

Legal Aspects of Women's Political Participation from a Gender Perspective

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the legal aspects of women's political participation from a gender perspective, emphasizing the problem of the gap between regulation and implementation in legal practice in Indonesia, as well as the obstacles faced by women in achieving an equal position in politics. This study is motivated by the ongoing gap in political participation between men and women in various countries, including Indonesia, which can be seen from the lack of women in important decision-making at the local and national levels. Women's representation in the public sphere, especially in politics and decision-making, has been regulated in various regulations, such as the Election Law and the 30% quota Affirmative Action Policy. However, in practice, these regulations often do not achieve the expected goals due to structural and cultural obstacles, and minimal sanctions for non-compliance. This study finds that although there has been normative progress in building a legal framework that supports women's participation, its implementation is still weak due to various obstacles, including gender-biased legal interpretations, patriarchal dominance in the political system, and the lack of effective monitoring mechanisms. The main contribution of this study lies in the in-depth analysis of the gap between the regulation and practice of women's representation. Using a normative and sociological legal approach, this study offers a new perspective in understanding this problem, not only as a legal issue but also as a structural and cultural problem that requires multidimensional intervention. This study also provides concrete recommendations to strengthen law enforcement and ensure that affirmative policies can run effectively, such as improving legal sanctions, increasing the capacity of supervisory institutions, and ongoing gender education. Uniquely, this study contributes to the legal literature and practice by providing a comprehensive roadmap to address the gap in the implementation of affirmative policies in women's representation. Furthermore, this study emphasizes that improving the gender-responsive legal system is not only a normative need but also a prerequisite for creating substantive justice in Indonesian society.

Keywords: *Gender, Legal Aspects, Perspectives, Political Participation*

1. INTRODUCTION

Women's political participation is an important indicator in assessing the quality of democracy and gender equality in a country.¹ Women's participation in politics is not only about the quantity of representation but also the quality of participation that is free from discrimination and equal access.² In Indonesia, efforts to increase women's representation in politics have been realized through various regulations, including the implementation of a minimum gender quota policy of 30% for female legislative candidates.³ This policy aims to ensure that women have equal opportunities in the political decision-making process.

According to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, Article 245 states that political parties must nominate female legislative candidates. However, data from the

¹ Rizki Priandi and Kholis Roisah, "Efforts to Increase Women's Political Participation in General Elections in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Legal Development* 1, no. 1 (2019): 106, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116>.

² Selvia Adriani and Siti Tiara Maulia, "Women's Participation in Politics," *Journal of Practical Learning and Educational Development* 4, no. 2 (2024): 131–36, <https://doi.org/10.58737/jpled.v4i2.287>.

³ "Law (UU) No. 68 of 1958 concerning Ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women," database of laws and regulations, 1958, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/52837/uu-no-68-tahun-1958>.

General Election Commission (KPU) based on the results of the 2019 election showed that female representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives was only 20.5 percent or 118 people out of 575 members of the House of Representatives. Still, according to KPU data, in the 2024 election, out of a total of 580 elected members of the Indonesian House of Representatives, only 128 were women, which is equivalent to 22.1% representation. This figure shows an increase from the results of the 2019 election but has still not reached the target set by law. This means that stronger efforts are needed to achieve optimal female representation in Indonesian politics.

Previously, several studies have been similar and relevant to this study. The first study conducted by Liliana in 2021 has examined the implementation of a 30% gender quota for female candidates in politics. Her research successfully identified patriarchal cultural obstacles and lack of supervision as the main obstacles to implementing this policy. However, this study still has gaps because it has not explored the impact of gender quota implementation in more depth on women's involvement in political decision-making. In addition, this study has not discussed concrete strategies that can be used to overcome these obstacles.⁴

An additional study conducted by Amalia in 2020 highlighted the role of political parties in efforts to advance women's representation. Her research focused on how political parties act as facilitators of increasing women's participation. However, this study still leaves gaps regarding the effectiveness of internal political party policies in supporting female cadres and the consistency of political parties in overseeing women's representation after the general election. In other words, the relationship between party policies and women's contributions in parliament has not been fully explored.⁵

The following Umagapi study in 2020 analyzed women's contributions to the decision-making process in parliament. This study provides insight into the role of women in legislative institutions after being elected. However, this study has not touched on the process of how women managed to get to these decision-making positions. This gap shows the need for a study that connects the process of implementing affirmative policies, political party support, and the role of women in decision-making.⁶

In addition, Ramadhanty's 2024 study provides a comprehensive review of gender equality policies in Sweden, including the implementation of women's quotas and political competence development programs for women. This study offers insights that can be applied in an international context to promote gender equity in various countries. However, although this article presents a rich analysis, there are limitations in presenting recent empirical data that could strengthen the argument regarding the effectiveness of gender

⁴ Aning Sofie Liliana, Lusiana Indrastuti, and Waluyo Slamet Pradoto, "Representation of Legislative Candidates," 2021.

⁵ Isyrofah Amaliyah Achmad, "Strengthening Women's Representation in Political Party Management," *Jurist-Diction* 1, no. 1 (2020): 164, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jd.v1i1.9734>.

⁶ Juniar Laraswanda Umagapi, "Challenges and Opportunities for Women's Representation in the 2019 Parliamentary Elections: And Vice President and Legislative Elections Achieved by Indonesia Regarding Women's Representation in Politics, Although the Increase is Not Significant, It is Only a Gender Issue D," 2020, 19–34.

equality policies in Sweden and some of the implications drawn for the global context may require further adjustment, given the cultural, political, and social differences between Sweden and other countries including Indonesia.⁷

This study focuses on an in-depth analysis of the gaps in the implementation of gender quotas in Indonesian politics, with the aim of filling a gap that has not been widely explained by previous studies. While previous studies have discussed the regulatory aspects and general challenges in women's political participation, this study will specifically analyze the factors that hinder the active implementation of gender quotas, both in terms of regulations, political parties, and community culture. In addition, this study also assesses the extent to which existing regulations are effective in increasing women's representation and provides policy recommendations based on empirical evidence to improve the implementation of gender quotas, including proposals for sanction mechanisms and incentives for political parties.⁸ Thus, this study not only complements previous studies that focus more on political and cultural analysis, but also provides a strong normative basis for more inclusive and effective legal and policy reforms.

Women's involvement in parliament impacts policy and catalyzes cultural transformation and political frameworks dominated by patriarchal values. Therefore, a more women-friendly political system is essential to balance of equal access and participation. However, despite progress in policy, there are still many regional regulations that are discriminatory against women, indicating the need for further efforts to achieve gender equality at the legislative and government levels.⁹ Through this article, we will explore the legal aspects of women's political participation from a gender perspective by discussing the gap between regulation and implementation in legal practice in Indonesia and identifying factors that are still obstacles to realizing women's equal political participation in politics.

2. METHOD

This study uses several approaches to analyze and review laws and regulations on women's political involvement. These approaches aim to understand how laws place women in political structures and assess their compliance with the principle of gender equality. The method used is a normative legal approach focusing on analyzing the content of laws and regulations governing women's involvement in politics and the compliance of these norms with the principle of gender equality stipulated in the constitution, national law, and international instruments. A gender approach is also applied in this study to analyze gender construction in laws and regulations and their implementation with a focus on analyzing the

⁷ Aulia Ramadhanty, Neysa Naila, and Ardli Johan Kusuma, "Challenges and Successes of Women's Roles in Swedish Political Participation and Their Implications for Global Gender Equity," *ALADALAH: Journal of Politics, Social, Law and Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2023): 106–19, <https://doi.org/10.59246/aladalah.v2i1.627>.

⁸ Rahma Ning Tias et al., "The Challenges of Affirmative Action Policy as an Effort to Strengthen Women's Representation in the Legislature," *Journal of Politica Dynamics of Domestic Political Problems and International Relations* 14, no. 2 (2023): 169–89, <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v14i2.4151>.

⁹ Afdal Aperta Safatullah et al., "Seizing the Political Stage: Examining Women's Participation in the Legislative Elections in Payakumbuh Timur District in 2024," *Politica: Journal of Constitutional Law and Islamic Politics* 11, no. 1 (2024): 10–20, <https://doi.org/10.32505/politica.v11i1.8228>.

extent to which laws facilitate or hinder women's involvement in politics and the extent to which laws strengthen the principle of gender equality in encouraging women's participation. A sociological legal approach is also used to understand how laws and regulations are implemented in society with a focus on assessing the reality of legal implementation, including the obstacles faced by women in accessing political positions and exploring social, cultural, and political factors that influence the effectiveness of these regulations in encouraging women's involvement.¹⁰ This approach helps connect the normative aspects of law with social realities in the field. Primary data sources are national laws and regulations. At the same time, secondary data are collected through relevant articles, reports, and research documents, as well as statistics on women's political participation from official institutions such as the KPU. This study aims to understand how laws and regulations place women in political structures, assess the suitability of these regulations with the principle of gender equality, and provide recommendations for improving regulations and policies related to women's involvement in politics. With this comprehensive approach, the study is expected to provide academic and practical contributions to strengthening women's positions in politics according to the principle of gender equality.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 The Influence of Gender Perspective on the Implementation of Legal Principles in Indonesia

Political equality is a foundation for social justice, ensuring that all voices, including women's, influence a country's decisions and policies.¹¹ This underscores the importance of recognizing women's political rights as integral to universal human rights. In many countries, initiatives aimed at securing legal recognition of women's rights and increasing their representation in politics are increasingly being incorporated into legal and policy reform frameworks.¹²

Gender perspective refers to the differences in roles, access, opportunities, and rights between men and women that are influenced by social, cultural, and structural factors. In the legal context, gender perspective should be the basis for ensuring substantive equality and justice. However, in Indonesia, the formation of laws is often influenced by a patriarchal culture that views women as a subordinate group.¹³

The impact is that the law is formally gender-neutral but has not been responsive to the obstacles faced by women and structural bias in applying the law, where regulations are

¹⁰ Rachel Lubis and Irwan Triadi, "Analyzing Gender Equality in Constitutional Perspective (Study on Human Rights Protection)," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 4 (2024): 12, <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i4.2687>.

¹¹ Daffa Fittaktahta Putra et al., "Pancasila as a Legal Basis in Realizing Social Justice," *Aliansi: Journal of Law, Education and Social Humanities* 1, no. 5 (2024): 233–37, <https://doi.org/10.62383/aliansi.v1i5.412>.

¹² R Maharani and R Ramadhani, "Women's Representation as Legislative Members in the Provincial People's Representative Council," *Lex Superior* 1, no. 1 (2022): 1–12, <https://ojs.ukb.ac.id/index.php/jls/article/view/485%0Ahttps://ojs.ukb.ac.id/index.php/jls/article/download/485/340>.

¹³ Angela Ranina Listiyani et al., "Implementation of Affirmative Action by Political Parties as an Effort to Improve Women's Rights," *Res Publica* 5, no. 1 (2021): 16–30.

not followed by concrete implementation efforts to realize women's political participation. In the legal context, a gender perspective plays a major role in ensuring that existing regulations provide equal opportunities for women and address the structural and cultural barriers they face.

Furthermore, legal principles such as justice, equality, and non-discrimination have been regulated in the constitution (Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution) and its derivative regulations; in the context of political participation, the implementation of this principle is realized through Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which regulates affirmative policies that require political parties to include a minimum of 30% female representation in the list of legislative candidate candidates. This policy is intended to improve the inequality of political access experienced by women. Although the 30% quota is very strategic, the regulation is only one key factor in a broader effort to increase women's political representation.

Moreover, even though this law has been enacted, women's representation in parliament is still far from the ideal target. The 2024 Election recorded women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives at 22.1% of the total elected members, an increase from 20.5% in the 2019 Election but still below the 30% quota set. In addition, political parties often fulfill the quota formally but not substantively because women are placed in non-strategic numbers on the candidate list. This fact shows that political parties and election-organizing institutions have not fully internalized the gender perspective in implementing Law No. 7 of 2017.

Gender perspectives do not stop at formulating and implementing laws but are also important in evaluating their impact. Although the number of women in parliament has increased due to gender quotas, their influence in decision-making is often limited. This shows the importance of integrating gender perspectives in building support systems to strengthen women's capacity.

Affirmative policies such as the 30% quota for women apply the principle of substantive equality to increase women's participation.¹⁴ The goal is to provide a more expansive participation space for women, encourage women's representation in political decision-making, and reduce the gap in access and participation between men and women. However, the implementation of this quota has not been optimal because it is still a formality and is not supported by strategic steps such as political education, special campaign funding, or clear sanctions for parties that violate it.

The obstacles in implementing women's political participation regulations are due to the lack of strict sanctions. Law No. 7 of 2017 does not provide effective sanctions for political parties that fail to meet the 30% quota for women. As a result, this obligation is often considered a mere formality, so the coercive mechanism for compliance is weak.

¹⁴ Islamic University et al., "Efforts to Increase Women's Political Participation in Legislative Representation Muhammad Ar Rafii Elan Jaelani Sunan Gunung Djati State Islamic University Bandung Heroes Who Played a Role in the Independence Process. The Process of the Nation's Independence Struggle Dis," no. 2 (2024).

Political parties tend to prioritize male candidates for strategic positions, and women are placed at the bottom of the candidate list, which impacts the small chance of being elected. In addition, the strong patriarchal culture causes low public support for female candidates, thus limiting women's access to strategic positions. Women are also faced with a double burden between domestic and public roles.

Human civilization has been shaped mainly by men, leading to their dominance in almost all social roles throughout history, except in rare matriarchal societies. From the beginning, this has driven a gender gap, placing women on the sidelines. Women are often considered unfit to be leaders or have the same abilities as men, which reinforces the notion that women are inferior to men. As a result, men are seen as the rightful owners of authority over women.

Using a gender perspective, this discrepancy reflects structural biases in the legal and political systems. A feminist legal perspective emphasizes that the law often reproduces gender inequities by ignoring the underlying social and cultural context. In this case, despite the existence of gender quota regulations, the law fails to take into account the cultural and institutional barriers that prevent women from participating equally.

Women and politics are indeed difficult to imagine, especially in developing countries. This is because humans have been shaped by a culture limiting women to only household matters. At the same time, politics, which is closely related to power, is always considered more appropriate for men, with the assumption that women are still taboo and controversial towards leadership. Although there has been progress in women's rights, the lack of female representation in politics is still a significant challenge. In many parliaments and legislative institutions around the world, women are still significantly underrepresented. According to data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), by 2023, women will only occupy around 26 percent of parliamentary seats worldwide.¹⁵

Progressive legal theory places law as an instrument of social change that is not only oriented toward text but also toward substantive justice. In the context of gender quotas, laws must be designed and implemented to change the patriarchal culture that dominates Indonesian politics. Raising awareness of the role of women in politics is key. Gender legal and political education and leadership, coupled with training and mentoring, can prepare women to engage in politics and compete on an equal footing. Some countries also use affirmative action to increase women's political representation, such as gender quotas. This policy ensures that women have greater access to important positions in government and parliament.

The law can be a tool to encourage change in a patriarchal culture, both at the policy and societal levels. For example, adopting affirmative action in various public policies can provide women greater access to decision-making. In addition, the law can also be used to

¹⁵ Marsyifa Novia Fauziah, Mochamad Faizal Rizki, and Rachmat Ramdani, "Challenges of Women's Representation in Formal Politics," *Journal of Government Science Widya Praja* 49, no. 1 (2023): 12–22, <https://doi.org/10.33701/jipwp.v49i1.3034>.

promote the narrative of gender equality through educational regulations, media, and cooperation with civil society organizations. With a more progressive approach, the law becomes not only a control tool but also an agent of social transformation that can erode patriarchal culture and encourage more substantive gender equality.

Although Indonesia has imposed a 30 percent gender quota for female legislative candidates in the legislative list, its implementation is still far from perfect. One of the main causes is the lack of women with good political education so that they are ready to be involved in the legislative and government processes. Effective political education can ensure that more women not only meet the quota but are also able to make significant contributions to gender-sensitive policy-making.¹⁶

Political education for women plays an important role in advancing gender equality in Indonesia. Although much progress has been made in increasing women's involvement in politics, women still often face various obstacles that cause their involvement in politics to be less than that of men. In this context, adequate political education is an important factor in empowering women to be effectively involved in the decision-making process in the political realm. Political education allows women to understand their rights in the context of politics and democracy. Women can also better understand the concept of gender equality, their constitutional rights, and their role in shaping policies that impact society. Awareness of these political rights can encourage more women to be active in politics, both as intelligent voters and as potential leaders.¹⁷

In the long run, political education can also help break down gender stereotypes that exist in society. As more women engage in politics and demonstrate strong competence and leadership, society will be more accepting of the idea that women are worthy and capable of leading at various levels of government. With political education that encourages women's involvement in the policy process, we can expect more inclusive and sustainable policies that accommodate the needs of women and other vulnerable groups. This is important in addressing global challenges, such as climate change and economic inequality, which are felt more disproportionately by women.¹⁸

Political education is not only needed by female political candidates but also by female voters. In a healthy democracy, well-informed voters are the main foundation. This allows female voters to make smarter political decisions based not only on emotions or social pressures but also on knowledge about the candidates, their programs, and the impact

¹⁶ Listiyani et al., "Implementation of Affirmative Action by Political Parties as an Effort to Improve Women's Rights."

¹⁷ Mirza Satria Buana, Erlina Erlina, and Eka Yulia Rahman, "The Paradigm of Anti-Corruption Political Education and Gender Equality in Political Parties," *Integritas: Journal of Anti-Corruption* 7, no. 1 (2021): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v7i1.733>.

¹⁸ Vina Salviana D Soedarwo et al., "Gender Sensitivity-Based Political Education among Political Parties in India and India Sociology Study Program, University of Muhammadiyah Malang Civic Education Study Program, University of Muhammadiyah Malang International Relations Study Program, University of Muhammadiyah Malang Center for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, School of Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi, India Email: Vinasalvianaumm@gmail.Com Gender Sensitivity-Based Political Education among Political Parties in India and India," nd, 48–60.

of their proposed policies.¹⁹ Female voters with political education tend to be more critical and vocal in demanding their rights, whether from a political, economic, or social perspective. This can bring significant changes in the Indonesian political landscape, where women's voices are getting louder and stronger in shaping the direction of national policy.

Political empowerment for women is not only about opening access to political knowledge but also about empowerment that can encourage the creation of a more equal and inclusive society. With adequate political education, women can be involved in decision-making, fight for their rights, and contribute significantly to shaping a more just and democratic political future in Indonesia. This urgency cannot be ignored, considering that women are half of the population whose voices are vital in democracy.

The strong patriarchal culture in many regions in Indonesia often places women in less strategic positions in terms of decision-making. With adequate political education, women can build their capacity, increase self-confidence, and develop the leadership skills needed to compete fairly in the political world. In addition, understanding how politics works, election regulations, and effective campaign strategies are skills that can be acquired through comprehensive political education. This will help women take advantage of opportunities to engage in formal politics, both at the local and national levels.²⁰

In recent decades, women's contributions to politics have been increasingly recognized as a key factor in advancing gender equality and strengthening democracy. A gender perspective provides a framework for understanding how women's presence and participation in politics benefit them and society. One of the main arguments for increasing women's political participation is to achieve better gender balance in political institutions.²¹ Balanced representation ensures that women's interests and perspectives are fairly represented in decision-making. Gender equality is a fundamental principle that demands equal and fair treatment for all individuals, regardless of gender. In this context, women's political roles are crucial in efforts to achieve gender equality at all levels, from the local to the international.²²

Gender perspective has a significant influence on the implementation of legal principles in the regulation of women's political participation in Indonesia. By understanding the specific needs and obstacles women face, the law can be a tool to create substantive equality, not just formal equality. The principle of substantive equality must be

¹⁹ Dian Iskandar et al., "Political Education to Create Smart Female Voters in Palangka Raya City," *Journal of Indonesian Civil Society* 2, no. 3 (2023): 228–33, <https://doi.org/10.59025/js.v2i3.110>.

²⁰ Syarifah Rahmah, "Political Education for Women," *Saree: Research in Gender Studies* 3, no. 1 (2021): 79–100, <https://doi.org/10.47766/saree.v3i1.633>.

²¹ Latif Kahfi, "Analysis of Women's Political Participation in Indonesia: Women's Access to the Political Arena, Gender Inequality is Still an Important Problem Different (Rasyidin and Aruni 2016). Existing Inequality. (Rasyidin and Aruni 2016) Political System" 8, no. 1 (2024).

²² Halida Nabilla Salfa, "The Social Role of Women in Society and Its Implications for the Placement of Female Legislative Members in Commissions in the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 Period [The Social Role of Women in Society and Its Implications for the Division of Tasks of Female DPR Members]," *Journal of Political Dynamics of Domestic Political Problems and International Relations* 13, no. 2 (2023): 162–81, <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v13i2.3163>.

realized through strengthening more concrete affirmative policies, accompanied by revising Law No. 7 of 2017 by adding strict sanctions for political parties that do not meet the 30% quota for women, such as rejection of candidate lists by the KPU and regulating incentive mechanisms for political parties that succeed in meeting the quota substantively. In addition, strengthening political education and access to funding for women is an important solution to encourage more significant participation by women in Indonesian politics.

3.2 Factors that Inhibit the Realization of Equal and Inclusive Political Participation

Equal and inclusive political participation is one of the main pillars of democracy. However, in practice, various barriers still prevent certain groups, such as women, people with disabilities, minority groups, and marginalized communities, from fully participating in the political process.²³

In Indonesia's legal framework, women's representation in politics is regulated through several important regulations, namely Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties, which requires political parties to pay attention to women's representation in party management. Law No. 17 of 2017 concerning General Elections also firmly stipulates a 30 percent gender quota in the list of legislative candidates. However, its implementation in the field is often not in line with the policy's main objectives.

In a concrete case, the Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN) Decision in 2019, related to a lawsuit against a political party's list of legislative candidates, shows how gender quotas are often only fulfilled formally. The party placed female legislative candidates at the bottom of the list, so they have almost no chance of being elected. This decision reflects that supervision by the KPU and Bawaslu has not been effective in ensuring the substantive fulfillment of quotas.

In addition, the lack of binding technical regulations also hampers women's participation in politics. For example, there is no mechanism to ensure that female candidates are placed in strategic positions on the list of candidates and no strict sanctions for political parties that only fulfill quotas symbolically. Regulations focus more on fulfilling quota figures than on the substance of representation.

The regulation does not provide serious consequences for political parties that fail to meet the gender quota, making compliance optional. In the 2019 and 2024 elections, several parties did not reach the 30 percent quota but could still contest the elections without hindrance. Supervision by the KPU is often only administrative, without substantive assessment of the effectiveness of women's representation. There is also no comprehensive evaluation of the impact of the regulation on increasing women's participation. In many cases, the KPU and Bawaslu do not have sufficient capacity to comprehensively audit the lists of legislative candidates submitted by political parties.

²³ Inka Nusamuda Pratama, Ayatullah Hadi, and Rizal Umami, "Strengthening Inclusive Political Participation in Increasing Understanding and Involvement of Generation Z in the 2024 Election in Bagik Polak Village," *Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat Bangsa* 1, no. 11 (2024): 2986–93, <https://doi.org/10.59837/jpmba.v1i11.627>.

Gender-unfriendly electoral systems are also a major challenge. Open-list proportional representation systems favor the majority vote, which often benefits men because they have greater access to political resources. Women who have limited funding and political networks often lose out.²⁴ Political party structures are still dominated by men, which tends to marginalize women in policy-making and political strategy.

In addition, cultural barriers also worsen the implementation of regulations, namely the still deep-rooted patriarchal norms and gender stereotypes that view women as less competent than men in politics, and the double burden (domestic and public) that women must face also become obstacles for them to be active in politics. Lack of social support, society often does not provide enough support for women to be involved in politics, especially in rural or conservative areas that still consider women less suitable to have higher education and are considered only wives and mothers who are only suitable for taking care of the household.

The important spirit of democracy, such as representation, equality, and respect for differences and opinions, has been stated in the opening of the 1945 Constitution and the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, which regulates the rights and obligations of the state and citizens. The principles of gender relations have so far caused fear in both men and women who are too narrow-minded that gender is identical to "fighting against men" or "fighting against God's nature as women."²⁵ We have seen women occupy strategic positions in various fields, from socio-political to economic, but the expectations and demands of society for women as leaders have high standards. Women must have high qualifications to be considered worthy of being a leader, both in terms of educational background, professional performance, or their activeness in various social, political, and economic organizations. Not to mention, women are always seen as ideal models to be career women, wives, and mothers who can divide their time, are intelligent, and become public figures but still do not forget their nature in the domestic sphere.

Women in politics often bring issues related to social justice to the public agenda.²⁶ They tend to advocate for policies that address inequalities, such as reproductive health, education, and protection against gender-based violence. As such, women's political engagement can bring different perspectives and complement more holistic political decisions. They advocate for women's rights, fight gender discrimination, and promote awareness of the problems faced by women. By actively championing these issues, women

²⁴ Dimiyati Huda, *Rethinking Women and Gender Justice*, 2020.

²⁵ Lusya Palulungan, Muhammad Taufan Ramli, and M Ghufuran, *Women, Patriarchal Society & Gender Equality*, *BaKTI: Knowledge Exchange for Eastern Indonesia*, 2020.

²⁶ Democracy Resilience, Indonesian Studies, and Cases of Representation, "Syntax Literate: Indonesian Scientific Journal p – ISSN: 2541-0849 Women in the DPRD of DKI Jakarta Province I Gede Ngurah Eka Dharmayudha University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia Email: Helloits.Eka@gmail.Com I Gede Ngurah Eka Dharmayudha Introduction to Democracy" 9, no. 6 (2024).

politicians help build public awareness and pressure governments to act on gender equality.²⁷

Novelty The approach to overcoming these obstacles can be made by increasing the effectiveness of sanctions, namely by providing strict sanctions, for example, by disqualifying political parties that do not meet gender quotas substantially and providing incentives to political parties that succeed in increasing women's representation, such as additional funds from the APBN for example. Then, setting the 30 percent quota not only applies to the list of legislative candidates as a whole but also to competitive serial numbers (for example, for every three legislative candidates, there must be one woman).

The KPU needs to develop a monitoring system that is not only administrative but also evaluates the impact of regulations on election results and integrates representation in evaluating political party performance. In addition, strengthening women's capacity is also important. Special training programs for women to improve their capacity in politics, including campaign strategies and fundraising, and greater access to women to campaign funding and political networks are also important.

Another thing that can be done as an effort to increase women's representation in the political arena is to change the cultural paradigm by increasing public awareness of the importance of women's roles in politics through national campaigns and integrating gender equality values into the education curriculum to change the mindset of Indonesia's young generation.²⁸ Women active in politics can also provide an example for the next generation to get involved in politics and fight for their rights. By seeing female figures in positions of power, girls are more motivated to participate in the political process, both as voters and as prospective leaders, and they will also be more confident that they can achieve the same position in the future. This can open the door to increasing women's participation in politics, which in turn will create a representative society.²⁹

It is also important to remember that women's presence in decision-making is not just a matter of numerical representation. Qualitative aspects such as commitment to gender issues, advocacy for social justice, and leadership integrity must also be considered. Thus, ensuring that women are not only present in decision-making spaces but also have substantial influence in shaping policy is key to achieving sustainable change.³⁰

Women's involvement in politics has implications for transforming existing power structures. Increasing women's representation can challenge patriarchal norms and practices and pave the way for broader social change. This can increase public trust in political

²⁷ Bayu Nurrohman et al., "Women's Political Activism in Political Parties: A Phenomenological Study of Female Politicians in Banten," *Journal of Political Issues* 4, no. 2 (2023): 137–51, <https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v4i2.81>.

²⁸ Benni Erick and Masyitah Masyitah, "Women's Representation in Political Parties from a Syariah Law Perspective," *Sigli Social Humanities Journal* 3, no. 2 (2020): 200–212, <https://doi.org/10.47647/jsh.v3i2.312>.

²⁹ Zahra Asyifa and Fatma Ulfatun Najicha, "Pancasila Values as a Way Out in Upholding Gender Equality in the Industrial Era 4.0," *Journal of Pancasila and Citizenship Studies* 9, no. 2 (2023): 30–40, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/578767227.pdf>.

³⁰ Imeliana Arum Siti Tiara Maulia, "Women's Political Participation in a Democratic System: Obstacles and Opportunities in the Decision-Making Process," *Women's Political Participation in a Democratic System: Obstacles and Opportunities in the Decision-Making Process* 3, no. 7 (2024), <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.3783/causa.v2i9.2461>.

institutions and strengthen democratic legitimacy. An inclusive democracy reflects the diversity of society.³¹

The reform era is a new era of social change in the Indonesian nation after the fall of President Soeharto through the reform movement initiated by intellectuals and students, gender equality and women's participation in the public sphere after the reform became an interesting issue because previously the role and access of women were minimal. The changing culture and political system in the reform era gave birth to great women. Female figures who played a role in the political realm continued to increase when the DPR made a new law requiring political parties to involve 30 percent of party management filled by women.³²

Increasing women's representation in politics is not only the responsibility of women themselves but also of society and broader institutions. The various perspectives and strategies of women's struggle that exist are not only practical as a tool for enlightenment and awareness, but more than that, as an instrument in building a large coalition of women's movements to realize equality, justice, tolerance, and democracy.³³

The approach in this study offers novelty by not only identifying legal barriers but also offering concrete solutions to strengthen the implementation of regulations, taking a comprehensive approach by combining legal, policy, and cultural analysis to create more effective strategies in increasing women's participation, emphasizing substantive reform, namely focusing on legal reform or technical rules, so that regulations are not only administrative tools but also instruments of real change, and providing data-based solutions and innovation by using empirical data and impact projections to formulate strategic recommendations, such as political party incentives and performance evaluations based on gender representation. This approach is expected to overcome structural and cultural barriers that have prevented the realization of equal and inclusive political participation in Indonesia so far.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study indicate that the law has an important role in increasing women's political participation. However, its effectiveness is still limited due to the gap between regulation and implementation. Regulations such as gender quotas stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties have provided a formal framework to encourage women's representation. However, the implementation of this policy still faces various structural and cultural obstacles, such as patriarchy, gender stereotypes, discrimination in the nomination process, and the absence of strict sanctions for violations of regulations. Legally, gender quotas are not yet fully effective because there are no strict sanctions against political parties that fail to meet gender quotas substantially, so regulations are often ignored or only fulfilled

³¹ Adriani and Maulia, "Women's Participation in Politics."

³² Priandi and Roisah, "Efforts to Increase Women's Political Participation in General Elections in Indonesia."

³³ Costa Rica et al., "Women's Political Representation: Existing or Coloring," *Journal of Social Democracy* 54, no. 2 (2019): 553–65.

administratively. There are also no specific regulations on serial numbers that ensure women get competitive positions on the list of legislative candidates, and supervision by the KPU and Bawaslu focuses more on administrative aspects, so the impact of regulations on increasing women's participation is difficult to measure. These obstacles are further exacerbated by patriarchal cultural norms and gender stereotypes that are still dominant, which cause women to be considered less competent in the world of politics. In addition, the proportional electoral system with an open list also benefits men with greater access to political resources. The author suggests that there needs to be legal and policy reform that focuses on implementing gender quotas, strengthening legal protection, leadership training, financial support, and education on political rights. For this reason, collective efforts are needed from various parties, both the government, political parties, and civil society, to expand women's access to quality political education so that women can play a more significant and equal role in contributing to political life in Indonesia.

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