

Problems in Increasing Women's Representation in Legislative Institutions: Challenges and Opportunities in the Indonesian Context

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Abstract. In a country with a patriarchal system like Indonesia, opportunities for women to enter politics are limited because they are influenced by society's perception of the division of roles between men and women, which tends to be biased. After all, it limits women's space to household matters. The existence of these inhumane claims has deadened the character, creativity, and freedom of women on the political stage. This paper tries to raise the issue of women's representation in the political scene, which still occurs today, and it is related to how problems occur in the Indonesian context. The method used in this paper uses normative legal research by taking an inventory of laws and regulations, government policies, and other references related to women's representation issues, especially in the political field. According to the study's findings, there is a pressing need to keep raising the proportion of women serving in Indonesia's legislative branches because it is clear that all political objectives and priorities must be adjusted and rearranged. To guarantee that women have a minimum number of seats in the legislative body, a quota system of 30% women's representation has been adopted.

Keywords: Political Participation, Women's Representation, Women's Empowerment.

1 Introduction

The Indonesian women's movement has a long history of fighting for the equality of men and women, especially in politics. So far, women have always been trapped in powerlessness and used as second-class citizens in the community when women are usually prohibited from going out of the house in the name of religious rules and regulations. The prohibition makes women unable to express their rights to unite and gather, even to appear as leaders, since women are considered unfit to lead. Through various efforts, including using religious arguments, women are forced to stop plunging into "political battles" because the world of politics has only been considered the world of men. The views that use religious arguments are proven to be effective in killing women's steps to participate in politics. The claims that have cornered women so far have turned off the character, creativity, and freedom for women to participate on the political stage.

It is not easy for women to participate in politics since, up until now, women's space has been limited to be able to enter the world of politics, a world that has been glorified as the world of men. As a result, many opportunities, especially job opportunities, where women should be able to come in, are considered empty and impossible to live in because, in fact, these opportunities have been closed by those prohibitions surrounding them[1].

Indeed, it should be recognized that in a country that adheres to a patriarchal system, such as Indonesia, opportunities for women to be able to enter politics are minimal because they are influenced by public perceptions so far about the division of roles between men and women, which tend to be gender biased, limiting women's space to domestic affairs. A growing assumption in society states that the position of women is below men is something that cannot be ruled out, so women are weak creatures that must be protected, and this has an impact on the treatment of men who treat women according to their wishes.

It is dangerous for women to remain trapped in the stigma who also believe that this has become an irreversible natural law. Moreover, if women enter politics and compete with men in the race for legislative seats, it can create a sense of pessimism to win or vice versa for men who do not want and are reluctant if they have to be led by women. The marginalization that occurs to women in the political process and governance will ultimately directly affect the resolution of various central issues involving women, such as the problem of violence that occurs against women and children, the trafficking of women, or the low ability of women's resources[2].

Various problems that afflict women cause gender injustice. In addition, the issue of belief, tradition, and even religious interpretation is shown in part due to religious discourse (including in Islam), which relatively places the position of women "as if" belong to second-class citizens. The emergence of gender issues is increasingly strengthened when it is realized that gender differences between men and women have given rise to injustice in various forms, such as marginalization or economic impoverishment, subordinate or perceived unimportance in political affairs, and stereotypes. One of the stereotypes that has belonged to women is "women only struggle with 3Rs (*kitchen, well, mattress*)," and this is a form of violence and a double burden on women, which leads to unfair actions that Allah SWT hates[3].

Women and men are indeed different, but they should not be treated differently since women and men are substantially the same. What is important is how women can comfortably live their nature as women who must be recognized differently from men without discriminatory attitudes. It is also an important note regarding the involvement of women in politics and public office that this is not only from the quantity that should be taken into account but also more on improving quality.

For this reason, it is not wrong for women to participate in politics, especially sitting in representative institutions of the people, so that the policies are made to pay attention to the interests of women. The political process in the people's representative institutions will involve a negotiation process so that various interests can be transformed into legislation that can benefit all parties. However, in the elections held in Indonesia, women who managed to sit in the Legislature from the DPR to the DPRD level did not reach 30%.

2 Methods

This paper is a study in the field of normative Law [4], namely conducting a study that examines the issues from the perspective of Law from the point of view of legal science in depth to the legal norms formed. The initial step in conducting this research is to take an inventory of the laws and regulations that are presumably related to this paper's government policies and review other references related to women's representation in the political sector.

In conducting this study, the researcher, in this case, used several approaches, including using a conceptual approach related to the analysis of this study using the principles of the challenges that women must face when participating in politics in the Legislature and then also using a statute approach, which in this study conducted a review of related laws and regulations related to opportunities to increase women's representation in the Legislature.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Challenges Faced by Women in Political Participation in Legislative Institutions

Indeed, in Islam, there is no difference in rank between men and women. Islam itself highly upholds the human rights of every human being. Human rights in Islam are based on human activities as the caliph of Allah on this earth. Man, as a creature of God, was chosen to carry out the mandate of God on this earth. To man, God has entrusted various duties and also responsibilities, and in addition, God has given a number of rights that must certainly be respected and maintained. Therefore, it is undeniable that the existence of human rights has a positive influence in various areas of life. Whereas in the Qur'an and also in the hadith of the Prophet, there are actually a number of statements that have given women an equal place with men, for example, in Surah al-Ahzab (53) and Surah al-Hujurat (13).

Islam has come to teach mankind that in God's view, all humans are equal without distinguishing male and female sexes; humans were created by God in order to represent and also implement the teachings of God on earth, which, of course, will further strengthen the implementation of human rights itself.

This is in line with the words of Allah SWT said in the Qur'an-Nahl verse 97, "Whoever does good deeds, both men and women, in a state of faith, We will indeed give him a good life." Furthermore, the Qur'an surah al-Hujurat verse 13 means, "O people, indeed we created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes so that you know each other. Indeed, the most honorable among you in the sight of Allah is the most God-fearing among you."

The verses mentioned above illustrate the similarity of positions between men and women in terms of worship (spiritual dimension) and social activities (professional career affairs). The verse is also present to scrape the view thoroughly, which states that differences marginalize the position of one of the two between men and women. The similarity of position includes various things, one of which is in the field of worship. Those who are diligent in worship will get more rewards regardless of gender differences. The difference then exists only because of the quality of the value of human devotion and piety to Allah SWT. This verse also confirms the primary mission of the Qur'an revealed by Allah is to free people from various forms of discrimination and oppression, including sexual discrimination, skin type and color, ethnicity, and other primordial ties. However, it is theoretically contained in the Qur'an about the principle of equality between men and women, but if you look at the order of implementation, often what is contained in these principles is neglected[3].

There is no difference between men and women in the realization of human rights values, both when viewed in the concept of human rights and in the idea of *ad-dharuriyat al-khams*. However, more specifically, women's rights are covered in 3 (three) concepts that contain the

concept of *ad-dharuriyat alkhamas* (five main things of the existence of sharia), namely, *hifdz an-nafs* (meaning to preserve the soul), *hifdz al-mal* (meaning to protect property), and *hifdz al-aql* (meaning to preserve reason). This is certainly important to emphasize because often, the victims in the maintenance of human rights are women (this does not mean denying men). Put it when we look at some cases of violence against women, for example, in cases of violence in the household (domestic violence), cases of trafficking, poverty, and harassment, and some other cases, women who often become individuals are in a position of "weak" and also "helpless" and finally this is what makes women victims. Even though the Qur'an has described that women actually have several rights that must be upheld by Muslims, including the right to livelihood, the right to Islamic education actually has fundamental values and also a strong enough energy as capital in building a life without oppression and violence to both men and women[5].

In the last three decades, issues related to women's rights have received important attention and become a priority in the global development agenda for countries considered underdeveloped. In 1979, the birth of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, often known as the CEDAW Convention, which the UN General Assembly later adopted, became a turning point in the struggle for women's rights. The CEDAW Convention provides fundamental realizations and understandings related to the equality of men and women in various matters such as, for example, equal access for women in political life, life in the public sphere, education, equal employment opportunities between men and women, and also the health sector with a focus on reproductive rights, then in culture and tradition as a force that has influence, then, in turn, has shaped gender roles and family relations. Even so, women are still aware that the struggle to achieve their rights and maintain their identity in society is still at an early stage[6].

The problems related to women's existence in contemporary society are inseparable from historical developments, so men are dominant over women. So, to bridge this gap, Islam is present to provide the concept of equality (*al-musawah*) in the Qur'an, but in its subsequent development from the point of view from Islamic thinkers in interpreting the Qur'anic text to the context of this equality becomes a paradox. This is because the Qur'an and Sunnah are sacred texts, and Muslims paint contradictory pictures of the relationship between women and men. However the problem arises when the interpretation of the Qur'an is often used as a basis for rejecting gender equality. The books of Tafsir are used as references for maintaining the status quo and legalizing the patriarchal lifestyle, which gives privileges to men and tends to corner women. So men are considered the main sex, and women are regarded as "the second sex". This assumption settles in the subconscious of the community and forms a lopsided work ethic between men and women[7].

The assumption is added by the ideas that often make women second-class citizens should be eliminated because in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet it has built a clear statement about the women, both in gender roles and as human beings. It should be distinguished between Islam as a religion and Islam as a culture. Islam as a religion refers to the content of rules relating to human piety, ethical values, and also faith. Spiritual aspects in Islam are seen as part of the duties of worship. Therefore, it is referred to as part of the foundation of religion, such as the belief in Allah as the only God, the last Prophethood of the prophet Muhammad, and the obligation to perform the prayer, zakat, fasting, and doing Hajj. Furthermore, when it comes to this religious matter, men and women are equal in Allah's point of view. Furthermore, suppose

you see Islam as a culture. In that case, this refers to the ideas and practices of the Muslims in the context of the situation and in the context of social, economic, and political conditions. Humans certainly worship God not only but also interact as part of social relationships. They make contracts, trade, fight wars, decide disputes, collect taxes, etc. In this position, women no doubt also have a special position in the order of Islamic society. This position is certainly very noble and does not reduce their rights, nor does it make their human values fragile[8].

It is necessary to build an awareness that everything is a priority and that the agenda in politics must be changed, and this reform is not possible if it still uses the traditional system. Women must undoubtedly be willing to look straight ahead and occupy various strategic positions in the public sphere. Thus, women will be able to build and strengthen social values and new economic values that can accommodate the aspirations of the needs of women. Increasing women's representation also means increasing the value and effectiveness of women in influencing public and political policies[9]. Although the Law has legitimized women's participation through a 30% quota, it has not been able to increase women's representation in the Legislature. Moving from here, it can be seen that there are partisan efforts from the government to increase the role of women, especially in the Legislature, despite the fact that there are still fewer women sitting in the Legislature. It can be *seen through the affirmative action* of IMI that there has been an effort to provide space for women to unite and gather in a political party. However, although there has been affirmative *action* against women, the number of women involved in the field of politics and in the representative institutions of the people has not been able to meet the quota of 30 percent, far lower than the involvement of men.

Patriarchal culture has made the position of men more noble than women. If you look at Indonesia, it is one of the democratic countries and Pancasila. Certainly guaranteed by the constitution is the right to freedom. Free to express himself while remaining bound by the applicable legal rules. They are free to associate and gather so that they can participate to vote and run for election by the community.

Of course, the encouraging thing from the side of women who continue to strive to get a strategic position with gender justice is never extinguished. Women play an important role both as people, as wives, mothers, and as citizens who are expected to play their role and participate in the progress of the nation and the state. Therefore, women continue to strive to get out of the patriarchal culture. It must be admitted that at this time in Indonesia, the patriarchal culture is still alive in the community. However, little by little, the culture is starting to erode along with the development of increasingly modern times. It is time for Indonesian women to dare to express their abilities in the public sphere. In line with the movement that has been carried out by women today as an effort to increase women's participation to realize gender justice, women also have the right to freedom of association and assembly guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution to participate in the implementation of development.

In the midst of modernization, Indonesian women are no longer locked in an intellectual darkness. If, in the past, as described earlier, women's places were only wells, mattresses, and kitchens, now there is open access for women to participate actively in development, including politics. Women no longer carry out duties and responsibilities as household complements. But now, women can take a role in the nation's progress.

The current political world is certainly no stranger to women. However, unfortunately, seeing the representation of women in politics, it can be concluded that it is still far from hope. This is

because it is challenging to unite women and politics. Women are trapped on two sides. On the one hand, Indonesian women are certainly required to play a role in various fields to contribute to development. Still, on the other hand, women face various demands that, as Indonesian women, they must not forget their nature of womanhood. Women are faced with a dilemma. This is also experienced by women who have a career in politics. As a career woman, she is indeed called upon to demonstrate her talents and skills for the development of the nation and state. However, women are often haunted by the existing opinion in the community that the woman's place should be at home and serve the family[10]. This is the reality that has happened so far, that Indonesian women are still shackled with patriarchal culture and gender differences. However, over time, efforts have been made to come out and improve this problem.

3.2 Opportunities to Increase Women's Representation in Legislative Institutions

Women's political participation in its implementation is still encountering many limitations and constraints; it is a result of cultural values living in the community and technical constraints in the field. For this reason, in terms of Law, it is hoped that the support from this statutory regulation will lead to the goal of increasing the representation of women in the Legislature, so it needs to be supported by actual steps taken to optimize the number of women's political participation.

In fact, the mandate of the Constitution explicitly states that Indonesian citizens, both men and women, also have rights and obligations and the same opportunity to earn a decent livelihood. Furthermore, if further examined in the context of this discussion, it can be interpreted that there is no difference between men and women in participating in the success of various development programs and enjoying the development results proportionally and fairly. However, in the field, it must be recognized that the position and role of women in development are still marginalized. Although in terms of quantity the number of women is more than men, in terms of quality the number is smaller than men[11].

This opportunity between men and women should be given in a balanced manner, presumably in line with the pace of reform, which, of course, I seek gender justice for both in the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Moreover, one of the reform demands is in the field of law, which has shown progress through a set of laws and regulations currently in force. This certainly brings good hope in family life, community life, and national and state life, which is based on sensitive laws and regulations and responsiveness to women's problems in society.

The need to continue to increase the number of women's representation in Indonesia is undoubtedly built on the realization that all priorities and agendas in the political field must be changed and reshuffled. This, of course, will be impossible if it still uses the traditional system. Therefore, if women need to progress and be empowered and place women in strategic positions in the public so that women can strengthen socially and economically and can accommodate aspirations for women's needs, it is through increasing women's representation which means also increasing the effectiveness of women in influencing public and political policies taken. Thus, women's political participation is a meaningful embodiment of women's involvement in the decision-making process in public institutions. The main objective of women's political participation is to access and structurally control the quality and quantity of women's representation without being distinguished from men's involvement in the decision-making process[9].

One strategy that is considered quite significant in influencing the policy conversion process is the presence of women representatives who must be proportional in the representative institutions of the people. This is based on the system of making voting decisions in the representative institutions of the people, in which voting is based on the number of votes entered. So logically, if more women are sitting in representative institutions, more women's interests will be accommodated. Such arguments have led to demands for women's quotas in representative institutions that women activists have voiced[12].

The representation of women in politics is part of the value of human rights and has been guaranteed by Article 46 of Law No. 39 of 1999, which in this article is related to the system of elections, the party system, and the election of members of the legislative body and the appointment system in the executive and judicial fields must ensure the representation of women in accordance with the specified requirements.

Regarding the role of political parties in women's empowerment, especially in the political field, efforts to increase women's representation in the Legislature by taking *affirmative action* for women's representation are increasingly accommodated in the Law. Temporary special measures must have been taken since the establishment of the political party concerned as mentioned in Article 2, paragraphs (1) and (2) of Law on Political Parties No. 2 of 2008, which expressly states that political parties can be established and formed by at least 50 Indonesian citizens who are 21 years old with a notarial deed, by including 30% of women's representation in the central, provincial, and regency/city level management. This means that from the beginning, the establishment of political parties has been required to take political cadre and recruitment that includes women more seriously.

Furthermore, the representation of women through a 30% quota for legislative institutions/people's representatives should be implemented starting from the registration of political parties as election participants which one of the requirements documents that must be fulfilled is in the form of a statement from the political party management regarding a 30% women quota as mentioned in Article 15 letter d of Law No. 08 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD which reads:

"Certificate from the central board of a political party regarding the inclusion of women's representation at least 30% (thirty percent) in accordance with statutory provisions".

Furthermore, it has been mandated that women's representation is at least 30% in legislative institutions, as stated in Article 55 of Law Number 08 of 2012, which reads, "The list of prospective candidates as referred to in Article 53 contains at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation".

Furthermore, in accordance with the mandate stated in Article 173 paragraph (2) letter E of Law Number 7 of 2017, it has been mandated that political parties can become election participants if they have fulfilled the 30% quota representation of women at the provincial level.

The presence of a positive affirmation of the 30% quota of women's representation is because it is realized that so far, in quantity, there has been very low representation of women who sit in the representative institutions of the people and those who sit in the executive institutions. This affirmation policy is a challenge for the government and election organizers. This is because there is still an influence of religious stigma and also patriarchal culture in Indonesia.

This is undoubtedly an encouraging thing for the progress of Indonesian women. Support for women is currently increasing. Currently, women's participation is natural because the Constitution contains guarantees for women as stated in Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution, which regulates citizens with the same position in the field of Law and also government and obligations without exception upholding Law and government.

Then it is also supported by Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution, which outlines the freedom of association and assembly. This has explicitly confirmed that there is no difference in men's and women's rights to participate in development. With constitutional guarantees, women are open to equal opportunities to participate in the development of one of them in accordance with this paper in the political field by utilizing the freedom of association and assembly.

In addition, legislation in Indonesia has long ratified *The Convention on Political Rights of Women* through Law No. 68 of 1958 concerning the Ratification of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. This Convention on Women's Political Rights has provided arrangements related to the realization of equality of position (non-discrimination), guarantee of equality in the right to vote and be elected, guarantee of participation in formulating policies, the opportunity to occupy bureaucratic positions, and guarantee of participation in socio-political organizations.

Based on the provisions of Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the Convention Concerning Women's Political Rights, it can be seen that this Convention recognizes that everyone has the right to participate in the government of his country either directly or through representatives who have been elected freely and have the same right to participate in public office in his country without exception and have an equal position between men and women in exercising their political rights.

This is in addition to the CEDAW Convention, which was ratified and accepted by the UN General Assembly in 1979. Indonesia ratified the Convention based on Law No. 7 of 1984. The CEDAW Convention can certainly be used as a basis for realizing equality for women and men by providing equal and balanced access and opportunities in the political arena and public life. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), it focuses entirely on women's rights and is often described as an international law of rights for women. The Convention has been ratified by 189 countries to date. The agreement legally obliged signatories to continue to strive to respect, protect and fulfill women's rights[13].

Of course, it is encouraging that awareness of the need for a significant increase in women's involvement is currently starting to grow among political parties. This awareness is reaffirmed through binding regulations and legal force so that it is not just rhetoric. In addition, after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, there is increasing support for the representation of women as Article 28 H paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which reads, "Everyone has the right to ease and special treatment to obtain equal opportunities and benefits to achieve equality and justice".

Of the various provisions mentioned above, Indonesian women, of course, have a strong legal basis for women's rights to be involved in politics and formal political institutions in line with men. What has been regulated in Indonesian Law is basically evidence of partisanship towards women. This should be a solid basis for all citizens, especially women, to be free from all forms of systematic and structured discrimination in various fields of life, including politics.

Thus constitutionally, there has been a legal guarantee of equal access and full balanced participation without distinction between men and women, based on equality, in all fields and levels of community life, especially in decision-making positions. Therefore, there is a 30% representation quota for women in the Legislature as a form of support for increasing women's representation.

Efforts to continue to increase the number of representation for women in Indonesia were built due to the realization that this would, of course, be impossible if it was still using a traditional system. Therefore, if women need to progress and be empowered and place women in strategic positions in the public so that women are able to strengthen socially and economically and can accommodate aspirations for women's needs, it is through increasing women's representation which means also increasing the effectiveness of women in influencing public and political policies taken. Thus, women's political participation is a manifestation of gender-based human rights values, which also means women's involvement in the decision-making process in public institutions in a balanced and fair manner. The main goal of women's political participation is to access and maintain structural control over the quality and quantity of women's representation without being distinguished from the involvement of men in the decision-making process[9].

So far, the cause of the lack of representation of women in the political sector in Indonesia is also due to cultural heritage factors and the patriarchal mentality that says that politics is the domain of men. On the other hand, there are still many women who are less interested in entering politics because of political dogma. In order to improve these conditions and situations, it may be necessary to provide political education to women which, of course through political education can open women's thinking that women also have rights while also having an obligation to express their aspirations and influence policies that can benefit women[14].

Furthermore, the representation of women through a 30% quota for legislative institutions/people's representatives should be implemented starting from the registration of political parties as election participants which one of the requirements documents that must be fulfilled is in the form of a statement from the political party management regarding a 30% women quota as mentioned in Article 15 letter D of Law No. 08 of 2012 which reads:

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The presence of a positive affirmation of the 30% quota of women's representation is because it is realized that so far in quantity, there has been very low representation of women who sit in the representative institutions of the people and those who sit in the executive institutions. The existence of this affirmation policy is a challenge for the government and election organizers. This is because there is still an influence of religious stigma and also patriarchal culture in Indonesia.

Despite all the problems, a quota system has been introduced to ensure that women have a minimum number of seats to sit in the Legislature. Various regulations that have set quotas in political parties and government-owned institutions are intended to help overcome women's low level of representation in forums that help determine decision-making. In addition, an effort to create a more conducive system and support women's steps into the political arena cannot be separated from other targets, namely reforming the electoral system in Indonesia[15].

At least in this case, there are three kinds of arguments presented to be able to support the claim on female representatives, namely:

1. The justice argument, which, according to this argument, is the most powerful argument to support the increase in the number of female representatives. This argument is based on the principles of justice. The argument has stated that it would be unfair for men to monopolize representation, especially in a country that considers itself a modern democracy.
2. A pragmatic argument that makes use of the idea of rational politicians maximizing the number of votes. This is based on political parties' advantages in increasing the number of female representatives. Proponents of this pragmatic argument claim that women are more likely to vote for parties with female candidates. This is based on an argument that women know better and have special experiences and interests that can only be understood and represented by women themselves. In the pragmatic argument, another virtue is made by the statement that only through the involvement of women will politics appear more constructive and friendly.
3. The difference argument, this third argument is based on the concepts of difference. The main argument is that women will bring more different styles and approaches to politics that will change the face of politics for the better, an influence that will benefit all parties. This is a very useful way to investigate the consequences of gender differences[16].

With the seating of women who participate in the Legislature, women are required to be able to contribute more strategic thinking in improving the fate. They are expected to be able to accommodate the needs of women in their own regions and produce policies that will support the progress of this nation and the region in particular. Talking about policy, we are talking about the area of power. Therefore, it is reasonable when women cannot determine a policy because, factually, women do not have power both formally and informally.

The spirit built through the 30% quota of women's representation, especially in increasing women's representation in formal institutions or legislative institutions, should need to be strengthened by the existence of a public agenda, including the women's agenda in the process towards democratization

In relation to the improvement in the quality of life of the community, especially for women, the development of democratic life, the realization of justice, and also the existence of equality in the context of women's empowerment in the legal and political fields as a whole and nationally, this has shown that very rapid progress can be achieved as seen in changes to political laws and regulations that ensure a measurable and significant increase in the number of women's representation in the political field. Although in practice, not all women who participate in politics have the authority to participate in strategic decisions, at least with the presence of women in legislative institutions, they can represent women to present the voice of women's aspirations and other general public at the policy level.

Of course, this is a challenge in the effort to empower women, so the government must respond with *political will* by providing opportunities and opportunities with affirmative policies, especially to increase women's political participation, so that women's empowerment efforts will be successful in the future. The paradigm of gender equality and justice needs to be followed up with a more tangible and adequate action by integrating *gender mainstreaming* in each policy formulation. This opens up opportunities for the participation of the entire community, especially women, in making public decisions.

It is hoped that the support of regulation through a 30% quota will support the progress of the development of women's empowerment in the political field because through a 30% quota, women can be legally guaranteed to exercise the right to freedom of association and assembly, especially in the political field by sitting as representatives of the people in the DPR, and DPRD. Indeed, this is certainly expected to provide positive results and bring maximum progress for opportunities for women to continue to increase their role and status quantitatively by increasing the number of women's representation in politics measurably and widely in the current reform era.

This is also a turning point in women's struggle to be able to use their rights of association and assembly for the advancement of women themselves, even at the end of the day, it is for the advancement of community and state development because it must be recognized that overall the advancement of women is the advancement of a nation and state. The provision of a 30% quota for women's representation has provided an opportunity and a breath of fresh air for the rise of women so that women can take advantage of this right. That is why setting a 30% quota for women's representation in legislative institutions is considered very important in the context of affirmative action. This quota is an effort to provide the widest opportunity for women to participate in politics. Another reason for this setting is that women who succeed in occupying strategic positions in politics and the public sphere may be able to represent the interests and needs of women in society. On the other hand, with the involvement of women in policy-making, it is hoped that it will be able to bring the people of Indonesia to a more equitable system change and create *good governance*. It is believed that the entry of women into decision-making is significant to creating a new world order, namely a "world" free from discriminatory actions.

With the inclusion of the 30% quota number, this certainly does not mean that the struggle carried out by women in the political field has been completed, but in fact, this is only part of the first step for the next women's political agenda in the long term. Of course, the most important thing now is political education for women so that later, they will continue to be able to fight for their rights through political strategies as well. Women are, of course, expected to no longer be "fooled" by the grandiose promises of political parties, which they say will always fight for the fate of women even though it is just a trick by making women only a political commodity to win votes, especially if facing elections, political parties will certainly issue all their 'persuasions'. For this reason, the efforts to accelerate women's representation in the political sector, both formally and informally, must be pursued to make women realize their and the community's political rights. Other things that need to be done are also to continue to increase the power of women's critical thinking and insight, continue to encourage women to be able to dare to take strategic positions, and contribute to encouraging policy changes that increase women's representation in the political field becomes a necessity. This must be in line with the idea that the increasing involvement of women in politics will be able to change the

face of politics in Indonesia for the better. If women's participation increases, there will be a balance between masculine and feminine political behavior.

Looking back, the core idea behind this quota system, in the opinion of Drude Dahlerup, is to recruit as many women as possible to enter politics and help ensure that women are no longer isolated in political life[17]. Therefore, the 30% quota has provided space for women to have the right to freedom of association and assembly, one of which is in the political field. This is certainly done because it has been felt that the slow increase of women in politics has also affected the low number of women sitting in legislative institutions.

From the assessment that arises on the existence and existence of women in politics, behind it all is a momentum for the women's movement to further emphasize women's political rights through a quota system that began in Indonesia after reform and was first regulated in Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning the General Election of Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD which contains a quota of 30% of women's representation is ratified in Article 65 paragraph (1) which reads: "Each political party participating in the election may submit candidates for Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD for each electoral district taking into account women's representation of at least 30%."

At present, great expectations are being built so that enthusiasm is seen to welcome the passing of this Law. The Women's Group for Political Care stated that this event was an awaited moment and a milestone for women's struggle for equality and justice against male domination in Indonesian political life. Women have the widest opportunity to participate in politics and can take advantage of the right to freedom of association and assembly. For the first time in the history of the struggle of Indonesian women, women's political representation is quantitatively and qualitatively legally recognized. So perhaps the optimization of women's participation in politics by providing opportunities for women to take advantage of the right to associate and gather may not need to be questioned anymore.

Although decades have passed since the first quota of 30% of women's representation was set, this did not significantly increase the number of women in the Legislature. In fact, until now, the number of women's representation has been below the 30% quota.

It is expected that women will greatly influence legislators in their decision-making and policy in the legislative function. At least in this legislative function, 3 (three) things are highly expected to involve women, as follows:

1. Participated in gender-specific state policy-making, especially in policies related to special needs for women and men, such as fulfilling women's reproductive rights.
2. She was involved in state policies relating to women's and men's relations, for example, on rules pertaining to the field of marriage. In this field, women are placed in a discriminatory position because Law Number 1 of 1974 has placed women in a disadvantaged position, such as permission to be able to remarry more than once, for the husband can be given if the wife cannot give birth or give offspring even though it could be that the barren one is on the partner's side.
3. The policy of this country that we consider neutral, but in fact, there are different impacts for men and women. Among them are policies in the fields of health, education, conflict, peace, employment related to migrant workers, agriculture, and macroeconomic policies, including financial problems.

Likewise, the budgeting and supervision functions of the Legislature will have a significant effect on women because they are related to the direction of the development of the Indonesian women's movement. The role is also no less important considering that most countries in the world have placed women in marginal conditions, and Indonesia is no exception.

Conclusion

The political field is no stranger to women. Unfortunately, the representation of women in legislative institutions is still far from what was expected. It is still difficult to unite women in politics. Indonesian women are still trapped on two sides. One side of Indonesian women are required to participate in various fields in order to contribute to development. On the other hand, women face demands that, as Indonesian women, do not forget their womanhood, and there are multiple roles that women must carry out. The dilemma that women always face is experienced by women who participate in politics. As a career woman who is optimistic and forward-thinking, it is inevitable that her soul is called to demonstrate her talents and expertise for the development of the nation and state. However, women are often haunted by the existence of opinions in the community, which makes women trapped in powerlessness because of the traditional view that places the woman's place in the house and serves the family.

Through the 30% Quota, women's representation actually paves the way for women to sit in the Legislature. It is appropriate to provide a balanced opportunity between men and women in the world of politics through this affirmative action. This may be in line with the reform steps which, of course I seek gender justice both in the Legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Moreover, one of the reform demands is in the field of law, which has shown progress through a set of laws and regulations currently in force. This certainly brings good hope in family, community, national, and state life based on sensitive laws and regulations, and this quota is also responsive to women's problems in society.

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