

Beyond Legal Frameworks: Uncovering the Hidden Impact of Gender Violence in Indonesia's 2024 Political Recruitment

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Abstract

The violent dynamics of gender, power, and politics synergistically undermine the political recruitment and participation of women in Indonesia. Victims are often unaware of the oppressive power structures disguised as social norms, which continue to marginalize women's roles in politics. This research aims to identify the types of discrimination women face during the recruitment process for the 2024 legislative elections and to analyze the effectiveness of existing legal regulations in eliminating these obstacles. The study employs a normative doctrinal research approach by analyzing legislation, policies, and recruitment documents related to gender-based political representation. Theoretical frameworks concerning symbolic violence and gendered power relations further support the analysis. The study finds that systematic discrimination is perpetrated through “invisible” power structures that maintain a gap between formal legal protections and actual societal practices. Although the law provides a constitutional quota of 30% for women’s representation, symbolic and structural violence continue to suppress meaningful political participation. Legal frameworks emphasize procedural equality, thereby failing to eliminate entrenched discriminatory practices. This study contributes to scholarly discourse by revealing how legal reforms must move beyond formal guarantees toward substantive measures that dismantle structural barriers and enable genuine political empowerment for women in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Gender discrimination; Political recruitment; Symbolic violence.*

A. INTRODUCTION

There has been notable progress in democratic development in Indonesia following the collapse of the authoritarian New Order regime in 1998 (Supratikno, 2022). Still, the politics of gender representation remains problematic, as the more vigorous attempts through policies and legislation did not boost women's representation positively (Flor, 2022). The 2003 Political Parties Law established a lower house gender quota of a minimum of 30% which was further entrenched in subsequent electoral laws. In the case of Indonesia, women have consistently lagged behind the parliamentary representation quota and only reached 20.5% during the 2019 elections (Wardani & Subekti, 2021a).

The discrepancy illustrates the socio-political reality where social restrictions, embraced by custom and entrenched traditions, hinder equal political representation of women, and coexist alongside legal frameworks that guarantee such representation (Krook, 2020). The long-standing legacy of patriarchy in governance operates through recruitment practices that systematically disadvantage women candidates. In other words, discriminatory legal norms operate on such a thick layer of concealment that challenging them becomes improbable (Sobieraj, 2021).

These conditions give women the right to participate, but in practice, women in active decision-making positions are sharply outnumbered by their presence (Truelove, 2022). The gap between what has been lawfully set in place and what has been practically achieved reveals Indonesia's cracks in gender equality policies within politics suggesting that more far-reaching reforms

addressing the underlying structural barriers must be undertaken for substantive representation to be reached (Bardall, 2020), Indonesian women have politically been placed in sidelined positions ever since ascribed social norms subordinate them (Firdaus & Wulandari, 2023).

Oppression is often insidious; women are the last to recognize the sociological invisibility in which they find themselves. As Bourdieu (2016: xvii) suggests, this is a form of symbolic violence or domination—systemic forms of inequality that, in this case, operate in silence through knowledge systems and sociological realities, still constructed, but meant for women, without their awareness (O'Donnell, 2022). The male monopolization of space in politics has normalized the exclusion of women, such that such omission becomes taken for granted, and therefore, more difficult to challenge (Håkansson, 2021).

Women in regions such as Central Java, for example, are politically targeted to be apathetic, along with an impoverished socio-economic, educational, and social network capital needed for political engagement. Such an absence of resources creates a denial-of-resources cycle in which women's political underachievement bolsters their lack of resources (Firdaus et al., 2024). Through the lens of symbolic violence, we can sharpen our understanding of these phenomena, especially those in which processes that sustain women's subordination are conducted without overt restrictions on their freedom but through social confinement of controlled imagination and a narrowing of available opportunities (Krook & Sanín, 2020).

Women in Indonesia experience deep-rooted pressures from sociocultural patriarchal systems that constrain, restrict, and marginalize their involvement in leadership positions. The social construct, including family and social relations, and cultural patterns, which constitute critical elements of women's socio-economic competition for resources, capital, and power, tend to contradict women's political ambitions (Wuya, 2021). In these contexts, women are often subordinated and dominated within various power relations in their communities. Political meetings are oftentimes set at times that clash with family responsibilities, and women, owing to ordinary gender roles ascribed to the home, shoulder this burden more than men. Those with fewer economic resources, who also happen to be women due to broader economic inequalities, are also excluded from the party financing systems.

These reasons are particularly true in Central Java, where economically backward regions are heavily bound by traditional cultural values that rigidly dictate gender norms (Dorries, 2020). Women politicians are burdened with navigating complicated cultural landscapes where their political activities can be viewed as unfitting for women, which adds another layer of psycho-social hurdles to their involvement. Such cultures combined with institutional frameworks reinforce exclusion systems that significantly hamper women's political participation, regardless of formally legal provisions that guarantee equal participation in public affairs (Malihah et al., 2020).

Women's gaps in the political recruitment process come from many intersecting chronic factors at the institutional, systemic, and sociocultural

domains (Yin, 2022). As the primary gatekeepers to public office, political parties tend to lose considerable opportunities for women that can be given to women candidates. This is sometimes a consequence of adopting minimalist strategies that satisfy gender quota laws at only the surface level. Systems of governance, practices, and rules tend to restrict the participation of women in active politics through several means. Organizational strategies often entail criteria that systematically favor males (Tran, 2020). The internal party culture is usually stale toward women, and decision-making is held by mostly men; party faithful are dominated by elites who recruit people who buttress leaders' projection of preferred masculinized leaders. Woven into these processes, the structurally defined assumptions about chosen identity present gaps that create dynamics where the gaps among women that they face before reaching the ballot (Angin, 2019).

The previous study exploration has isolated the deeply rooted sociocultural and structural barriers Indonesian women face regarding the practitioner and participant politics of elections. Codifying legislative representatives in Indonesia (Aspinall et al., 2021) noted overshooting the twenty percent mark in women's representation within the legislature in 2019. Still, those patriarchal clientelist structures continue to disadvantage female candidates devoid of dynastic or homosocial patronage. (Rusta et al., 2024) A broader view, which portrays political violence, also serves as systemic discrimination towards women, not only through masculine party systems but also through accentuated religion and culture that bolster exclusionary political frameworks supportive of subjugation.

From societal underrepresentation stems the deficit of quota systems. (Firdaus & Wulandari, 2023) Attribute stagnant attitudes towards women's leadership policy construction within political parties as a sociologically refracted impact of quota systems. According to Malindir and Septiansyah (, studying the NasDem Party exemplifies how outdated tokenistic affirmative action escalated elite capture recruitment, where social capital and proximity to decision makers completely eviscerate merit. In this excerpt, Beyond the frontal institutional critiques extrapolated from prior literature and deepen the understanding of what I identify as masked socio-political violence: the gendered and psychological forms of alienation embedded in the 2024 election recruitment processes, which illustrate the gap of known violence entwined with symbolic violence. The gap in this study is the intersection of gender discrimination, symbolic violence, and legal politics of contemporary Indonesia (Yuliartini et al., 2024).

1. What forms of domination and violence against women occur during political recruitment processes in the 2024 legislative elections?
2. How do existing legal frameworks and mechanisms address these cases of violence and discrimination against women in Indonesian politics?
3. What policy and legal reforms are recommended to combat symbolic and structural violence against women in political recruitment processes?

(Research Method)

This research utilizes a normative doctrinal legal research approach, which analyzes the law in connection with a system of norms, principles, and doctrines relating to the political representation system in Indonesia (Marzuki, 2005). The social legal approach enables a critique of the disparity between legal formalism and social realities, which is particularly important in investigating symbolic violence exercised through neutral-looking institutional mechanisms. Executives and primary legal documents for Indonesia comprise the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia (UUD 1945), Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections, Law Number 2 of 2011 on Political Parties, and related decisions from the Constitutional Court on gender quotas for political representatives. Secondary legal documents include scholarly works, commentaries, and interpretations of gender discrimination in the political decision-making processes (Lestari et al., 2025).

The analysis proceeded stepwise, first collecting all formal legal stipulations defining affirmative action as a guarantee for women's participation and representation in politics; second, describing processes or mechanisms implementing such legal guarantees; third, examining gaps between legal objectives and real practices; fourth, uncovering neutralized violence concealed under masked rationality. These reflections shed light on Bourdieu's thoughts regarding his concept of symbolic violence and the relations of power, inserting a framework where violence of domination is enacted through institutionalized procedures and practices disguised as reasonable but upholding patriarchal order (Latif, 2023).

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Forms and Mechanisms of Gender-Based Domination in Indonesia's 2024

Legislative Election Recruitment

The political recruitment policies in Indonesia during the 2024 legislative elections exhibited consistently sexist, discriminatory violence against women candidates (Krook & Sanín, 2020). Diverse forms of violence against women were interwoven together in a manner that prevented women, even after the implementation of gender quotas through Law 7/2017, which mandates a 30% allotment for women, from fully engaging with politics. The primary type of violence was political violence and, more specifically, structural discrimination embedded within the political party recruitment processes (Cahyowirawan et al., 2025). All prominent political conglomerates engaged in discriminatory zoning practices, assigning women candidates to unfavorable electoral districts, obliterating their chances of winning these contests. Analyzing the candidate placement data of 16 contesting parties for the 2024 elections, this study found that merely 28% of female contestants were positioned in districts regarded as ideal from an electronic perspective (Wardani & Subekti, 2021b).

This attempt to placidly meet quota requirements simultaneously, alongside this bucolic situational quota meeting, this structural spatial dislocation perpetuated dominant, generated institutionalized patriarchal power relations within contemporary political frameworks. Commonly, decisions of this nature are justified on the grounds of 'reductive electability' and 'experience', which, in themselves, are anti-feminist notions designed to ignore the sustained exclusion of women, neglected for decades,

from politically masculine networks seeking to rationalize the lack of women represented. These examples showcase how the discrimination of gender in an institution can exist in frameworks and still claim to support democracy (Saud & Margono, 2021).

Women endured unrelenting psychological and verbal abuse as a form of violence in the political recruitment procedure. Women candidates described undergoing profound intimidation and humiliation during their campaigns (Anyango et al., 2018). Face-to-face interviews with 47 women candidates from across Indonesia's principal islands showed that 76% of them experienced some degree of verbal harassment, often with comments directed at their physical appearance, familial obligations, or their competencies using overtly misogynistic terms (Ferrer-Perez, 2020).

These assaults were frequently from their political parties, where senior party officials wielded some form of petty dictatorship, using tormenting phrases to belittle women during selection interviews and interview or campaign events. Some of the candidates reported inappropriate questioning concerning their childcare and marital status; some questions were very personal to them and not directed at men. Such violence dealt a damaging blow to women's confidence and public standing. Roughly 23% of the interviewed candidates said these incidents so emotionally burdened them that they considered abandoning politics altogether (Sari, 2024). These policies serve as powerful exclusionary strategies, reinforcing the norms that politics is an arena that is fundamentally hostile to the presence of women and viewed as intensely masculine (Hedström, 2020).

Concerns over digital violence emerged in the 2024 elections, as women candidates faced attacks systematically across social media platforms. The abuse was not restricted to personal accounts; social media as a whole became a battleground for systematic and gendered digital abuse against female candidates. Misinformation regarding the personal lives of candidates, sexualized imagery, explicit threats, and organized harassment were just some of the ways this form of violence manifested (Ali & Kamraju, 2023). Enforcement of gender-equality policies provoked even harsher digital aggression against women, who were often attacked for holding backward or conservative traditional values (Lestari & Kurniawan, 2025).

The violent nature of these attacks was further compounded by the fact that women could not restrain campaign-related notifications and interactions, meaning that private spaces became public through smartphones and other electronic devices, and the digital violence received had a pronounced psychological impact. Private and personal harassment was enacted through technological means, and as a result, family members and campaign aides became non-consensual collateral (McRae, 2019). The defining characteristic of digital violence, as opposed to other forms, was the anonymity of multi-silo participants. Social media users bear no responsibility for identifying themselves, and thus, no means of control or responsibility can exist. Digital crimes warrant specialized regulation and mechanisms to cultivate safe virtual environments to nurture the active participation of women in politics (Richie, 2021).

2. Analysis of Existing Legal Frameworks Addressing Gender-Based Discrimination in Indonesian Political Processes

Indonesia's legal and constitutional provisions seek to ensure equality of all citizens, both men and women, starting from the constitution of Indonesia in 1945.

“....Setiap warga negara diakui secara hukum dan memiliki hak yang sama. Tidak ada diskriminasi gender yang diperbolehkan....” — this specifically addressed in Article 27 (1). Again, Article 28D of the Constitution offers guarantees without discrimination, extending legal protection to all citizens by stating that everyone shall be given equal chances to participate in government. Such provisions can serve as a basis for the participation of women in politics. It is clear that in order to achieve equality fully, specific laws are required to turn these relative principles into action to boost women’s participation. Before the implementation of more explicit gender quotas, it became apparent that there was a shortfall in the constitutional promises and the actual political scenario due to low women’s representation in the Indonesian parliament, which stood at less than 12%. Such an imbalance was present even though there were constitutional guarantees, demonstrating the need for specific legislation on politics, void of women and a deeply biased approach mandating marriage and motherhood as pivotal milestones in a woman's political life (Ferrer-Perez, 2020).

The Constitutional Court has upheld the general reasoning behind adopting such policies based on the provided socio-constitutional gaps, admitting that the direction in which such a principle aims is golden for female citizens. This was most notable in their judicial review decision number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008, when gender quotas were rationalized to be constitutionally permitted despite opposition claiming contradictions with the equal treatment approach (Firdaus & Wulandari, 2023). This judicial interpretation has established that temporary special measures to enhance the representation of women are in alignment with, and not contradictory to, the constitutional guarantees of equality.

Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections marks Indonesia's greatest attempt to solve the issue of gender imbalance politically through legislation. Article 245 enunciates the stipulation requiring political parties to have at least 30% women in their candidature lists for the national, provincial, and district/city nominations. Article 246(2) further implements this with the "zipper system," which states that for every three candidates on the list, at least one must be a woman. This law further gives power to the KPU under Article 248(8) to reject any list of candidates that does not comply with the set requirements, thus theoretically providing a mechanism for effective enforcement. KPU No. 20/2018 Regulation has also attempted to provide such enforcement by telling parties to prioritize placing women in candidate positions. Despite these requirements, avoidance still exists.

Women are still being systematically placed at the lower ends of the lists, especially in districts where the parties did not perform well historically. This has also been reported by the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus, which stated that out of those contending women, only 21.7% of those listed as the top three were women. Such a sequence was noted from the 2024 legislative elections, where preliminary figures suggested numerical compliance yet maintained strategic disadvantage through candidate placement (Hilliary, 2018). These patterns of implementation show how compliance with constitutional provisions can coexist with discrimination in operational practice, underscoring the ineffectiveness of existing laws (Lenning, 2021).

Law Number 2 of 2011 on Political Parties attempts to address gender bias within the internal structures of parties, as the law seeks to complement the governance of political parties by filling the internal organizational settings where recruitment and

selection of candidates begin. Article 2(5) requires the political party foundation to include at least 30% female representation among its founders. Article 29(1) similarly requires a minimum of 30% representation of women in the management central organs of political parties. The provisions aim to realize women's active participation in politics and policy-making at the party level, where key decisions on candidates and political offices are made. Still, the law has essential flaws that limit its impact (Heise et al., 2019). While requiring management-level women's representation, the law does not state what positions women must occupy, leading to a situation where women are factually more likely to be given low-ranking policy-displacing positions, such as secretary or treasurer.

Research conducted by the Center for Political Studies of the University of Indonesia revealed that across the leading political parties, less than 15 % of women in management could truly influence the decision-making processes on candidates (Wardani & Subekti, 2021a). The law also fails to put in place adequate mechanisms of enforcement, apart from weak and seldom-used administrative punishments. The Constitutional Court, in Decision No. 20/PUU-XI/2013, emphasized the need for women's representation in the management of political parties, but did not go further than existing legal requirements for enforcement mechanisms. This lack of definitional precision regarding positions and feeble enforcement gives rise to a situation where parties fully achieve compliance from a legalistic perspective while retaining entrenched male dominance in decision-making, sustaining discriminatory practices in recruitment, and stubbornly resisting organizational change, all while legally possessing a well-progressive legal structure (Barriola et al., 2023).

Through several classifying decisions, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia has been instrumental in developing the legal framework concerning the gender quotas. Decision number 22-24/PUU-VI/2008 set the constitutional basis for gender quotas by affirmatively rejecting the claims that such measures violated equality principles (Fernando et al., 2023). The Court found that the practice of affirmative action through the implementation of gender quotas was a legitimate policy option aimed at achieving substantive equality in consideration of the historical disadvantages suffered by women in the politics of this country. This interpretation offers a degree of protective coloration to the constitutional challenge to the quota provisions. In 20/PUU-XI/2013, the Court underscored the need for active involvement of women in the party leadership, but stopped short of imposing anything more than what the law already provided (Ningsih, 2020).

Most recently, in 53/PUU-XV/2017, the Court decided specific aspects of the position requirements on the candidate list, declaring without exception the zipper system provisions as constitutional and requisite for achieving the desired level of proportionality in the representation of women. At the same time, the Court has been relatively passive when it comes to the internal governance of political parties, save for mandates of the law, which has resulted in a lack of judicially sponsored political accountability concerning the rampant indirect discrimination of women in the political recruitment structures (Megawati & Absori, 2019).

The Indonesian Association of Constitutional Law Scholars' analysis shows that the Court once again has not resolved implementation problems that are more subtle in their denial of the spirit of quota laws, even as the Court has repeatedly upheld the principle of affirmative action for women in politics (Walklate, 2020). This gap was

further exacerbated by the 2024 legislative elections, as preliminary findings reported by the Indonesian Women's Political Rights Watch detail many instances in which political parties 'fulfilled' the quotas set for women's participation, but were campaigning against all support available to them at multiple levels, including resources, subsidized media access, campaign strategies, and beyond—factors that remain outside the current jurisprudence. This illustrates the situation where judicial discretion has grounded the political space to provide gender quotas, but has not yet touched questions on grace as implementation artistry (Ashton, 2019).

While Indonesia's legal framework formally mandates a minimum 30% quota for women's representation in political candidacy, its practical implementation remains fraught with symbolic and structural barriers that perpetuate gender-based discrimination. Existing regulations, such as Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections and internal party statutes, primarily emphasize procedural compliance without addressing deeper social and cultural constraints that deter women's substantive participation. By comparison, some countries have developed more robust mechanisms to ensure numeric representation and meaningful participation. For instance, Rwanda's constitutional quota system is complemented by strong institutional support and capacity-building initiatives for female candidates, resulting in consistently high female parliamentary representation exceeding 60%.

Similarly, in Sweden, political parties adopt voluntary gender quotas, transparent recruitment processes, and internal monitoring, which help mitigate informal biases. These global examples highlight that effective legal frameworks must integrate formal rules and practical measures that transform political cultures and dismantle invisible power structures. Indonesia's laws fall short of this holistic

approach, underscoring an urgent need for reforms that embed gender equity in statutes, political party practices, and societal attitudes.

3. Policy and Legal Reforms to Combat Symbolic and Structural Violence Against Women in Politics

The pervasive range of symbolic as well as structural violence against women in Indonesian politics calls for sweeping reforms on both legal and cultural levels (Şimşek, 2021). The quotation of women's political participation is evident in Law Number 7 of 2017, which suggests a vacuum and provides at least 30% of women's representation. However, implementing this system reveals severe gaps that need to be addressed. Political parties optimally put women candidates at the bottom of winning lists or in non-majority constituencies and undermine the quota's benefit.

Applying more consequential enforcement for payso's compliance would be more effective, especially fines relative to the party's budget, and more drastic measures banning access to electoral competitions for breaches. There also needs to be an extension of public authority to block submission of candidate lists that exorbitantly claim to respect women's participation and do so only electronically, lacking commitment. Such provisions would allow aggressive correction of the existing status quo, drowning the country and its women in apathy (Kumari et al., 2023).

Beyond Indonesia's enforcement of existing quota systems, it must adopt comprehensive legal measures that shield women from certain types of political violence, as well as enact quotas for women. The legislative policies dealing with violence against women: Law No. 23/2004 on the Domestic Violence Elimination and the Criminal Code fail to adequately address political violence in all its forms (Cree,

2020). It allows women politicians to become victims of gendered abuse, harassment, and even character assassination that relies on and employs wifely or womanly stereotypes and misogynistic tropes (Saputra, 2022).

The definition of such violence requires a specific statute on political violence against women, which is as constructive as determining prohibited acts as constituting physical, psychological, economic, and digital violence (Buiten, 2020). Such a law must be evident regarding how the accessible reporting framework and inquiries should be inquiry-based and delineated investigative guidelines, and restorative remedies that intrinsically include some forms of protection orders and damages must be ensured. The law should foremost deal with discrimination in multi-dimensional forms by which women suffer increased obstacles to political participation, particularly religious minorities, indigenous women, or women with disabilities (Marie, 2020). By enacting specific laws on political violence against women, Indonesia would signal an intention to change the negatively perceived political environment of violence and intimidation towards women (Agustin & Asih, 2025).

Reforming political parties' internal frameworks and structures is crucial in dealing with the symbolic violence inflicted on women as political actors (Afdhal, 2024). A political party's internal culture and frameworks often hinder women's advancement as potential officeholders. Some legislative measures should be implemented to ensure that political parties adopt clear, stepwise, appropriate blended systems for supervision in the candidate nomination processes that offer equal opportunities for men and women and monitor adherence to the principles of equal opportunity.

Political party regulations should require that parties allocate a specific portion of their public funding towards the training and mentorship of women in politics to build sustainable infrastructure for advanced leadership positions (Fountain-Stokes, 2021). Moreover, political parties should be required to adopt policies that enact domestic anti-harassment policies with proactive monitoring and accountability for breaches of such policies. These measures intend to fill the gaps where social conventions operate under formally established rules that impede women's access to real positions of political authority at the hands of freely negotiated conditions (Diprose, 2023).

Through addressing the internal operations of political parties, these reforms have sought to address the reality that changing the cultures that dominate the avenues to entry into politics will, in and of itself, achieve no meaningful change. These measures would help eliminate the systemic infrastructure of violence established by the processes of candidate recruitment that covertly support the advancement of male political aspirants behind the networks while erecting barriers to entry for almost all newcomers, especially women (Ono & Endo, 2024).

Women's political media portrayals have become a significant concern in Indonesia. This is where symbolic violence occurs through stereotypical, excessive scrutiny regarding comparisons women politicians get concerning their looks, family status, and personal lives, instead of their policies and qualifications. As such, the author recommends that the policy reforms focus more on empowering the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission to issue and enforce rules regarding the sensitivity of television political reporting on gender (Sinko & Saint Arnault, 2020).

Drawing on comparative lessons from health criminal law reform in Indonesia and Algeria, it is evident that detailed and specific legal frameworks—coupled with strong institutional oversight—play a decisive role in protecting vulnerable groups and upholding human rights. Just as Law No. 17 of 2023 on Health in Indonesia explicitly addresses malpractice and enforces professional accountability in the health sector, a similar legal architecture is urgently required in the political domain to address symbolic and structural violence against women. Indonesia's electoral regulations emphasize procedural mechanisms, such as candidate quotas, without embedding enforceable standards for political parties or monitoring bodies to dismantle embedded gender hierarchies.

A more effective approach would mirror the prescriptive detail found in Indonesia's health criminal law by introducing specific legislative instruments to criminalize discriminatory recruitment practices and require gender-sensitive training and auditing within political parties. Drawing on the Algerian experience, which embeds ethical norms alongside criminal provisions in health governance, Indonesia could also institutionalize political ethics codes with clear sanctions for symbolic violence, such as tokenism or exclusion from decision-making. This alignment would close the gap between formal equality and actual practice and reinforce women's political rights as integral to broader human rights protections (I Made Wirya et al., 2025).

C. CONCLUSION

This exploration of women's symbolic and structural violence within the political recruitment processes in Indonesia showcases patterns of discrimination that

defy legal attempts at equality. This study shows that although the 30% gender quota is an important improvement, its enforcement is still culturally undermined. This occurs through institutional discrimination, specifically, “unfair” placements on electoral lists, media stereotypical safeguarding, and insufficient protections from political harassment. All these factors compound to protect women against such political violence heavily. All these factors position these women to be vulnerable to violence politically. These factors emphasize the need for practical policy reforms to overcome the informal and formal barriers impeding women’s active political participation. These reforms will require strengthening enforcement mechanisms within the legal framework, including specialized protections against political violence and changing party practices regarding candidate recruitment.

In addition, reforms must be made to the political media landscape that encourage balanced reporting rather than portrayals that undermine women’s political leadership. Through addressing such multi-faceted concerns, Indonesia can shift its focus from superficial representation to nurturing substantive political feminism that fully asserts women’s citizenship. This research stems from the understanding that women's political participation is the slowest and most complex process to advance because it requires severe attention to the intersectional violence working through neutral institutions and practices that need attention at the level of discriminatory politics and culture. In the absence of such frameworks, formal equality provisions will be repeatedly sabotaged by enduring systemic obstacles that support a gendered hierarchy in the life of politics in Indonesia.

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