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# Representation And Participation Of Women In Indonesian Political Parties

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#### Abstract:

The role of women in Indonesia's political parties shows that women can take part in government regulatory decisions. However, women's representation in formal political institutions is still quite limited; the low representation is due to profound structural and cultural barriers. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, women's representation in Indonesia has never reached the target of 30% according to the provisions of Law number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties; even in the last five years, data shows that women's representation is only above 20%. This study specifically explores the role of patriarchal culture and the subordination of women in the political decision-making process as the leading causes. This study uses the normative juridical method by analysing data from legal literature sources and reviewing literature through transformative shorts to find the root cause of women's lack of representation in politics. The results of the study show that the lack of representation of women is due to a patriarchal culture created from the collective mindset of the community. The subordination of women in the political constellation is realised due to a lack of understanding from a managerial point of view and explicitly considers it difficult for women to make decisions because it always involves emotions. Thus, systematic efforts are needed through the SEP framework, Self-awareness, Education, Politics, and Promotion, to change public perceptions of the role of women, as well as reforms in political party structures and decision-making processes.

Keywords: Participation, Political Education, Representation, and Women

#### Abstrak

Peran perempuan dalam partai politik Indonesia menunjukan bahwa kaum perempuan mampu mengambil andil dalam suatu keputusan regulasi pemerintahan. Akan tetapi, representasi perempuan di lembaga politik formal masih cukup terbatas, rendahnya representasi tersebut karena adanya hambatan sturuktural dan kultural yang mendalam. Dilansir dari Inter-Parliamentery Union, representasi perempuan di Indonesia tidak pernah mencapai target 30% sesuai ketentuan Undang-Undang nomor 2 tahun 2008 tentang partai politik, bahkan dalam kurun waktu lima tahun terakhir data menunjukan representasi perempuan hanya di atas 20%. Penelitian ini secara khusus mengeksplorasi peran budaya



patriarki dan subordinasi perempuan dalam proses pengambilan keputusan politik sebagai penyebab utama. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode yuridis normative dengan menganalisa data dari sumber literatur hukum dan study literatur review melalui pendekan tranformatif dalam mencari pangkal pokok penyebab kurangnya representasi perempuan di politik. Hasil penelitian menunjukan kurangnya representasi perempuan dikarenakan oleh budaya patriarki yang tercipta dari pola pikir kolektif masyarakat. Serta subordinasi perempuan di konstelasi politik terealisasikan karena kurangnya pemahaman dari segi manajerial dan secara ekplisit mengganggap perempuan sulit mengambil keputusan karena selalu melibatkan emosional. Dengan demikian diperlukan upaya sistematis melalui kerangka SEP; Self Awarenes, Education Politics dan Promotion untuk mengubah persepsi masyarakat tentang peran perempuan, serta reformasi dalam struktur partai politik dan proses pengambilan keputusan.

Kata kunci: Partisipasi, Pendidikan Politik, Perempuan, dan Representasi

# I. Introduction

Lex respicit acquitted (The law must pay attention to equality), the fundamental principle is all the same in the eyes of the law without any distinguishing barriers. All deserve the same treatment in line with a democratic country. A democratic state is synonymous with the people's involvement in government administration. Public representation is often involved in policy-making. Participation continues beyond regulatory intervention; the scope for representation is wide enough to realise the public interest. The activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in politics, including by electing state leaders and, directly or indirectly, influencing public policy, is a form of political participation.<sup>1</sup>

Participation in politics is contained in the foundation of the 1945 constitution, which frees anyone to participate in politics, especially women. No regulatory stretch limits women's participation in the world of politics; even Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties provides a 30% quota for women to participate actively. However, regulations are only formalised; data from the Inter-Parliamenteryunion 2023 shows that only 21.9% of women's representation in Indonesia participate in the political arena. Therefore, the regulatory umbrella does not explicitly bind its realisation.

The difficulty in realising the national target of 30% for women to participate in politics is the creation of a patriarchal culture that is born from the collective mindset of the people. The collective mindset of the community rains down on women to

participate in active representation in the political constellation. Patriarchal culture views that women are only destined by nature to do domestic work: *macak, manak,* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rizki Priandi and Kholis Roisah, "Efforts to Increase Women's Political Participation in General Elections in Indonesia," *Journal of Legal Development Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2019): 106, https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116.

and masak. Thus, this traditional view makes women sometimes feel insecure about their ability to participate in politics. So, the participation of women in politics is very low or even rare.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these natural rights of women, subordination to women in terms of managerial, competence, and image as an emotional individual makes women reluctant to participate in politics. Subordination can occur due to the gender separation between women and men, reconstructed by social structures. Therefore, inequality affects the role of women, who cannot take on the role of actors in the political constellation. Gender refers to behaviours and expectations that are socially studied to distinguish between masculinity and femininity. At the time of social structure, it is seen that gender, where quality is associated with masculinity, rationality, ambition, and power, is marked by higher values and status than the qualities associated with femininity, emotionality, passivity, and weakness. This is a gender hierarchy, a system of power in which men are given privileges over women.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of the study is to understand how patriarchal culture can be born and to reduce the representation of women in the political realm that does not meet the national target. In addition to the patriarchal culture that is reconstructed by society, the subordination of women is increasingly structured to constantly create shackles for women to choose between domestic or public roles. Therefore, even though Law Number 2 of 2008 on political parties provides a 30% quota for women to participate, if there is still a patriarchal culture and subordination, it will be difficult to achieve the national target.

#### II. RESEARCH METHODS

The author used the method to examine the representation and participation of women in Indonesia's political parties, which is normative juridical. The author analyzes data from literature review sources (SLR) and legal literature through a transformative approach that aims to find the root cause comprehensively of the problems raised to be able to solve them. The data analysis method also uses a qualitative approach in describing statements or opinions from sources in books and journals related to the problem. In addition, the study aims to understand how women's representation and participation cannot achieve the national targets that have been comparatively achieved through women's representation data during the last five years. It will also appoint creative efforts through the SEP framework to increase women's representation and participation in the political realm.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Alfi Nursyifa et al., "Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Politik," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Pemerintahan* 9, no. 1 (2023): 25–35, https://doi.org/10.37058/jipp.v9i1.4120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Robert Jackson dan Georg Sorensen, *PENGANTAR STUDI HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL TEORI DAN PENDEKATAN EDISI KELIMA* (PUSTAKA PELAJAR Celeban Timur UH III/548, Yogyakarta, 2015).

#### III. DISCUSSION

## **Patriarchal Culture**

Patriarchal culture is a phenomenon of marginalization of women in Indonesia. The patriarchal culture was created because of the birth of negative stereotypes against women. Steorative negatives towards women arise and develop from ancestral heritage, which states that women will return to the kitchen. Women can only carry out domestic activities such as *macak*, *manak*, *and masak*. As a result of this hereditary mindset, women often limit themselves in developing their potential. So, the stretch of difficulties from the creation of a patriarchal culture limits the space for women to grow and develop. Patriarchal culture refers to socio-cultural conditions that view men as superior. With the idea that men are in the position of women so that they can control women, this kind of culture grew up in ancient societies and created certain myths.<sup>4</sup>

Patriarchal culture is still inherent in the people. Patriarchal culture is difficult to separate because, with the presence of this culture, men who are used to it can dominate women. The opportunity to exercise hegemony over women because men can get whatever is the basis of their needs. Instead of dominating, the patriarchal cultural perspective sees a man as far superior to a woman. Superiority that is exaggerated to men through patriarchal culture causes the marginalization of women who are unable to balance the position of men.

Self-actualization from the smooth expression of phrases cannot balance this position, binding women's natural rights only to stay at home and to perform reproductive or biological roles: conceiving, giving birth, and breastfeeding. Therefore, the culture that is inherent in the layers of society can create boundaries that are relatively difficult for women not to be able to get out of the domestic, reproductive, and biological zones. The biological differences between men and women are considered the beginning of the formation of patriarchal culture. The biological difference between the two is an unequal status. Women who do not have muscles are used as an excuse why society puts them in a weak position.<sup>5</sup>

A protracted society perpetuates reception in favour of muscles over ratios, giving birth to a negative stigma toward consistent, appropriate and harmonious women. The equality of position for women has become a series of anomalies. Differences in physical and capability aspects between men and women. They are reconstructing the position in emphasizing the selection of the right role for leadership matters. Women who have been brainwashed since childhood not to take leadership roles will be overwhelmed by social challenges in taking part in the government, especially in the realm of political parties. Women's indoctrination cannot be a leader, giving birth to scepticism and lack of confidence so that it grows and develops into a dogma that continues to be transmitted. Therefore, scepticism and lack of self-doubt encourage women to hesitate and not dare to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> F Lambertus, K, "Budaya Patriarki Dan Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Bidang Politik Budaya Patraiki," *Repository Universitas Ahmad Dahlan* III, no. November (2017): 321–22, http://eprints.uad.ac.id/9799/1/315-318 Fredik Lambertus Kollo.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lambertus, K.

assume the same role as men. One of the factors that makes women less confident to advance into the political arena is the patriarchal culture. Women want to step into the political arena but still need more confidence.<sup>6</sup>

Demotivation to advance to the political constellation for women is ironically perpetuated through the patriarchal culture carried out by the mother or the woman herself. The role of parents, especially mothers, in reconstructing children's attitudes and behaviours is very significant in the home. The way parents reconstruct women's personalities is as a weak, gentle individuals and must be treated subtly. Then it is different from men as individuals of rationality, ambition, and having the strength to fortify the family. So, the difference in treatment reconstructs attitudes and behaviors that are very contrasting for both.

The same personality reconstruction of attitudes and behaviors that differ between men and women as a child grows at the time of reaching maturity. As a result, again both of them broke the same habit. Therefore, the circle of demons from the inheritance of the habit of doing differences can create an identical culture that men are far superior, strong, dominant and superior compared to women, who are weak, gentle and treated subtly. Thus, this is why patriarchal culture can continue to develop endlessly at various levels of society. Therefore, the collective mindset of the people creates a patriarchal culture that women should be companions or complements of men. Without further involvement in tasks outside of domestic, reproductive and biological work, men have the highest task load without performing the tasks that women do. Patriarchal culture sees that only men deserve to hold the top position. This is because men have firmness that is not proportional to women with their gentle nature. So, women do not deserve to be used as rivals with men, especially in terms of leadership.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, a patriarchal culture is created by the collective mindset of the community. It creates a need for more representation and participation of women in the political realm. So that it becomes an obstacle in itself, in representing women to play an active role in taking part in the political realm. In connection with the lack of representation of women in politics, it is significant that it is difficult to access representation of voices in formulating legal ideas or products regarding equality, equality and empowerment for women and girls. If women are not represented in the two institutions, it will be difficult to expect the birth of a legal product with a gender perspective, and women's participation in the policymaking process is a prerequisite for the growth of democratic government.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Subordination of Women**

Subordination to women has become a complex reality that has become an issue in Indonesia. This can happen because of the negative label that is often given to women as creatures who have a weak and soft nature, so the negative label creates a marginalized

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nursyifa et al., "Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Politik."

<sup>8</sup> Asif Trisnani, Wenning Windiarti, and Hidayatus Sa'adah, "Peran Perempuan Dalam Politik Menurut Yusuf Al-Qardhawi," Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam 19, no. 2 (2021), https://doi.org/10.21111/klm.v19i2.6412.

perception of women. The process of subordination of women creates a conducive area for discrimination, violence and one-sidedness towards women. One of the results of the subordination process is that women cannot do work in the public sphere, especially in politics.

The realization of subordination to women who can only do domestic work as housewives. It is more towards women not being able to perform dual roles. The double burden carried by women will make them run out of energy, concentration and work will be divided. Therefore, subordination to women can be well poured out in line with what is in accordance with the flow of patriarchal culture that is quite silent at home. In line with this subordination, it restricts women from taking part in the public world.<sup>9</sup>

Women's subordination is an objective view of women who are treated as individual objects that do not have dignity and dignity. This view puts the position of women as helpless and inferior to men. Women's subordination is interpreted as the 'ranking' of women, that women are weaker/inferior to men so that the "position", function and role of women seem to be lower than men.<sup>10</sup>

The hereditary legacy of cultural reconstruction hinders the freedom of women to come out of the perspective that considers women as objects. Therefore, if women want to expand their space of movement to develop their potential and interests, they are also limited and hindered. The liberal feminist view is that "the subordination of women is rooted in a set of cultural constraints and customs that impede women's access to the opportunity to compete fairly with men.<sup>11</sup>

Women who are considered objects create a negative cycle that makes it difficult for them to achieve fair access to competition in obtaining their rights and freedoms. Even though they have a strong interest in developing their potential and participating in the public, especially in the political realm, it is still a collective mindset that gives birth to subordination, so in the end, women will have difficulty actively participating. The flow of women's subordination is in line with the lack of women's representation to participate in the public sphere, especially politics, actively. The active role of women in politics is often difficult to appreciate because of the subordination of women who are not suitable for representation in solving public problems.

On the other hand, the subordination of women in terms of politics can be realized due to the lack of understanding of women in the managerial context. Women who perform dual roles will experience significant demands for their existence both at home and at work, so the double burden makes women not have access to support systems and policies that help them balance their home and work lives. Therefore, women's access to representation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Eka Kurniawati and Siti Samhati, "Subordinasi Perempuan: Rekonstruksi Peran Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia," *Al Huwiyah: Journal of Woman and Children Studies* 1, no. 2 (2021), https://doi.org/10.24042/jwcs.v1i2.10145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Kurniawati and Samhati.

and actively contributing to politics are experiencing quite complicated difficulties in meeting the available quotas.

Thus, women's participation in politics with a quota of 30% is often not fulfilled because of the double burden and high demands, which concretely reflects that women need access and support to balance their home and work lives. Therefore, it is necessary for the community and the bureaucracy to collectively encourage the awareness that women still have limited freedom to choose to become actors in their own lives. I want to live in a world where there are no differences between people. I want to live in a world where the HeForShe initiative is unnecessary. <sup>12</sup>

## **Politics**

Women's representation in participating in the political constellation is one of the manifestations of the implementation of a democratic state. Women's participation in participating in the political realm is an activity to intervene in the development and creation of a legal product. Participating in the political constellation is also the voluntariness of the community or women in taking leadership seats through the accumulation of votes from general elections. The term political participation refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy. <sup>13</sup>

The 1945 Constitution, as the basis of the constitution, frees anyone, regardless of whether they are women or men, to participate in contests in political constellations. However, the umbrella of legality is contrary to the actual reality; there is still inequality that makes gender issues a priority condition in occupying leadership seats. Therefore, regulations are only limited to written formalization without any further encouragement to realize the implementation of women's representation in participating in the political constellation. Regulation is like a double-edged sword. The legal umbrella of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties that provide a 30% quota for women still needs to be fulfilled from the available capacity. The reality is that it is difficult to fulfill the quota, even though it is only 30%, because of the patriarchal culture that is still spreading and also subordinating.

Subordination for women who are only able to work in the domestic field is private. It makes women reluctant to intervene and actively participate in politics. Women's obstacles are ideological and psychological issues, such as the existence of gender ideology and traditional socio-cultural patterns (patriarchal culture), lack of confidence and experience, as well as women's capacity in relation to political work, including the ability to organize in political parties.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Calling On All Men To Act Now To Drive Action On Gender Equality, World Leaders Gather To Accelerate Progress At UN Women's HeForShe Summit," n.d., https://www.heforshe.org/en/calling-all-men-act-now-drive-action-gender-equality-world-leaders-gather-accelerate-progress-un.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Priandi and Roisah, "Upaya Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Very Wahyudi, "Peran Politik Dalam Perspektif Gender," *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018): 63–83.

The cultural influence of patriarchal culture is so thick that the representation of women to participate has never reached the national target. The negative impact of the perpetuation of patriarchal culture and also subordination to give birth to one of the products is that women are incompetent in making rational decisions that often involve feelings. Subordination in terms of decision-making ability found women not to be more involved in the public sphere. Because these products have become a habit that has become deeply rooted in culture, thus creating a negative label that women are tasteful creatures who cannot make rational decisions.

The negative label of women as a weak and soft flavor. It has thickened in the community and mixed into a culture. Because of this phrase, it indoctrinates women not to participate in presenting their positions, in making legal products. Therefore, the representation of women in the political constellation has never reached the national target that has been set through Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, which provides a quota of 30%.

In line with the workflow of patriarchal culture in society. If women participate in making policy regulations, then the product produced is only a regulation without a clear, logical basis according to what is happening in reality. But decisions and feelings are two different things. An interesting fact about women's emotionality as overly emotional individuals. It has an important role, especially in producing a legal umbrella to protect people's rights, because emotional facts will show the right door to raw logic so that it can be used to produce legal products that are clear in accordance with reality. A taboo that states that feelings are usually indispensable for rational decisions, feelings point in the right direction so that raw logic can be used as well as possible. The emotional brain is just as involved in thinking as reason. Therefore, emotions are very important for rationality. <sup>15</sup>

It affects decisions when viewed from the brain prototype between men and women. The male brain has no clues to his limited empathy. Meanwhile, women are very prominent in empathy and understanding of other people's feelings and thoughts. From this, women should be able to take advantage of their ability to read, understand, and review what they feel, worry about, and be worried about what is happening in society. So that in producing decisions that will later be used as regulations, it can cover the rights of the people. The most extreme female brains stand out when it comes to empathy and understanding of other people's feelings and thoughts. Women are also higher in terms of social cognition and in terms of empathic precision, being intuitive about what others feel or think. <sup>16</sup>

In connection with the existence of a patriarchal culture and also subordination. Women's representation in the political constellation has never shown a national target, as shown in the bar chart below.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Daniel Goleman, EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, 18th ed. (PT GRAMEDIA, JAKARTA, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Daniel Goleman, *Social Intellegent* (PT GRAMEDIA, JAKARTA, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "National Parliaments," n.d.



Source: Inter-Parliamentary union

Data shows that during the last five years, the national target of the available quota for women's representation in politics did not reach the national target. From 2018, data shows that 18.2% of women participated. In the following year, the representation increased by only 2.1% of women who actively participated. Until 2023 in December, the representation of women in actively participating in the data was the same as in 2021. Whereas in 2022, there was a decrease of 0.3%.

Thus, the rise and fall of women's representation in actively participating is in contrast to the gap that still prioritizes men to occupy leadership positions in producing legal products. The patriarchal culture also adds an increasingly romantic nuance so that women's representation in the political realm is hampered and does not take part in resolving public matters. Therefore, Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties provides a 30% quota for women. The reality is that the active participation of women does not fulfill it because the patriarchal and subordination culture that is still spreading is very difficult to access in the political realm. Therefore, it won't be easy to produce legal products for women's empowerment, equality, and justice for women if there is still a culture of patriarchy and subordination. Although only 30% of women are represented in the political constellation, they do not show the willingness of the total.

When legal norms are very strong, what is stated so that women's enthusiasm increases and equality between others is realized, still, above these legal norms, there is something much higher than ethics and morality. Ethics that the people instill through patriarchal culture need more binding power to comply with these rules. The lack of morality of the society itself towards women is not subordinate and does not consider women equal. Because of the habits of the patriarchal culture, legal norms do not make individuals obedient and submissive. Habits place women as weak and gentle individuals and reconstruct men to dominate. It has become the forerunner of gender inequality and inequality. Therefore, no matter how strong the legal product is, it is not with the ethics and morality of society as the enforcer of the norm. It will feel futile, even though the norm is made for equality and justice.

Equality and justice for women will be realized through a transformative approach. To realize equality and become a reality, it is not a dream is necessary to adopt a transformative approach. A transformative approach is a gender-integrated approach. Through this approach, it actively seeks to examine the root causes of inequality that spread from an unfair social structure. The transformative approach also aims to ensure that the dynamics of power can be balanced and harmonized by non-rigid norms. Therefore, this approach seeks to eradicate all forms of systematic subordination and discrimination against gender. The gender transformative approach is one category on the chain (continuum) of gender integration approaches. It seeks to actively examine, challenge, and transform the underlying causes of gender inequality rooted in inequitable social structures and institutions. As such, the gender transformative approach aims at addressing imbalanced power dynamics and relations, rigid gender norms and roles, harmful practices, unequal formal and informal rules, as well as gender-blind or discriminatory legislative and policy frameworks that create and perpetuate gender inequality. By doing so, it seeks to eradicate the systemic forms of gender-based discrimination by creating or strengthening equitable gender norms, dynamics, and systems that support gender equality. 18

In connection with the transformative approach, the author initiated a creative framework to overcome inequality, which is framed by the phrase SEP:

- 1. *Self-awareness*; Awareness is an important base for women. Because with an understanding of oneself regarding his rights and values as a valuable individual and equal to men. Women can be freed from the negative stigma created by the mindset of the people, especially those who still adhere to patriarchal culture. Women's awareness can be the initial approach to conceive of themselves as equal and equal individuals in front of the eyes of the law and society. With this awareness of oneself, the root of subordination and patriarchal culture can be actively tackled.
- 2. Education Politics: Systematic political education is the key to building excellence. Equipping women and girls who are still being formed through insights, competencies, and values of great political education can reduce subordination and patriarchal culture. Political education that systematically analyzes the roots of inequality can be a home for women and girls to choose freedom in taking part in political seats and express themselves freely without restricting their freedom. Thus, it can create a better future for women, especially women, so that the right to equality and justice through regulations can be realized.
- 3. *Promotion*: Promotion is an effort made to increase awareness, understanding, and action regarding the importance of righteousness. *This promotion* is the fruit of *self-awareness* and *political education* that women have understood in an integrated manner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Joint Programme on Gender Transformative Approaches for Food Security and Nutrition," n.d., https://www.fao.org/joint-programme-gender-transformative-approaches/overview/gender-transformative-approaches/en.

the root causes of gender inequality, patriarchal culture and subordination. So that after understanding in its entirety, it can create a fair and equal society without any distinction.

# IV. CONCLUSION

Patriarchal culture is created because of the collective mindset of society that considers women as weak individuals. The social reconstruction of gender forms differentiating behaviour between men and women. Women as individuals must be treated gently and gently and their natural rights are only to do domestic work. At the same time, men who have dominant behaviour are masculine, ambitious and strong. So, in terms of the public, men have more right to dominate than women.

The subordination of women in the political constellation can be realized due to a need for more understanding from a managerial perspective. Subordination is an objective view of women who are treated as objects that do not have dignity and dignity. This negative view subordinates women's competence to take part in the political realm. In addition to that, the subordination of women who have a dual role will demand their existence at home or work if one of them is not fulfilled. Therefore, the negative stigma of the social structure will require women to stay at home to serve without taking part in the political realm. So this is what makes the need for more representation of women in participating in the political realm.

Law number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties which provides a 30% quota for women. The reality is that the active participation of women does not fulfil the actual reality due to the patriarchal culture and subordination that is still pervasive, so it isn't easy to present women's participation in the political realm. Therefore, no matter how strong the legal product is, it is not with the ethics and morality of society as the enforcers of norms. It will still feel futile, even though the norm is made for equality and justice.

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# Regulation

Undang-undang nomor 2 tahun 2008 tentang partai politik yang menyediakan kuota 30% bagi perempuan