



The Inclusive Democracy in Political Contestation: Overview of Political Dynamics of Gender Mainstreaming from The Perspective of Feminism

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Abstract- Ahead of the commended ceremonial of democracy in Indonesia in 2024, the issue of gender equality has become an endless and ongoing topic that continues to be expressed at the executive and legislative levels. The issue of gender equality encompasses a substantive understanding of the policy perspective on gender itself. Therefore, the gender movement became mainstream in developing countries, including Indonesia. In the democratization process, more significant women's participation in politics, representation, and accountability are required to realize a more meaningful democracy in Indonesia. Meaningful democracy considers and accommodates most Indonesian people's interests, including women. The idea that politics is not a realm for women is an idea that has been consistently elevated for centuries, and it has proven to be highly effective in limiting women from entering this realm. Public and private terminology, closely related to gender concepts, gender roles, and stereotypes, has generated inequality and injustice between women and men. The discussion begins with the dominant patriarchal culture in society and even the country, resulting in the difficulty of changing the perspective that politics is an important public realm that women can enter. Consequently, the number of potential women in this realm remains insignificant to compete with men who have been constructed to be more advanced than women. The encouragement for women to enter the public realm has increased, but the percentage remains low despite the legal provisions.

Keywords : *Election, Women, Feminism*

I. INTRODUCTION

The low participation of women in political institutions results in the various interests of women being less accommodated in several political decisions because some political decisions tend to have a masculine nature and lack a gender perspective. In contrast, the major political decisions continuously involve women as their targets. The legal facts regulating a 30% quota for women's representation to increase the number of women in legislative institutions have been regulated in several election-related laws. Moreover, compared to previous elections, laws and regulations in the 2014 elections are more numerous and detailed. However, the number of women who eventually became members of the RI House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia), hereinafter abbreviated as DPR RI in the 2014-2019 period, decreased from 101 people or 17.86% to 79 people or 14% of the total 560 elected members.[1] It must be critically investigated because the results are inversely proportional to the nomination rate of women candidates, which increased in the 2014 general election. Women and men have their respective places in social life. Furthermore, both can occupy their positions without becoming less equal because thought and intelligence determine the equal value between men and women.

In reality, political reform in Indonesia has provided significant expectancy for women whose political rights have been constrained. Movements occur through various efforts to empower women's rights, particularly destructive political rights. However, this reform era has failed to eliminate the apathy and powerlessness of women imposed for decades by a hegemonic and repressive political system.[2] The demographic data reveals that the female population in Indonesia is more significant than that of males. Similarly, the number of female voters is also higher. However, the number does not guarantee significant representation of women in the political process.[3]

It started in the 2004 and 2009 elections regarding a minimum of 30% quota for women as political party officials, candidates for the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (Komisi Pemilihan Umum), hereinafter abbreviated as KPU, and candidates for DPR/ Regional House of People's Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah), hereinafter abbreviated as DPRD. Afterward, Indonesian women, previously unaware of the genderquake's effects, began to rise to accomplish affirmative action policies. In the 2014 election, women repeatedly had the opportunity that political parties in the election must fulfill the requirement to include a minimum of 30% of women in the management of political parties at the central level (Law No.8/2012, Article 15 Point d) and the DPR/D nomination of members (Law No.8/2012, Article 55).

Women cannot be separated from their roles and position in society, especially those related to political affairs. In politics, women's roles and positions are completely characterized by discrimination. The role and position of women in the public realm are included in fundamental human rights that every human being is entitled to. However, it is ironic that many women still lack an understanding of their rights. Indonesian politics remains identical to gender discrimination.[4] It must be acknowledged that women in Indonesia, as the majority, are still unaware of political discourse. Their role and position in the policymakers are extremely insignificant. Furthermore, there is a stigma that undermines the role and position of women, which leads them to be seriously underestimated.

Gender equality is widely used by social activists, feminists, politicians, and even public persons. Gender equality is practically interpreted as a condition of inequality experienced by women.[5] Furthermore, gender equality is continually associated with discrimination against women, subordination, oppression, unfair treatment, and others. Correspondingly, gender equality also means equal conditions for men and women to obtain opportunities and rights as human beings. Thus, they can act on their role and participation in the political, legal, economic, socio-cultural, education, national defense, security activities, and equality in taking advantage of the development results. Gender equality also eliminates structural discrimination and injustice towards men and women.

The emergence of feminism is divided into three waves. The first wave of feminism began with the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's work entitled *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792, which considered the psychological and economic damages experienced by women due to their economic dependence on men and their marginalization from the public realm. Afterward, the second wave of feminism, with its doctrine, views gender differences as deliberately formed to strengthen oppression against women. In the second wave, women began to initiate lawsuits against the institutions of marriage, motherhood, and heterosexual relationships, and they ically aimed to transform every aspect of personal and political life. Finally, the third wave of feminism emphasizes diversity; for instance, the oppression experienced by heterosexual women differs from that experienced by lesbians and others.[6]

Women in politics is an intriguing topic to discuss because the political role of women from the perspective of radical feminism lies in the transformation (if necessary, with minor coercion) of women's roles from the domestic realm to the public realm. In a popular term, it is referred to as gender equality. The dominance of patriarchal culture seems to establish a distinct boundary separating women and politics, portraying them as two different worlds that cannot synergize. The world of women revolves around the home, including the domestic realm, tending to children with all its complexities.[7] Even if they pursue careers outside the home, work/career is not the primary focus. Women are expected to have dual roles as mothers and women careers. Meanwhile, politics is considered a suitable realm for men due to its abundance of risky intrigues, showcasing a macho demeanor, full of maneuvering, and identical with wealth and power. [8]

The representation of women in parliament is also highly significant in making public decisions as it will affect the quality of legislation produced by the state and public institutions. Furthermore, it will also bring women to a different perspective in viewing and addressing various public issues, as women tend to think holistically and respond to gender concerns.[9] The significance of women in parliament will also impact the formulation of policies and laws as part of the national agenda that will accelerate the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

It deserves a critical and logical analysis to provide a profound understanding juridically, philosophically, and sociologically of the existence of the text on women's representation in politics, which has been interpreted partially and solely based on the interests of certain parties. The third primary idea of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia contains that the Republic of Indonesia is a country with people's sovereignty based on citizenship and deliberations amongst representatives. Therefore, the system of government formed in the Constitution must be based on the people's sovereignty and deliberations amongst representatives.

II. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. The History of Women's Representation in Political Contests

The economic crisis that has afflicted Indonesia since 1997 has significantly affected women's and children's lives. The lack of a support system and support base for women and women's parties is also highlighted as a major obstacle to women's political participation. The lack of support also significantly affects the quality of work for women in political institutions, especially in recruiting women political cadres.

Political parties are often depicted as the "gateway prison" for someone to be elected as a representative. Their base is in society. How they are managed in candidate selection procedures is a critical factor for the involvement of women in legislative institutions. The issue of citizen involvement (women) in politics in Indonesia has been a concern of people, especially those advocating gender equality. The purpose does not become a monopoly in a society. However, it has become a public command and aspiration that men and women have equal rights (especially in politics).

The analysis began with Constitutional Court Decision Number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 on the Request for Reviewing Law No. 10 of 2008 on the General Election of Members of DPR, DPD (Regional House of Representatives), and Regional DPRD against the 1945 Constitution. First, it is stated that the Constitutional Court Number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 decision has provided positive implications for affirmative action policy for women's representation in the Provincial and District/City DPRD of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. It happens as every

legislative candidate has an equal opportunity to compete for the most votes in the 2009 Legislative Election. Second, as Law No. 10 of 2008 remains using a serial number list, the position of women in most candidate lists was at the lowest number. Consequently, women candidates have difficulty securing a seat because if their votes do not reach the divisor, the votes will be given to the number above them.[10] However, the chances for women candidates with the most voting are more significantly elected. Third, the representation of women in DPRD of the Special Region of Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD has increased compared to the 2004 election results, from nine seats in the 2009 election to twelve seats. Accordingly, there is a 33% increase. In the Gunungkidul Regency DPRD, there has also been an increase in women's seats as it is compared to the seat distribution in the 2004 election. The number of seats increased from one in the 2009 election to six, representing a 500% increase. In the 2004 general election, the Sleman Regency DPRD had six seats for women, which increased to eight in the 2009 general election, representing an increase of approximately 33%. In the City of Yogyakarta DPRD, there was also an increase in seats from five in the 2004 election to six in the 2009 election, representing a 20% increase. The Kulonprogo Regency DPRD obtained four seats for women in the 2004 election. In the 2009 election, the total seats stayed at four, resulting in a 25% increase. In the Bantul Regency DPRD, there were only five seats for women in the 2004 election. Regardless, in the 2009 election, the number increased to 6, representing a 20% increase. Fourth, the concern that Constitutional Court Decision Number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 impedes affirmative action policies is not proven in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta), hereinafter abbreviated as DIY because the seats occupied by women in the Regency and City DPRD in DIY has increased compared to the results of the 2004 elections.[11]

The recent developments have indicated a growing skepticism among the public regarding the role of political parties (Partai Politik), hereinafter abbreviated as Parpol, in the construction of societal and national life. Doubt or perhaps disbelief arises from evaluations conveyed by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and mass media, which assess that the performance of political parties has not been optimal due to corruption, collusion, and nepotism (CCN). Political parties are inferred to have not yet become the political force of the people. They are still limited to placing the people as objects (means) to frame their political power. It must be acknowledged that the system of determining elected candidates is only one of many factors influencing the quality of accountability of representatives and parliament. The serial number system can potentially be improved if political parties participating in the elections conduct a transparent, participatory, and democratic selection process for their candidates. It means that the order of names in candidate lists is arranged based on the competence and qualifications of the candidates rather than their relationship with party leaders. However, in situations where some candidate lists are composed based on the subjective preferences of party leaders, personal closeness, and financial contributions of the candidates, the system of majority votes is the best choice.

Women's rights are not only a discourse subject in the country. Quota rules for women are implemented in other countries. The proportion of women's representation in the House of Commons is as follows: Sweden 42.7%, Denmark 37.4%, Norway 36.4%, Germany 30.9%, South Africa 29.8%, and Mozambique 30%. [12]

B. The Involvement of Politics, Mobilization, and Women Empowerment in Politics

The In a survey conducted by the World Economic Forum (WEF), Indonesia ranks 97th out of 150 countries regarding gender inequality. Furthermore, the representation of women in Indonesia ranks seventh in Southeast Asia, or at a rate of 16% in terms of political

participation. According to Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections, women's political rights are regulated.

In Chapter I regarding KPU, Part One, General, Article 10 Section 7 reads, "the composition of the membership of KPU, the membership of the Provincial KPU, and the membership of the District/City KPU must consider the representation of women, with a minimum of 30% (thirty percent)." Meanwhile, Chapter II, the Election Supervisor, Part One, General, Article 92 Section 11 states, "the composition of Supervisory Board (Badan Pengawas Pemilu), hereinafter abbreviated as Bawaslu, Bawaslu Province, and Bawaslu District/City shall consider the representation of women, a minimum of 30% (thirty percent)." Afterward, in Article 173 Section 2 Point e reads, "political parties can become election participants after fulfilling the requirements of including a minimum of 30% (thirty percent) representation of women in the management of political parties at the central level.[13]

Thus far, the representation of women in the implementation of elections in Indonesia is still far below the threshold regulated by the Election Law, namely Law No. 7 of 2017, which stipulates a minimum of 30 percent. Additionally, the percentage of elected members of the Indonesian Bawaslu for the 2012-2017 period was only 20% women. Furthermore, only one out of five members of the central Bawaslu is a woman. Corresponding to the situation at the central Bawaslu, the situation at the provincial Bawaslu is identical. The percentage of women representation as members of Bawaslu in six provinces during the 2013-2018 period was only 29.41% or five women out of 17 Bawaslu members in six provinces. One of the challenges encountered in selecting election supervisors from the 30% quota for women is finding human resources (HR). In the 2019 election in Banyumas Regency, Central Java, only 14 women out of 81 people, or 17%, served as members of the district election supervisors (pengawas pemilu kecamatan), hereinafter abbreviated as Panwascam.[10]

Women's participation in electoral politics is often hindered by several political, legal, social, economic, and cultural barriers that persistently become obstacles to women. Identity is a key element of subjective reality; all subjective realities are dialectically related to society. It follows what is conveyed by Berger and Luckmann, about the identity shaped by social processes.[2] Once it takes form, it is nurtured, modified, or even reshaped by social structures. Social processes involved in shaping and maintaining identity are determined by social structure. In this regard, the obstacles can be identified and obviously noticed that one of the obstacles to women's political participation as election supervisors is the lack of political knowledge and their low level of education. Afterward, the relatively lower availability of resources for women includes time and economic resources, as women often deal with their domestic activities.

The situation above arises due to the predetermined gender roles in society, such as the tendency for women to take on more significant responsibilities in caring for children and household affairs. The situation frequently leaves women with limited time to engage in politics, including serving as election supervisors. Therefore, when discussing the role of gender, indeed, sociologists have been studying this topic for a considerable time. However, feminist theorists in the 1960s could effectively and empirically describe the situation and establish an equal position between men and women in modern society.

According to Giddens, classical sociological thinkers have perceived an excessive presence of men in terms of gender, including the followers of functionalism theory, who stated that differences are necessary for society and a part of the expression where women are assigned in domestic work. In contrast, men undertake the primary role in the formal economy. Poverty rates and lack of control over economic resources are also factors that limit women's

ability to engage in politics as election supervisors. Limited control over economic assets limits women's ability to become election supervisors.

It is quite reasonable because, in many cases, women have fewer resources than men. In this circumstance, the gender roles of women and men are also influenced by cultural traditions and religious beliefs. It frequently limits women's freedom or discourages women from actively working in the political sector as election supervisors. Gender inequality can be observed through various manifestations of injustice that exist.[14]

Regarding women's empowerment, Indonesian women tend to work more in the domestic sector. Women who work in the public realm generally have to deal with domestic chores, although the women's emancipation struggle strives for gender equality between women and men. Generally, women working in the public realm are still in a less advantageous position. Women have limited access and opportunities to obtain positions and are often assumed to lack credibility in vital jobs. Traditionally, women were placed in a less advantageous position, primarily focused on domestic activities. Moreover, there is a kind of jargon among parents who are reluctant to send their daughters to school because they believe they will only be wives who deal with domestic chores. This belief is continuously passed down from generation to generation, thus becoming a prevailing value in a society that places men in a higher position than women.

Generally, two underlying issues contribute to this case, such as culture and understanding of religion, which are classic factors hindering women's progress in society. Women's world differs from men's, as evident by their different needs. Thus, the solutions to every women's issue can only be addressed by women themselves, as men will not be able to comprehend the needs of women. The concern lies in the weakness of women in politics.[14] Therefore, when women can participate in politics and offer their achievements, one of their issues has been resolved. Because women are positioned behind men, women's participation in politics is perceived as nothing more than providing them the right to vote or to have a voice in elections. It is also further concerned with mobilized participation rather than autonomous participation, which reflects women's political rights in a broader sense.[15]

Political policies are necessary to empower women, as all aspects of life can be determined through political decisions. Therefore, the one gate policy, which the Minister of Women Empowerment initiates to coordinate gender-sensitive activities, deserves support from all executive levels in policy-making.[16] Positive prospects for women's political representation must be balanced with a moral responsibility regarding idealism and its implementation. It all depends on the strength of the ideals and consistency of women's struggle in the political realm.[17] The prospects of women's representation in parliament significantly depend on several strong correlations between the electoral system, political parties, nomination mechanisms, and technical elements of elections, such as the formula for determining elected candidates and voting procedures.[18]

The affirmative action policy, which grants women more opportunities to participate in politics, has been regulated since 2004. This system provides opportunities for raising women representatives in parliament. The aspects of the electoral system that must be considered to assess the opportunities for women's representation are as follows: boundaries of the electoral district (DAPIL), nomination mechanisms, voting methods, and the formula for determining elected candidates. Regarding women's empowerment or political participation, a minimum of two main factors, as proposed by the Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics, become major barriers. Regarding the two factors concerned, they are as follows[19]:

- a. The influence and persistent role of traditional gender roles and divisions between men and women limit or hinder women's participation in leadership, policy-making, or decision-making.
- b. The strong institutional obstacles that hinder women's access to power are expanded across various social and political institutions.

Women's political participation seems to be a gender stereotype related to women's issues and politics, especially regarding political leadership. This stereotype can be categorized into two categories:

- a. Women are not particularly suited to enter the world of politics and, more specifically, occupy political leadership positions.
- b. The critical requirement is that women involved in power and authority must be capable of many things.

In Indonesia, gender equality, anti-violence, and other issues that promote equality and justice in marriage and sexuality are consistently expressed. Historically, gender differentiation has occurred through a lengthy and diverse process, among which is because it is shaped, socialized, reinforced, and socially and culturally constructed by interpreting religious texts and by the state.[20]

The reform era was a new era of social change in Indonesia after the fall of President Suharto through the reform movement initiated by intellectuals and students. Gender equality and the participation of women in the post-reform public realm is an interesting issue because their roles and access were very limited beforehand. The culture and political system that had changed during the reform era gave rise to great women, and female figures who participated in politics continued to increase when DPR enacted a new law that required political parties to involve 30% of party management filled by women.[21]

To enhance the process of democratization in Indonesia, the women's movement, comprising various organizations and groups, took advantage of this golden momentum and pushed for better reforms; these efforts were accomplished through a series of proposals and advocacy to political elites to promote increased representation and participation of women in politics.[22] Historically, women have been treated unequally, placing them subordinate to men.

Men have dominated the history of human civilization. Thus, men have dominated all roles in society throughout history, except in very few matriarchal societies. Furthermore, from the beginning, there has been gender inequality that has marginalized women. The women's roles are limited to domestic work. Meanwhile, men can dominate all important roles within society. The doctrine of inequality between men and women emerged from this point. Women are considered unfit to hold power or possess abilities similar to men, and accordingly, women are not equal to men. Men should have power and dominate women.

The spirit of democracy, which includes representation, equality, respect for differences, and freedom of expression, is contained in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution and the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, which regulate the rights and obligations of the state and citizens. Sex and sexuality are perhaps as old as the human itself. However, it continually remains a contentious issue among numerous parties. The gender association has feared both men and women, maliciously associating gender with "opposing men" or "defying God's destiny as women".[23] Furthermore, gender differences result in gender roles, which are

considered not to cause problems. Accordingly, they are never disputed. All manifestations of gender inequality are interconnected and dialectically influence one another.

C. Feminism and Women's Empowerment in Politics

Djoeffan stated that Indonesian women are currently in a cultural transition era and have two considerable roles. Women must be cautious in determining their position and role. Thus, in performing their activities, they should not become victims of various individual, group, private, or bureaucratic interests. Thus, women must always be within ethical and moral boundaries and be granted proper legal protection because Indonesian women will contribute significantly to the welfare of their families, nation, country, and religion.

Gender inequality can be observed through numerous manifestations of existing injustice. Gender injustice manifests in various forms, such as marginalization or economic impoverishment processes, subordination or the assumption of insignificance in political decisions, the formation of stereotypes or negative labeling, violence, longer and heavier workloads, and the ideology socialization of gender role values [24]. Meanwhile, the feminist perspective in political science focuses on gender differentials in political representation and participation. Feminists argue that politics encompasses personal and private (domestic) life based on unequal power relations in which men have more power than women.[5]

As conveyed by Djoeffan, Fakhri, and Lovenduski, the situation is absolutely difficult for women to escape from the stereotype of domestic life and transition into public life for their activities. Therefore, women are consistently underestimated when they intend to enter a realm that, under the hegemony of the patriarchal system, still places women in different positions than men regarding gender. It includes an election supervisor in Indonesia. Observing the position of women based on several major themes of social thought, Lestari divides the feminist types on the role of women in politics. [13]

Several feminist types include liberal feminism, radical feminism, postmodern feminism, anarchy-feminism, and marxist feminism.

a. Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism is the perspective that aims to empower women by providing them with complete and personal freedom. This type of feminism states that freedom and equality are rooted in rationality and the separation between the private and public realms. Every human being, according to liberal feminism, can think and act rationally, including women. The oppression and marginalization experienced by women are caused by their mistakes.[17] In politics, feminism groups also advocate for women's right to voice their opinions and participate in the electoral process as voters and candidates. Equal basic education is also advocated by liberal feminism. The future aspiration of liberal feminism is the formation of a society that contains goodness, equality, gender justice, individual fulfillment, self-worth, and moral goodness.[25]

b. Radical Feminism

This trend emerged in the mid-1970s, promoting the ideology of women's separatist struggle. In its historical context, this group emerged as a reaction to the culture of sexism or social dominance based on gender in the West during the 1960s, primarily in opposition to sexual violence and the pornography industry. The perception of men's oppression against women is a reality in the current social system. The movement appropriately reflects the term radical.[26]

c. Postmodern Feminism

According to this belief, the idea of postmodernism is anti-absolute and anti-authority noticed as the failure of modernity and the distinction of each social phenomenon due to its opposition to the universality of scientific knowledge and history. They believe that gender does not signify identity or social structure. Mouffe prioritizes expanding political ideas to make gender less significant for citizenship models.[9]

d. Anarcha Feminism

Anarcha Feminism tends to be a political ideology that aspires to a socialist society and considers the state and patriarchal systems of male domination as the root of the issues that must be immediately eliminated.

e. Marxist Feminism

This type of feminism views the issue of women within the framework of critiquing capitalism. The sources of women's oppression are assumed to originate from class exploitation and modes of production. The theory of Friedrich Engels has been developed as the foundation of this group - the status of women declined due to the concept of private property. Men control the production for exchange and consequently dominate social relationships. Meanwhile, women are relegated to mere property.

The issue of gender has become a significant concern for developing countries, resulting in government policies to make equal rights for both men and women. However, unfortunately, the method has changed, and the government currently subsidizes women and children as a form of economic recognition for women engaged in domestic work. It is disadvantageous for women regarding economics and their political rights. Additionally, women's right to fully participate equally with men in the political and electoral processes is a basic human right. These rights are recognized in regional and international legal instruments, including the Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSC 1325), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).[27]

In the context of Fisher's pillar analysis, it can be noted that women's participation as election supervisors is a social change that continues to occur in society. The phenomenon of women does not only participate in electoral supervision but also more broadly in any field where women are active. Two scientists, Jary and Jary in Muslihudin, explain the issue of social mobility as follows: "Social mobility is the movement of individuals or groups between different positions in the social hierarchy in society." Mobility can be upward or downward.[28]

Some women desire upward mobility because they can have higher economic and social status within society. Women significantly avoid downward mobility, as it would result in a disregarded social class economically and socially.[29] The opportunity for women to achieve upward social mobility is frequently motivated by education level, social status within society, economic sector domination, networking, and low kinship systems. This opportunity can also arise if women become election supervisors in their community.[30] They will be assumed to possess power, capability, and capacity in their work to safeguard the democratic agenda known as elections.

III. CONCLUSION

Various affirmative and strengthening policies continue to be pursued. In inclusive democracy, people, as one of the crucial pillars of democracy, have a significant role in achieving broader and meaningful political participation for women. Participation of women in politics is significantly important because their presence can enhance the welfare of women's groups by representing, monitoring, and influencing the agenda and policy-making process and actively participating in development processes. However, women's political representation in parliament remains below the 30% quota target.

Gender conflict in the occupation of women as politicians or election organizers is closely related to the phenomenon of social change and gender. Social changes have resulted in numerous transformations, as observed in recent times in society's social structure and system, especially in women as election supervisors. Thus, full participation of women in the political and electoral processes should not completely depend on electoral institutions to achieve it, but rather women themselves should possess practical dimensions. The ideological and psychological challenges encountered when entering parliament are the following. First, there is the continued existence of gender ideology, cultural patterns, and pre-established social roles assigned to women and men. Second, there is a lack of self-confidence among women to nominate themselves. A culture of fear prevents women from competing in elections and participating in politics.

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