

Women's Legislative Representation and the Pursuit of Gender-Mainstreaming in Public Policy Formulation

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Abstract

The representation of women in parliament is expected to yield policies that support women's interests. This study examines legal issues related to women's representation in the legislative process, with the aim of formulating policies that prioritize gender mainstreaming for women. The findings indicate that female representation has successfully produced gender-responsive legal instruments that offer protection against the rising incidence of violence against women. The enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS) constitutes a crucial milestone. Sustained collaboration with relevant stakeholders is essential to ensure the effective implementation of this legislation, including through the formulation of implementing regulations and the enhancement of public awareness. The legislative process undertaken by female legislators in crafting protective policies is inseparable from prevailing cultural challenges. This research constitutes Basic Research employing a socio-legal methodology through qualitative inquiry, utilizing both primary and secondary data sources. The research cluster contributes to assessing the extent to which women's representation in the legislative process advances the formulation of policies that foreground gender mainstreaming. The

objective of this study is to measure the degree to which women's representation in the legislative process contributes to the development of policies that prioritize gender mainstreaming for women. This involves an analysis of the messages and narratives conveyed by parliament during the legislative process, and the identification of key factors influencing the effectiveness of women's representation in promoting gender mainstreaming.

Keywords

Women, Politics, and Gender Mainstreaming

A. Introduction

Historical records demonstrate that women have long contributed to social movements, including in Indonesia, where they have actively participated across various sectors, including politics.¹ Nonetheless, a persistent gap remains in women's participation and representation within formal political structures. This disparity is largely influenced by the enduring dominance of patriarchal culture in Indonesian society. Alfian Rokhmansyah explains that patriarchy originates from the term "patriarchate," which positions men as the primary authority. The patriarchal system embedded in societal culture perpetuates gender injustice and disparities across all aspects of life.²

The perception of patriarchal culture and the stigma surrounding male and female dominance remain deeply entrenched in Indonesian society. This has led to the marginalization of women's status relative to men in the context of gender equality. As individuals and social beings, women should be entitled to equal rights alongside other genders. From a human rights perspective, every citizen is entitled to legal protection equality, and freedom from discrimination, and must be treated equally before the law.³

The essence of gender equality was formally endorsed in 1979 by the United Nations through the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). This convention emphasizes equality between women and men, particularly in education,

¹ Nurcahyo, Abraham. (2016). Relevansi Budaya Patriarki Dengan Partisipasi Politik Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen. AGASTYA: JURNAL SEJARAH DAN PEMBELAJARANNYA. 6. 25. 10.25273/ajsp.v6i01.878.

² Sakina, Ade I., and Dessy H. S. A. (2017) "Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki di Indonesia." Share Social Work Journal, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 71-80.

³ Hardjaloka, Loura. (2012) "Potret Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Wajah Politik Indonesia Perspektif Regulasi Dan Implementasi." *Jurnal Konstitusi*, vol. 9, no. 2.

politics, employment, and social life. Indonesia ratified the convention through Law No. 7 of 1984. Additionally, efforts to promote women's political participation were reinforced through the ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, enacted via Law No. 65 of 1958.⁴

According to Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, women are afforded opportunities to pursue careers in politics. Article 2(2) of the law mandates that political parties include at least 30% female participation in their establishment and formation. Furthermore, Article 2(5) requires that the national-level organizational structure of political parties must also comprise a minimum of 30% female representation. This provision enables women to engage in party leadership, and obliges political parties to broadly cultivate female cadres with potential in the political arena. In the governmental sector, Article 29(1) of Law No. 2 of 2011 stipulates that legislative candidates must meet a 30% female representation threshold.⁵

The General Elections Commission recorded a total of 10,323 legislative candidates from 18 political parties contesting the 2024 elections. Of these, 37.7% (3,896) were female candidates, while 62.3% (6,427) were male. Based on this data, the majority of female legislative candidates across the 18 parties have surpassed the 30% representation threshold. This requirement is also enshrined in Law No. 22 of 2007 on Elections, which mandates that electoral administration must include a minimum of 30% female representation.

Women's involvement is crucial to realizing gender mainstreaming, as awareness of gender perspectives and sensitivity among policymakers, as well as executive and legislative institutions, remains essential. Such involvement is necessary to ensure the creation of legal instruments that prioritize women's interests. Therefore, the presence of women in every stage of policy planning is vital. At the national level, the quota for female candidates has consistently met the minimum 30% threshold. In the 2009 elections, the General Elections Commission announced that 34.6% of the final candidate list (DCT) for the House of Representatives comprised women, increasing to 37% in 2014, and reaching 40% in 2019.

Legal protection for women and citizens in general is the responsibility of the state. The state is obligated to safeguard its citizens

⁴ Fauziah, Marsyifa & Rizki, Mochamad & Ramdani, Rachmat. (2023). The TANTANGAN KETERWAKILAN PEREMPUAN DALAM POLITIK FORMAL. *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Widya Praja*. 49. 12-22. 10.33701/jipwp.v49i1.3034.

⁵ Mulyono, I., (2010). Strategi Meningkatkan Keterwakilan Perempuan

and uphold human rights. This is affirmed in Article 28D(1) of the 1945 Constitution, which states: “Every person shall have the right to recognition, guarantees, protection, and certainty before the law, and equal treatment before the law.”

Equality before the law places men and women on equal footing in voicing their aspirations, including efforts to liberate women from acts of violence. One avenue for expressing such aspirations is through legislative institutions by becoming members of parliament. Women’s participation in legislative bodies and various forms of social movements serve as effective mechanisms for protecting women from violence. It is hoped that increasing the number of women in legislative institutions will result in legal products that support women’s interests. The more women occupy legislative seats, the greater the likelihood that their interests will be represented.

From the perspective of patriarchal culture, women often lack confidence in the political sphere. As noted by Maiwa (2006:31) in Nimrah & Sakaria (2015:177), women’s lives are frequently portrayed in subordinate positions, thereby reinforcing perceptions of weakness, dependence, and lack of autonomy. Such views gain strong legitimacy within the political domain, ultimately favoring patriarchal norms. Various assumptions regarding women’s involvement in politics generally suggest a delayed participation, as persistent stigmas associate women primarily with the domestic sphere. Consequently, only a small number of women actively engage in political life (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015:178).

The low number of women in parliament has implications for the lack of sensitivity toward gender equality issues and other critical challenges faced by women, including protection from violence. Women’s representation in government—both in executive and legislative bodies—is of significant importance. The presence of female legislators is expected to provide access to resolving various issues faced by women, particularly those related to unjust policies concerning their protection.

This study seeks to analyze women’s representation in parliament as a means to promote the development of legislation aligned with women’s aspirations, particularly those aimed at advancing gender mainstreaming. In pursuing policies that protect women from violence, various obstacles are encountered, which will be elaborated and analyzed in this research.

B. Methods

This study adopts a socio-legal approach, also referred to as field research, which constitutes a branch of sociological legal studies. It examines both relevant statutory provisions and the social realities in which those laws operate. In other words, this research is conducted based on real-world scenarios that emerge within society, with the aim of observing, analyzing, and collecting pertinent information; when a problem is identified, relevant data is gathered to facilitate resolution.

Socio-legal research represents an integrative approach that combines legal analysis (juridical) with sociological inquiry. It involves understanding the dynamic interaction between law and society, as well as the social impact of legal systems and public policies. By merging juridical and sociological perspectives, this study offers a comprehensive insight into the complex relationship between women's representation in parliament and the formulation of policies that prioritize gender mainstreaming.

C. Results and Discussion

1. *Recruitment and Political Cadre Development of Women in Political Parties*

Following Women, as subjects entering the political sphere of legislative institutions, must navigate at least three challenging phases: self-selection, selection by political parties, and finally, selection by voters. These stages require women not only to assert their political aspirations but also to gain institutional endorsement and public trust. Beyond ensuring party continuity, recruitment and cadre development serve as a manifestation of a political party's legitimacy and relevance in the eyes of society.

Recruitment and cadre development are essential prerequisites for any political party seeking to build an autonomous and sustainable organizational climate.⁶ In this context, political parties consider various factors when nominating candidates, including personal proximity, kinship ties, financial capital, and social capital.

Barbara Geddes outlines four models of political recruitment commonly employed by parties in candidate selection:⁷

⁶ Haris, Syamsuddin dkk. (2016). *Panduan Rekrutmen Dan Kaderisasi Partai Politik Ideal Di Indonesia, Prinsip Kaderisasi*, (Direktorat Pendidikan dan Pelayanan Masyarakat Kedeputan Pencegahan, Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi Bekerja sama dengan Pusat

⁷ Strøm, K., (2000). Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies. *European journal of political research*, 37(3), pp.261-290.

1. Partisanship Model: Recruitment is based on the candidate's loyalty to the party.
2. Meritocratic Model: Emphasizes high levels of competence and expertise.
3. Compartmentalization Model: Prioritizes short-term strategic gains for the party, often disregarding the candidate's background.
4. Survival Model: Involves reciprocal obligations, where candidacy is granted as a form of political reward or patronage.

Unlike recruitment, cadre development focuses on two principal dimensions. First, it involves the party's efforts to enhance the skills and capacities of its members or cadres. Second, it pertains to the preparation and formation of dedicated individuals capable of advancing the party's vision and mission. Cadre development thus plays a strategic role in ensuring the long-term viability and ideological coherence of political parties.

2. Women in Politics: Recruitment, Cadre Development, and Parliamentary Representation

Following The recruitment process within political parties serves as a strategic effort to engage women in legislative candidacy, drawing from both internal party members and external actors. Cadre development, by contrast, refers to the party's initiative to prepare human resources capable of participating in political contests. Most political parties in Indonesia have established women-focused cadre organizations, such as *Perempuan Bangsa* (affiliated with PKB) and *Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar*, among others. These organizations frequently conduct activities aimed at cadre development and the dissemination of women's issues.

Regarding the recruitment of female candidates, each political party adopts its own policies and procedural pathways. Some parties prioritize internal selection mechanisms, while others open the process to the general public. Nevertheless, a notable pattern has emerged in the recruitment of female legislative candidates, wherein parties appear to recruit women primarily to fulfill quota requirements. Several informants reported being contacted by political parties despite having no prior affiliation or familiarity with party leadership, and were invited to register as candidates. One informant even disclosed that her candidacy was motivated by parental encouragement. These varied recruitment efforts reflect the strategic considerations of political parties in selecting candidates.

Women's representation can be understood as a condition in which women have elected representatives who serve as conduits for articulating women's interests. The affirmative action policy

implemented in Indonesia is essentially a political space expansion mechanism for women. From the perspective of candidate nomination, political parties have largely complied with affirmative action requirements. However, the suboptimal impact of female representation is evident not only in the number of women elected but also in their limited roles and performance as legislators. Moreover, female members of parliament are often perceived as lacking proximity to the broader public. This indicates a representational deficit, marked by a lack of trust in female politicians—even among women themselves.⁸

3. Internal Factors Hindering Women's Representation

Following Internal barriers to women's political representation refer to constraints originating from within the individuals themselves. Based on existing research, at least four key internal factors have been identified.

The first is motivation, which relates to the internal drive that compels individuals to exert effort and pursue goals. Siagian defines motivation as the willingness to mobilize energy and resources to achieve objectives.⁹ However, many women exhibit low levels of political motivation, as evidenced by their limited campaign efforts and lack of engagement with voters.

The second factor concerns socio-economic conditions. Socially, women are often perceived as having weaker networking and socialization skills compared to men. Economically, limited financial resources hinder their ability to conduct effective campaigns, resulting in diminished voter interest. Ahmadi's study confirms that women frequently struggle to secure sponsorship due to perceptions of inexperience.¹⁰

The third internal barrier is the lack of social capital. Putnam describes social capital as the availability of networks, norms, and trust that enhance individual productivity.¹¹ Research indicates that many women lack strong social capital, which undermines their public image and political branding as viable candidates. A study by Syahputra,

⁸ Tomey, S. (2015). *Representation and Trust: Gender Dynamics in Legislative Institutions*. Jakarta: Institute for Political Reform.

⁹ Siagian, S.P. (1995). *Teori Motivasi dan Aplikasinya dalam Dunia Kerja*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.

¹⁰ Ahmadi, F. (2021). *Keterlibatan Perempuan dalam Politik: Tantangan dan Strategi*. Yogyakarta: Gama Press. ¹¹ Putnam, R.D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Muliawati, and Ahmadi reveals that successful female candidates often benefit from familial networks or political dynasties.¹¹

The final factor is limited political experience and knowledge. This is reflected in low levels of confidence and courage among women to run for office and engage with constituents. The absence of political literacy leads some women to perceive candidacy merely as a means to fulfill quota requirements, rather than as a substantive political commitment.

4. External Factors Hindering Women's Political Representation

In addition to internal constraints, there are also external factors—originating outside the individual—that hinder women's political representation. At least four key external factors have been identified.

The first is the electoral system. The implementation of an open-list proportional representation system intensifies competition among candidates. Moreover, Alfiyani (2022) notes that under this system, political parties tend to nominate candidates perceived as financially strong, thereby disadvantaging women with limited economic resources.¹²

The second factor relates to cultural norms and societal beliefs. The persistence of patriarchal values leads to the perception that women are more suited to domestic responsibilities and should not neglect their household duties. This mindset becomes a barrier, as society tends to place greater trust in male candidates. As explained by Pudji (2008), women are often deemed unfit for leadership roles due to assumptions that they are overly emotional, irrational, and governed by feelings.¹³

The third factor is the high cost of political participation, particularly in relation to campaigning, logistics, and operational expenses. In a political culture where financial contributions are often expected, women without substantial economic means face significant disadvantages in mobilizing support and visibility.

The fourth factor concerns the ineffectiveness of political party recruitment and cadre development. The emergence of so-called “instant cadres” reflects the inadequacy of long-term investment in women's political capacity. In many cases, women are recruited merely

¹¹ Syahputra, R., Muliawati, D., & Ahmadi, F. (2021). *Dinasti Politik dan Representasi Perempuan di Indonesia*. Bandung: Pustaka Demokrasi.

¹² Alfiyani, N. (2022). *Sistem Pemilu dan Representasi Perempuan: Studi Kritis atas Proporsional Terbuka di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Demokrasi.

¹³ Pudji, R. (2008). *Budaya Patriarki dan Kepemimpinan Perempuan: Sebuah Kajian Sosial Politik*. Jakarta: Lembaga Kajian Gender dan Demokrasi.

to fulfill the minimum quota requirement, rather than being genuinely prepared or empowered to compete meaningfully in elections.

5. Reconstructing Gender Equality within Parliamentary Standing Committees

A defining feature of a democratic state is the active involvement of its citizens in both political planning and participation. Political participation is a fundamental element of democracy, encompassing the voluntary engagement of individuals or groups in political activities—such as voting in elections, attending public meetings, contacting or lobbying government officials or legislators, joining political parties, or participating in social movements through direct action. As McClosky (1972) defines it, “Political participation refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy.”¹⁴

Theories of democracy, political participation, and electoral systems are essential to understanding the functioning of democratic governance. In this context, citizen participation is not merely desirable but imperative. Fuad (2015) emphasizes that political participation is a necessary condition for democracy.¹⁵ Huntington and Nelson (1994) further define participation as the activities of citizens, as individuals, intended to influence governmental decision-making. In Indonesia’s democratic system, general elections serve as a mechanism through which citizens delegate authority to representatives to make political decisions on their behalf.¹⁶

In practice, political realities in many countries—including Indonesia—demand the inclusion of all societal groups, including women. However, gender disparities in roles and status between men and women remain a persistent issue. The significance of women’s involvement in politics lies in their capacity to influence decisions that directly affect their lives. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees every citizen the right to participate in governance, regardless of gender. Nevertheless, Indonesian women continue to face a dilemma, as prevailing societal perceptions often relegate them to secondary roles behind men.

In essence, women’s political participation refers to the voluntary engagement of women—often organized through political women’s

¹⁴ McClosky, H. (1972). *Political Participation and Democratic Values*.

¹⁵ Fuad, Z. (2015). *Demokrasi dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Demokrasi.

¹⁶ Huntington, S.P., & Nelson, J.M. (1994). *Political Participation in Developing Countries*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

caucuses. These caucuses comprise political observers, women's rights activists, academics, female legislators, and women party cadres, among others. They play a role in the selection of political leaders and, directly or indirectly, in shaping public policy. More broadly, women's participation extends beyond politics into all spheres of life, grounded in their equal rights and responsibilities as citizens. This necessitates a collective and sustained effort by women across all sectors, particularly in politics, which significantly influences the formulation of public policy.

The guarantee of equal status between men and women, especially in governance and legal affairs, is enshrined in Article 27(1) of the 1945 Constitution, which states: "*All citizens shall have equal status before the law and the government and shall be required to respect the law and the government with no exceptions.*"

Several legal instruments have since legitimized women's political participation. Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections affirms this right. Additionally, affirmative action policies—such as those outlined in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and Law No. 8 of 2012 on Legislative Elections—mandate special measures to enhance women's representation. For instance, the Political Party Law requires that at least 30% of party leadership positions be held by women. Similarly, the Legislative Election Law stipulates that a minimum of 30% of candidates nominated for the DPR, DPRD, and DPD must be women, with at least one woman placed among every three candidates on the party list.

6. Affirmative Action Policy: Expanding Political Space for Women

Following the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, affirmative action policies aimed at increasing women's participation in politics began to be implemented through the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning General Elections for members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD. This law introduced provisions requiring political parties participating in elections to ensure a minimum of 30% female representation in legislative nominations, both at the national and regional levels. Article 65(1) of the law explicitly states that political parties may nominate candidates for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD in each electoral district, with due regard to a minimum of 30% female representation.

The affirmative action framework has undergone progressive refinement. This development is reflected in the drafting of the Political Law Package by the House of Representatives (DPR), which served as the legal foundation for the 2009 elections. The package comprises Law

No. 22 of 2007 on Election Organizers, Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties, and Law No. 10 of 2008 on Elections for DPR, DPD, and DPRD members.

Law No. 22 of 2007 stipulates that the composition of election management bodies must include at least 30% female representation. Article 6(5) mandates that the membership of the General Elections Commission (KPU), at the national, provincial, and district/city levels, must reflect a minimum of 30% women.

Within political party structures, affirmative action is also applied to both the establishment and leadership composition. Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties, particularly Article 2, requires that the formation and organization of political parties include at least 30% female representation³. The preceding paragraph of the same article states that a political party must be founded by at least fifty Indonesian citizens aged twenty-one or older, and formalized through a notarial deed.

Affirmative action for women in political parties extends beyond party formation to all levels of leadership, from the central to the district level. The implementation and technical arrangements are delegated to each party through their statutes and bylaws. Article 20 of Law No. 2 of 2008 affirms that party leadership structures at the provincial and district/city levels must also ensure a minimum of 30% female representation.

Furthermore, female representation is a prerequisite for political parties to participate in elections. Law No. 10 of 2008 on Elections for DPR, DPD, and DPRD members states in Article 8(1)(d) that a political party may only contest elections if it meets the requirement of at least 30% female representation in its central leadership.

A more substantial affirmative measure is reflected in the regulation of candidate lists. Article 53 of Law No. 10 of 2008 requires that the list of prospective legislative candidates must include at least 30% women. Article 52 outlines the composition of candidate lists for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD, prepared by political parties participating in the election.

To further strengthen gender representation, the “zipper system” was introduced in candidate list arrangements. Article 55(2) of Law No. 10 of 2008 mandates that within every group of three candidates, at least one must be a woman. Article 55(1) specifies that candidate lists must be arranged by serial number, ensuring a more equitable and strategic distribution of female candidates.

Under the zipper system, political parties are required to place at least one woman within every three consecutive candidate positions.

For example, in a sequence of candidates numbered 1 to 3, at least one must be female. Placement outside this range, such as number 4 or lower, does not fulfill the requirement. Similarly, for candidates numbered 4 to 6, at least one woman must be included.

Although the zipper system has ensured that women's representation in candidate lists reaches the 30% threshold, the expected outcomes have not been substantial due to several structural and cultural factors. First, the system only regulates the order of candidacy without guaranteeing strategic positions that hold greater chances of election, so women are often placed in less competitive slots. Second, political culture remains patriarchal, with networks and patronage dominated by men, while voters tend to trust male candidates more, especially in regions with strong patriarchal traditions. Third, party support for female candidates is often symbolic, aimed merely at fulfilling quotas rather than genuinely promoting electability, compounded by limited access to political training and campaign strategies. Fourth, the open-list proportional system makes individual popularity and campaign networks decisive, meaning that placement in the list does not automatically secure victory. Fifth, the high cost of politics restricts women's access to campaign funding, while donors prefer to back male candidates who are perceived as electorally safer. Thus, the zipper system has indeed increased women's formal representation, but it has not yet translated into substantive representation in legislative seats due to persistent structural, cultural, and financial barriers.

To ensure transparency and oversight of affirmative action implementation, the General Elections Commission (KPU) at all levels is authorized to publicly disclose the percentage of female representation in the final candidate lists of each political party. Article 66(2) of Law No. 10 of 2008 requires that this information be published through national print and electronic media.

7. Efforts to Enhance Women's Representation in Parliament

Following The affirmative action policy mandating a minimum 30% quota for women in legislative nominations represents a significant initial step in promoting gender representation. However, this policy alone is not sufficiently effective unless accompanied by more concrete and strategic affirmative measures. One such measure that could be considered is the allocation of the top position on the candidate list to female legislative candidates in each electoral district. This proposal is

well-founded, given the tendency of voters to prioritize candidates placed in strategic positions, such as number 1 or 2 on the list.¹⁷

This observation is supported by data from the 2019 general election, in which Margret and colleagues (2022) recorded that 48% of elected female legislators held the first position on the candidate list, while 25% were placed second¹⁸.

The representation of women in parliament can be understood through two key dimensions: descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation refers to the numerical presence of women in legislative seats, serving as a symbol of legitimacy and political equality. However, numbers alone do not guarantee that women's issues will be addressed. Substantive representation emphasizes the quality of women's contributions in advancing policies, legislation, and oversight that genuinely reflect and protect women's interests. Internal factors such as political capacity, organizational experience, solidarity among female legislators, and strategic networking play a crucial role in strengthening substantive representation. Meanwhile, external factors—including patriarchal political culture, the gatekeeping role of political parties, civil society support, and affirmative policies like gender quotas—shape the extent to which women can make meaningful contributions. The challenges lie in bridging the gap between numbers and substance, overcoming structural marginalization in strategic positions, and resisting discursive discrimination that often relegates women's issues to secondary importance. Ensuring that women's representation in parliament becomes truly substantive requires institutional reform, capacity building for female legislators, cultural transformation toward inclusivity, and collaboration with civil society so that women's presence is not merely symbolic but a driving force for equitable and just policymaking.

Beyond list placement strategies, public campaigning plays a crucial role in advancing women's representation. Campaigns focused on voter education regarding the importance of electing female legislative candidates contribute to reshaping social perceptions. This is increasingly vital in Indonesia, where entrenched gender stereotypes

¹⁷ Prihatini, E. (2019). Women's Representation in Indonesia: Electoral Dynamics and Strategic Placement. *Journal of Southeast Asian Politics*, 14(2), 45–62.

¹⁸ Margret, M., et al. (2022). Gender and Electoral Success: An Analysis of Female Legislative Candidates in Indonesia's 2019 Elections. *Electoral Studies Indonesia*, 11(1), 78–91.

often lead to voter hesitation in supporting female candidates¹⁹. Such campaigns have the potential to dismantle existing stigmas by affirming that women possess equal capabilities in leadership and political decision-making. Through this approach, women's representation in legislative bodies can increase significantly, while simultaneously strengthening the position and influence of women's voices in parliamentary dynamics.

The enhancement of women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) should not be viewed merely as a numerical achievement or quota fulfillment. Rather, it constitutes an integral part of building an inclusive parliament that reflects the full diversity of Indonesian society. Ensuring proportional participation of women will result in public policies that are more responsive to women's needs and perspectives. Therefore, strengthening women's representation must be positioned as a national strategic agenda—not merely as a symbolic commitment to gender equality, but as a foundational pillar for realizing a more substantive and just democracy.

D. Conclusion

One of the most tangible manifestations of women's human rights in the political sphere is their representation in legislative institutions. Efforts to strengthen such representation have been accommodated through affirmative action policies embedded in political party regulations and electoral legislation. Under Indonesia's electoral law, affirmative action stipulates that political parties may only participate in elections if they meet the requirement of at least 30% female representation in their central executive structure, and include no less than 30% women in their list of legislative candidates. These provisions have undergone several revisions, most recently through Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, which was subsequently amended by Law No. 7 of 2023 as the ratification of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2022 concerning Amendments to Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections.

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia provides a strong foundation for the protection of human rights, including women's political rights. These guarantees are enshrined in Article 27 paragraphs (1) and (2), Article 28, and Article 28D paragraph (3). In addition, women's political rights are reinforced through a series of statutory instruments, including Law No. 68 of 1958 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, Law No. 7 of

¹⁹ Jayani, M., et al. (2024). Voter Perceptions and Gender Bias in Indonesian Elections. Jakarta: Institute for Democratic Participation.

1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, and Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, as amended by Law No. 7 of 2023.

Collectively, these legal frameworks affirm that women possess full rights and freedoms to participate in political life, including the right to vote and to be elected in general elections, the right to make political choices freely, and the right to hold public office.

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Publishing Ethical and Originality Statement

All authors declared that this work is original and has never been published in any form and in any media, nor is it under consideration for publication in any journal, and all sources cited in this work refer to the basic standards of scientific citation.

Generative AI Statement

Following this process, the authors critically reviewed, edited, and validated the output to ensure accuracy and scientific integrity. The author(s) maintain full accountability for the final content. No original data analysis or interpretations were performed by the AI without human oversight.