



An Analysis of Women's Representation in Parliament: A Comparative Study of Indonesia and Other Countries Around the World

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the factors influencing women's representation in parliament and to compare descriptive and substantive representation of women in Indonesia, Finland, and Timor-Leste. The key factors examined include the electoral system, nomination patterns, parliamentary thresholds, and the internal dynamics of political parties. This research employs a comparative study with a qualitative approach through document analysis and observation of women's political practices in the three countries. The findings reveal that countries with proportional electoral systems and the implementation of party quotas, such as Finland, have a higher proportion of women in parliament. Finland excels in descriptive representation due to strong gender equality and high levels of women's political participation. Timor-Leste has also succeeded in enhancing women's representation through the effective implementation of gender quotas, while Indonesia faces challenges under its open-list system, which is less supportive of female candidates. In terms of substantive representation, women parliamentarians in Finland and Timor-Leste actively engage with civil society through umbrella organizations and women's caucuses. In contrast, the role of the women's caucus in Indonesia's House of Representatives (DPR RI) remains limited. This study recommends enhancing women's political participation through the implementation of legislative quotas, improvements in candidate list ranking quotas, and strengthening communication between women parliamentarians and civil society, as well as empowering the role of the women's caucus in the DPR RI. Comprehensive political education for women is also considered a crucial step in optimizing women's representation in Indonesia's parliament.

Keywords: Women's Representation; Electoral System; Legislative Quotas; Parliament; Political Communication.

INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in parliament is a crucial indicator in achieving gender equality within a country's political system, as it has the potential to reshape social and political structures that have long perpetuated the subordination of women (UN Women, 2021). Several studies have found that a higher proportion of women in parliament correlates with greater

attention to women's issues (Asiedu, 2020). The involvement of women in the legislative process is a strategic step toward ensuring that legal products align with the principles of gender equality (Rahmanto, 2021).

To promote such representation, many countries have adopted affirmative action policies in the form of gender quotas. In Indonesia, the implementation of gender quotas is reflected in the requirement for political parties to include at least 30% women in their central executive board, as mandated by Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties. Furthermore, political parties are also required to include at least 30% women in their list of legislative candidates. Nevertheless, women's representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) has yet to reach the 30% benchmark.

The failure to meet this quota threshold is evident in the limited presence of women across various parliamentary commissions in the DPR RI. In response to this reality, female legislators established the Indonesian Parliamentary Women's Caucus (KPP RI), which aims to address policy issues that impact women. However, the effectiveness of the KPP RI in enhancing public participation—especially among women in the policymaking process remains suboptimal (Prihatini, 2022).

This situation contrasts with that of Timor-Leste, where in 2022, women held 40% of parliamentary seats (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022). In that country, the women's parliamentary caucus has proven successful in supporting the passage of regulations that guarantee the fulfillment of women's rights and protection (Hidayahtulloh, 2019), even though the quota system applied in Timor-Leste is relatively similar to that of Indonesia.

Finland presents another noteworthy example. Despite lacking a formal quota regulation, following the 2019 parliamentary elections, women's representation in the Finnish parliament reached 47% (Freidenvall, 2020). This achievement has supported the development of gender-responsive policies, such as the restoration of legal rights for parents to access public child care services for children under the age of seven (Kudel, 2021).

Based on these circumstances, this study seeks to compare the women's electoral quota policies in Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Finland. The comparison is conducted through an examination of Indonesia's Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties and its amendments, Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections, Lei n.º 6/2006 de 28 de dezembro (Electoral Law for the National Parliament) and its amendments in Timor-Leste, and the Finnish Vaalilaki (Election Act).

This study does not solely focus on the substance of gender quota regulations, but also explores various factors that influence their effectiveness, including the electoral system, nomination mechanisms, parliamentary thresholds, and the internal structure of political parties.

To analyze the effectiveness of these provisions, this paper refers to the concept of representation as formulated by Hanna Fenichel Pitkin. According to Pitkin (1972), representation is not limited to the physical presence of a representative (descriptive), but also includes whether the representative actively advocates for the interests of their constituents (substantive). This study specifically employs both descriptive and substantive forms of representation. Descriptive representation is relevant, as the primary focus is on gender quotas aimed at increasing the proportion of women in legislative institutions. This concept refers to the alignment between the composition of parliament members and the demographics of the society they represent (Pitkin, 1972). Meanwhile, substantive representation is used to formulate strategies to optimize the role of women in parliament, not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of their effectiveness in articulating and advocating for women's interests through legislative policy (Garboni, 2015).

METHOD

This study employs a juridical-normative approach using library research methods, focusing on the analysis of legislation, international legal documents, scholarly journal articles, and relevant literature concerning women's representation in parliament, both in Indonesia and in other countries. This method is chosen because the issues examined are normative and comparative in nature, relying on the evaluation of legal systems and affirmative action policies across different jurisdictions.

According to Soerjono Soekanto, juridical-normative research aims to "examine law as a set of norms that apply within society, both written and unwritten, and to trace the legal principles that underlie the formation and implementation of laws and regulations." This approach enables the researcher to critically examine the legal substance governing women's representation and to assess the extent to which its implementation reflects the values of justice and gender equality.

The primary data sources in this study consist of national regulations such as Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections, as well as several regulations issued by the General Elections Commission (PKPU), including PKPU Number 10 of 2023 on the Nomination of Members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Provincial Legislative Council (DPRD Provinsi), and Regional Legislative Council (DPRD Kabupaten/Kota). In addition, international documents such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) serve as relevant normative foundations in promoting women's political participation.

Secondary data sources are obtained from books, scholarly journal articles, reports by international institutions such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), and relevant previous research. The researcher also refers to various statistical data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), as well as policy documents from political parties in the comparative case study countries, such as Finland and Spain.

The data analysis technique used is descriptive-qualitative, by systematically presenting and interpreting data to answer the research questions. As explained by Marzuki, "normative legal research does not aim to empirically test hypotheses but to explain and examine the content of norms and legal principles as they apply in specific social contexts." In this context, the analysis is carried out by comparing legal norms in Indonesia with policies in other countries to evaluate the effectiveness of gender quota systems for women's representation in parliament.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Comparison of Women's Quota Regulations in General Elections in Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Finland

The study of women's quota regulations in elections cannot be separated from the broader electoral systems in each country. Affirmative policies such as electoral gender quotas are not standalone measures but are inherently tied to the electoral mechanisms used; therefore, their effectiveness is strongly influenced by those mechanisms.

1. Electoral System

Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Finland all employ proportional systems for parliamentary elections. In this system, political parties submit lists of legislative candidates for each electoral district. The proportional system allows for more than one candidate from a party list to be elected (Karam, 1999: 65). Although all three countries use proportional representation, differences lie in the list structure: Indonesia and Finland apply open-list systems, whereas Timor-Leste uses a closed-list system. In open lists, voters can vote

directly for individual candidates. In contrast, closed lists require voters to choose only a political party, with candidate order determined by the party.

Several studies suggest a significant correlation between electoral systems and the likelihood of women being elected to parliament. Generally, proportional systems are more supportive of women's representation than majoritarian systems because they account for all votes and offer more seats (Rahayu, 2014: 23–24). Conversely, majoritarian systems follow a "winner-takes-all" principle, where only the highest vote-getters win seats.

The number of seats available also affects the opportunity for political parties to gain representation. For example, in Indonesia, 575 seats in the DPR RI are allocated across 80 electoral districts (Law No. 7/2017, Article 414(1)). Timor-Leste allocates 65 seats in a single national district (Lei n.º 6/2006 de 28 de dezembro). Finland has 200 seats across 15 electoral districts (Vaalilaki, Articles 5–6), with one seat permanently designated for the Åland Islands. Timor-Leste's electoral threshold is very low, requiring only 1.14% of total valid votes to gain a seat (Rahayu, 2014: 24). In contrast, Indonesia's average of 7 seats per district presents greater challenges for broader representation, including for women.

The greater the chances for parties to win seats, the higher the potential for women's representation. Parties are thus encouraged to compile candidate lists that reflect diversity, including gender representation, to attract specific voter segments. Gender imbalance in candidate lists can negatively influence voter perceptions (Karam, 1999: 70–72).

2. Nomination Patterns

Nomination patterns also affect the chances of women being elected to parliament. When parties place women in strategic (early) positions on candidate lists, their chances increase (Rahayu, 2014: 25). All three countries use numbered lists, but Indonesia and Timor-Leste have affirmative rules: for every three candidates, one must be a woman. Lists that do not comply are returned for correction or rejected (Lei n.º 9/2017 de 5 de maio).

Finland does not enforce such requirements. However, women can still be placed in top positions because the order in combined lists is determined by random draw conducted by election committees, not by parties or constituent associations (Vaalilaki, Article 41). Thus, candidate order is randomized and not a result of affirmative policy.

Indonesia is more progressive in this regard, requiring a minimum of 30% women in legislative candidate lists (Law No. 7/2017, Article 245). This requirement does not exist in Timor-Leste or Finland. Following its implementation in 2008, women's representation in Indonesia's DPR RI increased from 61 to 101 members after the 2009 elections (Kurniawan, 2014: 719).

3. Parliamentary Threshold

Both Indonesia and Timor-Leste apply a 4% parliamentary threshold. Only parties that receive at least 4% of the national vote may gain parliamentary seats (Law No. 7/2017, Article 414(1); Timor-Leste Parliamentary Election Law, Article 13(2)). Finland has no threshold, allowing all electoral participants to compete for seats.

According to Surbakti, Supriyanto, and Asy'ari, parliamentary thresholds can benefit women. They argue that the higher the threshold, the fewer parties enter parliament, which leads to more seats per party, thus increasing the chances for female candidates (Surbakti, 2011: 6).

However, it is important to note that electoral participation in Timor-Leste and Finland includes not only political parties. Timor-Leste allows coalitions to submit candidate lists, while Finland recognizes the role of constituent associations, their alliances, and party coalitions in nominations. Therefore, the theory citing "political parties" as the primary

actors does not apply literally in these two countries. In Finland, the concept is even less relevant due to the use of combined lists that do not represent a single party's power.

4. Role of Political Parties

Women's representation in parliament is also shaped by internal party policies, particularly regarding quotas and recruitment patterns. Political parties play a crucial role in nominating female legislative candidates (Rahayu, 2014: 28). Nominations can be based on capability, track record, or personal ties to party elites (Zaetun, 2020: 121). In this context, male-dominated parties are prone to biased nominations, favoring men with close party connections.

To counter this imbalance, affirmative policies mandating women's representation from party formation are needed. In Indonesia, the law requires at least 30% women in the central executive board at the time of a party's founding (Law No. 2/2008, Article 2(2)).

Table 1. Comparison of Electoral Systems in Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Finland

Comparison Aspect	Indonesia	Timor-Leste	Finland
Electoral System	Proportional, open-list	Proportional, closed-list	Proportional, open-list
Number of MPs	575	65	200 (incl. 1 from Åland)
Electoral Districts	80	1	15
Electoral Threshold	4% of valid national vote	4% of total vote	None
Electoral Participants	Political parties	Political parties	Political parties and independent candidates from constituent associations
Gender Quota in Candidate Lists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minimum 30% 1 woman for every 3 candidates 	1 woman for every 3 candidates	None
Seat Allocation Method	Webster/Sainte-Laguë	Modified d'Hondt	Modified d'Hondt
Gender Quota in Political Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minimum 30% at founding Minimum 30% to contest elections (Optional) internal quota 	Not regulated, but internal quota possible	None
Other Provisions	Encouragement for 30% women in election commissions	Female replacements must be female	None

Source: Election Laws (Indonesia), Political Party Law (Indonesia), National Parliamentary Election Law (Timor-Leste), and Election Act (Finland).

In terms of success in achieving descriptive representation, Finland ranks highest among the three. In 2019, the year of the parliamentary election, women made up 50.67% of Finland's population (Statistics Times, 2021), and women held 47% of seats in its national parliament. In 2018, during Timor-Leste's parliamentary election, women comprised 49.7% of the population (World Bank, Timor-Leste), with 40% representation in parliament. In contrast, Indonesia in 2019, with a population of 270,625,567, of which 49.6% were women (World Bank, Indonesia), had only 21.4% female representation in the DPR RI.

These data indicate that the smallest disparity between the proportion of women in the population and their representation in parliament is in Finland (3.67%), followed by Timor-Leste (9.7%), and Indonesia (28.2%). Indonesia's disparity even exceeds its actual percentage of women in parliament.

One key factor in Finland's success is the high level of women's political participation. Notably, seven of the nine parties represented in parliament implement party quotas to enhance women's representation.

The following are gender quota provisions adopted by major political parties in Finland:

- a. The Centre Party mandates a minimum 40% representation of each gender at all levels of decision-making bodies, including the party assembly, council, and committees.
- b. The Swedish People's Party requires at least 40% representation of both men and women in its assembly and council structures.
- c. The Social Democratic Party applies a similar rule, with a minimum 40% gender representation in its party assembly and council.
- d. The Green Party enforces a maximum 60% representation for either gender, accommodating non-binary gender identities in leadership.
- e. The Christian Democrats require a minimum 40% representation for both men and women in the party assembly.
- f. The Left Alliance stipulates at least 40% gender representation within its party council.
- g. The Finns Party mandates that of its three vice-chair positions, at least one must be held by someone of a different gender, ensuring gender diversity at the leadership level.

These policies reflect each party's commitment to internalizing gender equality principles within their organizational structures as part of more representative democratic practices (Suutari, Kanner, & Juhola, 2021).

The adoption of gender quotas in party structures has become a vital instrument for ensuring active participation of women in political decision-making. These policies provide equal opportunities for women to run for office and gain support from fellow women voters, helping balance the number of male and female candidates.

In contrast, male dominance in Indonesian party structures remains a major obstacle. In the 2019 general election, there were 4,774 male legislative candidates compared to 3,194 female candidates. Moreover, only two political parties were led by women: the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) by Grace Natalie and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) by Megawati Soekarnoputri (perludem.org, 2018).

Although Indonesian law promotes a minimum 30% women's representation in party executive boards, the effective implementation of gender quotas remains weak. Consequently, the selection of female legislative candidates is often controlled by male party elites, hindering substantive representation.

By comparison, Finland has shown significant success in implementing gender quotas. According to Suutari, Kanner, and Juhola, seven of the nine parties in Finland enforce a minimum 40% gender quota in their leadership structures. This contributes to high levels of female political participation and the "women vote for women" phenomenon, where the majority of female voters choose female legislative candidates.

In Timor-Leste, although only one party, FRETILIN, applies a 30% gender quota, support from NGOs providing training for female legislative candidates plays an important role. However, patriarchal cultural dominance remains a challenge in improving women's representation in parliament (dw.com, 2022).

In terms of electoral systems, Indonesia faces challenges in implementing gender quotas due to its open-list proportional system, where voters choose individual candidates. This contrasts with Timor-Leste's closed-list system, where voters choose parties and seats

are allocated based on list order. As a result, even if women are placed in strategic list positions, their election depends on the number of personal votes they receive.

Overall, Finland has demonstrated notable success in enhancing the descriptive representation of women through the implementation of gender quotas and the active participation of female voters. Timor-Leste has also shown progress, supported by the involvement of non-governmental organizations, although it continues to face cultural challenges. In contrast, Indonesia needs to reinforce the implementation of gender quotas and address the male dominance within political party structures in order to significantly improve women's representation.

Substantive Representation as a Means of Advancing Women's Protection Policies

Substantive representation refers to the tangible efforts made by political representatives to advocate for the interests of the groups they represent. In this context, Karen Celis explains that substantive representation does not stop at symbolic or numerical presence but emphasizes actions that yield concrete benefits for the represented group. This concept comprises three essential criteria: (1) the presence of representative action; (2) the outcomes of such actions benefit the represented group; and (3) the responsiveness of representatives to the needs of those they represent. As Celis states:

“Substantive representation focuses on the actions taken by representatives, the outcomes of these actions for the represented, and the responsiveness of representatives to those they represent.”

The implementation of substantive representation by women can be observed in the performance of the *Grupo das Mulheres Parlamentares de Timor-Leste* (GMPTL), a parliamentary caucus that serves as a platform for women members of parliament in Timor-Leste. GMPTL has played a vital role in drafting and advocating for gender-sensitive policies. A prominent example is the enactment of legislation on domestic violence and electoral regulations that incorporate affirmative action provisions for women.

Moreover, GMPTL has been involved in revising the Health Law aimed at reducing maternal mortality rates and promoting optimal breastfeeding practices. They have also advocated for the establishment of childcare centers within government institutions. These initiatives represent concrete forms of responsiveness to women's needs and reinforce the argument that substantive representation goes beyond the mere presence of women in parliament—it must be realized through policies that address women's interests.

A similar phenomenon is evident in Finland through *The Network of Finnish Women Members of Parliament* (TNFWMP) and the organization *Naisjärjestöt yhteistyössä ry* (NYTKIS). These platforms enable female parliamentarians to coordinate and amplify issues related to women's rights. Through such collaborations, they have been able to introduce new gender-oriented policies and advocate effectively within the broader legislative framework.

Unfortunately, in Indonesia, the efforts to achieve substantive representation of women have not yet yielded optimal results. This is evident from the legislative process surrounding Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (*Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual*, or TPKS). Despite the long-standing efforts of civil society and the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) to propose the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill (RUU PKS), their participation was not adequately facilitated by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) (Ginting and Rahmawati, 2022). The DPR failed to provide sufficient space for civil society to express their views directly. In fact, the Task Force for Deliberation of the RUU PKS formed by the DPR significantly altered the substance of the draft proposed by civil society, resulting in a TPKS Law that does not fully reflect public aspirations.

This situation illustrates that the substantive role of female representatives in Indonesia's parliament remains limited. The *Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia* (KPP RI) should serve as a key driver in formulating and safeguarding gender-sensitive legislative agendas. To achieve comprehensive substantive representation, synergy is needed between female parliamentarians and external actors such as civil society organizations and women's interest groups. As demonstrated by the experiences of Timor-Leste and Finland, such collaboration has proven effective in producing more responsive, inclusive, and gender-oriented policies.

Strategies to Maximize Women's Representation in the Indonesian Parliament: Lessons from Timor-Leste and Finland

1. Enhancing Women's Political Participation

Women's participation in politics is a fundamental prerequisite for increasing their representation in parliament. Without equal access within political parties, women face difficulties competing in legislative elections. In Finland, the implementation of party quotas mandates women's involvement in decision-making structures. If party quotas are considered challenging to implement in Indonesia, the adoption of legislative quotas requiring political parties to include at least 30% women in their candidate lists may be an alternative. However, the implementation of legislative quotas in Indonesia since 2008 has not been optimal, as political party structures remain male-dominated, leading to strategic decisions that tend to disadvantage women. Therefore, policies mandating women's inclusion in all decision-making bodies within parties are necessary.

"Women's participation in politics is a fundamental prerequisite for increasing their representation in parliament (The Indonesian Institute, 2022)."

2. Reforming the Implementation of Women's Electoral Quotas

Indonesia needs to evaluate its majoritarian electoral system, which adopts a highest-vote system, as it conflicts with affirmative policies that assign women to specific candidate list positions. Timor-Leste utilizes a closed-list proportional system where seat allocation is based on party votes rather than individuals, making women's quotas more effective. However, the adoption of a closed-list system in Indonesia raises concerns about reinforcing party elite dominance in selecting legislative candidates. Hence, democratic pre-nomination mechanisms within parties are essential to ensure that female candidates genuinely represent women's interests.

"A closed-list proportional system is used, where seat allocation is based on party votes, not individuals, thus making women's quotas more effective (Antara Jateng, 2023)."

3. Opening Communication Channels between Women Parliamentarians and Civil Society

Women parliamentarians need to build intensive communication with civil society to ensure that resulting policies reflect women's needs and aspirations. In Timor-Leste, female parliamentarians within the GMPTL actively involve civil society in the legislative process. In Finland, NYTKIS serves as a bridge between parliament and civil society to advocate gender issues. Indonesian women parliamentarians can adopt similar practices by holding regular discussions with civil society and involving them in policy-making processes.

"Women parliamentarians need to build intensive communication with civil society to ensure that policies reflect women's needs and aspirations (Tatoli, 2023)."

4. Strengthening the Role of the Women's Parliamentary Caucus

The Women's Parliamentary Caucus of the Republic of Indonesia (KPP RI) should expand its role from merely bridging commissions to becoming an active actor in promoting

gender perspectives in all parliamentary policies. In Finland, the TNFWMP actively provides gender analyses in a variety of policies, not limited to women's issues. In Timor-Leste, the GMPTL acts as a liaison between parliament and civil society to champion women's interests. The KPP RI can adopt similar roles to ensure policies are gender-responsive.

"KPP RI needs to expand its role from merely bridging commissions to becoming an active actor in promoting gender perspectives in all parliamentary policies (kompas.id, 2024)."

5. Providing Political Education for Women

Political education for women is crucial to raise awareness of the importance of women's political participation and equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary for political engagement. In Timor-Leste, political education has helped women parliamentarians better understand gender issues and advocate for women's interests in parliament. In Finland, political education has encouraged women's active political engagement and fostered solidarity among them. In Indonesia, comprehensive political education programs for women nationwide are necessary.

"Political education for women is crucial to raise awareness of the importance of women's political participation and to equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary for political engagement (BBC News Indonesia, 2019)."

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the conducted study, it can be concluded that the level of women's representation in parliament is influenced by several factors, including the electoral system, nomination patterns, parliamentary threshold, and the internal conditions of political parties. Countries that implement proportional electoral systems generally demonstrate a higher proportion of women's representation. Furthermore, countries that position female candidates in the top ranks of legislative candidate lists and that exhibit high levels of women's participation within political parties tend to have a greater number of female parliamentarians. Regarding the parliamentary threshold, its presence does not necessarily guarantee an increase in the number of women in parliament. However, when there are many candidate lists available for voters but only a few successfully enter parliament, the chances of increasing women's representation become greater.

In the context of descriptive representation, Finland holds a leading position compared to Indonesia and Timor-Leste. This is mainly due to Finland's relatively high level of gender equality, which fosters two important phenomena: high women's political participation and the tendency of female voters to choose female candidates. Women's political participation in Finland is further reinforced by the policies of most political parties implementing party quotas to ensure women's involvement in party decision-making processes. Timor-Leste ranks second, surpassing Indonesia, primarily because of the effective implementation of women's quotas through the placement of women in prioritized candidate list positions. Conversely, Indonesia faces challenges with its highest-vote system.

From the perspective of substantive representation, the condition of women's representation in the parliaments of Timor-Leste and Finland is considered highly effective. Female parliamentarians in both countries actively communicate with civil society. This communication occurs through umbrella organizations such as NYTKIS in Finland and parliamentary women's caucuses like TNFWMP in Finland and GMPTL in Timor-Leste. Through such communication, women parliamentarians are able to formulate women's interests, voice their aspirations, and broaden relevant political agendas. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, this kind of communication appears underdeveloped. The Women's Parliamentary

Caucus in the Indonesian House of Representatives (KPP RI) plays a limited role, primarily functioning as a bridge between commissions without significant substantive contributions.

To enhance women's descriptive representation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI), several strategic steps need to be taken, namely:

1. Increasing women's political participation by encouraging the implementation of party quotas by political parties in Indonesia, or even revising this policy into legislative quotas formally regulated within the Political Parties Law.
2. Reforming the application of women's electoral quotas, specifically the placement of women's names on legislative candidate lists.

Meanwhile, to improve women's substantive representation in the DPR RI, some measures that need to be pursued include:

1. Expanding communication channels between women parliamentarians and civil society, either through the regular scheduling of discussions by women parliamentarians or through initiating umbrella organizations like NYTKIS in Finland, which are led by civil society actors.
2. Strengthening the role of the women's parliamentary caucus in the DPR RI so that it can perform a more substantive function.

Finally, for the optimization of both descriptive and substantive women's representation in the DPR RI, it is crucial to organize comprehensive political education programs for women across all regions of Indonesia.

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