of the electoral campaign, it appeared that these successful alumni had good political bargaining abilities in their political party. Based on the order number (nomor urut), for instance, Nurul Adha and Nur Hidayah were the first legislative candidates in their respective parties: PKS and Gerindra in Lombok Barat. Sarni was the second candidate from Gerindra in Bogor. Sri Labantari, was candidate number nine from Gerindra in Tabanan, the bottom number that made it easy for her constituents to see her on the list and therefore vote for her. As a matter of fact, these elected candidates already had strong social, political, and financial bases before participating in Search’s project activities. However, they believe that the training provided by Search and SP did definitely add value to their campaign.

Nurul Adha from PKS, for instance, had been the head of the women’s department in the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in the NTB province for two periods: 2005–2010 and 2010–2015. PKS assigned her as the national legislative candidate in 2004, and the provincial legislative candidate in 2009, but she failed in both elections. She eventually won the seat in 2014, as the member of the regional legislative council DPRD Kabupaten Lombok Barat. PKS’s government coalition with the Democratic Party during those two terms had facilitated PKS to manage and distribute the government budget within the society. At the time of the start of the project, Nurul had been working for almost 10 years at the grass root level through KUBE, a socio-economic empowerment program held by the Ministry of Social Affairs, which has been led by a PKS affiliated Minister. Nurul emphasized her strong social bases in the community and her long-term communal work:

If I had no empowerment groups [KUBE] that I had maintained for a long time, it would have been impossible for me to gain so many votes. I worked for the society, initiating economic empowerment groups and providing education, not for the sake of the electoral campaign. When I was appointed as the legislative candidate, I was sure that people would
see my accomplishments and elect me. It [success] did not merely rely on the financial capital and personal capacity, but also on the social bases. I have my own social bases and PKS cadres who worked for me beyond my outreach. I could have lost if I didn’t get additional votes from those external territories. (Nurul Adha, NTB).

As a cadre based party, PKS is seen as the only party in Indonesia to develop the kind of internal culture and organizational discipline, which is desirable for the proper functioning of a consolidated democracy (Anthony Bubalo and Greg Fealy, 2008). As the head of PKS Women’s Department, Nurul trained many female cadres who afterwards became her loyal and committed social bases. These female cadres worked voluntarily to support her electoral campaign, and helped her gain votes in the areas that were beyond her outreach and priority. The participants of FGD in NTB also acknowledged Nurul’s social capital. Nurul’s campaign, through the economic empowerment programs, had an incredible response from the society who felt that they gained a tangible advantage, unlike the campaigns of anti-domestic violence that were not considered to be important to their basic necessities. In addition, Nurul’s family is affiliated to Tuan Guru Haji, respected leaders who wield a high level of social, political and religious authority in NTB. Her father is the head of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah (DDI), who served as the member of senate (DPD RI) for two periods, and her uncle is the head of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) who lead a large Islamic boarding school (pesantren) Nurul Hakim in Lombok Barat. Thus, it was clear that she has a very strong social capital that would help her win the parliamentary seat.

Here, Tuan Guru has a lot of influence. So our parent’s big names affect the outcome, even if our quality is only average. Who we are connected to is important in the Lombok society. We might lose to female candidates who come from influential family backgrounds. The adherence toward religious figures is relatively high in this region, (participant of FGD in NTB).

Another successful alumni in NTB, Nur Hidayah, was not a new political player either. Many of her family members became MPs too. She was the head of the village Gunungsari for five years and the only female head of the village in Lombok Barat. Despite of her deep appreciation of the Search project, Hidayah explained that it was her social, financial and political bases that determined her electability as a Member of Parliament:

I was the head of the village and coincidentally many of my cousins became legislative members, too. One of Gerindra’s functionaries saw me as the only female head of the village. Being the head of village, I was actively involved in some organizations. We have Association of Head of Village across Lombok Barat, and I became the treasurer in the Head of the Village Forum. I have a good relationship with my colleagues, who know me well, and they helped me gain the necessary votes. As heads of the village, they supported me voluntarily, (Nur Hidayah NTB).

Female heads of many other villages also ran for the 2014 elections, but did not succeed. Hidayah explained that her campaign was well managed and organized compared to other
candidates’. She drafted the campaign budget, and had layers of success teams: an inner team, a sub-district team, and a coordinator in each village. She knew the performances of her success teams, and prepared the campaign nine months prior to the elections. With strong organizational skills, she regularly gathered all village coordinators twice a month to evaluate her weak spots, and held surveys before they returned to the field. Unsurprisingly, she gained the highest number of votes among the legislative candidates from all political parties in her electoral district.

In Bali, Ni Nengah Sri Labantari also said that her social bases were the key factor of her success. She has been actively involved in the Gerindra party since 2012, as well as in other organizations such as the Indonesian Organization of Hindu Women – WHDI, and the Indonesian Business Women Association – IWAPI. As an entrepreneur, she had been empowering the housewives through her handicraft business for about 15 years. She let them create the handicrafts at home, which allowed them to support their families financially without leaving them. On top of her strong financial bases, these women and their families became her loyal social bases that helped her win a seat in Parliament:

I already had a network a long time before participating in the politics. As an entrepreneur, I need to cooperate with the surrounding community. I needed them and they also needed me. The current community is very pragmatic – they wanted temporary compensation. I actually did not want to use money politics because I already had my network and I just had to mobilize them. They [success team] told me that I had to visit a banjar (village) at least and show them appreciation. Thus, I gave a donation to the Banjar, (Sri Labantari, Bali).

Based on the focus group discussions in Lombok, Bali and Bogor, it appeared that some of the successful alumni were prepared to spend more than just money when compared to the unsuccessful ones. Sarni, the youngest alumnus of the Search training, admitted that she spent a lot of money to engage socially in the field through sports. She said that she would be overwhelmed in her electoral campaign if she did not have sufficient financial capital, which is necessary for producing stickers, banners, and billboard advertisements. She also conducted a sports competition in order to attract the constituents, particularly young people who would vote for the first time:

During the campaign, I held 13 ‘Sarnita’ tournaments in various villages and sub-districts. These young voters are better targets for the campaign than housewives because the housewives who would have voted for me would not have been able to do so in the polling stations. They probably had problems with their health, eye-vision, or literacy. The young voters, on the other hand, would not have such problems, thus becoming a clear target for me to address. I made 13 tournament cups, Sarni Cups, as souvenirs for each village. When the young people played football in the tournament, their parents participated as supporters and spectators. There was also a lot of food and toy vendors at the location. At least 300 people attended the tournament. In the final competition, about 1000 people filled the stadium. Everyone loves football in the Bogor regency, (Sarni, Bogor).
The political, social and financial bases enabled the successful alumni to use unconventional efforts in their own electoral campaigns. Although the Search project has successfully strengthened women’s participation in the 2014 elections, it was not sufficient to ensure women’s representation in the parliament. Therefore, in order to succeed in the next elections, it is necessary for the rest of the alumni to start establishing political, social and financial bases a long time before the elections.

Leli Nurohmah from Search acknowledged that most of the women candidates were not well prepared and seemed to be ‘forced’ to campaign to fulfill the quota. Thus, most of them lacked social capital, networks, and financial capital to afford the high cost of campaigning. She observed how Sarni’s popularity and electability exceed her colleagues’:

> In the first community forum in Bogor I asked constituents which female candidates they knew. All of them replied that they knew of Sarni. That is because she promoted [herself] everywhere; her banners and flags could be found even in the narrow streets. She received high popularity and social support. She had a huge banner at the marketplace; therefore she was popular in the community. Although we had introduced the constituents to five other female candidates in the first forum, Sarni was still the most popular among them because of her abundant banners in the second forum, (Leli Nurohmah, Search).

In the future either of these two options could be taken into consideration: identifying women candidates who have sufficient social bases and financial capital to run for Parliament or helping women candidates to establish the their social and financial capital. It would be necessary to facilitate the well-prepared female candidates to run as representatives of political parties. Involving potential female candidates in women’s economic empowerment programs in the grassroots level can be very effective in establishing both social and financial bases for their next elections.

2.6. The extent to which the elected female Members of Parliament applied their knowledge and skills in the parliament.

The training alumni who were elected were all newcomers to Parliament. During these few months, they were mostly learning from their senior colleagues. Sri Labantari, for instance, went to the office everyday even though the incumbents rarely showed up. She attended various meetings, met delegations, and conducted comparative studies for other regional parliaments in Bali. For her, it was a learning-by-doing process, through which she applied her knowledge on the updated political issues and public speaking skills when given the opportunity. In Bogor, Sarni found that the conflict management skills were necessary to deal with the conflict of interests among political parties in the parliament. Sarni described it as follows:
I remember the conflict management [training]: everybody was tied and one of us wanted to get out. I have noticed that here [in the parliament]. In a commission, everybody has his or her own opinion. We have different ways of understanding. In the training, egoists had the possibility of simply cutting the rope and getting off. Others think about the solution: one of them must retreat and that way clear the problem. It happens a lot here. When a colleague gets emotional, we try to muffle his or her emotions. We must not be selfish. That is why conflict management is needed here [in the parliament], (Sarni Bogor).

Communication skills and finding a common ground appear to be the most necessary tools in dealing with the polarized interests within Parliament. During the training, all participants are encouraged to express their personal perspectives on various issues. Based on this experience, Nurul Adha realized that everyone can be her teacher and everyone has something that she can learn from. She appreciated how the alumni keep on consolidating after the elections, and conveyed 12 women’s interest aspirations to the executive and legislative authorities. As the female MP, she accommodated these 12 aspirations and communicated them with the related stakeholders. Better still, she planned to allocate the government’s budget to meet these women’s interests:

Search alumni colleagues have recently conveyed 12 women interests. I obtained data on women’s conditions, health and education. That was capacity building for me as a Member of Parliament, wherein the data enables me to speak up. Before the hearing session, I invited the stakeholders such as the head of Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA), head of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), and Women’s Empowerment Department. We have consolidated with the head of BAPPEDA in order to insert our aspirations in the future amendment of the Local Government Budget 2015, (Nurul Adha, Lombok)

The fact that the Search – SP alumni who represent different political parties had collaborated to propose 12 women’s interest aspirations was a huge achievement. It is evident that they applied inclusive and collaborative leadership to achieve common objectives. These interests included: health care, economic empowerment, environmental protection, proper sanitation, healthy food, preventing women and child trafficking, child protection, preventing domestic violence, education, gender equality, migrant laborers’ rights, and land protection. In the midst of clash of interests between political parties, women alumni in the parliament had consolidated for the sake of women’s welfare beyond the boundary of their political affiliations. Nur Hidayah described how women members of parliament also fought for a more gender responsive budgeting in the Parliament:

We agreed to support each other so that women can hold an important position in the Parliament. Indeed, we have female heads of DPRD and female heads of Hanura faction. It becomes apparent now that we – as the female MPs – provide specific colors to the Parliament. We support each other in inserting certain issues such as health care into the budget, an issue that has been ignored by the male MPs because they are more concerned about infrastructure, (Nur
2.7. The extent to which the female candidates who did not succeed in the 2014 elections implement collaborative and inclusive leadership in their daily activities.

Women candidates who did not succeed perceived that the knowledge and skills they obtained from Search were not only applicable in the electoral campaign. They believe that they are also applicable in the daily life: from handling the conflicts in the community and managing the organizations to addressing the social problems within society.

In NTB, Sofia Nurul Islami’s unsuccessful campaign did not stop her from contributing to the community. She was actively involved in the formulation of the 12 women’s interest aspirations as well in the hearing process in the Parliament. She is focused on demanding that the city hospital provides a proper and comfortable waiting room at the pediatric intensive care unit (PICU). She collected the supporting documentation, including photo of mothers sleeping in the PICU’s corridors – among whom was a woman who had just undergone a c-section. After the roadshow, she kept coordinating with the MP who eventually canalized the proposal to the Department of Health. Her inclusive leadership was also apparent in her political party structure (PKS), where she proposed the appointment of women in the department other than the Women’s Department:

In the recent structure meeting, there was a selection process for members of divisions. I proposed to include two women in the division of caderization and two women in the division of youth. They always used to be filled by men. Because of Search, I now have the courage to argue that women are also capable. We have a new independent organization in Mataram, a kind of NGO that focuses on early education (PAUD), Qur’an education for children (TPQ) and the promotion of harmonious families. I also want to promote women’s leadership. Currently I am serving as the vice-treasurer and will organize a leadership training. Female leadership is necessary. People used to think that men are the only ones capable. We must support women who also have the capacity to become leaders. I want women to step up, (Sofia NTB).

In Bogor, Saijah Safiah (Sasa) also seize various opportunities after the training. When she was appointed as the head of women’s division in her political party PDIP, she held various activities for female cadres that ranged from social work to skill enhancement programs. She also held seminars on contemporary issues. Her activism grabbed the attention of the party elites as well as the structures in the branch offices. She plans to use her rising popularity to run for the head of Branch Leadership Council (DPC) of PDIP Bogor. Although she feels that it will be a very difficult process, her candidacy will serve as a bridge that will raise her bargaining position in the structure and will ease her political struggles in the next elections in 2019. Sasa described her attempt for a more inclusive leadership in her party:
Female cadres had fewer activities before. After I become the head [of women department in PDIP], they have various activities: from social work, to skill programs and seminars. It resonated in the branch offices, and the party elite has noticed that. We have to grab chances rather than wait for opportunities to be provided to us. There will be socialization for the nomination of the head of DPC. It has to be nominated by the lowest structure in the branch. Few branches mention my name as the candidate of head of Branch Leadership Council (DPC). I thought about what I would do if I become the head of DPC and what my programs would be. I will try to apply the knowledge that I obtained at that time [during the training], (Sasa Bogor)

In Bali, Raisantini (Santi) did not give up hope to participate in politics. Her failure in the recent electoral campaign inspired her to establish social bases in the community. Not being elected to Parliament was not the end of the struggle for her, but it was only the beginning of her real contribution to the constituents at the grass roots level. As the cadre of the ruling party PDIP, she actively communicated with the PDIP affiliated Regent of Tabanan, who eventually entrusted her to canalize the social funds at the grass roots level. She was able to help and empower the surrounding community, which is inherently embedded within her leadership spirit. Her dedication to the community could also be a social asset for her to run in the next elections in 2019. Santi assumed that her struggle and contribution would be appreciated by her future constituents and cost her lest in the electoral campaign:

Coincidentally, the regent of my district [Tabanan] is from PDI [Indonesian Democratic Party]. Probably because I often communicated with her and joined her organization called Ekalawya, she always involved me in the social work and all activities held by the Tabanan authorities. She also enabled us to canalize aid for the poor people, to renovate their houses, as long as the data was accurate. It also includes a women empowerment program and women’s saving and loan program. Although it is the national government’s program, the support for Tabanan local government is huge. It obtains IDR 6 billion annually from PNPM (National Program for Community Empowerment). So it depends on us, whether we are aggressive or not. The funds are available, so it is up to us whether we want to dedicate ourselves to the people’s interest or not. What is done is done. We will try again in the future. Our strategy now is to plant the seed now so we can reap the harvest later, (Santi Bali).

2.8. The extent to which the project contributed to bringing positive changes among political party leaders in relation to women leadership within the party structure and candidate nomination, i.e. the positive shift in the perception of male leadership towards female leadership.

Political party elites started to open their eyes and promote female leadership in the structure. For instance, after joining the Search project, a training alumnus Rosita realized that she had to seize opportunities rather than wait for them to present themselves to her. Equipped with better communication skills, she confidently lobbied for her political allies during a collaborative campaign in the Bogor regional elections. She was gaining trust not only from her own political
party Hanura, but also from the political party ally PPP. Since then, she has maintained a good relationship with the elites of PPP. She is now appointed as the deputy treasurer in Hanura and is involved in every meeting. This is a significant change as she is now accommodated in a strategic decision making position in the party structure:

When PPP proposed to make a coalition with Hanura in the regional elections, I showed them that I was able to discuss with the head of PPP, Mrs. Ade. Since then the head of my political party (Hanura) trusted me despite the fact that I was a newcomer. This development occurred because I participated in the Search trainings. They [party elites] were amazed by my courage, even though I was a new member of the cadre and not part of the party structure. Mrs. Ade also decided that I would accompany Bu Nurhayati (the current regent of Bogor) in the electoral district six. I did that without waiting for the command of the head of my party. It was my personal initiative because I wanted to seize my dreams. Apparently after the regent was re-elected, I was recruited as the vice-treasurer of the party. Since then, I have always been invited to every party meeting. It is not difficult if we are proactive. We have to show them that we [female cadres] are capable, (Rosita, Bogor).

On the other hand, the political parties' promotion of diverse leadership was not reflected in the electoral campaign. Most of the female candidates were positioned either as number three, six or nine despite their long activism in the party, indicating that they were recruited merely to fulfill the requirement of the 30 percent quota. In the case of Bogor, the Golkar party did not even canalize its surplus votes to reserve a single seat for a female representative despite female candidates having had mobilized all their resources to gain the votes for the party. This clearly indicates that the real challenge and battle is within the political party or between its own cadres, rather than in the electoral district or between candidates from different political parties. Dina, a Golkar loyal cadre whose order number was lowered from three to six due to the insertion of ‘an external candidate’, explained the lack of her political party’s commitment to women’s inclusion in the Parliament:

Personally, I got no support (from the political party) at all during the elections. I did not receive financial support or moral support. Although Golkar was the winning party in this Bogor regency, there was not even a single female MP among the total of eight people who won a seat in the Parliament. The highest number of votes for one person was almost 40,000. It means that they could have actually reserved a seat [for female candidates], if the party was consistent with the 30 percent policy. At least one out of eight parliamentary seats should be reserved for women’s rights. We also have the right to be in the Parliament since only one seat is won with full votes. The rest are joined votes, (Dina, Bogor).

Furthermore, many female candidates reported vote stealing within their political parties. Although they had their own calculation in the voting places, and their political party had special voting supervisors, female candidates could not afford to secure their electoral votes at different recapitulation levels. They observed how the votes decreased in the sub-district level
recapitulation, decreased more at the district level, and decreased even more at the provincial level, and so on. Unless there is a certain mechanism to prevent this vote manipulation, such as conducting an online rather than a manual recapitulation process, female legislative candidates are the most vulnerable victims. Yuni and Diana told how their political party had disregarded them during the recapitulation process:

*I had lost a lot of votes and I protested. There were supervisors from Nasdem, but apparently they could not help me. I was very disappointed. They did not even pay attention to me when I visited the office. I feel like I was dumped just like that, despite being the only female member of the cadre of Nasdem who often joined the party’s activities, (Diana, Bogor).*

*Intervention by the internal political party was unreliable. We used to hold the recapitulation together, so they asked me to come to the DPC office. When I arrived there, I wanted to see my own votes but they hid them. I wanted to calculate my own votes but they covered them, (Yuni Lombok).*

In this regard, Leli from Search admitted that money politics was the biggest challenge during the electoral campaign. Because of the nature of money politics, she sees the importance of identifying potential cadres who are not able to afford the expensive political costs, pointing them to the political party elites, and strengthening their capacity to run for the parliamentary seats:

*We should probably start negotiating at the beginning. Previously, we intervened when all the candidates have already received their order numbers (nomor urut). We were not involved in the process (of candidates’ selection). There was even rumor of ‘order number trading’. If a candidate wanted to be number one, they had to pay a special price. How could women afford that price? The political transaction was so high to get such a position. Thus, the program must be initiated a long time before the elections. Then, we can intervene in the inner workings of the political party. We also have to identify potential cadres, so we can approach the political parties with rational explanations about why these cadres must be supported, (Leli, Search).*

This initiative will be important for the next election since the political parties also had difficulties in recruiting well-qualified female candidates to represent them in the electoral districts. Although the regeneration process and political education had been maintained for the female cadres, many of them were not seriously committed to their electoral campaign because of the lack of material and moral support. Ade Munawwaroh, the Head of DPC PPP Bogor, admitted how her political party recruited these female candidates only to complete the 30 percent quota. In this case, Search could not change the selection strategy since the project began after the announcement of the Fixed Candidates Lists (DCT).

*So far, it is hard for us to find women who want to fight [in the elections]. In the last moment I called people and asked them if they wanted to be candidates in my political party. They participated in the political education and training for*
cadres, but they quit when it was time to become candidates. They said that they could not afford the costs, did not have the courage to fight, feared of losing the campaign, and did not want to become MPs. They were not mentally ready and they lacked self-confidence. They participated only to learn more. It was difficult, (Ade, PPP).

PAN was selective in the sense that we were looking for women who are capable and progressive. But sometimes it was difficult to find this kind of candidate, particularly in Tabanan. They did not have the courage and resigned when we wanted to list them as fixed candidates, probably because they had no support. They did not even want to merely fulfill the quota, and therefore we lacked female candidates at that time, (Joko, Bali).

2.9. The extent to which the project contributed to positively shifting public perception towards women leaders and their leadership.

As previously explained, each target area had a different context and challenge. In Bali, for instance, the community members followed the decisions made by the leaders of Banjar in the elections. The decision-making is in the hands of men, both at the communal level and in the household, and women are not involved in the process. Some female participants, however, indicated that their surrounding community started to acknowledge them and ask their opinion in their communal affairs. Veronika said:

The Bali culture is different from any other culture. The decision here is in the hands of the men and not women. Women are not involved, for instance, in the election of the head of the village (klendines). Only men have been allowed to participate in this activity until now. Before the inauguration of the new klendines, he looked me up and asked me how to develop our neighborhood. I was proud even though I didn't get anything out of it, but at least I know now that they appreciate me, (Veronika, Bali).

In Bogor, men and women are relatively more equal in the household. In the public sphere, however, women rarely have a strategic position even in the village office. Women are usually entrusted to work in the financial or administrative units and designated to handle women affairs. For example, within the PKK, their roles are focused on providing knowledge and skills for women. Burgah, the head of Bojong village in Bogor, explained that he met the 30 percent quota of women in his office:

There are some women in this village office: in the finance, mail, and administration divisions. We do not entrust them in tasks that are heavier than that. There is no female head of community such as RT or RW. 30% of my staff are women: three out of sixteen. We hire them in those roles because women are better than men in terms of administrative issues. There are many spaces for women in public service, like posyandu or PKK. That's all. They can be more creative there, (Burgah, Bogor).

Nevertheless, public perception towards women’s leadership has positively shifted in the three target areas. Prior to the project implementation, only 23.7 percent of people disagreed or strongly disagreed on the statement that men have better leadership capacity than women. After
the project, 54.8 percent of community members opposed or strongly opposed such a perception. The most significant shift of paradigm was found in Tabanan where only 15.4 percent of the people disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement in the beginning, whereas 53.9 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with this belief at the end of the project.

Chart 5. Perceptions on the capacity of male and female leaders.

2.10. The extent to which the project contributed to increasing the number of elected women members in respective parliaments as compared to the 2009 General Election.

In general, the number of elected female members of parliament in the 2014 Elections had decreased as compared to the 2009 Elections. In 2014, the National Parliament DPR RI consisted of 97 (17.3%) female and 483 (86.3%) male members, with a total number of seats of 560. DPRD RI consisted of 34 (25.8%) female, and 98 (74.2%) male members out of 132 seats. The Provincial Parliament - DPRD Provinsi consisted of 335 (15.85%) female, and 1,779 (84.15%) male members out of 2,114 seats. The District/Municipal Parliament - DPRD Kabupaten/Kota consisted of 2,406 (14.2%) female, and 12,360 (85.8%) male members out of 14,410 seats (puskapol.ui.ac.id).

Despite the decreasing number of elected female members in the national and provincial level, Puskapol UI indicated that there is a 2 percent increase in women’s parliamentary seats at the district/municipal level, which was the focus of Search’s project. Nevertheless, women’s representation in the project’s target areas for the period of 2014-2019 is still limited. Women won six out of 45 parliamentary seats (13.3 %) in Bogor, seven out of 45 seats (15.5%) in
Lombok Barat, and three out of 40 seats (7.5%) in Tabanan. While the number of female MPs had increased in DPRD Lombok Barat, it had decreased in DPRD Bogor.

The head of PPP Bogor Ade Munawaroh did not know exactly why women, who constituted 60 percent of the total voters in Bogor, did not choose women legislative candidates. She assumed that the lack of financial capital was a factor behind the decreased support for female candidates. The constituents preferred to vote for the candidates who had the most attributes, such as banners and billboards, and were the wealthiest. Most female candidates were inexperienced and newcomers in the organization or political party, which limited them in the process of meeting the constituents. She also observed that some of the female MPs were elected in 2009 because of the rising popularity of their political parties and not because of their political capabilities. Therefore, they could not preserve their electoral success when their party collapsed. Thus, more projects should be considered for the purpose of strengthening the capacity of female MPs in running their campaigns and accommodating the interests of their constituents.

This time, the number of female legislative members decreased from 14 to six. Previously, the winning Democrat Party had four female MPs and other parties had an MP each. At that time, the Democrat Party was booming and received 14 seats. They [female candidates] were surprised, since they previously were considered as seat-fillers. Without capacity, they would no longer be elected in the subsequent elections even though they were incumbents, (Ade Munawwaroh, Bogor).

However, the number of female MPs in Lombok Barat had increased from two to seven in 2014. According to the presidium of Indonesian Women Coalition (KPI) Dian Aryani, this was because Lombok Barat consists of a plural community as compared to the other parts of NTB. Muslim scholars, called Tuan Guru, also have a huge influence in this area. Nurul Adha who was elected in 2014, suggested that her colleagues should start establishing the social bases and working among their constituents in order to increase women’s representation in the Parliament:

The number of female MPs [in Lombok Barat] has increased from two to seven. Besides the financial capital, these MPs have social bases. There must be more [female MPs] in the future. It is very unfortunate that the rest of training participants did not make it even though they were brilliant. If they maintain the support of their constituents throughout the next five years, they will not spend much expenses [in the campaign], (Nurul Adha, Lombok).

In terms of the project’s contribution in the 2014 elections, Search had strengthened four female alumni out of the total of 16 women elected as Members of Parliament in all target areas (25%). As described in the previous section, all of them have sufficient political, social and financial capital, which are the most important capitals in winning a parliamentary seat. It was apparent that Search has successfully built their capacity to participate in the political process.
and to lead, not only on behalf of their parties, but also for their whole constituency, including other women, thus enabling them to become inclusive, capable leaders.

2.11. The unexpected positive or negative results of the project.

As previously mentioned, solidarity was one of the project’s unique contributions for women’s participation in politics. In the FGD in Lombok NTB, where some of the female legislative candidates were women activists in various organizations, the participants came with an idea to hold a cross-party collaborative campaign in the next elections. In this way, financial capital that constitutes the major obstacle of women’s political participation will be lessened as female candidates can share the expensive political costs for their electoral campaign, which ranges from socialization to the vote protection. This cross-party collaborative initiative is one of the unexpected positive results of the project, given the fact that the political competition among them was very fierce in the elections. Kasmiyati, a senior woman activist who has run in elections twice, said that such collaboration is a feasible measure to ensure women’s successful campaign:

Actually, collaboration is feasible. It is good to collaborate with women from different parties. It is not a problem. The most important thing is our vision of women succeeding. So if we recruited a thousand members of cadres, it will be a lighter burden for us to share the costs. If we can implement that and support each other, we can collaborate by sharing the expenses, such as providing support in the voting process. For instance, I will represent Hanura in the provincial level, and Nur will represent Nasdem in the district level, (Kasmiyati, Hanura).

Kasmiyati explained that the male candidates have previously used the same strategy. Once a man won a seat in the Parliament, he would involve his supporters in his parliamentary work and they would assist him in the next elections. Nurhayati Moerad, did not mind collaborating with potential legislative candidates from other political parties. Although this strategy might be met with resistance by the political party elites, this is very important as long as the female candidates have the same vision, which is working for women’s interests:

I think it is fine for me to collaborate with a potential female candidate. We determine who will represent the Regional Representative Council (DPD), in the national level and the district level, and I will represent it in the provincial level. I think Yuni has more potential than the candidates from my political party, so I can support her. We can see who will fight for us [women]. Then, the expenses will not be much. This kind of collaboration is very beneficial to women, (Nurhayati Moerad, Lombok).

Furthermore, their willingness to support a feasible female candidate in the next election at the expense of their own candidacies, was another unexpected result of the project. The training alumni realized that it is impossible for all of them to win the parliamentary seats at the same time.
Therefore, they planned to prioritize and focus on supporting selected potential female candidates in the next election. This is more strategic than being divided during the election and having no female MP who would be able to accommodate women’s interest in Parliament. Yuni, the former leader of SP who ran for the electoral campaign in 2014, proposed an identification of all the potential female candidates who will deserve their collaborative support. She emphasized the importance of having a female MP with a real commitment to women’s interest, which can be their ‘hook’ in the House of Representatives. For her, women’s collaborative campaigns would be a strategic measure to increase women’s political participation, especially because women could no longer rely on their political party’s support:

We have to start mapping which Lombok female candidates that we will seriously support to succeed in the province and in the district. We have to introduce the female candidates to the constituents and introduce them to the programs that will be implemented by women activists in Lombok. This is important. It is better for us to think about who we will commonly support, and the rest will be helpers. Many women activists became the legislative candidates in 2009, but no one succeed because everyone worked alone. We lost our colleagues who fought [for women’s interests] in the provincial level, and now we have returned to our original starting point. SP must collaborate with other organizations to create a collaborative strategy. (Yuni Lombok).

3. PROJECT’S COHERENCE & COORDINATION

3.1. The extent to which the project implementation process was well managed.

Leli Nurohmah, who has been in charge of the project, explained that Search had initially drafted the concept note alone and decided to focus on training the female candidates and facilitating their interaction with the constituents. When Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) joined in the project, the challenge was to find mutual agreement on the available concept and to implement it accordingly and collaboratively. SP apparently viewed the concept as unsuitable with its political education and demanded several changes, such as the implementation of community engagement forums that were supposed to be held more often prior to the election rather than after the election. Fortunately, the European Union had not objected to this change.

So far, Search and SP have collaboratively implemented all the proposed activities. Both conducted baseline research analyses, which assessed the capacity of women running for parliament, the capacity of political parties to support diverse leadership, and the voters’ support for women candidacy. Both also held stakeholders meetings to discuss the challenges, both internal and external, faced by women within the area of politics. They also held workshops for political parties to build an action plan to support female candidates, both within the political parties and the community. Afterward, both developed training curriculums and video campaigns to support women’s participation in politics. The major problem with the project’s implementation,
however, was mostly the timing of implementation. As a women’s movement, SP has a lot of programs including advocacy and campaigns on women issues that ranged from migrant labor and human trafficking to HIV-AIDS prevention. Hidayah admitted that the SP’s occupation with other activities lead to the project’s late implementation and report submission:

Frankly speaking, we were overwhelmed with the monthly report. We used to be late in report submission because SP rarely holds systematic reporting every month. We are used to reporting every three or six months. Furthermore, the person in charge had resigned and I had to oversee the entire process. SP has its procedure of reporting, wherein it must be submitted first to the internal department and approved by the head of SP. It needs to be translated into English afterwards, and verified again by SP. If they have no time [to check], then it will be late. There was problem with the timing too, wherein the activities are conducted behind the proposed schedule because SP was not the only organization working on this project. One challenge was to synchronize our agenda with that of Search’s. (Dayah SP Jabodetabek).

Reporting became a problem as SP relied on the report written by the community who organized the activities at the grass roots level. Wahidah explained that the community-based management was a part of women’s empowerment, which was sometimes difficult as these constituents did not really know about basic accounting or information technology such as using the computer. In this case, the project officers in targeted area would crosscheck the data with the community members, and then convey this information to the national project officer who would eventually write the report. The community members were involved in the whole process, and therefore it took extra times to submit the report to the Search:

The problem with the community was in terms of finance, as they did not have a background in accounting. The report was often submitted late because we received it late or in poor form from the community. The community sometimes did not have its supporting document since it was provided by local women. We wanted these activities to be managed by the community at the grassroots level, including the technical matters. This is part of our work in SP and a way for the community to learn. Thus, it was difficult. Many of them were new to technology, which impeded our communication. So we had to crosscheck whether the report is in accordance with what happened and that took time. (Wahidah SP)

Since SP did not have a branch in Bali, Search collaborated with women’s organization Kunthi Bhakti in Tabanan, particularly in the implementation of the community engagement programs. The fact that Kunthi Bhakti did not have community members like SP in Bogor and Mataram, led to an irregular attendance of participants in the community engagement forums and activities. Search required the same participants to consistently attend all five series of meetings since the participants would learn different skills at each session. The changing participants of community engagement made it difficult to measure the changes generated from the series of trainings.
As Kunthi Bhakti did not work at the community level, they requested each female legislative candidate to invite her own constituents to the community engagement. Only four to five female candidates were involved in each meeting along with their respective constituents. These candidates did not want to mobilize their constituents for the next session, probably because of the high competitive spirit during the election process. Furthermore, many female constituents were preoccupied with various ritual traditions, impeding them from consistently participating in all stages of the community engagement project. Ni Nyoman Kusumawati explained how the rituals became a source of women’s limitation in politics:

In terms of the technical implementation, we often have limited time whenever there is ritual. There are a lot of ritual traditions in Bali, like Galungan, Kuningan, Bulan Purnama Tilem. The preparation for Galungan started on Sunday and lasted until Thursday, wherein we have to prepare the ritual's requirements and accessories [the offerings]. Apart from the holy days, we also have to join the service (layah) whenever somebody dies, gets married, or reaches the third month of pregnancy. Then, three months after a baby is born, there is another ceremony. This does not even include other ceremonies, such as teeth cutting, etc... Men are not as busy as women. Women have to prepare a lot of banten offerings starting from 5 a.m. If a woman is attending trainings during the day, she will have to work overtime during the night to meet expectations and deadlines. (Nyoman, Bali).

3.2. The coordination between Search’s program leadership and its partner in implementing the project.

The head of SP, Wahidah Rustam, stated that finding a common ground between SP and Search was not easy, because Search had a complicated hierarchy and heavy intervention from their central headquarter offices. Thus, it was rather difficult for SP to propose some adjustments, and they felt they were involved with the project merely ‘to legitimize’ the project. SP wished they could have participated in developing the concept note in the beginning, instead of merely fulfilling the EU administration’s stipulation that required the involvement of local partner in the project. However, Wahidah admitted that Search opened the space for negotiation and accommodated their aspirations, particularly with regards to the additional frequency of community engagement activities:

SP has been working on political education and women’s empowerment. In [discussing] the concept note, we asked whether we can provide input in terms of its substance, strategy, or form of activities. That was because we did not see it as a one-time project. We think about women’s empower in terms of long-lasting sustainability, which can be implemented directly by women in the community at the grassroots level. We push for community engagement, which was initially approved for a mere three times. We wanted it to be done five times to open more opportunities for constituents and candidates to meet. This would have allowed the constituents to understand the extent of the candidates’ commitment to address women issues. There is a lack of information access at the grassroots level. (Wahidah, SP)
Eventually, the project’s activities were divided equally based on each expertise: with Search handling the training and alumni forums, and SP handling the community engagement forums.

SP focused on the community/constituents in the community engagement. Search focused on the legislative candidates. That was the division of labor. In the field, we implemented the activities together. SP and Search were involved both in the community engagement and the training for legislative candidates. It was only to divide our responsibility area in terms of the administration and report. (Wahidah SP)

Despite the agreement on this division of labor, several adjustments occurred during implementation. There was miscommunication with the local partner. SP in Mataram, for instance, demanded a greater role in the training as they knew the local conditions better than the staff of the central SP or the staff of Search. They also inserted some independent initiatives that were needed in terms of capacity building, such as gender analysis, etc. Bay Zulhiyatian or Lia, the head of SP Mataram, wished there had been more specific and guided steps for the project’s implementation instead of general instructions. Eventually, she adjusted the project according to the local context. It would have been better for her, she argued, to be involved in the project design from the beginning:

At that time, I said that I should be the facilitator since I’m the one who know the situation in this area. We have different emotional intimacy. Addressing the grassroots constituents also needs a special technique. In terms of the language, it is easier because I come from here and they want to speak openly with me about everything. They said that there is no budget with this regard. I was concerned because they used our name, which makes us responsible. As a result, we discussed about it together and decided to share the roles. It would have been better if they involved us from the beginning. (Lia, SP Lombok).

Lia’s strong commitment to strengthening women’s political participation can be viewed as having been integral to the implementation and success of this project. SP Mataram held a lot of independent initiatives outside of the project, such as organizing monthly meeting with the training alumni after the end of the project and demonstrating against the polygamy bill, as they believed that women’s movement must continue even after the project was over. They felt responsible for strengthening women’s political participation, with or without the external financial support, as they volunteer in this activism. However, Lia indicated that the lack of institutional support had complicated the situation for them particularly in the report submission:

It was difficult because the output indicators were not clear from the onset of the project. I did not know whether I had to report by the end of the month. It would have been better if they explained the project’s stages. Then we would be able to prepare for the reporting. Monthly report needs resources, and there was no budget for it. The budget was only available for the program implementation. Thus, it was up to me how to spend it for our expenses. As the head, I was responsible to ensure it is implemented as expected. If I was not thinking about the sustainability of SP, I would not
Apart from the monthly report, coordination between Search and its implementing partners was well performed. There was no problem in the budget adjustment in terms of the participant’s accommodation. Initially, they had planned to involve only 30 participants in each target area for the community engagement in the hotel. As SP was not used to holding the community forums in the hotel, there was a surplus of budget that could be used to involve more participants. Eventually, SP easily accommodated Search’s proposed amendment of the budget:

I asked them whether it would be possible to increase the participants. Apparently, SP was very communicative and agreed. Thus, we were able to expand the areas. Our initial target was 30 [in each area]. They added 20 more, so that each electoral district can be represented. In the end, those 60 participants were actually bonus. Those colleagues [partners] were able to manage it well in the field. The EU was happy when I informed them about it. (Leli Search).

Overall, the coordination between Search and SP in implementing the project went quite well. Leli, as the Search project officer was experienced with working with women NGOs and understanding their working mechanisms. Moreover, SP had been the appropriate partner for Search because they did not see it as a project that would be terminated when the project came to an end. They saw it as a way to strengthen women’s political participation, particularly at the grassroots level.

3.3. The partnership/coordination challenges, and the way Search managed these challenges.

As mentioned in the previous section, Bali was the most challenging target area for Search’s project. The partner Kunthi Bhakti was less experienced than SP in the implementation of political education among women. Furthermore, Balinese cultural tradition was an obstacle in Search’s initiative to strengthen women’s involvement in politics. Various rituals (banter/upakara) need to be held at the times of one’s pregnancy, birth, marriage and death, which involve all the family members and relatives. Consequently, it was difficult to gather all participants of community engagement consistently because some of them were occupied with various rituals.

Furthermore, the lack of incentive could have contributed to the lack of participants’ consistent attendance and commitment to the project activities. Kunthi Bhakti did not allocate a transportation budget for the participants in the hope to nurture the spirit of voluntarism among the participants. However, Tabanan is a remote area and difficult to reach. Thus, the participants need extra costs to attend the activities there. This created a misunderstanding between the participants who thought that the local partner were not providing them with ample resources, and the local partner who thought that the participants did not want to attend the meetings because the
election had already finished. Search eventually insisted to allocate the transportation budget in the middle of the project to improve the relations between participants and the implementing partner.

I did not want to disturb the local tradition there. Every area has different policies. Bogor, for instance, did not provide money. They provided cars for participants’ transportation and something to bring home like cake, rice, cooking oil, etc. In Mataram, transportation money was provided [for participants], but I don’t know how much. In Bali, bu Mangku [head of Kunthi Bhakti] did not want to give the transportation money because he believed that it would disrupt their sincerity in the future. Apparently, we know who is sincere and consistent to the end. In Bali, there were about 10 to 15 participants, which is not bad and relatively successful to build their consistency, voluntarism, and learning motivation. (Leli, Search).

Leli considered that the challenge could be managed by using a new strategy and collaborating with a new partner. Although Kunthi Bhakti was perceived as a good partner, the fact that it was led by Ibu Mangku (who holds religious authority in Bali) created a psychological barrier that prevented the participants from expressing their aspirations concerning the project implementation. On the other hand, Bogor was considered to be the most successful due to the good quality of participants there. They had higher levels of education, more access to information, and more political experiences than the participants of other regions. In terms of coordination, however, there was a huge gap between the elitist female candidates and the proletarian activists of SP who used to work at the grassroots level in Bogor. There was a lack of leadership and initiative when compared to that of the SP Mataram, which held a lot of follow up activities beyond the project:

The best alumni solidarity is in Mataram. SP leadership was good, and so were the female candidates who previously were women activists and experienced. Thus, it was easy for them to decide on activities. After the alumni forum, they held roadshows to KPU and Panwaslu at the district and provincial levels to ensure the security of women’s vote. I think that was amazing because it was covered by many electronic and printed media, even in the national coverage. Until now, they consistently meet up, not only to discuss about this project’s networking, but also to respond to local issues like the polygamous regent. They mastered the [women] issues and the strategies to mobilize the constituents. (Leli, Search).

3.4. The extent to which the activities implemented were coherent in achieving the objectives set for the project, and the extent to which the different categories of activities complemented each other.

The goal of the program was to strengthen the participation of women representing diverse political ideologies and a common platform in the 2014 district/municipality level elections. Specifically, it set detailed objectives that included building the capacity of female candidates, the
capacity of political parties to foster more diverse leadership, and to build voter support for women in politics. Hidayah from SP Bogor explained the significance of targeting female candidates, political parties, and communities at the same time:

Female candidates started to understand women’s interests, and that they must fight for them, and that has become their added value in the electoral campaign. The community also started to understand politics, and that food is their basic need, and its availability must be ensured for their representatives. Both targets must be strengthened, (Hidayah, SP Bogor).

As described in the previous section, the interactive and fun training had successfully fostered women candidates’ inclusive leadership and equipped them with public speaking skills needed for running their electoral campaigns. The community engagement had successfully informed the constituents on the importance of women’s representation in the Parliament and given them the opportunity to discuss their needs with female candidates directly. Not only did these activities complete each other, but the whole project also completed other initiatives provided by different institutions in strengthening women’s political participation. Leli explained that the project activities did not overlap with the ones provided by other NGOs:

We held an expert meeting for the curriculum development, inviting institutions that have the same concerns. We asked them what we can provide, because we do not want overlapping projects. At that time, we chose not to provide material about electoral regulations that have been provided by other institution. Then we focused on the leadership, public speaking, and Search’s conflict resolution, (Leli, Search).

However, the political parties’ normative support for women’s participation in the elections did not correspond with their increasing capacity to offer real support for women’s representation in the Parliament. It required more than just a workshop to increase a political party’s commitment to support female leadership. Most of the political parties recruited women merely to fulfill the electoral threshold of 30 percent in women’s candidacy. Unsurprisingly, female candidates who were successfully elected as MPs constituted less than 10% of the total number of participants of the training initiatives. Ketut Loka Antara admitted this half-hearted support:

According to the Election Law, 30% of the candidates have to be women. Otherwise the KPU (Commission of General Election) will cross us out. But there is no policy that requires that 30% of the MPs in the Parliament are women. There is no follow up policy. The Law provides a 30% opportunity [for women] to be legislative candidates, and not to be people’s representatives, (Loka, Bali).

Most of the activities have been implemented coherently according to the work plan. However, the animated video seemed to have the least significant role in increasing communities’ support for women’s leadership as it was produced and distributed only a few
months prior to the 2014 elections. The production was a long complicated process as the staff had also been occupied in implementing a series of project activities. Many informants in this evaluation process were not exactly aware of the video. This kind of media was not effective in changing people’s perceptions, since it was distributed only through Youtube and social media such as Facebook, and not many people can access the Internet. The English version of videos ‘The road to women’s ideal representation’ and ‘Times for women to speak up’ that were published in the end of April 2014 got only 108 views each. The Indonesian version of videos ‘Mengapa harus Caleg Perempuan’ and ‘Perempuan Harus Bersuara’ that were published in the end of March 2014 got 408 and 315 views respectively.

The duration of each video was about five to seven minutes, which was relatively exhaustive compared to the common PSAs that aired for about 30 seconds in the TV or radio. Slow internet connection could further decrease people’s enthusiasm for watching the videos. The speed drawing content tended to be very heavy, which was more appropriate only for the young and educated segment of the audience, and not for the majority of Indonesian constituents who are mostly coming from the lower social-economic and educational backgrounds. For future projects, it would probably be more effective to consider the production of more simple, focused, and attractive videos to reach a broader audience. It also needs to be produced and distributed earlier in order to be deeply ingrained in people’s consciousness.

4. PROJECT’S SUSTAINABILITY:

Sustainability is defined as the continuation of benefits from a development intervention after major assistance has been completed. It includes the probability of continued long-term benefits and resilience to risks over time and includes financial, institutional, human resource, management dimensions as well as some other elements. As in other fields, sustainability also includes “ownership” of peace and development processes. Experience and peace research demonstrate that peacebuilding processes are long-term and thus need long-term engagement that can cause setbacks (OECD DAC, 2008: 42).

4.1. The extent to which Search and its partners were successful in working with the political parties to develop an action plan for supporting women in politics in the future.

Search, in cooperation with SP, facilitated workshops with political parties in the three selected areas: Mataram, Tabanan and Bogor. Among the purpose of the workshops was to build an action plan detailing the steps by which political parties could build support for women,
both within political parties and among the wider community. The participants wrote the plan, for their personal and political parties’ sake, to increase women’s participation in the 2014 elections.

In Bogor, Eti Sunarti from the Democrat Party wanted to motivate women to be actively involved in their communities first, and later in the professional field and political parties. Gagan Sugih from Gerindra planned to provide political education for women, to raise their awareness on the importance of having female MPs to represent women’s interests in building the nation. Ida Yuliani from Golkar intended to collaborate with other female candidates who represent various political parties through conducting monthly multilevel activities prior to the 2014 elections. Maspupah from PKB would conduct intensive training for women legislative candidates. Saijah from PDIP would continue her political socialization among women using a slogan ‘politics is beautiful’, and to convince the community that women can be righteous leaders. Tatik Kancaniaty from PKS planned to participate actively in all fields and to provide solutions for women’s problem particularly in the educational and economic fields. She also planned to play an active role in the decision-making process.

In Bali, Sudiarta from Gerindra planned to increase women’s participation and motivate women to be involved in politics. Kadek Hernawati from PDIP believed that women had the same capacity as men, and insisted the political party support for women’s activities. Sri Labantari from Gerindra was determined to learn more about politics in order to be able to canalize the aspirations of people in the grassroots. Dewi Trisnayanti from PDIP wanted to convince women to participate in politics and win electoral seats.

In Lombok, Jamhur from PKB planned to motivate female candidates to be more confident to socialize, and through that, gain votes. Erina Budi from Golkar wanted the party to be more sensitive about women issues, and use the 30 percent quota to enable women to convey their aspirations. Handryta Karundeng planned to increase women’s political participation in the 2014 elections, and to empower women in the organizations so that they can fight for women’s interests and improve the people’s welfare. Zakiah darajat from PKB insisted the political party provide political education for all the members of the cadre. Nevertheless, the workshop was only held once in each area and there was no follow up activity to ensure the realization of these action plans. Thus, it is unknown whether these action plans were achieved in the individual and organizational levels, particularly as most of the participants were not part of the executive board of their respective political parties.

4.2. Number of political parties that develop such plans and the way they implement these plans.
In the workshop, almost all the representatives of political parties wrote some action plans to promote women’s political participation and representation. Although they had set out some commitments in this regard, there was no clear explanation on the detailed strategy and measures to implement these plans. Most of the participants were legislative candidates, and they were not involved in the party’s decision-making. Therefore, it is hard to assess the political parties’ implementation of the plan. One woman activist, Kasmiyati, encouraged female candidates to start building political bases in their own political parties. Women must have a strong bargaining position in the political party, otherwise they will always be marginalized and considered as merely fulfilling the set quota. Women who have a strategic position will be seen as feasible candidates in the elections, and able to initiate some policies to strengthen women’s political participation and representation.

I have been active in an NGO for a long time and involved in a political party for about ten years. There is still a long road ahead of us so we must stay strong. We have to keep learning. Thus, at every meeting we need to be ready with updated information and we need to be able to convey it in the forums. We must have social and gender analysis and show them to others. First we have to struggle within the political party. For instance, at every event of the Hanura Party I am always appointed as the head of committee, and I have to mobilize many people from the branches. We have to exist within the party and work directly in the community. Every political party has its own policy on seriously supporting certain candidates. We have to seize strategic roles of the party’s decision-makers such as the head, the secretary, and the treasurer. We do not know about any deals concerning candidacy order numbers, (Kasmiyati, Lombok).

4. **3. Steps that were planned or have been taken by the political parties as well as the governmental institutions to create long-term processes, structures and institutions for the successful participation of women in politics, including in public areas.**

The rules (Anggaran Dasar dan Rumah Tangga) of all political parties required 30 percent quota for women in the structure. Only few political parties have accommodated women in compliance with the rules. Aside from that, each party has female wings that focus on women’s empowerment. These women wings existed before the project, and some of the members of the female wings participated in the Search training. Some of the alumni said that after joining the training, they started to revive the female wings and conducted various activities to empower women. In terms of economic empowerment, PKS has a female department that initiated Joint Business Groups (KUBE), Indonesian Family House (RKI), Justice Women’s Posts (Pos WK) and other programs to build the social bases among women in particular. Women of Hanura also focused on the establishment of thousand stalls so that women can be financially independent. Such initiatives taken by the political parties are an important part of the long-term process, structures and institutions to strengthen women’s political participation in the public sphere. As
an effective instrument to reach female constituents, women’s empowerment programs can generate real social bases, which is one of the most important requirements for winning electoral votes aside from political and financial bases.

Apart from the structural initiatives, some of the political parties’ leaders also have personal initiatives to support their potential cadre members. The head of PPP Bogor Ade Munawaroh, for instance, recommended the potential legislative candidates to obtain financial support from the government. As the deputy head of the Regional House of the Representatives, she knew the budget and its allocation. Ade said that such measures were appropriate as long as they were accountable:

I did not recruit women based on kinship or closeness, but more on their professional work for the party. For instance, one of my cadre members in the structure has a home industry in making cookies. We support both her business and organizational work – therefore she has sufficient capital to be a future legislative candidate. I recommended her to obtain the support from the Small Micro Medium Enterprises (UMKM) program in the Ministry of Industry and Trade, so that her business can be developed further. We have to be aware of the government’s social assistance programs and to canalize them to our cadre. It is fine as long as we fulfill the requirements and do not violate the rules. In this way we can help them through the program, because our office has limited capacities, (Ade PPP).

In terms of women’s empowerment and gender equality in general, Ade explained that Bogor is quite progressive. Unlike Bali and Lombok that were targeted because of the lack of women’s political representation, Bogor was selected by Search to provide a good example for other regions. On the one hand, the Bogor Legislative allocated the regional budget for women’s programs family welfare movement (PKK), center of women’s empowerment and children protection (P2TP2) and free education. On the other hand, the executive appointed women for strategic positions in the government. Aside from the fact that Bogor is currently led by a female regent, this regency also had a female head of the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda), a female head of hospital, a female head of firefighter bureau and so on:

In Bogor we allocated the budget to PKK that provides skills education from the district to the village level. It includes Posyandu. We also allocate the budget for the protection of women and children. We also want nine years of free education for boys and girls, which will help women whose husbands have left them. It covers women’s interests, too, although not in a specific way. We are already gender responsive. Many bureau heads are women including the bureau head of firefighter, the head of hospital, the head of Bappeda (Regional Development Planning Agency), the vice-regent, and so on. Women have been accommodated to the society and there is no problem in Bogor, (Ade, PPP).

In Lombok Barat regency, the wife of the regent had also paid a lot of attention to women’s interests and revived the programs of Family Welfare Movement (PKK) in every village. There
were few female heads of Local Government Work Unit (SKPD) also in this regent, and few women who lead the industrial unit and hospital. However, Nurul Adha said that the number was limited. As a female MP, she demanded the executive to increase women’s participation in the decision-making. She also gathered the stakeholders including the head of Regional Development Planning Agency (BAPPEDA), the head of Family Planning agency (BKKBN) and the Women department, in a hearing with the Search-SP alumni. In this opportunity, the alumni told about 12 women’s interests including health care, education and migrant labor. The collaboration between the elected female alumni of the Search training, the non-elected ones, and the alumni of community engagement forums in this regard has become an effective synergy to push for more gender responsive regulations in the Parliament.

4.d. The extent to which the women candidates that were not elected to Parliament organized independent initiatives for building community awareness on social and political issues, as well as women’s issues, beyond the project activities.

The interactive and participatory approach helped the participants to realize their potential capacity to assume leadership in the public offices and motivated them to seriously achieve their objectives. Dian Wahyuni, who has been involved in a cross-party organization of Women’s Political Caucus of Indonesia (KPPI) in Bogor, appreciated Search’s approach and intended to adopt it into the political education within KPPI in the future. KPPI involves all available parties, for instance in providing the political education for wives of the village heads, female wings of youth organizations (Karang Taruna) and female leaders of religious study circles (majlis taklim). Dian explained her plan to duplicate Search’s training method in strengthening female parliamentary caucus:

I have been involved in KPPI that has organized political education for women three times every year. KPPI focused on providing political education and establishing networks. But our training was not like the training that Search has given us. Search’s training was excellent, I truly felt the difference. We were motivated and we became facilitators, and not simply training participants. In KPPI, we were only able to ask questions and listen. KPPI is fine, but it has a different system and method. What was done by Search and SP was better. As a secretary of KPPI, God willing, I will try to employ the method of Search and SP, (Dian Bogor).

Above all this, the strong commitment of women alumni who represent different political parties to unanimously speak about women’s interests is amazing. SP Mataram motivated the unsuccessful alumni to continue contributing to their community and mobilized them in women activism. Lia from SP Mataram was astonished with their achievement in fighting for women’s cause, beyond the project activities:
We are holding SP-Search alumni forum meetings where we meet together to discuss thematically. Each member contributes IDR 20,000 ($2) every month. They joined us in the recent demonstration against the law on polygamy. They want to be involved in such action at their own cost. That was an amazing achievement because our principle as a movement is that we have to go on with our activism, with or without the project. We were amazed when all the local TVs and the national Trans7 TV held covered our roadshow. It is rare to find a cross-party women movement in NTB. They speak about women’s interests, and not about political parties. The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) who met us told me that I was very powerful being able to gather 12 political parties that unanimously expressed one aspiration. It has never happened before, (Lia, SP Lombok).
7. CONCLUSION

In general, the project has been well implemented by SFCG and SP as well as well received by female parliamentary candidates, representatives of political parties, and constituents. There have been significant positive changes in the capacity of women in running for the Parliament, also increase of constituent support for women in politics. However, the project still faced challenges in strengthening the political parties’ support for women’s leadership, whereas parties mostly only support women candidates who already possessed strong social, political, and financial bases for running for parliamentary seats. Therefore, engagement with political party elites is still necessary as they are the determinant institutional factor in the electability of the female candidates. The project also established a solid foundation to sustain women candidacy movement through female political wings in several parties. These wings are deemed to be the medium for sustainability as many of the project participants are active members of the wings. Below are in-depth conclusions and recommendations of this final evaluation:

Project Relevance

Search’s intervention was highly relevant as the project focused on the district level of Parliament, which had the lowest representation of women in 2009. Bali and Lombok were relevant targets as both have the lowest female representations in the country. The project equipped female candidates with knowledge and skills necessary to run the electoral campaign. These new political actors perceived the interactive approach as practicable and valuable. The voters also gained awareness on the importance of having female representatives in the Parliament. However, the project did little to strengthen the political parties’ support for women’s leadership, as it focused more on empowering female leaders and the community. The rise of women’s solidarity on the municipal level and cross-party commitment to women’s interests was the project’s most significant contribution to women’s political participation.

Project Effectiveness

There was a significant change in people’s perception of women’s political participation. Most of the constituents (93%) in the target areas currently believe in the importance of having female representatives in the Parliament. Significant change occurred in Tabanan and Mataram (Hindu and Muslim majority), with an 80 percent increase in positive perception on women’s political participation. These areas perceived the candidates’ education and policies as the most important criteria, instead of the candidates’ sex and ethnicity. There was improvement in women candidates’ knowledge about gender issues, conflict resolution, problem solving and
decision-making, with the most visible changes in their leadership and communication skills. However, there were no changes in political parties support for women’s leadership. Five participants were successfully elected as Members of Parliament, as they already possessed strong social, political, and financial bases for running for parliamentary seats.

**Project Coherence and Coordination**

The project activities were well managed and divided equally based on each expertise: with Search handling the candidates’ training and alumni forums, and SP handling the community engagements. Among all the activities, the multimedia campaign had the least impact as it was published only few months prior to the 2014 elections. Both Search and SP were occupied with other project activities, delaying the production of the video. Its distribution was also limited to Facebook and YouTube, which are not accessible for most constituents.

**Project Sustainability**

Few political parties had accommodated a minimum of 30 percent women in the structures in compliance with the statues and rules. After the intervention, some of the women alumni have struggled to fill more decision-making positions in the political parties. Political parties also have female wings and some of the training participants are actively involved in them. This is an effective medium to reach female constituents and create social bases, which is important in the elections. Some of the non-successful participants were initiated to adopt the project approach in their political education efforts. They have also consolidated in proposing women’s interest to the legislative and executives, and to collaborate in the future elections. The successful participants, to some extent, started to consolidate in the Parliament for the sake of women’s interest beyond the boundary of their political parties’ interest.
8. RECOMMENDATIONS

Relevance

- Initiatives to strengthen women’s political participation are still needed in the future. Instead of providing them close to the elections, the intervention must be started sooner as it takes time to build social, political and financial bases, which are an important ingredient for a successful campaign. The future project can be designed not only to strengthen women’s political participation in the elections, but also to increase women’s political representation in the Parliament.

- Proper identification of the potential female legislative candidates in the form of a database is necessary so that they can be seriously nominated and supported by the political parties. Selective process among these candidates is also necessary for the purpose of capacity building, to determine a proper intervention that can be tailored according to their respective needs: elementary, intermediate, or advanced level of training.

- In the meantime, strengthening and building the capacity of the elected female MPs on the district level is also necessary. Some of the new members of parliament did not understand well their duties in terms of legislation, supervision, and budget allocation. Some of them also did not know how to accommodate their constituents’ aspirations in the middle of polarized interests between various political parties.

Effectiveness

- Advocacy and a roadshow to the political party elites are also necessary as they are the determinant institutional factor in the electability of the female candidates. It must be ensured that the potential female candidates are placed in feasible numbers (nomor jadi), and provide them with appropriate support prior to, during and post the electoral campaign.

- Capacity building activities for female cadre members in each political party can be held as an alternative. This can be done in cooperation with the women’s department in each political party, or with the Coalition of Parliamentary Women (KPPI) that consists of cross-party women membership.

- The animated video content is still relevant, therefore it can be redistributed in the social media at least a year before the elections. In the future, it will be more effective to produce more simple, focused, and attractive videos to reach a broader audience. It also needs to be produced and distributed earlier in order to be deeply ingrained in people’s consciousness.

- Conventional political education at the grassroots level must be duplicated in more electoral
districts in the targeted areas. In sum, similar projects have to be conducted in other areas since women’s representation has decreased in the 2014 elections.

**Coherence & Coordination**
- Solidaritas Perempuan was the right partner in implementing this project. For future projects, it would be better to involve the partner in the program design from the beginning.
- Proper coordination must be held also with the local implementing partners in the targeted areas, since they are more aware and updated with the local needs and context.

**Sustainability**
- Empowering the alumni is also important, as they can be the agents of change either within their political party structures or surrounding communities. They must be encouraged to be active and build a strong bargaining position in the political party.
- The alumni must also be supported to build solid social and financial bases through economic empowerment programs.
- Preparing a cross-party collaborative campaign between the alumni for the next elections could also be useful for lessening women’s burden as they can share the expensive political costs, which range from socialization to the voting recapitulation.
8. APPENDICES

8.1 A Brief Biography of the Evaluator
Lanny Octavia obtained a M.A. degree in Gender and Identity from the University of Exeter, the United Kingdom. She has extensive experience in program planning, management, monitoring and evaluation, particularly on gender and development programs in Indonesia. She has expertise in research design and analysis, as well as in networking and partnering with local and global stakeholders. She has given presentations in national and international events, and written papers on gender and religious issues.

8.2. Evaluation Instruments

8.1 Survey Questionnaire
Purpose: To assess voters’ support on women’s leadership
Targeted participants: 384 respondents (126 in Bali, 126 in Lombok, 233 in Bogor).

Questions
1. Please answer these questions using the following criteria
   SD: Strongly disagree/ D: Disagree / A: Agree / SA: Strongly disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>It is important to have female representatives in the National/Provincial/Municipal Legislative Council</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member has a good capacity to run for the National/Provincial/Municipal Legislative Council</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member has a good public speaking and campaigning skills during the election</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member maintains a good public relations and networking with people from various backgrounds</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member engages the media in her political works</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Criteria</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member is able to mobilize and influence people from various backgrounds</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member has a good level of capability and credibility to lead public office</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>I’m willing to vote for female legislative candidates in the regional/national elections</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>Political party should reserve 30% parliamentary seats for female candidates in the elections</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>Women’s representation in the parliament will support the fulfilment of women's interests</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>Female legislative candidate/member has equal capability to male legislative candidate/member</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>The sex of the legislative candidates does not affect my vote</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>I prefer choosing male instead of female legislative candidates in the elections</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>Male candidates possess more capacity to be a leader than female candidates</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>It is acceptable if the legislative council does not have women representatives</td>
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2. Please rate the most important to the least important criteria (1 – 11) for the political leaders?

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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</table>
a. Same religion as me

b. Same race/ethnic as me

c. The candidate’s occupation

d. The candidate’s policies (poverty, health, education, etc)

e. Candidates’ sex

f. Candidates’ age

g. Candidates’ political party

h. The region the candidate is from

i. Candidates’ experience in political offices

j. Candidates’ popularity

k. Candidate’s education

3. Please use the criteria of SD: Strongly disagree/ D: Disagree / A: Agree / SA: Strongly disagree

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<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>For each action, please tell me to what extent do you support or oppose such a role for women?</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Women participating in protests</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>Women heading a political party</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td>Woman serving as Regional Heads (Regents/Mayor/Governor)</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>Women running as candidates to the elections</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>Women serving as ministers</td>
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<td>3.6</td>
<td>Women working for a candidate during a campaign</td>
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<td>3.7</td>
<td>Members of political party</td>
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<td>3.8</td>
<td>Women working for election commissions</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
<td>Women serving in the parliament (DPR/DPRD/DPD)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Women serving as civil servants</td>
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4. In Indonesia, around 50% of the populations are women. Currently, the proportion of DPR members who are women is approximately 18%. In your opinion, do you think that this current proportion of women in parliaments is too low, about right, or too low?
   a. Too low a proportion of women
   b. Proportion of women about right
   c. Too high a proportion of women
   d. Don’t know/No response

5. Did you vote for any female candidates (Provincial/Municipal level) in the 2014 legislative election?
   a. Yes
   b. No

6. Why did you vote for female legislative candidates/why not?
   …………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. What qualities of women candidates make you more likely to vote for them? (you may choose more than one answer)
   a. DK/NA
   b. I do not like women as a candidate
   c. Beauty/physical characteristics
   d. Personality
   e. Close to people, represent people
   f. Have leadership ability, skills and knowledge
   g. Family history
   h. Religious/ moral
8.3. Focus Group Discussion

**Purpose**: To gain a deeper understanding on the project’s relevance and effectiveness.

**Targeted Participants**: 45 participants (15 participants in each area). The first FGD involves 8 participants consist of women alumni of the training including former legislative candidate, female member of parliament, women political caucus; and the second FGD involves 7 people including community, religious, traditional leaders as well as the representatives from political party, civil society, academic and business sectors).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Guidelines for Inquiry</th>
<th>Target</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELEVANCE</td>
<td>1. Do you think the training has built the capacity of participants? Is this capacity building apparent among the participants?</td>
<td>FGD I: 8 people in each area consist of women alumni of the training including former legislative candidate, female member of parliament, women political caucus.</td>
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<td>2. Does the training help the participants to build support within political parties and community? Is the support upon female candidates/leaders apparent among political parties and community?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Does the training curriculum equip participants with sufficient leadership skills? Can the participants lead people from various backgrounds well? (inclusive leadership)</td>
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<td>4. What problems and challenges did the participants face? Do the participants solve those problems using the training material?</td>
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5. Do you think the videos have promoted women’s political participation well? Does it transform the public’s opinion of women’s role in politics? Is this transformation apparent among public?

6. Do the videos target the right audiences? Are they sufficient and widely disseminated? How did the constituents respond to these videos?

7. Do you think the community forums have bolstered support for women’s political participation? Are they sufficient?

8. Do you think the alumni forums have built the network among the participants? How do participants benefit from these forums? What kind of activity or information benefits the most?

9. Do you think this project relevant in the current context, and how? Is the project consistent with the need of female candidates/leaders?

10. What is the project’s unique contribution to women’s political participation that others are not providing?
1. Do the participants think their knowledge and skills on leadership improve? How?
2. Do the participants think their knowledge and skills on public speaking and campaigning improve? How?
3. Do the participants think their knowledge and skills on public relation and media engagement improve? How?
4. Have the participants applied those skills before and after the elections? How did the skills help them in gaining voters?
5. How did the project empower and transform the participants' leadership?
6. Do they know any successful campaign stories of the project participants?
7. Have the participants succeeded in running the campaign? How? If not, what are the obstacles?
8. Did the elected participant apply their knowledge and skills in the parliament?
9. Did the un-elected participants implement the inclusive leadership in their daily activities?
10. Did the project bring positive changes in terms of women's role in the party structure and candidacy? Is there paradigm shift among political party leaders and community?
11. What unexpected positive/negative results did the project lead to?
12. Did the project increase the number of elected female MPs, compared to previous FGD II:
7 people including community, religious, traditional leaders as well as the representatives from political party, civil society, academic and business sectors.
| COHERENCE / COORDINATION | 1. How well was the coordination of the SFCG’s project? Is there a better way to manage and improve its implementation?  
2. Are the activities coherent in achieving the project’s objectives? Did the different activities complement each other? How?  
3. Do you think the coordination between SFCG and its partners is effective? What were the challenges, why, and how did they overcome?  
4. What were the ingredients of the effective coordination and partnership? |
| --- | --- |
| SUSTAINABILITY | 1. Do you think the development of an action plan is sufficient for supporting women’s political participation? If not, what else should be done in order to support women in politics?  
2. Have your political party developed such plans? How is your party implementing these plans?  
3. Did your political party create long-term processes and structures for women’s election?  
13. What are the factors contributed to achieving, or not achieving, the project’s objectives (factors of success and challenges)? |
participation in public (and politics)?

4. Did the government have such initiatives? What are these initiatives and how is this implemented?

5. What kind of support did the political party and government provide the female leaders?

6. Did you have independent initiatives for raising awareness on social and political issues, including women's issues, beyond the project activities?

7. How did you mobilize constituents to support your leadership, and women’s leadership in general?

8. Did the project promote women leadership in the long term? How? What should be done to sustain the gain achieved by the project?

8.4 Key Informant Interview

8.4.1 Female legislative candidates

Purposes: To evaluate how the program affected significant changes among the women candidates related to their skills in the task of campaigning in the 2014 elections.

Relevance

1. Do you think the training has help you built your political capacity? Is the result of this capacity building apparent among the project’s participants?

2. Does the training help you to build support within political parties and community? Is the support upon female candidates/leaders increasing among political parties and
community?
3. Does the training curriculum equip you with sufficient leadership skills? Can you lead and collaborate with people from various backgrounds well?
4. What problems and challenges did you face during the campaign? Did you solve those problems using the training material? How?
5. Do you think the videos have promoted women’s political participation well? Does it transform the public’s opinion of women’s role in politics? Is this transformation increasing among public?
6. Do the videos target the right audiences? Are they sufficient and widely disseminated? How did the constituents respond to these videos?
7. Do you think the community forums have bolstered support for women’s political participation? Are they sufficient?
8. Do you think the alumni forums have built the network among the participants? How do you benefit from these forums? What kind of activity or information benefits the most?
9. Do you think this project is relevant in the current context? How? Is the project consistent with the need of female candidates/leaders?
10. What is the project’s unique contribution to women’s political participation that others are not providing?

Effectiveness
11. Do you think your knowledge and skills on leadership improve? How?
12. Do you think your knowledge and skills on public speaking and campaigning improve? How?
13. Do you think your knowledge and skills on public relation and media engagement improve? How?
14. Have you applied those knowledge and skills before, during and after the elections? How did the skills help you in gaining voters?
15. How did the project empower and transform your leadership? How did it transform the political parties’ support upon women’s leadership? How did it transform the public opinion in this regard?
16. Do you know any successful campaign stories of the project participants?
17. Have you succeeded in running the campaign? How? If not, what are the obstacles?
18. Did you (the elected participant) apply your knowledge and skills in the parliament?
19. Did you (the un-elected participants) implement the inclusive leadership in your daily activities?
20. Did the project bring positive changes in terms of women’s role in the party structure and candidacy? Is there paradigm shift among political party leaders?
21. What unexpected positive/negative results did the project lead to?
22. Did the project increase the number of elected female MPs, compared to previous election?
23. What are the factors contributed to achieving, or not achieving, the project’s objectives (factors of success and challenges)?

Coherence & Coordination
24. How well was the coordination of the SFCG’s project? Is there a better way to manage and improve its implementation?
25. Are the activities coherent in achieving the project’s objectives? Did the different activities complement each other? How?
26. Do you think the coordination between SFCG and its partners is effective? What were the challenges, why, and how did they overcome?
27. What were the ingredients of the effective coordination and partnership?

Sustainability
28. Do you think the development of an action plan is sufficient for supporting women’s political participation? If not, what else should be done in order to support women in politics?
29. Have your political party developed such plans? How is your party implementing these plans?
30. Did your political party create long-term processes and structures for women’s participation in public (and politics)?
31. Did the government have such initiatives? What are these initiatives and how is this implemented?
32. What kind of support did the political party and government provide the female leaders?
33. Did you have independent initiatives for raising awareness on social and political issues,
including women’s issues, beyond the project activities?
34. How did you mobilize constituents to support your leadership, and women’s leadership in general?
35. Did the project promote women leadership in the long term? How? What should be done to sustain the gain achieved by the project?

8.4.2 Political parties’ representatives

Purposes: To evaluate how political parties increased their skills and awareness in fostering more diverse leadership by supporting women candidates in the elections.

Relevance

1. Do you think the training has built the capacity of female legislative candidates/members? Is the result of this capacity building apparent among female legislative candidates/members?
2. Does the training help the participants to build support within political parties and community? Is the support upon female candidates/leaders increasing among political parties and community?
3. Does the training curriculum equip participants with sufficient leadership skills? Can the participants lead and collaborate with people from various backgrounds well?
4. What problems and challenges did the participants face during the election? Did the participants solve those problems using the training material? How?
5. Do you think the videos have promoted women’s political participation well? Does it transform the public’s opinion of women’s role in politics? Is this transformation increasing among public?
6. Do the videos target the right audiences? Are they sufficient and widely disseminated? How did the constituents respond to these videos?
7. Do you think the community forums have bolstered support for women’s political participation? Are they sufficient?
8. Do you think the alumni forums help the participants to build a network? What kind of activity or information benefits them the most? How?
9. Do you think this project is relevant in the current context? How? Is the project
consistent with the need of female candidates/leaders?

10. What is the project’s unique contribution to women’s political participation that others are not providing?

Effectiveness

11. Do you think the participants’ knowledge and skills on leadership improve? How?
12. Do you think the participants’ knowledge and skills on public speaking and campaigning improve? How?
13. Do you think the participants’ knowledge and skills on public relation and media engagement improve? How?
14. Have the participants applied those knowledge and skills before, during and after the elections? How did the skills help them in gaining voters?
15. How did the project transform the participants’ leadership? How did it transform the political parties’ support upon women's leadership? How did it transform the public opinion in this regard?
16. Do you know any successful campaign stories of the project participants?
17. Have the participants succeeded in running the campaign? How? If not, what are the obstacles?
18. Did the elected participant apply their knowledge and skills in the parliament?
19. Did the un-elected participants implement the inclusive leadership in their daily activities?
20. Did the project bring positive changes in terms of women’s role in the party structure and candidacy? Is there paradigm shift among political party leaders in this regard?
21. What unexpected positive/negative results did the project lead to?
22. Did the project increase the number of elected female MPs, compared to previous election?
23. What are the factors contributed to achieving, or not achieving, the project's objectives (factors of success and challenges)?

Coherence & Coordination

24. How well was the coordination of the SFCG’s project? Is there a better way to manage and improve its implementation?
25. Are the activities coherent in achieving the project's objectives? Did the different activities complement each other? How?

26. Do you think the coordination between SFCG and its partners is effective? What were the challenges, why, and how did they overcome?

27. What were the ingredients of the effective coordination and partnership?

**Sustainability**

28. Do you think the development of an action plan is sufficient for supporting women's political participation? If not, what else should be done in order to support women in politics?

29. Have your political party developed such plans? How is your party implementing these plans?

30. Did your political party create long-term processes and structures for women's participation in public (and politics)?

31. Did the government have such initiatives? What are these initiatives and how is this implemented?

32. What kind of support did the political party and government provide the female leaders?

33. Did your political party have independent initiatives for raising awareness on social and political issues, including women's issues, beyond the project activities?

34. How did your political party mobilize constituents to support women's leadership?

35. Did the project promote women leadership in the long term? How? What should be done to sustain the gain achieved by the project?

---

**8.4.3 Community/Religious/Traditional leaders**

*Purpose: To evaluate how the intervention has brought changes in the voters/constituents in supporting women in politics.*

1. What are the criteria of a good leader in your community? What kind of criteria do you use to choose a leader for political offices? (Probing with survey questionnaire).

2. What do you think about female MPs, do you think that they have those qualities? Please explain!
3. What is your perception on the differences between male and female MPs? Please explain!
4. Do you think that the candidate’s sex determines your vote? Please explain!
5. What are the main strength, weakness, opportunity and challenges for the female MPs? (Probing: find out the differences between the in past, in the current time and in the future).
6. What is the capacity level of female MPs in terms of skills (public speaking and campaign) and content (women/gender issues)? (Probing: please rate the differences between male and female MPs)
7. What kind of skills need to be improved by female MPs?
8. What do you think about women’s participation and representation in current political parties or parliament? Do you think their participation and representation important? Please explain!
9. Do you think that the political parties have provided fair opportunities for female and male candidates? (Probing: emphasize the differences between male and female candidates?)
10. What are the obstacles and opportunities particularly for female candidates to gain voters’ voice?
11. Did you vote for any female candidates in 2014 election (provincial/municipal)? Why/why not?
12. What is the main issue in your community? Did you communicate the issue to the legislative candidates/members? How?
13. Do you think that the current MPs have the capability to address those issues?
14. How are voters getting information about the candidates?
15. How are female and male candidates portrayed in ads, media and or outreach activities?

8.4.4. SFCG staff and partners

Purpose: to evaluate the project management and get information on the challenge faced during the project’s implementation.

Relevance:
- How relevant were the project interventions in the current social, political and electoral context of Indonesia? To what extent the project approach and interventions were consistent with the need of women leaders to run for the election?
• How relevant are the project strategies and activities as perceived by the beneficiaries and other community stakeholders?
• What, if any, are the project’s unique contributions to women’s empowerment and increased political participation that others are not providing?

Effectiveness:
• What are the major outputs and outcomes of this project? How is the progress in comparison to the relevant baseline data?
• To what extent the knowledge and skills on collaborative and inclusive leadership, including public speaking and engaging media, improve among the participating women leaders?
• Have the women leaders applied those skills in campaigning in the 2014 elections and after the elections?
• To what extent the project contributed in empowering and transforming women candidates (exercising leadership), political parties (promoting it), and voters (perceiving it) on collaborative, inclusive, and diverse leadership?
• Are there any positive examples of successful electoral campaign of women candidates who participated in the project activities?
• How have the elected women members of parliament applied their knowledge and skills in the parliament? Cite case studies.
• To what extent did the women candidates who did not succeed in the 2014 elections implement collaborative and inclusive leadership in their daily activities?
• How has the project contributed in bringing positive changes among political party leaders in relations to women leadership within the party structure and candidate nomination? Has there any positive shift in the perception of male leadership towards female leadership?
• How has the project contributed in positively shifting public perception towards women leaders and their leadership?
• To what extent the project contributed in increasing the number of elected women members in respective parliaments as compared to General Election 2009?
• What unexpected positive or negative results did the project lead to?

Coherence and coordination:
• How well was the project implementation process managed?
• How was the coordination between SFCG’s program leadership and its partner in
implementing the project?

- What were the partnership/coordination challenges, if any, and how did SFCG managed these challenges?
- How coherent were the activities implemented in achieving the goal/objectives set for the project? To what extent did the different categories of activities complement each other?

**Sustainability:**

- To what extent SFCG, and its partners were successful in working with the political parties to develop an action plan for supporting women in politics in the future?
- How many political parties develop such plans and how are they implementing these plans?
- What steps were planned or have been taken by the political parties as well as the government institutions to create long-term processes, structures and institutions for the successful participation of women in politics, including in public areas?
- Have the women candidates that were not elected to parliament organized independent initiatives for building community awareness on social and political issues, as well as women’s issues, beyond the project activities?
- How have been voters and citizens mobilized to support women leaders? How did this project reached to young men and women to promote women leadership in the long term?
- What were the strategies developed by SFCG and the partners to sustain the gain of this project in the post-project period?

### 8.5 List of Informants

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8.6. Quantitative Data

8.6.1. Background of respondents

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8.6.1.1. Background of respondents

![Chart 1: Respondents' Sex](image1)

- **Female**: 41.0% Baseline, 67.0% Endline
- **Male**: 59.0% Baseline, 33.0% Endline

![Chart 2: Respondents' Education](image2)

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8.6.2 Baseline and Endline Survey Comparison

1.12 The sex of the legislative candidates does not affect my vote

1.15 It is acceptable if the legislative council does not have women representatives
1.13. I prefer choosing male instead of female legislative candidates in the elections

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1.14. Male candidates possess more capacity to be a leader than female candidates

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1.11. Female legislative candidate/member has equal capability to male legislative candidate/member

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1.1. It is important to have female representatives in the National/Provincial/Municipal Legislative Council

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1.9. Political party should reserve 30% parliamentary seats for female candidates in the elections

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8.7. Photo Documentation

FGD with female candidates & community members in Tabanan

FGD with alumni of community engagement in Tabanan
Interview with female MP in Lombok
FGD with female candidates and community members in Bogor