

Women's Representation in Political Development in Indonesia: Examining Gender Discrimination and Patriarchal Culture

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Abstract

This research study explores women's representation in Indonesia's political development, highlighting the challenges and progress made. Despite an increase in the number of women in the DPR by the 2024 election to 22.1%, major challenges remain in achieving equitable representation. Qualitative research methods were used, involving interviews with female politicians, academics, and activists, as well as a documentation study of relevant policies. The findings show that the 30% quota policy for women in general elections faces various obstacles, including resistance from political parties and inconsistent KPU policies. Gender discrimination and patriarchal culture hinder women's representation in the legislature and executive. In addition, the rounding down policy in KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2023 is considered to hinder the fulfillment of the women's quota. Recommendations include political policy reform, improved political education, and support for women in political careers. Increasing women's representation in leadership positions in the legislature is considered key to achieving sustainable development goals. This research provides insight into the important role of women's representation in strengthening democracy and inclusive political development in Indonesia.

Keywords: Women, Representation, Development, Gender Equality, Political, Participation.

Women's representation in the context of political development in Indonesia has significant importance, one of which is in political institutions (Aspinall et al., 2021). Women's representation in political institutions can ensure that the diverse perspectives and interests of the community, including women and girls, are reflected in the decision-making process. Gender differences often influence life

experiences, needs and political aspirations, which can be overlooked if there is not enough representation. By representing half the population, women's representation strengthens the legitimacy of political institutions. A more inclusive representation can increase public trust in the government and legislature. In addition, women's representation can also increase public accountability as they tend to be more sensitive

to social and welfare issues that are important to society at large (Lubis et al., 2024).

Women often pay special attention to issues such as education, health, and family welfare. Greater representation in the policy-making process can ensure that these issues receive adequate attention and that the resulting policies respond to society's real needs (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023). Higher representation of women can provide examples and inspire young women to engage in politics and public life more broadly. This strengthens women's political participation as agents of social and political change in society.

A healthy democracy requires equitable participation from all elements of society, including gender (Christoper et al., 2024). Adequate representation of women is one indicator of democratic health, as it shows that every citizen has an equal opportunity to be involved in the political and decision-making process. While women's representation is widely recognized, Indonesia still faces various challenges in achieving equitable representation. These include gender stereotypes, a strong patriarchal culture, economic barriers, and a political system that does not yet fully support gender inclusion. In Indonesia, although the number of female voters is almost equal to that of male voters, women's representation in the legislative and executive branches of government is far from equal. For example, in the 2019 legislative elections, women only occupied around 20% of the total seats in the House of Representatives, which is only a slight increase from previous elections.

The first democratic election after the New Order in 1999 resulted in fewer women in the DPR than in the three New Order elections. Since the 1987 elections, the percentage of women in the DPR has never fallen from double digits: 1987 (13.0 per cent), 1992 (12.5 per cent), and 1997 (10.8 per cent). However, the percentage of women in the DPR in the 1999 election was only 9.0 per cent (PuskapolUI, 2011). This situation has encouraged women's

organizations to launch a movement to increase women's representation in parliament through affirmative action policies in the form of a 30 percent quota for women in democratic elections.

The affirmation policy towards women in the political field after the enactment of the 1945 Constitution changes began with the enactment of Law Number 12/2003 concerning Elections for DPR, DPD, and DPRD. Increasing women's representation is attempted by providing provisions for political parties participating in the election to pay attention to women's representation of at least 30 per cent in nominating candidates for DPR, DPD and DPRD members. Refinement continues to be carried out, followed by changes to Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning Election Organizers regulating the composition of election organizers to pay attention to women's representation of at least 30 per cent (Aulya et al., 2022).

Law No. 2/2008 on Political Parties also regulates the requirements for establishing political parties by requiring political parties to include a minimum of 30 per cent representation of women in the establishment and management at the central level. Political parties can only participate in elections if they have implemented at least 30 per cent of women's representation in their management at the central level. This affirmation is regulated in Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD. While perfecting affirmative action towards women in politics, the KPU issued a PKPU, which states that the quota of female candidates will be rounded down if the calculation contains numbers below 0.5. PKPU Number 10 of 2023 article 8 contains the calculation of 30 per cent of the number of female candidates in each Dapil produces fractional numbers. So, if the two decimal places behind the comma are less than 50, the calculation results are rounded down. While 50 or more, the calculation result is rounded up (Rahmanto et al., 2021).

For example, if eight candidates are in an electoral district, the 30 per cent female representation is 2.4. Because the number behind the decimal is less than 5, rounding down applies. As a result, women's representation out of eight candidates in the electoral district is only two people considered to have met the requirements. This article is different from the 2019 Election regulation in Article 6 paragraph (2) of KPU Regulation No. 20/2018, which stipulates that if the calculation of 30% of the number of female candidates in each electoral district produces a fractional number, rounding up is carried out.

Of course, the existence of Article 8 paragraph (2) PKPU No. 10 of 2023 is a step backwards because Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) through Law No.7/1984. In addition, the struggle to maintain 30 per cent political affirmation is a very long step until it is outlined in Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections. The existence of Article 8 paragraph (2) PKPU No. 10 of 2023 is undoubtedly problematic because it will hinder the fulfilment of the 30 per cent quota for female legislative candidates. This article also contradicts Article 245 of Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections and the constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The KPU is considered against the norm and unconstitutional because it contradicts Article 28H paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which states that everyone is entitled to ease and special treatment to obtain equal opportunities and benefits to achieve equality and justice.

This article will hinder many women who have the opportunity to become legislative members to fight for aspirations for equality, empowerment, welfare, anti-violence and justice for women. Komnas Perempuan considers the argument that Article 8 Paragraph (2) PKPU 10/2023 fulfils the elements of discrimination, namely different ideologies, actions, consequences and impacts on men and women. The policy of rounding down becomes a

discriminatory policy because it prevents women from being elected as members of the legislature and results in women being hindered, obstructed, or unable to enjoy their human rights, especially the right to be elected. Through a judicial review of Article 8 paragraph (2) of PKPU Number 10/2023 concerning the Nomination of Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and City Regency DPRD, the Supreme Court through decision Number 24 P / HUM / 2023, cancelled the provisions regarding decimal rounding down numbers less than 50 behind a comma. This applies to the calculation of 30% of the number of female legislative candidates or backlog in each electoral district as stated in Article 8 paragraph (2) PKPU Number 10/2023.

The Supreme Court decided that the provisions of Article 8 paragraph (2) PKPU 10/2023 do not have binding legal force. The decision was issued after Perludem filed the judicial review because it considered KPU's mistake in drafting the norms of KPU regulations. Supreme Court Decision No. 24 P/HUM/2023 granted the request from the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) and friends. The Supreme Court stated that Article 8 Paragraph (2) of KPU Regulation No. 10/2023 on the Nomination of Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency / City DPRD is contrary to higher legislation, namely Law No. 7/2017 on Elections. (Kompas, 2023)

The low representation of women has an impact on the formulation of policies that pay less attention to gender issues and the unique needs of women in society. This can reduce the effectiveness of policies in improving welfare and gender equality, as well as slowing progress towards sustainable development goals. The importance of addressing the issue of women's representation in political development in Indonesia cannot be ignored, given the significant contribution that women can make to national development. Improving women's representation is an essential step in ensuring gender equality and combating the

discrimination that still exists in various aspects of social and political life. Better representation of women will strengthen Indonesia's democracy by broadening political participation and enriching the decision-making process with multiple perspectives. Expanding women's opportunities to engage in politics will help develop the full potential of Indonesian society by ensuring that women's talents and qualifications can contribute optimally.

Strong women's representation will help ensure sustainable development agendas, such as poverty reduction, economic empowerment and social justice, can be achieved more effectively. By exploring and understanding the background of the problem and the relevance of the importance of women's representation in Indonesia's political development, strategic steps can be formulated to improve the situation and achieve more significant progress in achieving national and international development goals. Future steps include gender awareness, political policy reform, the formation of advocacy coalitions, and increasing women's access to political education and training. By increasing women's representation in politics, Indonesia can optimize the full potential of all its citizens to build a more just, inclusive, and politically and socially sustainable society.

This research will analyze the importance of women's representation and investigate why it is essential in the context of political development in Indonesia. This includes its impact on gender justice, the quality of democracy, and the achievement of sustainable development goals. The research will examine the actual contribution of women's representation to inclusive policymaking and its influence on social welfare, education, and the economy.

Literature Review

This research uses the theory of political development and representation. According to Lucian W. Pye (1965), political development theory refers to an approach that considers the

complex interactions between political, social, and cultural factors in a country's development process. Lucian W. Pye, a highly respected American political scientist, developed this theory in response to the need to understand political dynamics in various countries' ongoing social and economic transformations.

Pye emphasized that political development is not simply a technical or economic process but a complex process involving sustained political, social and cultural transformation. The theory highlights the importance of understanding the interaction between formal political institutions, social structures, and cultural values in shaping a country's development direction and outcomes. In addition, Pye emphasizes the critical role of political elites in shaping and directing the development process. A country's political culture also strongly influences how policies and reforms are implemented. The theory recognizes the importance of political stability in supporting long-term development but also acknowledges that controlled and inclusive political change can catalyze reform and development. Pye (1965) suggested that each country has its unique context, influencing how the political development process is implemented. However, globalization can also affect a country's political and economic dynamics.

This theory has several important implications, including seeing the importance of understanding local political culture and social values in designing effective and sustainable development policies, the need to pay attention to the complex interactions between political, economic and cultural factors in the analysis of a country's development and emphasizing the importance of political elite participation in promoting reforms that support inclusive and sustainable development. As such, Lucian W. Pye's (1965) Theory of Political Development provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how political processes contribute to a country's development, recognizing the complexities and dynamics involved in this process.

Meanwhile, political representation theory addresses how representatives in a political system fight for and represent the interests and preferences of the groups or individuals they represent (Bonafont, 2020). This theory examines various aspects, including who is represented, how representation is carried out, and whether the representation is effective or not. Many representation theories are common (Nasution et al., 2023). When looking at Indonesia, in the context of women's representation in Indonesia, the theory of representation that can be used to understand the challenges and potential solutions in increasing women's representation in political institutions is descriptive representation theory; we can evaluate the extent to which women in Indonesia are proportionally represented in the DPR. Overall, political representation theory helps us to understand the dynamics, challenges, and strategies needed to ensure that all citizens, including women, can be pretty and effectively represented in the political process (Lubis et al., 2024).

The study of women's representation in political development in Indonesia is especially related to the role of women in political policy-making. Researchers have not found many references or studies that discuss this issue in depth. In their search, researchers only found a few references related to the theme of women's representation in political development in Indonesia, primarily related to the role of women in political policy-making. One of the research journals written by Ulfatun hasanah and Najahan Musyak sees that policy changes the need that women increasingly required to enter the public world because their thoughts are also needed. At the same time, men also need to be sensitive and more intensively involved in domestic activities because both have the same value (Hasanah & Musyafak, 2017).

Ulfatun sees that women's representation in the 30% affirmative action can already represent women's representation in political development. This view is based on Ulfatun's view that the role

of women still cannot be separated from the domestic role of gender. When examined further, researchers have not seen an in-depth discussion about women's representation in the journal written by Ulfatun. The journal discusses more about gender issues in general from a sociological view, but it is still less detailed and not in-depth to discuss political development studies. So, this research still needs a more serious study.

Another research that also raises the theme of women's representation in political development is a study conducted by Tania Ellena Dharmanto and Victor Immanuel; they argue that women are normatively also allowed to voice their aspirations in the legislature to further play a role in making laws and regulations as stipulated in the Election Law which regulates the affirmation policy that political parties include a minimum of 30% women's representation. However, in reality, political women are still a minority group in Indonesia. The limited role of women in Indonesian politics can be seen in the number of members of parliament who represent women because the affirmative policy in the Election Law is not directly proportional to the culture of Indonesian voters to entrust public positions in parliament to women. The affirmative policy eventually became formal and had no significant impact. This situation has an impact on women's access to and aspirations for lawmaking in Indonesia (Dharmanto & Nalle, 2022).

The study conducted by Tania and Viktor is quite comprehensive in looking at women's representation in politics. Tania argues that normatively, Indonesia must reaffirm women's political rights and encourage true partnership between men and women in the discourse of political issues. However, this study generally focuses more on the legal aspects of women's representation in forming laws through affirmative action rules. The study does not delve deeper into the role and representation of politics, especially in policymaking in the political sphere. One other study that raised similar issues was Anifatul Kiftiyah (2019), who

concluded that the lack of women in politics is the existence of cultural and religious doctrines governing women; this is reinforced by the role of men who take over more potential sectors so that the role of women in politics is not so visible. The results of the studies above show that studies on affirming women's representation in political development, especially those focusing on women's representation in political policymaking, are still relatively few and not very in-depth. Therefore, this study will be a new reference in discussing the representation of women's roles in political development.

Methods and Procedures

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach to explore women's representation in politics in Indonesia (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Data was collected through in-depth interviews with 20 participants consisting of women politicians, academics, and activists, as well as through documentation studies of policies and reports related to women's representation. The data collection process was conducted by arranging an interview schedule and developing a flexible interview guide to suit the needs of the respondents.

Data analysis techniques were conducted thematically, starting with the collection and organization of data in the form of transcripts and field notes. The data was then subjected to reduction, where irrelevant information was filtered out and important information was highlighted. Analysis was conducted by identifying key themes that emerged from the data, such as factors influencing women's participation in politics, the impact of affirmation policies, and women's strategies for overcoming political obstacles. Data validity and reliability were checked through triangulation, by comparing findings from different data sources and perspectives, as well as by consulting with experts to ensure consistency and trustworthiness of the research results (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018).

In terms of research ethics, the researcher obtained informed consent from each participant before the interview was conducted, providing a full explanation of the purpose of the research and the rights of respondents. Confidentiality of participants' identities and sensitive information was strictly maintained, using pseudonyms to protect privacy. The results of the study are reported with full transparency, reflecting the data and findings analyzed without manipulation, to make a meaningful contribution to understanding and improving women's representation in politics and informing policies that support women's participation more effectively.

Results

Discrimination, violence, and injustice against women are not something that happens suddenly and casually but continuously and systematically so that it is accepted as usual and proper. Patriarchal societies and states consider and position women as an essential group. However, on the other hand, women are victims of many patriarchal and sexist living practices and state policies, such as high rates of violence against women, children, and communities, maternal mortality rates, and low numbers of women in Parliament, in social organizations and other public spheres. The term patriarchy is used to describe a social system or ideology in which men, as the dominant group, control power over women.

This social system is in line with the belief or ideology that men have a higher status than women and that men should control women. Ethical and legal standards are also two-tiered standards that give more rights to men than women, in addition to being based on patriarchy. Establishing relationships between men and women in a patriarchal society creates inequality between the sexes. Gender inequality is a system and structure in which men and women are equally victimized, but it is women who are by far the most victimized by gender inequality.

The development of women's representation in Indonesian politics in recent years shows some crucial patterns that reflect efforts and challenges in achieving gender equality in the political sphere. Although there has been progress in women's representation in the legislature, this figure is still far from the expected target. In the 2019 legislative elections, women only occupied around 20% of the total seats in the House of Representatives. This represents a slow increase from previous elections and is still below both international aspirational targets and Indonesia's Election Law, which stipulates a minimum of 30% women's representation. In the 2024 elections, according to Perludem's study, women's representation increased to 22.1% or 128 seats out of 580 DPR seats. This figure is 1.6% higher than the 2019 elections with 20.5% women's representation (118/575). The results of the 2024 DPR elections also became the highest achievement of women's representation in Indonesia's electoral history (Perludem, 2024).

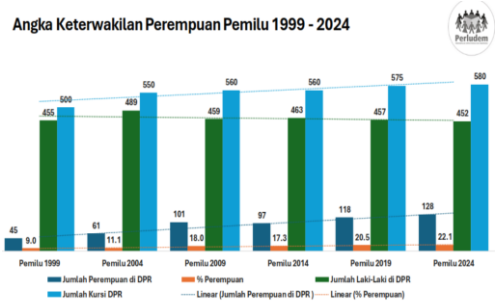


Figure 1. Percentage of Women in the DPR
Source: (Perludem, 2024)

The affirmative action policy that requires political parties to nominate a minimum of 30% women in the list of legislative candidates has become a focal point in efforts to increase women's representation. However, the implementation of this policy still faces various obstacles, including resistance from some political parties and challenges in implementing the policy at the local level. At the local government level, women's representation is also uneven. Although there has been an increase in the number of women elected as regional heads or deputy regional heads, this figure is still far from proportional representation.

Table 1. Development of Women's Representation Regulations in Indonesian Law

No	Law	Policy
1	Article 13 paragraph (3) of Law Number 31 Year 2002 on Political Parties	Regulating the management of political parties must be chosen with due regard to gender equality and justice, which is achieved through a significant increase in the number of women in the management of political parties at every level.
2	Law Number 12 Year 2003 on Elections of DPR, DPD, and DPRD	Taking into account women's representation of at least 30% in nominating candidates for members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD.
3	Law No. 22/2007 on Election Organizers	The composition of the election organizers shall pay attention to women's representation of at least 30%.
4	Law No. 2/2008 on Political Parties	Requires political parties to include a minimum of 30% women's representation in the establishment and management at the central level.
5	Law No. 10 Year 2008 on Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD	Political parties can only participate in elections if they have implemented at least 30% women's representation in their management at the central level.
6	Article 53 of Election Law No. 10/2008	Provisions regarding the list of candidates with at least 30% women's representation.

7	Article 55 paragraph (2) of Law No. 10 Year 2008	Application of zipper system: that every 3 (three) candidates there must be at least 1 (one) woman.
8	Article 66 paragraph 2 of Law No. 10/2008	The Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU), Provincial KPU, and Regency/City KPU are authorized to notify the public.
9	Article 55 of Law Number 8/2012 on General Elections	The list of candidates contains at least 30% women's representation.
10	Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections	The involvement of women, namely as election organizers, both KPU and Bawaslu, political party management and registration of legislative candidates, each must include at least 30% of women's representation.
11	Article 8 Paragraph (2) of KPU Regulation Number 10 Year 2023	Regulates the calculation of 30 percent of the number of female legislative candidates in each electoral district. If the calculation results in a fractional number with two decimal places behind the comma worth less than 50 (fifty), the calculation results will be rounded down.

Source: Data processed by the author 2024

Article 8, paragraph (2) of KPU Regulation Number 10 Year 2023, the KPU states that one woman out of four candidates meets the 30% count. The article regulates the rounding down mechanism to calculate 30% of the number of female candidates. The Supreme Court later canceled the article on August 29, 2023. Indeed, when the decision was issued, political parties had proposed lists of candidates. However, the candidate determination stage is still far away (not yet determined). However, until the election ended, the KPU did not revise PKPU or regulate the legal certainty of political parties that had registered their candidates (Detik, 2024).

This had a long-term result: the Constitutional Court granted the Prosperous Justice Party's (PKS) petition in part regarding women's representation in the Gorontalo 6 electoral district. The Constitutional Court asked the KPU to conduct a re-voting (PSU) in the Gorontalo 6 electoral district. In reading the verdict results in case Number 125-01-08-29/PHPU, DPR-DPRD-XXII/2024, Chief Justice Suhartoyo said the Constitutional Court granted the Petitioner's petition in part. It stated that the results of the votes of political parties and candidates for the Gorontalo Provincial DPRD along the Gorontalo 6 electoral district must be re-voted. The Constitutional Court also annulled the Decision of the General Election Commission Number 360 of 2024 concerning

the Determination of General Election Results dated March 20, 2024, insofar as it concerns the vote acquisition for Candidates for Gorontalo Provincial DPRD Dapil Gorontalo 6. In its consideration, the Constitutional Court considered that the KPU had ignored the Supreme Court (MA) Number 24 P/HUM/2023 decision regarding women's representation. This then resulted in the non-fulfilment of the provisions of women's representation in the DCT in the Gorontalo DPRD Gorontalo 6. The Constitutional Court considers that the KPU, as a state institution, should be able to understand and comply with the Supreme Court's decision. Moreover, the Supreme Court's decision has permanent legal force.

The Court emphasized that the 30% quota must be understood as a form of balancing the representation of women and men as legislative members. In addition, it guarantees and provides more significant opportunities for women to be elected in an election. However, the Constitutional Court considered that the KPU ignored the Supreme Court's decision. As a result, the KPU ranks at the lower level set the DCT for DPRD members, even though women's representation was not fulfilled.

Figure 1 above shows that many electoral districts still have problems because they have not met the minimum quota of 30 per cent of women. However, there are no challenges to the

Constitutional Court against these electoral districts. Women's representation in the number of candidates cannot accommodate women in the nomination. Despite some progress, significant challenges remain in achieving equitable and impactful representation of women in Indonesian politics. Various parties, including political parties, government, civil society, and international institutions, need a more substantial commitment to continue pushing the gender equality agenda and accelerate change towards more inclusive and effective representation of women in Indonesia's political development.

The role of political parties

The role of political parties and the electoral system play a crucial role in determining the level of women's representation in politics.

Either directly or indirectly, these two factors can encourage or hinder women's active participation in the political process. Political parties have a major role in determining who will be nominated as candidates in general elections. Women's involvement in the party's internal decision-making process to nominate candidates is very important. Internal party policies that support women's representation in the candidate list can significantly increase the number of women elected.

Many countries, including Indonesia, implement affirmative action policies that require political parties to nominate at least a certain number of women in general elections. This policy aims to address the existing gender representation gap.

Table 2. Comparison of Affirmative Policies in ASEAN

Comparison Aspect	Country					
	Indonesian	Philippines	Thailand	Vietnam	Singapore	Malaysia
System	Proportional Open	First Past The Post	Combination of single member election system (Single-Member Constituencies) and proportional list	Single list (single-tier single ballot system)	Single list (single-member constituency system).	Single list (single-member constituency system).
Female Quota	30%	Voluntary	30%	25%	None	30%
Legislative member results	22,1 %	28%	15,7 %	26,7%	29,5 %	14,9%

Source: Data processed by the author 2024

However, the implementation of this policy often still faces challenges, especially in encouraging political parties to comply with the quota set. Many women in parliament are elected because of political dynasties such as the wives of regional heads or from famous circles such as artists, which should be with this policy political parties can provide political education to involve more women who are competent to enter parliament The interests of women are more than that, because the unstoppable flow of democratization has resulted in many demands for interests regarding the issues and rights of women and children, therefore women representatives are needed with a central position of policy makers at the central and regional

levels that are representative The placement of the number one position in the list of election candidates is also rarely occupied by women, accounting for only 128 candidates out of 580 candidates in the 2024 Legislative Elections. Of this number, only 73 female candidates were elected as members of the DPR RI.

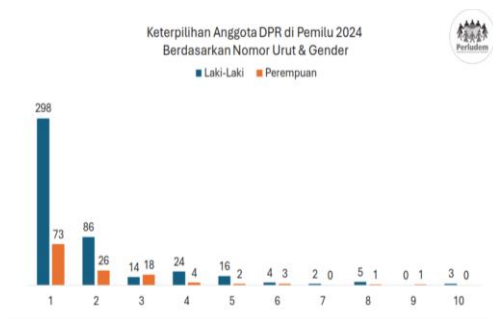


Figure 2. Election of Female Legislative Members in the 2024 Election
Source: (Perludem, 2024)

Women do not find it easy to present their interests when they become legislature members. In addition, the problem is that women in parliament do not support the interests of women themselves because political parties only want to fulfil regulations and do not attract women who are competent in politics. (Umagapi, 2020). The data shows that in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2014-2019 period, no female member of the House of Representatives managed to occupy the position of Chairperson of the Commission. Only one woman has held the position of Chairperson of the House Organs (AKD), namely the Chairperson of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Agency (BKSAP). There are no women who are in the leadership of the Legislation Body. The other position achieved by women is vice chairman in AKD.

Meanwhile, the leadership element in DPD has recorded only one woman who served as Vice Chairwoman of DPD RI for two periods since 2004. Women's Representation in DPD has consistently increased in the last three election cycles, which is also the basis for encouraging an increase in women in leadership positions in DPD.

Women's Representation in the Leadership Position of the DPR RI Legislative Institution for the 2019-2024 period: For the first time in the history of the Indonesian parliament, this

legislative body placed a woman in the leadership position of the DPR RI. In addition to Puan, who occupies an important position, Meutya Hafid is also the Chairperson of Commission I, which deals with Defense, Foreign Affairs, Communication and Information, and Intelligence, and Felly Estelita Runtuwene is the Chairperson of Commission IX in charge of Health, Employment, Population.

Political parties can be necessary in empowering women to engage more actively in politics. This includes providing political training, fair campaign funding, and facilitating women's access to political networks and other resources needed to compete in electoral processes. The internal culture of political parties also affects women's engagement. Parties that have an inclusive culture and support gender equality tend to encourage women's active participation more than parties that still adhere to a patriarchal and restrictive culture. The electoral system used in a country or region can directly impact women's Representation. For example, open-list proportional systems tend to be more supportive of women's Representation than single-majority systems. Proportional systems allow parties to place more women on candidate lists and retain their seats based on the percentage of votes obtained.

Policies such as quotas and preferential mechanisms (e.g. open lists) can directly affect the likelihood of women being elected. Effectively implemented quotas can provide the impetus for parties to recruit and support more women in elections. Electoral systems also influence how political parties and candidates can address gender issues in their campaigns. Systems that support gender representation usually allow the gender agenda to be better integrated into political platforms and attract the support of voters who are sensitive to these issues. In the Indonesian context, while there have been steps towards gender inclusion in politics, significant challenges still must be overcome. A solid patriarchal culture and resistance to change in some political parties

remain a significant barrier. Improved political education, changes in party organizational culture, and stricter enforcement of affirmative action policies can help improve this condition. Thus, the role of political parties and electoral systems impacts not only the gender composition of politics but also the fairness and effectiveness of the political process as a whole.

Political Development and Legitimacy

Women's representation in political institutions is essential because it ensures that people's diverse perspectives, life experiences and interests are reflected in decision-making. Women often bring particular attention to issues such as education, health, family welfare, and social justice, which are essential to society. With sufficient representation, these interests are more likely to be heard and championed in policy-making.

Women's representation also strengthens the legitimacy of political institutions. People tend to have more trust in governments and legislative bodies that represent inclusively all elements of the population, including gender. Women's involvement in decision-making can also increase public accountability, as they tend to be more sensitive to social and welfare issues that are important to society. Female solid representation can also serve as a model and inspiration for young women to engage more actively in politics and public life. This strengthens women's political participation as agents of social and political change and supports the broader empowerment of women in various fields of life. With this role model, it is hoped that there will be increased awareness and motivation for women to participate in politics.

Adequate representation of women in policy-making can ensure that gender issues and women's specific needs are adequately accommodated. The resulting policies have more opportunities to respond to the real needs of society comprehensively and inclusively. This contributes to improving the quality of policies that support sustainable development and achieve broader development goals. Women's

significant representation in political institutions can influence the public policy agenda by including issues related to education, health, employment, violence against women, and others. Women often focus on social and family welfare issues important to the broader community. Their presence in decision-making processes can ensure that policies are more inclusive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the community, including women.

Women's significant representation can also serve as a model and inspiration for young women to engage in politics and public life more broadly. This strengthens women's political participation as agents of social and political change and leads to more general empowerment of women in various aspects of life. Women's representation in political development, especially in Indonesia, is not only important as a form of gender justice but also an essential strategy to achieve more inclusive, sustainable and democratic political development. A joint commitment from various parties, including the government, political parties, civil society, and academics, is needed to continue fighting for increased representation of women in politics and overcome the existing challenges.

The results of this study show that despite an increase in the number of women in the DPR in the 2024 election to 22.1%, significant challenges in achieving equitable representation remain. This finding aligns with previous studies, which have also noted an increase in the women's quota but identified resistance from political parties and cultural constraints that hinder the achievement of the quota. However, this study offers a new contribution by focusing on the rounding down policy in KPU Regulation Number 10 Year 2023, which has not been widely discussed in the literature. The findings reveal that the policy has the potential to hinder the fulfilment of the women's quota, in contrast to the findings of [Researcher Name] (Year), which highlighted more internal challenges of political parties and less emphasized the regulatory aspects.

This study also expands the understanding of the influence of patriarchal culture in Indonesian politics, recognizing the limitations of previous studies that may have focused more on the quota aspect without considering the cultural dimension in depth. With in-depth interviews and more detailed policy analysis, this study offers a new perspective on improving policies to increase women's representation. The main difference from other studies is the emphasis on regulatory aspects, their impact on quota policy implementation, and recommendations for political policy reform and improved political education as solutions. The findings are expected to provide additional insights for policymakers and practitioners to achieve better representation of women in Indonesia.

Discussion

The results of this study show that women's representation in Indonesian politics still faces significant challenges despite affirmative policies that set a 30% quota. This finding aligns with previous studies that show that affirmative policies still need to successfully overcome cultural and structural constraints that limit women's participation in politics. Hasanah and Musyafak (2017) emphasized the importance of women's participation in the public sphere and the need for men's involvement in domestic activities. Although their analysis focuses on the need for women's participation in general, they do not discuss how affirmative policies affect women's political representation in depth. This study builds on these findings by showing that affirmative policies, while aimed at increasing representation, still need to address women's challenges in politics fully.

Research by Dharmanto and Nalle (2022) reveals that despite legal provisions for women's representation, the culture and perceptions of Indonesian society often act as barriers. Our findings support this by showing that affirmative action policies have not significantly changed women's representation in the DPR. This

suggests a gap between policy objectives and implementation, aligning with their findings. Kiftiyah (2019) mentions that cultural and religious doctrines reinforce traditional gender roles and inhibit women's participation in politics. This research adds to that understanding by identifying how these cultural factors continue to affect the effectiveness of affirmative action policies. Our findings show that although policies have been implemented, cultural and structural constraints remain a significant challenge that must be overcome.

This study also finds that women's roles in political policymaking have not been proportionally represented, an issue that needs to be addressed in depth in previous studies. Focusing on women's representation in policymaking, this study provides new insights into how affirmative policies can be improved to address the existing underrepresentation. This research confirms the need for a more comprehensive approach to improving women's representation in Indonesian politics. While affirmative policies provide an essential foundation, the results show that cultural and structural challenges require further attention. As such, this research significantly contributes to understanding the dynamics of women's representation and provides recommendations for future policy improvements.

Conclusion

This research reveals that significant elections and challenges remain despite a slight increase in women's representation in Indonesia's political institutions, which will rise to 22.1% by 2024. Such challenges include resistance from political parties, cultural constraints rooted in patriarchal norms, and problematic regulations such as KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2023 that impede the achievement of a 30% quota for women in legislative positions. The findings show that despite attempts at affirmative legislation and policies such as the 30% quota, actual implementation

needs to be more consistent and often faces resistance. The study also emphasizes the importance of women's representation in enhancing democratic legitimacy, influencing policymaking, and effectively addressing social welfare issues. Several recommendations are suggested to address these challenges and increase women's representation in politics.

First, regulations must be breached with legal standards and Supreme Court decisions. Second, political parties should expand training and support programs for women interested in politics, including providing resources, political education, and mentorship. Third, efforts should be made to address and challenge cultural stereotypes and patriarchal norms that inhibit women's participation in politics through public awareness campaigns. Fourth, enforcement of gender quotas needs to be strengthened by ensuring effective implementation and proportional representation of women.

Finally, political parties are encouraged to adopt more inclusive internal practices that support and promote women to leadership positions within party structures. The author suggests that these measures can contribute to fairer political representation and improve the effectiveness of policies that address women's issues. By taking these steps, Indonesia can come closer to achieving a more inclusive and representative political system. Limitations of this study include the scope of the analysis which may not cover all cultural and local aspects that affect women's representation. Therefore, future research is expected to expand the analysis by focusing on local cultural factors and their impact on women's representation, as well as exploring more deeply the effectiveness of affirmative policies and political training at the regional level. With this approach, it is hoped that Indonesia can achieve a more inclusive and representative political system in the future.

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