
Feminism in Legislation: Legal Reform to Enhance Women's Representation in Indonesia's Legislative Institutions

Aidatul Fitriyah

Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

Correspondent: aidatul.fitriyah-2020@fib.unair.ac.id

Received : March 31, 2025

Accepted : May 21, 2025

Published : May 31, 2025

Citation: Fitriyah, A. (2025). Feminism in Legislation: Legal Reform to Enhance Women's Representation in Indonesia's Legislative Institutions. Sinergi International Journal of Law, 3(2), 78 – 91.

ABSTRACT: This article aims to analyse the urgency of women's representation in Indonesia's legislative institutions as an effective strategy to support the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly in the context of gender equality and sustainable development. The study employs a normative juridical approach, utilizing critical analysis of existing regulations, especially those related to gender mainstreaming in national policy. Legal analysis combines liberal feminist theory to examine the legal substance and power structures influencing women's participation in legislative politics. The study finds that female representation in parliament remains low despite affirmative policies such as the 30% quota for legislative candidates. Structural barriers, entrenched patriarchal culture, and the absence of legal ratification for the Gender Equality and Justice Bill (RUU KKG) are identified as major impediments. Although women contribute significantly to sectors such as education and health, their roles remain inadequately accommodated in political decision-making processes. Repositioning the role of women in legislative bodies is a strategic step that not only reflects social justice but also strengthens substantive democracy and accelerates the achievement of the SDGs. This requires enacting specific regulations, policy harmonization, and the reinforcement of monitoring mechanisms to ensure sustainable growth in women's political participation. This study contributes to the strengthening of gender-based legal discourse in Indonesia. It emphasizes the urgency of affirmative policies to enhance the quality of democracy and inclusive development at the national level.

Keywords: Legal CSR; Corporate Governance; Stakeholder Trust; Organizational Performance; Public Perception; Policy Compliance; Regulatory Reform.



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INTRODUCTION

Pepera (2018) asserts, "*Women's political participation results in tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and a more sustainable future.*" This statement highlights that women's involvement in politics not only strengthens democratic systems but also contributes positively to a nation's social and economic stability. Data from the Inter-Parliamentary

Union (2021) show that countries with more than 30% female representation in parliament tend to implement policies that better promote social welfare, such as access to education, healthcare, and equal pay.

According to A Women's Human Rights Report (2019), increasing gender inclusivity across industries significantly enhances human capital quality and productivity while reducing the potential for social conflict. Broader female participation in the economy can substantially impact global growth. The McKinsey Global Institute (2020) estimates that increased female labor force participation could add up to \$12 trillion to the global economy by 2025. Similarly, the World Bank (2023) indicates that countries with lower gender gaps experience higher and more sustainable economic growth. Whiting (2022) also finds that nations with the highest levels of gender equality generally demonstrate greater economic stability and improved earnings for both male and female workers. Furthermore, the World Bank Report (2023) reveals that reducing gender disparities in the workforce could increase global long-term income by up to 20% and contribute an estimated \$5–6 trillion to the global economy through enhanced female participation in business.

In the political sphere, women's participation is vital in shaping more inclusive and publicly responsive policies. Countries with higher female representation in parliament tend to adopt policies prioritising social welfare, such as equal access to education, healthcare services, and wage equity (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021). UN Women (2022) further reports that female participation in governance reduces corruption and improves public administration's effectiveness through policy decisions prioritising community welfare.

The strategic inclusion of women in politics is also evidenced by case studies such as Sweden, a country known for pioneering gender-sensitive public policies, including comprehensive childcare services and maternity leave provisions. These initiatives have enhanced family welfare and labor productivity (Ramadhanty et al., 2023). UN Women (2022) affirms that greater female representation in government strengthens policy integrity and increases responsiveness to diverse societal needs.

Given the extensive influence of women across sectors, examining their role as policymakers has become increasingly relevant. Gender equality ensures the protection and fulfilment of women's rights and advances the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS). Thus, increasing women's involvement in decision-making is not merely a matter of social justice—it is also a strategic imperative for national advancement. Against this background, this study aims to analyse the urgency of women's representation in Indonesia's legislative institutions as an effective strategy to support the achievement of the SDGS.

Numerous studies show that while affirmative action policies such as the 30% quota have improved women's numerical representation in parliament, structural and cultural challenges continue to hinder their influence in strategic policymaking. Permatasari et al. (2025) highlight the tendency to assign women to less strategic parliamentary commissions due to patriarchal norms. Irfandi et al. (2023) emphasize the weak implementation of quotas without adequate political education. Fitriyani (2022) observes persistent male dominance in decision-making despite existing legal frameworks for women's participation. Jayani (2024) notes the limited substantive impact of women in policymaking, and Kiftiyah (2019) points to socio-religious barriers that restrict women's political space. These findings collectively suggest that cultural transformation must accompany legal reforms to create a more inclusive political environment.

This study distinguishes itself from previous research by not only examining women's representation in legislative institutions from a quantitative or structural lens but also by framing it as a strategic approach

to advancing the SDGs, particularly Goal 5 (Gender Equality) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions). The novelty of this study lies in its integration of normative legal analysis with a sustainable development perspective—an interdisciplinary approach that remains underexplored in Indonesian legal and political literature. By linking legal reform with the global SDG agenda, this study offers a comprehensive analytical framework that positions law as a catalyst for achieving representation that is not merely symbolic, but transformative and policy-impactful.

The significance of this research lies in its contribution to strengthening gender-sensitive legal discourse in Indonesia through the lens of sustainable development. It advocates revising and harmonising affirmative policies, enhanced oversight mechanisms, and public participation to ensure equitable implementation. Thus, this study is vital in supporting institutional reform, reinforcing substantive democracy, and mainstreaming gender in national policymaking. Its findings are expected to serve as a policy reference for lawmakers, electoral bodies, and civil society actors in promoting meaningful women's representation in the legislative process.

METHOD

This study employs a normative juridical approach, which examines written legal norms governing gender equality within Indonesia's legislative system. This approach is chosen to critically assess how existing laws, as well as legislative drafts such as the Gender Equality and Justice Bill (RUU KKG), either facilitate or hinder women's participation in legislative processes and public decision-making. The primary focus of the analysis lies in the legal substance, constitutional principles, and the harmonisation of regulations relevant to the issue of women's representation. Data sources include positive legal documents such as Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000, the Electoral Law, ministerial regulations, and the National Legislative Program (Prolegnas) of the House of Representatives (DPR RI), alongside secondary legal materials such as reports by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) and publications from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KemenPPPA). To enhance the interpretation of legal norms, liberal feminist theory is utilised as an analytical framework to underscore the urgency of equitable access for women to legislative power structures, as part of the broader principle of non-discrimination in law. The stages of analysis include the identification of existing legal norms regulating women's involvement in legislative bodies, an evaluation of the effectiveness of affirmative policies such as the gender quota system, a review of the legislative stagnation of the RUU KKG concerning the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the formulation of normative recommendations aimed at regulatory harmonization and the strengthening of legal guarantees for women's political representation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In Indonesia, efforts to integrate gender perspectives across various sectors have been formally initiated through the issuance of *Instruksi Presiden (Inpres) No. 9 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengarusutamaan Gender (PUG) dalam Pembangunan Nasional* (Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development). This policy mandates that all government institutions incorporate gender as an essential dimension in the planning and implementing development programs. The implementation of gender mainstreaming has been further reinforced by *Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 15 Tahun 2008* (Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 15 of 2008), which provides guidelines for local governments to adopt gender-responsive policies. Additionally, the commitment to gender mainstreaming is evident in the

defence sector through the issuance of Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan No. 9 Tahun 2020 (Minister of Defence Regulation No. 9 of 2020), which amended the guidelines for gender mainstreaming implementation within the Ministry of Defence.

Despite these regulatory efforts to strengthen gender equality in the public sector, specific legislation governing women's representation in the legislative process remains absent. This regulatory gap poses a significant challenge to women's effective participation in strategic decision-making, potentially resulting in inadequate accommodation of women's needs and aspirations in public policy formulation.

Women play a pivotal role in Indonesia's education and health sectors. In education, women contribute as learners, educators, and community mobilizers. According to data from the Ministry of Education and Culture, women comprise 61% of the total teaching workforce in Indonesia, amounting to over one million individuals (Komnas Perempuan, 2021). This predominance of women in the teaching profession underscores their strategic role in enhancing the quality of human resources.

Furthermore, women's role in ensuring children's educational access, particularly within the household, became increasingly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kemenpppa) reported that mothers played a central role in supporting their children's learning at home, a critical factor in sustaining educational processes amidst the limitations of online learning systems (Kemenpppa, 2022).

In line with these developments, female gross enrollment rates in primary and secondary education in Indonesia have shown a significant upward trend (Ardiansyah et al., 2024). In 2020, female enrollment reached 98.74% at the primary level and 103.25% at the secondary level, reflecting broader access to education for girls and women. These advancements affirm that women hold a strategic position within the education sector, not only as students but also as educators and agents of change within society.

Beyond their contributions to education, women also play a critical role in the health sector, not only as recipients of healthcare services but also as healthcare professionals who constitute the backbone of the national medical system. According to a WHO report, women are often at the forefront of safeguarding family health by promoting healthy eating habits, providing childcare, and delivering basic healthcare services within their communities. Data indicate that approximately 77% of Indonesia's 1.5 million healthcare workers are women, with the majority employed as nurses (Hikmatiar, 2024). Nursing is overwhelmingly dominated by women, who comprise around 90% of the workforce. This dominance underscores the indispensable role of women in ensuring the delivery of high-quality and inclusive healthcare services.

Despite their significant roles in education and health, women's participation in leadership and politics in Indonesia continues to face structural and cultural barriers. Although Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2003 tentang Pemilihan Umum (Law No. 12 of 2003 on General Elections) mandates that political parties nominate at least 30% women as legislative candidates, the implementation of this policy has yet to yield the intended outcomes. In the 2019 Legislative Elections, only 120 out of 575 seats in the House of Representatives (DPR)—equivalent to approximately 20.87%—were held by women. This figure increased slightly to 21.39% in 2021 through interim replacement (*Pergantian Antar Waktu*, PAW) (Kemenpppa). However, this percentage remains well below the targeted threshold for women's representation, indicating that existing regulations have not effectively ensured gender-equal representation in parliament.

Although the number of women running for office in elections has increased, the proportion of those elected to legislative positions remains significantly lower than that of men. This disparity suggests that

the affirmative action policy mandating a 30% quota for female legislative candidates has not yet effectively addressed the structural barriers impeding women's political representation. Male-dominated leadership structures within political parties and women's limited access to political networks and financial resources continue to hinder their ability to attain strategic positions in government. Furthermore, the persistence of deeply rooted patriarchal cultural norms further reinforces these obstacles, discouraging active female participation in political processes.

As a proposed legal solution to address gender inequality across various sectors, the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (RUU KKG) (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice)* has been introduced to strengthen the protection and empowerment of women. The bill was first included in the *Program Legislasi Nasional (Prolegnas) Priority List* in 2012, to be enacted before the end of the 2009–2014 parliamentary term (Anastasia et al., 2014). However, as of today, the legislative process remains stalled. As a result, Indonesia still lacks a comprehensive legal framework to effectively eliminate gender-based discrimination and institutionalize gender justice within its public policies and governance structures.

The enactment of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (RUU KKG) (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice)* is crucial for establishing a stronger legal framework that enables state institutions to formulate gender-responsive policies. The existence of this legislation is expected to serve as a concrete step toward eliminating discrimination against women in social, economic, and political spheres (Komnas Perempuan, 2024). Furthermore, the RUU KKG has the potential to broaden the scope of *Instruksi Presiden Nomor 9 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengarusutamaan Gender dalam Pembangunan Nasional (Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development)*, thereby facilitating a more effective, integrated, and comprehensive implementation of gender equality policies across various sectors of development. To ensure the effective implementation of the RUU KKG, several policy measures can be considered to promote its passage and application:

1. Ensuring the Inclusion of the Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice (RUU KKG) in the National Legislative Program (Prolegnas)

One of the key strategic steps to advance the substantive representation of women in legislative institutions is ensuring the inclusion of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice)* in the priority list of the *Program Legislasi Nasional (National Legislative Program / Prolegnas)*. The placement of the RUU KKG in the *Prolegnas* is not merely administrative; rather, it represents a clear indicator of the state's commitment to the principles of social justice, non-discrimination, and the fulfillment of human rights, as guaranteed under Article 28I paragraph (2) of the *Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 (The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia)*:

"Setiap orang berhak bebas dari perlakuan yang bersifat diskriminatif atas dasar apapun dan berhak mendapatkan perlindungan terhadap perlakuan yang bersifat diskriminatif itu.

(Every person has the right to be free from discriminatory treatment on any ground and to protection from such discriminatory treatment).

To ensure that the *RUU KKG* is included in the *Prolegnas* priority list, a series of systematic and multi-layered strategies encompassing political, academic, and technocratic dimensions is required.

First, this process can begin with the submission of the academic manuscript and draft of the *RUU KKG* to the *Badan Legislasi (Baleg)* of the House of Representatives (DPR) by the relevant ministry (e.g., the

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection) or by individual or collective members of the DPR through political party factions. In this context, it is essential to involve expert teams comprising legal practitioners and academics to ensure that the content of the draft law meets national legal needs and complies with the legal drafting principles as stipulated in *Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-undangan* (Law No. 12 of 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations), in conjunction with *Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022* (Law No. 13 of 2022), which states:

"Penyusunan RUU dilakukan berdasarkan Perencanaan Program Legislasi Nasional yang ditetapkan untuk jangka menengah dan tahunan."

(Drafting a bill shall be based on the planning of the National Legislative Program, which is established for both medium—and short-term periods).

— Pasal 18 Ayat (1) UU No. 12 Tahun 2011 jo. UU No. 13 Tahun 2022

Second, political lobbying and strategic communication with party factions in the DPR are key to building political consensus. This can be pursued through public hearings, inter-commission consultations, or initiatives by cross-party women legislators who share a commitment to gender equality. This approach should be reinforced by empirical data and policy analysis demonstrating the urgency of gender equality regulation in supporting social stability, human development, and institutional effectiveness.

Third, civil society participation is vital in exerting moral and social pressure on lawmakers. Civil society coalitions, NGOs, women's organisations, and academic communities can initiate public petitions, social campaigns, and advocacy forums to mobilise broader public support, urging the DPR to include the *RUU KKG* in the annual *Prolegnas* priority list. Such forms of participation reflect the principle of deliberative democracy, thereby enhancing the legitimacy of the legislative process.

Fourth, cooperation with international institutions such as UN Women or UNDP can serve as an additional catalyst. These organisations may provide technical assistance, fund supporting research, and offer diplomatic backing to emphasise that the enactment of the *RUU KKG* aligns with Indonesia's global commitments under international instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

From a legal standpoint, including the *RUU KKG* in the *Prolegnas* is a fundamental prerequisite for a draft bill to be formally discussed and passed in legislative forums. In legal politics, the placement of a draft bill within the *Prolegnas* signifies a shared understanding between the legislative and executive branches regarding the urgency and importance of the regulation for national development. Therefore, prioritizing the *RUU KKG* requires strong political synergy and broad-based, cross-sectoral support.

2. Enhancing Public Awareness and Advocacy

Within the framework of deliberative democracy, public awareness and strong advocacy are critical elements in driving policies responsive to the needs of vulnerable groups, including women. Increasing public understanding of the urgency of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender* (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice) not only broadens the social support base for the proposed legislation but also helps shape a favourable public opinion that functions as a form of political pressure on policymakers.

Public campaign strategies to support the *RUU KKG* should be designed in a structured and multisectoral manner. The government, through relevant ministries such as the *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection), can initiate public education programs in the form of community discussions, seminars, and educational media that explain the content, objectives, and benefits of the *RUU KKG* within the framework of national development. Campaign materials must effectively communicate that gender equality is not merely a moral or social issue, but also carries significant economic and political dimensions. For instance, gender-just regulations can enhance workforce productivity, reduce the feminisation of poverty, and improve the quality of public policy through greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes.

Civil society organisations (CSOS) play a strategic role in bridging communication between grassroots communities and policymakers. CSOS can organise training sessions, digital campaigns, and community mobilisation initiatives to raise legal and gender literacy across various social layers, particularly in regions with limited access to information. This approach reinforces the principles of participatory democracy and builds citizens' capacity as active stakeholders in the legislative process.

The role of mass media and social media can also not be overlooked. The media serves as a key channel for shaping public opinion and can function as an effective advocacy tool when used to disseminate positive narratives about the *RUU KKG*. To prevent social resistance, these narratives should be inclusive, data-driven, and sensitive to local cultural contexts. Collaboration between journalists, activists, and academics can result in in-depth and educational coverage, helping to expand information reach to a broader public audience.

Thus, enhancing public awareness and strengthening advocacy are integral to a comprehensive legislative strategy. These efforts not only increase the likelihood of the *RUU KKG* being enacted but also enhance the policy's social legitimacy. In the long term, such a process contributes to cultivating a progressive legal culture and consolidating an inclusive and gender-just democracy.

3. Integrating the Principle of Gender Equality into Strategic Sectoral Policies

The effective implementation of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice – RUU KKG)* requires alignment with existing cross-sectoral policies to ensure that gender equality is not only normative but also practical and systematically integrated. The *Instruksi Presiden Nomor 9 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengarusutamaan Gender dalam Pembangunan Nasional* (Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development) serves as the foundational framework, stating:

“Pengarusutamaan gender merupakan strategi yang dibangun untuk mengintegrasikan gender menjadi suatu dimensi integral dari perencanaan, pelaksanaan, pemantauan, dan evaluasi atas kebijakan dan program pembangunan nasional.”

(Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to integrate gender as an integral dimension of national development policies and programs' planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.)

This instruction emphasises that all ministries and agencies, including those in the economic, education, and health sectors, are mandated to mainstream gender in policy formulation.

In the economic sector, *Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2008 tentang Usaha Mikro, Kecil, dan Menengah (UMKM)* (Law No. 20 of 2008 on Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) Article 5 paragraph (1) letter b affirms:

“Pengembangan UMKM dilakukan dengan prinsip... memperhatikan potensi dan peran perempuan.”

(The development of MSMEs shall be carried out based on the principle... of recognising the potential and role of women).

This legal provision legitimises women's position not only as beneficiaries of economic development but as active subjects whose potential must be supported by the state. Based on this, the state can design fiscal incentives and affirmative regulations, such as tax reductions for companies adopting gender-responsive workplace policies and targeted financial access for women entrepreneurs. These principles can be harmonised with the *RUU KKG* as part of cross-sectoral synergy to enhance equality in economic access.

In the field of education, *Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* (Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System) Article 4 paragraph (1) provides:

“Pendidikan diselenggarakan secara demokratis dan berkeadilan serta tidak diskriminatif.”

(Education shall be carried out in a democratic, equitable, and non-discriminatory manner).

This establishes the legal basis for implementing an inclusive, gender-sensitive curriculum, teacher training on gender perspectives, and evaluation systems that respond equitably to all learners' needs. The integration is further strengthened by *Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Nomor 82 Tahun 2015 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanggulangan Tindak Kekerasan di Lingkungan Satuan Pendidikan* (Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 82 of 2015 on the Prevention and Handling of Violence in Educational Settings). Article 4 letter c states:

“Satuan pendidikan wajib menyediakan sistem pelaporan dan penanganan terhadap kekerasan.”

(Educational institutions are required to provide systems for reporting and handling violence).

While not explicitly stating gender-based violence, this provision implicitly includes protection against forms of violence such as harassment, discrimination, and sexual abuse, forms frequently experienced by female students. This interpretation reinforces the notion that schools must be legally protected safe spaces, especially for vulnerable groups such as women and girls. Hence, gender mainstreaming in education also entails building systems that actively combat gender-based violence.

In the health sector, *Undang-Undang Nomor 36 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesehatan* (Law No. 36 of 2009 on Health) Article 136 states:

“Setiap perempuan berhak atas pelayanan kesehatan yang bermutu, aman, dan terjangkau terutama yang berkaitan dengan kesehatan reproduksi.”

(Every woman has the right to quality, safe, and affordable healthcare services, especially about reproductive health.)

This obligation is reinforced by *Peraturan Presiden Nomor 72 Tahun 2021 tentang Percepatan Penurunan Stunting* (Presidential Regulation No. 72 of 2021 on the Acceleration of Stunting Reduction), which explicitly identifies women as a priority group for health and nutrition interventions. The national strategy document states:

“Kelompok prioritas intervensi percepatan penurunan stunting meliputi remaja putri, calon pengantin, ibu hamil, ibu menyusui, dan anak usia 0–23 bulan.”

(Priority groups for stunting reduction interventions include adolescent girls, prospective brides, pregnant women, breastfeeding mothers, and children aged 0–23 months).

This illustrates the state's adoption of a life-cycle approach to women's health, positioning women not merely as service recipients but as key agents in public health success, aligned with the vision of the *RUU KKG*.

Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 1984 tentang Pengesahan CEDAW (Law No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of CEDAW) is a legal foundation to strengthen women's leadership in strategic decision-making. Article 7 of the ratified CEDAW Convention affirms:

“Negara wajib menjamin perempuan, atas dasar kesetaraan dengan laki-laki, hak untuk memilih dan dipilih dalam semua pemilihan umum, serta untuk berpartisipasi dalam perumusan dan pelaksanaan kebijakan pemerintah dan memegang jabatan publik.”

(States shall ensure that women, on equal terms with men, have the right to vote and to be elected in all elections, as well as to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and to hold public office).

To support this, the *Peraturan Menteri Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Nomor 10 Tahun 2015* (Regulation of the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 10 of 2015) provides a clear direction through the Grand Design for Increasing Women's Representation in Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Institutions, stating:

“Keterwakilan perempuan di lembaga negara perlu ditingkatkan melalui perencanaan sistematis yang mencakup penguatan kapasitas, kaderisasi, afirmasi, dan dukungan regulasi.”

(Women's representation in state institutions must be increased through systematic planning, including capacity strengthening, cadre development, affirmative action, and regulatory support.)

This policy shows the state's commitment to creating space and building women's capacity through leadership training, political mentoring, and strengthening professional women's networks. Using this regulation as a reference, the *RUU KKG* can reflect policy continuity and reinforce existing initiatives.

Across all these sectors, it is evident that the existing legal framework already incorporates essential elements of gender equality that can be synchronized with the *RUU KKG*. However, these principles remain fragmented without a unified and cross-sectoral legislative instrument. Therefore, the *RUU KKG* should stand as an affirmative legal product and a binding and integrative framework that strengthens gender equality norms embedded in sectoral regulations. Implementing the *RUU KKG* will more effectively advance just and inclusive social transformation through this approach.

4. Post-Enactment Monitoring and Oversight of the Gender Equality and Justice Law

Following the enactment of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice, RUU KKG)* into law, the primary challenge will not only lie in its implementation, but also the effectiveness of oversight mechanisms to monitor policy execution. Past experiences in Indonesia have shown that many affirmative and women's rights protection policies are inadequately implemented due to weak supervision and insufficient data-based evaluation. Therefore,

there is an urgent need for a systemic, independent, and formally mandated monitoring mechanism with sufficient authority to assess, intervene, and provide regular policy improvement recommendations.

A strategic step in this direction would be establishing a special commission or independent monitoring body with a clear mandate to oversee gender equality policy implementation across all sectors. This institution could function ad hoc under legislative supervision or as a permanent body with administrative and operational autonomy. Collaboration with existing institutions such as the *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection), *Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan* (Komnas Perempuan), and other oversight agencies such as the *Ombudsman Republik Indonesia* is essential to foster synergy in reporting, policy advocacy, and direct intervention in cases of non-compliance or implementation failure.

From a legal standpoint, the need to strengthen regulatory oversight is supported by *Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-undangan* (Law No. 12 of 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations), as amended by *Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022* (Law No. 13 of 2022), particularly in its explanatory section. This law highlights the importance of periodic evaluations to ensure regulatory effectiveness and normative coherence. As stated in the Elucidation:

“Evaluasi terhadap peraturan perundang-undangan diperlukan untuk mengetahui efektivitas pelaksanaan suatu peraturan dan memastikan konsistensi norma dengan kebutuhan masyarakat.”

(Evaluation of laws and regulations is necessary to determine the effectiveness of implementation and to ensure that legal norms remain consistent with societal needs).

Such evaluations should adopt a participatory approach involving civil society, academics, and women's groups across various regions. Engaging grassroots actors will ensure that the evaluation outcomes are not merely administrative but contextual and responsive to the public's lived realities.

Furthermore, the oversight mechanism should be supported by a digitally integrated, transparent, and publicly accessible reporting system. This system could include key performance indicators for implementing the *RUU KKG* at national and local levels, such as women's participation rates in decision-making, allocation of gender-responsive budgeting, and reported cases of gender-based discrimination in public services. The data collected would form the basis for annual reports submitted to the House of Representatives (DPR) and the President. They could inform revisions of sectoral policies where misalignments between legal provisions and implementation are identified.

In conclusion, the success of the *RUU KKG* will not be determined solely by the quality of its normative content, but also by the existence and effectiveness of post-legislative oversight and evaluation systems. Establishing a professional and independent monitoring institution, the active involvement of multiple stakeholders, and using digital technologies to foster transparency are essential pillars for realising comprehensive and sustainable gender equality and justice.

5. Harmonization with Related Policies

To ensure that the enactment of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice, RUU KKG)* is not merely symbolic, it must be accompanied by comprehensive regulatory harmonization across existing sectoral policies. Such harmonization is crucial to avoid normative conflicts and overlapping authorities and to reinforce the practical applicability and legal standing of the *RUU KKG* within Indonesia's national legal system.

One of the key regulations requiring alignment is *Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum (Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections)*, particularly Article 245, which states:

“Daftar bakal calon memuat keterwakilan perempuan paling sedikit 30%.”
(The list of prospective candidates must contain at least 30% representation of women).

This provision should be reinforced through the *RUU KKG* to ensure it moves beyond administrative compliance in candidate nomination, toward establishing monitoring mechanisms, sanctions for non-compliance, and strengthening women’s political capacity. Embedding these enforcement mechanisms would transform the quota from a symbolic measure into a substantive instrument of political equality.

Furthermore, harmonization must also be undertaken with *Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan (Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower)*, particularly Article 5, which affirms:

“Setiap tenaga kerja mempunyai kesempatan yang sama tanpa diskriminasi untuk memperoleh pekerjaan.”

(Every worker shall have equal opportunity without discrimination to obtain employment).

This clause should be integrated into the *RUU KKG* through clear provisions guaranteeing women workers' rights, including maternity leave, equal pay, and protection against workplace harassment. These improvements can be aligned with international standards by adopting principles of gender equality in labour standards, as emphasised by various International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions, such as C100 on Equal Remuneration and C111 on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation.

Equally important is harmonization with subnational development planning frameworks, particularly those outlined in *Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 86 Tahun 2017 (Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 86 of 2017)*, which mandates:

“Dokumen perencanaan pembangunan daerah wajib memasukkan indikator dan strategi pengarusutamaan gender.”

(Regional development planning documents must include gender mainstreaming indicators and strategies).

Harmonizing the *RUU KKG* with this regulation ensures that gender equality and justice principles are embedded in regional planning documents, such as the *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah (RPJMD)* and the *Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah (RKPD)*. This will enable the implementation of gender equality policies to be measurable, monitorable, and systematically evaluated locally.

The *RUU KKG* will achieve high structural coherence within the national legal system through harmonisation with these various regulations. It will ensure that gender equality policies do not operate in isolation but function as an integral part of Indonesia’s legal and developmental architecture, reinforcing inclusive and equity-based governance.

Ultimately, such harmonisation not only enhances women’s representation in political and economic spheres but also contributes significantly to the achievement of Indonesia’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—particularly Goal 5 (Gender Equality) and Goal 10 (Reduced Inequalities). The *RUU KKG* will accelerate inclusive, equitable, and sustainable development by aligning legislative reform with national and international commitments.

CONCLUSION

Women's participation in Indonesia's political and legislative sectors continues to face significant structural and cultural challenges. Although affirmative action policies have mandated a 30% quota for female legislative candidates, implementing this policy has not yet significantly increased women's representation in parliament. Data from the 2019 legislative elections indicate that women held only 20.87% of seats in the House of Representatives (DPR), slightly increasing to 21.39% in 2021 through interim replacement mechanisms (*Pergantian Antar Waktu*, PAW). These figures remain far from the ideal level of equal representation in political decision-making.

Beyond the political realm, women have made substantial contributions to the education and health sectors. Their roles as educators extend beyond being students to include teachers and community mobilizers, playing a strategic part in improving the quality of human resources. Similarly, women dominate the nursing and medical professions in the health sector, contributing significantly to enhancing public healthcare services. Nevertheless, challenges persist, particularly in remote areas, where access to education and healthcare remains constrained by inadequate infrastructure and the limited availability of gender-responsive public services.

To address these disparities, the enactment of the *Rancangan Undang-Undang tentang Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender (Draft Law on Gender Equality and Justice, RUU KKG)* is a strategic step toward strengthening legal protections and ensuring equitable access and participation for women across all sectors. In addition, regulatory harmonisation with existing legislation, such as the Law on General Elections and the Labour Law, and the enhancement of monitoring mechanisms for gender policy implementation, are critical for ensuring the effectiveness and sustainability of gender equality regulations.

Therefore, synergy among the government, civil society, academia, and international institutions is essential in promoting data-driven and inclusive affirmative policies. By ensuring more equitable representation of women, Indonesia can accelerate the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly in promoting gender equality, and build a more just, sustainable, and progressive socio-economic system.

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