

Women and Political Parties: Equality, Justice in Feminist Law

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http://dx.doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v7i9.2390

Abstract

The need to present women's interests in politics is a necessity in order to achieve political equality, the State is obliged to make it happen. The fulfilment of women's rights in politics is the fulfilment of human rights that are often not fulfilled properly due to discrimination. Women as one of the vulnerable groups in human rights is due to various social, cultural, economic or religious conditions. This article argues that in Indonesia the representation of legislative members is still dominated by men. The justification of women in politics is only limited to numbers and only as a formal requirement for political parties participating in the general election. This is very likely to have an impact on the quality of decisions taken. Women's representation in politics in quantity is not merely intended to avoid the dominance of one gender in political institutions that formulate public policies. More than that, the policies taken by members of parliament should be regardless of gender, should still fight for the interests of women. This article concludes that women's representation in the political field seen in feminist law with a gender approach is in the context of revising the Law on Politics, especially in the Law on Political Parties. The function of political parties in political education for women as well as synchronisation and harmonisation of women's representation in the Political Package Law. Legal products made must reflect a sense of justice and equality for women themselves.

Keywords: Women; Political Parties; Feminist Law

Introduction

Women and nature have symbolic similarities because they are both oppressed by those in power using masculine attributes (Susilo & Kodir, 2016). When the reform era arrived, the need to bring back women in politics became inevitable in order to achieve political equality (Marwah, 2015). Which are often not fulfilled properly because they are discriminated against (Rahayu, 2012). The inclusion of women as one of the vulnerable groups in human rights is due to various social, cultural, economic or



physical conditions that make women a weak and unprotected group and are therefore at risk and danger of experiencing violence or violations of rights by other groups (Bangun, 2020).

Women both as citizens for development have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities as men in all fields of life, nation and in all development activities, including in the process where women can consider a matter up to decision making (Ardhanariswari et al., 2008) Article 8 Paragraph (2) of the General Election Commission Regulation Number 10 of 2023 concerning the Nomination of Members of the House of Representatives, Provincial Regional House of Representatives, and Regency/City Regional House of Representatives, hereinafter referred to as PKPU on Nomination, states that: In the event that the calculation of 30% (thirty per cent) of the number of female Candidates in each electoral district results in a fractional number, then if the two decimal places behind the comma are: a. less than 50 (fifty), the calculation results are rounded down; or b. 50 (fifty) or more, the calculation results are rounded up.

Based on this article, the number of women council members may be in danger of being reduced due to the rounding of decimals behind the comma which is less than 50 (fifty), the results of the calculation are rounded down. This clearly contradicts the General Election Law, which states that the list of legislative candidates contains at least 30% women's representation. The commitment of the election organisers and policy makers in this regard is also questionable in order to realise women's representation in parliament.

General Election	Male		Female		Male + Female	
Year	Number	%	Number	%	Total	%
1955	256	94,12	16	5,88	272	100,0
1971	429	93,26	31	6,74	460	100,0
1977	423	91,96	37	8,04	460	100,0
1982	418	90,87	42	9,13	460	100,0
1987	441	88,20	59	11,80	500	100,0
1992	438	87,60	62	12,40	500	100,0
1997	442	88,40	58	11,60	500	100,0
1999	456	91,20	44	8,80	500	100,0
2004	485	88,18	65	11,82	550	100,0
2009	460	82,14	100	17,86	560	100,0
2014	463	82,68	97	17,32	560	100,0
2019	457	79,48	118	20,52	575	100,0
2024	452	77,9	128	22,1	580	100,0

Table. 1. Members of the House of Representatives by Gender Election Year 1955-2024

Source: processed by the author from various sources

Data from the Central Statistics Agency that in 2020 the population of Indonesia was +-269 million people, men +-135 million people and women +134 million people. This shows that the female population is almost half the male population. In the 2019 general election, women's representation in parliament was only 20.52% or only 118 people out of 575 people in the DPR and the last in the 2024 general election was only 22.1% or only 128 people out of 580 in the DPR. However, the representation of members of parliament is still dominated by men.



A minimum of 30% is a critical mass to enable change and impact the quality of decisions taken. It is intended to avoid the dominance of one gender in political institutions that formulate public policy (Tridewiyanti, 2012). There are no legal implications for political parties that do not fulfil the 30% quota for women based on the results of the general election. Political parties do not have a significant role in realising the implementation of the 30% quota for women's representation (Asmara & Cahyowati, 2023). It is not easy to include a gender perspective in every public policy formulation. Therefore, enlightenment on gender perspectives needs to be continuously carried out to all components of the nation (Sibarani, 2016).

Strategies to Improve the Quality of Representation and Representation of Women in Parliament, namely: First, political education. Second, building support for gender equality in the political sphere. Third, there is a cross-party forum. Fourth, placing women's quota in political party structure regulations. Fifth, increasing the political role of women in parliament. Sixth, encourage the realisation of women's quota in parliament not only at the House Of Representatives level, but also at the regional parliament level, namely the Regional Representative Council (DPD). Seventh, provide an increased allocation of the number of seats in the electoral district (Hayat, 2020). Strategies to increase women's political participation in Indonesia include: Increase Awareness of Election Laws and Regulations, Organising Women to Become Candidates, Organising Women's Groups and Strengthening Networks, Movements to Change Party Organisational Structures, Constitutions, Networks, Data/information on the Status of Women, Women Members of Parliament Should be Models, Awareness of Constituents' Needs and Ensuring that government policies have a gender perspective (Hardjaloka, 2016).

According to the United Nations' (UN) newly published Women in Local. Based on government data, women make up 36% of local deliberative bodies worldwide compared to just 25% in national parliaments. This increase is largely the result of gender quotas: The Gender Quotas Database (International IDEA 2022) shows that by 2021, 75 countries will have specific gender quotas at the local level, 24 of which will be authoritarian regimes (Barnett & Shalaby, 2023). Efforts to increase women's participation in politics in Indonesia have substantially existed with the adoption of the principle of affirmative action in regulations, what must be studied is how the implementation is carried out by stakeholders.(Purwanti, 2015) Affirmative political financing is also a crucial dimension to encourage an increase in women's political representation, not only in numbers but also substantively (Puskapol UI, 2020). The women's movement needs to claim non-electoral political representation to re-present interests (Ardiansa, 2017). In order for political party administrators to bring up qualified female legislative candidates. For this reason, political parties need to prepare their cadres seriously from an early age, so that female candidates have sufficient capacity to be nominated (FH UII, 2016).

In addition to this, there must be firm and harmonious arrangements related to women's representation in both the Political Party Law, the General Election Law, and The People's Consultative Assembly, people's representative council, regional representative council, regional people's representative council Law. This is done so that the three laws can provide guarantees and legal certainty for access and equality for women in political decision-making. Strict sanctions are needed for political parties in terms of fulfilling the 30% minimum quota for women's representation in politics. Parties must have a commitment that is outlined in the Articles of Association and Bylaws (ADART) not only for the quantity but also the quality of women members/managers/cadres. If it is related to the function of political education by the party. So, it is fitting that the party can provide political education and acceleration in increasing women's participation in every political activity is a necessity.

Based on the description above, the author is interested in conducting scientific research with the title 'Women and Political Parties: Equality, Justice in Feminist Law'.



Metode

Normative juridical research involves the systematic investigation of legal norms, as well as legal principles and doctrines, with the aim of resolving related legal issues (Mahmud Marzuki, 2005). Normative legal research refers to the process by which a researcher carefully and precisely defines and limits their research problem. In addition, it also entails the careful selection of a methodology to establish the researcher's course of action, as well as the systematic formulation of their theoretical framework (Nasution, 2008). The study presented in this paper is based on legal provisions and theories as well as legal facts relating to women and political parties as a starting point for women's representation in the legislature. Through the Legislation approach, conceptual approach, and case approach. Primary legal materials used include all regulations relating to women and the Political Package Law. Secondary legal materials used in this research include books in the field of Constitutional Law, as well as journals and actual research findings in the realm of legal science that are relevant to legal issues that will be analysed, criticised and find conceptions related to the research theme.

Result and Discussion

Legal Justification for Women's Representation in Indonesia's Political Package Law

The inability of political parties to carry out the regeneration function effectively can stem from many factors. One of them is the increasing number of single candidates in regional head elections in Indonesia (Febrian et al., 2022). In addition, the implementation of a quota for women's representation will be more effective because there is a clear limit on the number, so it is guaranteed and legally based (I Putu Oka Pratiwi Widasmara, 2016). Not only quantity is prioritised but the most important thing is quantity followed by quality, so that women play an active role in carrying out their duties and authority, such as in using the right of initiative to propose policies.(Artina, 2016) In order for women to be elected to Parliament, the political parties have a responsibility to trust women, encourage them, and nominate them in constituencies where they can be confident of electoral success (Kunovich & Paxton, 2005). Descriptive representation of women makes a difference in policy representation (Espírito-Santo et al., 2020).

The current laws and regulations related to political parties are: Firstly, Law No. 2/2008 on Political Parties. Second, Law No. 2 of 2011 on the Amendment to Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties, hereinafter referred to as the Political Party Law. While the main objective remains to increase women's representation in parliament, it is imperative to explore the development of a structured approach by political parties for the selection of women candidates. This approach should focus on improving the political knowledge and skills of women candidates to empower them to effectively fulfil their roles and responsibilities as elected representatives (Kurniawan, 2014).

In relation to general elections, there are three governing laws and regulations, namely: First, Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Second, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2022 concerning Amendments to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Third, Law Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2022 concerning Amendments to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections into Law, hereinafter referred to as the Election Law. Meanwhile, if we refer to the Election Law, women's political rights are clearly regulated. Both the General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Body membership pay attention to women's representation of at least 30% (thirty per cent) (Bintari, 2022). Women's representation in general elections should have the same rights as men's representation in general elections and there is no need to use the limitation of 'at least', the term 'at least' women's representation of 30% (thirty per cent) as stipulated in Article 177 of the Election Law, as a result will



make the space for women's involvement in general elections to be 'at least' of 30%, whereas every human right, the Indonesian people have been guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution (Hevriansyah, 2021).

The People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives, the House of Regional Representatives and the Regional House of Representatives are regulated in the Laws and Regulations, namely: First, Law Number 17 of 2014 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly, House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council. Second, Law Number 13 of 2019 on the Third Amendment to Law Number 17 of 2014 on the People's Consultative Assembly, the House of Representatives, the Regional Representatives Council, and the Regional People's Representatives Council, hereinafter referred to as the MD3 Law. The Constitutional Court finally partially granted a judicial review of a number of articles of the MD3 Law filed by the Coalition for Advocacy of Women's Leadership. The Court stated that all elections for the leadership of DPR organs must prioritise women's representation.

			ontent Material		
Political Party	Election Law	MD3	Constitutional	Rules of	PKPU on
Law		LAW	Court Decision	Procedure of the	candidacy
			number 82/PUU-	House of	
			XII/2014	Representa-tives	
Establishment	Political parties can	-	Article 97	The leadership of	Candidate
and formation of	become election		paragraph (2),	the House of	submission
Political Parties	participants after		Article 104	Representatives	requirements as
include 30%	fulfilling the		paragraph (2),	consists of 1 (one)	referred to in Article
women's	requirements:		Article 109	chairperson and 4	7 paragraph (2)
representation	include at least 30% of		paragraph (2),	(four) vice	letter a include
	women's representation		Article 109	chairpersons who	referred to in Article
	in the party		paragraph (2),	are elected from	7 paragraph (2)
	management		Article 115	and by the	letter a includes:
	management at the		paragraph (2),	Members with due	c. the list of
	central level		Article 121	regard to women's	Candidates as
			paragraph (2),	representation,	referred to in
			Article 152	which is	letter a must contain
			paragraph (2), and	determined in a	women's
			Article 158	fixed package in a	representation
			paragraph (2) of the	plenary meeting of	at least 30% in each
			MD3 Law are	the House of	electoral district;
			contrary to the 1945	Representatives.	d. every 3 (three)
The management	Required documents		Constitution and	Factions in	Candidates in the
of political	include:		have no binding	proposing	composition of the
parties at the	a certificate from the		legal force as long	packages can pay	list of Candidates as
central level is	central board of a		as they are not	attention to	referred to in letter a
composed by	political party regarding		added with the	women's	must contain at least
including at least	the inclusion of		phrase 'by	representation	1 (one) female
30% women's	women's representation		prioritising women's		Candidate.
representation.	of at least 30%.		representation		female candidate
The management	The list of candidates as		according to the		Article 8 Paragraph
of Political	referred to in Article		balance of the		(2)
Parties at the	243 shall contain		number of members		In the event that the
provincial and	women's representation		of each faction'.		calculation of 30%
regency/city	of at least 30%.				of the number of number of female
levels is					
compiled by					Candidates in each
taking into					electoral district results in
account women's					results in

Table. 2. Justification of women's representation in the Political Package Regulation



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			fractional number,
			then if two decimal
			places behind the
			comma are: 1.
			behind the comma
			are worth:
			a. less than 50
			(fifty), the
			calculation result
			shall be rounded
			down; or
			calculation result is
			rounded down; or
			b. 50 (fifty) or more,
			the calculation result
			shall be rounded up.
			is rounded up.
In the list of candidates			The provision of
for every 3 (three)			returning the
candidates there is at			required documents
least 1 (one) female			is excluded in the
candidate.			event that there are
			conditions letter b
			and c
The General Election			The General
Commission Provincial,			Election
Regency/City announce			Commission
the percentage of			Provincial,
women's representation			Regency/City
in the provisional			announce the
candidate lists of their			percentage of
respective political			women's
			representation in the
daily print mass media			provisional
and national electronic			candidate list in at
mass media.			least 1 (one)
			national daily print
			media and national
			electronic mass
			media.
	for every 3 (three) candidates there is at least 1 (one) female candidate. The General Election Commission Provincial, Regency/City announce the percentage of women's representation in the provisional candidate lists of their respective political parties in the national daily print mass media and national electronic	for every 3 (three) candidates there is at least 1 (one) female candidate. The General Election Commission Provincial, Regency/City announce the percentage of women's representation in the provisional candidate lists of their respective political parties in the national daily print mass media and national electronic	for every 3 (three) candidates there is at least 1 (one) female candidate. The General Election Commission Provincial, Regency/City announce the percentage of women's representation in the provisional candidate lists of their respective political parties in the national daily print mass media and national electronic

Source: processed by the author

Mexico, which since 2012 has had more female parliamentarians than the global average, with more than 50 per cent of Mexico's parliamentarians being women (DPR RI, 2024). Based on the table above, the justification for women's representation in the Political Package Law has not consistently regulated 30% women's representation. Where the Election Law only adds the phrase 'by prioritising women's representation according to the balance of the number of members of each faction'. The phrase prioritising should be changed to the phrase at least or mandatory. So that it has legal certainty for women to be able to fill/occupy the leadership seats of the the house of representatives, namely the Commission, Legislation Body, Budget Body, Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Body, Board of Honour Court, Household Affairs Body, and Special Committee. Then coupled with the presence of PKPU on Nomination in 2023, it has further weakened women's representation in the legislature. Where in the previous PKPU on Nomination in 2018 in the event that the calculation of 30% (thirty per cent) of the number of female candidates in each Dapil resulted in a fractional number, rounding up was carried out.



Based on Article 8 Paragraph (2) of PKPU Pencalonan, regarding the rounding of decimals down, in the technical calculation of the proportion of the number of women in an electoral district has the potential to make women's representation as legislative candidates below 30%. The previous PKPU on Nomination more strictly required a minimum limit of 30% female legislative candidates to political parties participating in the general election. The rounding down in the general election commission provision contradicts the minimum quota of 30% women's representation in parliament mentioned in Article 245 of the Election Law (Nuggraha & Amnan, 2023). Based on feminist legal theory, and women have efforts to increase equal rights in politics. From the two PKPU on Nomination, it has been predicted that female legislative candidates still do not fulfil the minimum limit of women as legislative members. This is evident in the elections that have been held, where the highest number of female legislators sitting in the legislature is only 22.1%, namely in the 2024 general election, not proportional to the number of female population in Indonesia.

Based on Worldometer's explanation, the current population of Indonesia as of Thursday 27 June 2024 is 279,770,358 people. The 2020 Population Census also recorded that the male population in Indonesia is more than the female population. The male population in Indonesia is 136.66 million people or 50.58 per cent of the total population of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the female population is 133.54 million people, or 49.42 per cent of the total population of Indonesia.

The General Election Commission has officially announced the Permanent Candidate List for the 2024 general election, for the House of Representatives with 9,917 candidates covering 18 political parties and spread across 84 electoral districts. Of the total, 37.7% or 3,896 legislative candidates are women and 62.3% or 6,427 legislative candidates are men. The General Election Commission determined the Permanent Voters List for the 2024 general election as many as 204,807,222 voters. There are 102,218,503 male voters and 102,588,719 female voters, with a total of 204,807,222 male and female voters.

No	Political	% Female Members of Parliament				
	parties	General Election/Year				
		2009	2014	2019	2024	
1	Nasdem	0	11,43	32,20	30,4	
2	PDIP	18,09	19,27	20,31	24,5	
3	Golkar	16,98	17,58	22,35	19,6	
4	PPP	13,16	25,64	26,32	0	
5	PKB	25,00	21,28	20,69	20,6	
6	PKS	5,26	2,50	16,00	17,0	
7	Gerindra	19,23	15,07	15,38	22,1	
8	Demokrat	23,65	21,31	18,52	20,5	
9	PAN	15,22	18,37	15,91	18,8	
10	Hanura	17,65	12,50	0	0	
Total		17,86	17,32	20,52	22,1	

Table. 3. Women's Representation per party in the House of Representatives from the 2009, 2014, 2019
and 2024 General Elections in Indonesia

Source: processed by the author

Based on the table above, the representation of women per party in the the house of representatives as a result of the 2009, 2014, 2019 and 2024 general elections has fluctuated. Based on the parties that qualify for the Senayan, the Nasdem party has the most female representation, namely in the 2024 general election with 30.4%. PKS is the least with 17.0%. From the range of results of the 2009, 2014, 2019 and 2024 general elections, to be precise in the 2019 and 2024 general elections, only one party managed to send female legislators more than or at least 30% of the total legislative candidates in



the party. Political parties are morally obliged, committed and consistent to accommodate the interests of women beyond the expectations of the political package regulations, especially those contained in the PKPU on Nomination.

It seems that it is still not easy to incorporate a gender perspective in every public policy formulation. Therefore, enlightenment about gender perspectives needs to be continuously carried out to all components of the nation (Sibarani, 2016). The issue of the function of political parties, especially in relation to political education for women, as well as the synchronisation and harmonisation of women's representation in the Political Package Law, is still a problem today.

Women's Representation Based on the Principles of Equality and Justice in Feminist Law

In the seventeenth century, due to the widespread influence of John Locke's understanding of the concept of human rights, resistance to the patriarchal dominance of nature's perception of reality began to emerge. The emergence of movements and thoughts that fight for gendered justice, which reject all forms of discrimination that marginalise women. In the field of law, through the Critical Legal Studies Movement, the school of Feminist Jurisprudence emerged.Niken Savitri, Ham Perempuan Kritik Teori Hukum eminis Terhadap KUHP (S. Aep Gunarsa ed, PT Refika Aditama 2008). Sarah Gamble states that Feminism is an understanding, study, and social movement that aims to change the subordinate status of women in a society that prioritises a male perspective (Sulistyawan, 2018).

Likewise, for Feminist Legal Theory (FLT), the subjective nature of the study and the favouring of women are legitimate in the scientific realm. This kind of partiality is unique, characterising FLT studies (Sulistyawan, 2018). In the late 1960s and especially the 1970s, in America and Europe feminists criticised the neutrality of the law (Irianto, 2006). Different factual and contextual conditions make the feminist movement eventually give rise to schools of feminist thought such as liberal, radical, Marxist and socialist feminism, cultural/existentialism, postmodern, multicultural and global, ecofeminism and others. Feminist schools based on the description above are a form of response to injustice in a cultural structure of patriarchal society (Triantono, 2023).

In the perspective of legal philosophy, the fulfilment of women's rights and gender equality is an effort to achieve justice as the goal of law to realise the principle of equality before the law (Surakarta & Pramesti, 2023). The concept of gender was originally introduced by Robert Stoller. The idea was further developed by Ann Oakley, who asserted that gender aligns with the biological division of the sexes into male and female (Erlina & Normadilla, 2020). A gender approach in the revision of the Law on Politics needs to be encouraged in order to benefit social life that is more just and equitable and non-discriminatory (Erlina & Normadilla, 2020).

It is interesting to cite in this paper that Thatcher's election in 1979 was newsworthy in part because she was the first woman to become prime minister of the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, some men in Parliament patronised her simply because she was a woman in a strong leadership role. Some said that arguing with her was the 'prototype' of arguing with a woman, because it 'lacked a rational sequence (Constitutional Right Foundation, 2013). This means that in that year in the world, especially in the UK, there was still a stigma against women.

Women who continue to strive to show their work or work in the political sphere, will undoubtedly be able to bring change and enlightenment to themselves and democracy in this country (Indonesia) (Faisol, 2016). Women and politics are two concepts that pose great challenges in imagining, especially in developing countries. This complexity stems from the influence of cultural norms that underline women's roles that are largely centred around the family context. Political rights are part of human rights that must be safeguarded and protected by the state in the form of legislative arrangements ranging from the Constitution to the implementing laws and regulations (Affandi, 2014).



Women's politics had been shackled for a long time during the New Order rule through policies that placed women's roles not far from their domestic spaces. When the reform era arrived, the need to bring back women in politics became inevitable in order to achieve political equality (Marwah, 2015). Between 1998-2008 many laws and regulations relating to human rights were issued. It can be said that these ten years were the most progressive period in the protection of human rights. In addition to legal provisions that have provided special treatment for women, or at least have been formulated with a gender equality perspective, there are still laws and regulations that are perceived to be discriminatory against women (Kania, 2016).

The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre (RISSC) noted that the Muslim population in Indonesia will reach 240.62 million by 2023. This number is equivalent to 86.7% of the national population, which totals 277.53 million (Cindy Muttia Annur, 2023). One of the provinces in Indonesia, women in politics in South Aceh, namely some ulama allow women to be involved in politics, but women must maintain their identity as a Muslim (Sari, 2016). Islam itself through the verses of the Qur'an and the life history of the Prophet upholds the gender equality movement. Even in Islam itself in modern times there are Muslim feminist movements using the tafsir method to create the value of gender equality (Azizah, 2021). At least Muslim feminists are not too ambitious in proclaiming and loudly demanding their rights equally. Because it is feared that they will fall into the liberal feminist school, which demands equality openly. Because Islam is not only principled in thought, but morals and ethics are part of what must be prioritised (Hermanto & Ismail, 2020).

Since the 19th century, several women in Indonesia have emerged as important figures in the struggle for independence. Examples include Nyi Ageng Serang XIX, Cut Nyak Dien, Christina Martha Tiahahu, Dewi Sartika, R.A. Kartini, and others. This particular era marked the start of the women's movement in 1928, when the inaugural Women's Congress took place in Yogyakarta (Kiftiyah, 2019). That Indonesian society when hearing the phrase politics, what looms is a bad practice, a deceptive world or field, a hard world so that it is considered that women will not be able to last long in the political field because the community assumes that women are weak creatures so that if they are in the political field, they will lose to men (Kiftiyah, 2019). The view of fikih siyasah on the political role of women initiated by Siti Musdah Mulia in essence there is no prohibition in Islam, even history records many women who played an active role both during the time of the prophet and the companions (Syahid, 2014).

Most gender activists argue that the popular vote system of elections, which includes fair competition, ignores substantive equality between women and men, with the implication that decisions made by men are less accommodating of women's interests than decisions made by women themselves (Prihatinah, 2010). This is also not entirely true if all elected councillors are professional, competent, and act fairly and understand all women-related issues. Descriptive representation does not automatically improve governance, and various contextual factors influence the ability of (female) politicians to shape policy. It is also likely to favour policy decisions that go against their preferences (Mechkova et al., 2024). There is a need for sustainable empowerment of women within and outside the system, where the implementation of procedures and realisation of empowerment goals will be achieved through empowerment strategies, specifically Enabling, Protecting, Supporting and Nurturing (Ardhanariswari et al., 2008). Establish internal political party regulations that accommodate the needs of women (Hariyanti et al., 2018).

Legislation is expected to identify women's issues, which is an obligation for legislators to realise substantive justice in lawmaking so that the laws formed have the aim of benefiting women's lives (Surakarta & Pramesti, 2023). Women representatives not only advance women's rights, but also advance children's rights. In national legislatures, there is an important trend of women advancing gender-and family-friendly legislation (Sebastian Donaldson, 2022). The aim is that the presence of women in the legislature can fight for the issue of legislation relating to women, namely the Gender Equality and Justice Bill (RUU KKG). The 30% figure is not for electability, it is only interpreted as a formal requirement.



Conclusion

Justification of women's representation in the Political Package Law has not consistently regulated 30% women's representation. The Election Law only adds the phrase 'by prioritising women's representation according to the balance of the number of members of each faction'. The phrase prioritising should be changed to the phrase at least or mandatory. Women and political parties are ultimately the starting point for women's representation in the legislature, in the regulation of the Political Package Law in Indonesia. Political parties have a moral obligation, commitment and consistency to accommodate women's interests beyond the expectations of the political package regulations, especially those contained in the PKPU on Nomination. It is proven that in Indonesia, starting from the 2009, 2014, 2019 and the last 2024 general elections, only one party managed to break 30% of women's representation in the parliament, and even then only in the 2019 and 2024 general elections. Between the Political Party Law, the Election Law and the MD3 Law and the regulations below must be synchronised and harmonised in order to accommodate the strengthening of women's representation and interests. The expected impact is not only the quantity but also the quality of women's membership/management/cadres as well as on the decisions/policies taken when they have been elected to represent the interests of women in parliament. On the other hand, this is not entirely true if all elected board members are professional, competent, and act fairly and understand all issues related to women.

The beginning of the emergence of feminist law is a criticism of the neutrality of the law. In a feminist legal perspective, it requires not only quantity or number but also through arrangements related to policies that do not discriminate against women. In the Political Party Law itself, one of them is the affirmation of political education financing for women. All members of political parties are obliged to fight through their factions in representative institutions in hearing meetings, for example involving and / or inviting women leaders, related to issues to be discussed, especially regarding legal protection related to women. The embodiment of all these points is through legal products that are made that must reflect a sense of justice and equality for women themselves.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

All authors contributed proportionally and had no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for this research from any organisation.

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