ACTUALIZING EQUALITY:
A Strategy For Women's Political Representation In Politics in The 2024 Elections In The Special Province Of Yogyakarta

Ani Martini[1]
Rossy Lambelanova[2]
Hari Nur Cahya Murni[3]
Ilham Sentosa[4]

[1,2,3]Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri
Jalan Ir. Soekarno KM 20, Cibeusi, Jatinangor, Kabupaten Sumedang, Jawa Barat 45363, Indonesia

[4]Universiti Kuala Lumpur Business School
Kuala Lumpur Campus Lot 4-12, Quill City Mall, 1018 Jalan Sultan Ismail, 50250 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Correspondence Email: animartini@ipdn.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the factors behind women's low representation in the 2024 Legislative Elections in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) and formulates strategies to address the issue. Using qualitative methods and a descriptive approach, data was collected through interviews, observations, and documentation. The author conducted in-depth interviews with 11 informants from political institutions and election organizers in DIY. The study identifies five leading causes of low representation: lack of self-confidence and family support, cultural restrictions, insufficient political education, discrimination within political parties, and the high costs of political participation. Strategies were formulated using SOAR Analysis, yielding four approaches. The S-A Strategy emphasizes building political women's empowerment centers, cultural campaigns, and strengthening collaboration networks. The O-A Strategy focuses on establishing political education programs, advocating for regulatory reforms, and electoral system improvements. The S-R Strategy highlights public awareness campaigns, collaboration optimization, and political education development. Lastly, the O-R Strategy emphasizes implementing political education programs, enhancing awareness through education, and fostering collaboration among institutions and organizations. These strategies aim to empower women, raise public awareness, and improve women's political participation through targeted education, advocacy, and institutional collaboration.

Keywords: Women's representation; Legislative Elections; strategy; SOAR analysis.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menyelidiki faktor-faktor yang melatarbelakangi rendahnya keterwakilan perempuan dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2024 di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY) dan merumuskan strategi untuk mengatasi masalah tersebut. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan deskriptif, data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Penulis melakukan wawancara mendalam dengan 11 informan dari lembaga politik dan penyelenggara pemilu di DIY. Penelitian ini mengidentifikasi lima penyebab utama rendahnya representasi, yaitu kurangnya kepercayaan diri dan dukungan keluarga, batasan budaya, pendidikan politik yang tidak memadai, diskriminasi di dalam partai politik, dan biaya partisipasi politik yang tinggi. Strategi dirumuskan dengan menggunakan Analisis SOAR, yang menghasilkan empat pendekatan. Strategi S-A menekankan pada pembangunan pusat pemberdayaan perempuan politik, kampanye budaya, dan penguatan jaringan kolaborasi. Strategi O-A berfokus pada pengembangan program pendidikan politik, advokasi reformasi regulasi, dan perbaikan sistem pemilu. Strategi S-R menyoroti kampanye kesadaran publik, optimalisasi kolaborasi, dan pengembangan pendidikan politik. Terakhir, Strategi O-R menekankan pada pelaksanaan program pendidikan politik, peningkatan kesadaran melalui pendidikan, dan membina

kolaborasi antar lembaga dan organisasi. Strategi ini bertujuan untuk memberdayakan perempuan, meningkatkan kesadaran publik, dan meningkatkan partisipasi politik perempuan melalui pendidikan yang ditargetkan, advokasi, dan kolaborasi kelembagaan.

Kata kunci: Keterwakilan Perempuan; Pemilu Legislatif; strategi; analisis SOAR.

BACKGROUND

Women's political participation has become an increasingly common topic of attention in various countries, including Indonesia. Despite the significant increase in women's representation in parliament, challenges still need to be addressed to achieve fair and equitable representation of women, and the gender gap remains an urgent issue. In this context, Yogyakarta, as one of the provinces in Indonesia, also faces similar challenges. The low representation of women in the Yogyakarta parliament is a significant focus in efforts to create a more inclusive and equitable political system.

In this article, we will comprehensively discuss the challenges of women's representation, primarily related to the low participation of women in the Yogyakarta parliament. In addition, we will explore new strategies that can be implemented to ensure a fairer representation of women in the context of general elections in Indonesia. By exploring various perspectives and approaches, it is hoped that this article can provide in-depth insights and sustainable solutions to overcoming the challenges of women's representation in politics.

Gender, as a concept, emerged as a significant topic of discussion in the late 1960s and has since evolved into a central theme in seminars and academic discourses on social change. Gender is understood as a relative and contextual social phenomenon shaped by the social construction of the society in which it exists. The term "gender" was first introduced by Robert Hellen (as cited in Rasyidin, 2014), distinguishing human characteristics based on socio-cultural definitions rather than biological attributes. This perspective emphasizes that gender roles and expectations are not innate but are socially and culturally constructed. Similarly, (Oakley, 1972) Defined gender as a social construct, highlighting that the differences in behavior between men and women arise from human culture rather than biological or divine determinants.

In the context of this research, gender is relevant as it highlights the socio-cultural barriers contributing to the underrepresentation of women in the legislative elections in Yogyakarta. Understanding gender as a socially constructed phenomenon underscores the importance of addressing the cultural, religious, and ethnic influences that perpetuate these inequalities. As Rashila Ramli (in Rasyidin, 2014) Noted that social construction is profoundly shaped by cultural, religious, and ethnic beliefs, often hindering women's political participation. By situating the concept of gender within this framework, the research aims to analyze and propose strategies that challenge these societal constructs, enabling a more inclusive political environment.

According to data reported by the World Bank, in 2021, the average representation of women in global parliaments only reached 25.5% (Putri, 2023a). Although this figure

shows an increase from the previous year, it is still clear that women are still *underrepresented* in legislatures in many countries. This shows that the issue of women's representation is not a problem limited to one country or region but a global challenge that requires serious attention.

Returning to the context of Indonesia, data from relevant institutions highlights that women's representation in Indonesia's parliament remains significantly unequal. As of 2021, women's parliamentary participation stood at just 21.9% (Putri, 2023). While this figure indicates progress compared to previous years, it underscores the persistent need for more comprehensive efforts to achieve gender parity in political representation. From a theoretical perspective, enhancing gender engagement is essential because it contributes to more inclusive decision-making processes, reflecting society's diverse needs and perspectives. Gender engagement is not merely about equity; it aligns with democratic principles, where representation should mirror the composition of the population. Moreover, social justice and empowerment theories suggest that increasing women's representation can challenge existing power dynamics, promote more balanced policy outcomes, and foster social transformation. Therefore, greater attention to structural, cultural, and institutional barriers is necessary to amplify gender engagement and address the longstanding disparities in Indonesia's political landscape.

Furthermore, the situation is not much different when we focus on Yogyakarta. Women's representation in the Yogyakarta parliament is minimal, with a figure of no more than 18% (Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD Secretary, 2023). This shows that the province faces serious challenges in creating an inclusive and equitable political system representing women's diversity and justice. The phenomenon of low political participation of women has been put forward by. Efriza (2012) This indicates that the difference in the level of women's political participation can be influenced by 2 (two) factors, namely socio-economic (education, employment, and income) and disappointment in the government and political parties. As Ramlan Surbakti said in Efriza (2012), the high and low levels of political participation are influenced by voters' socio-economic factors, such as education, employment, and income. The socioeconomic background factors used in this study emphasize two aspects: social status factors and formal education factors of voters.

Regarding the disappointment factor in the reality of government and politics, Khoirudin, in Efriza (2012) Revealed that the phenomenon of the increasing number of voters who choose not to vote or log could be viewed from two perspectives, namely first, the emergence of distrust in political channels in the form of parties, which then results in the second perspective, namely the desire of citizens to delegitimize power. In fact, without the legitimacy of citizens, a power can be considered non-existent.

Several previous studies have also discussed the topic of women's representation in local and national political institutions obtained through elections. Research by Ani Martini, Maichel Wutoy, and Perdana Dewi Wardhani (2021) discusses the low representation of women in the legislative institution of Sukoharjo Regency, Central Java. Only 22.22% of legislative members are women, far from the quota of 30%. Internal and external factors,

such as self-confidence, patriarchal culture, and political constraints, hinder women's legislative performance. Strategies to increase representation include increasing women's resources and early communication by female legislative candidates (Martini et al., 2021). Then, research by Elviana Fadhilatu Nisa (2012) examined Women's Political Participation in Elections in the Sragen Regency. The study found that substance, institutions, and culture influenced the high participation of women. However, cultural factors hinder the effectiveness of women's representation in general elections (Nisa, 2012).

Another research by Yuni Lestari et al. (2019) shows the lack of priority for gender equality in the vision of political parties in Surabaya, as well as weak public support and limited understanding of threats to female candidates. The study recommends candidate development as an alternative strategy. (Lestari et al., 2019). Meanwhile, the research by Isyrofah Amaliyah Achmad (2018) with the title Strengthening Women's Representation in Political Party Management. To address the challenges of ensuring women's representation in political party leadership, this study discusses affirmative action policies. The report cited the ongoing debate around the 30% quota for women's election representation. (Achmad, 2018).

Furthermore, research by Rizqi Abdurrahman Masykur (2017) entitled Women's Representation in Politics in Indonesia: A Study on the Acquisition of Women's Votes of PPP Parties in DKI Jakarta Province in the 2014 Elections. The study analyzes PPP's efforts to increase women's representation, citing societal stereotypes as barriers. The study also addresses the broader challenges faced by female candidates in elections. (Masykur, 2017). Finally, Rasyidin and Aruni Fidhia (2016) researched with the title Gender and Politics: Women's Representation in Politics. This study discusses the importance of women's representation in politics, and this research highlights the role of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in promoting gender equality. (Rasyidin, & Aruni, 2016).

Although these studies collectively address the challenges in women's political representation, there are recurring gaps in an in-depth analysis of the impact of specific policies, electoral systems, and the role of the media in shaping public perceptions of gender equality, resulting in the need for women's representation in parliament or involving women in strategic positions in decision-making in favor of women. Indonesia's parliament has not achieved the national target. Therefore, it is necessary to increase women's participation in elections, encourage women to dare to appear, and have the sensitivity to participate in politics so that women's rights can be fought for if they occupy public office from the general election results. (Priandi & Roisah, 2019).

It is also in line with the issue of gender, that the importance of women's representation in parliament in addition to fighting for women's rights, the rights of mothers and children is gender equality (Marwah & Pratiwi, 2022) between men and women, especially when looking at the culture of the people in Yogyakarta who are more upholding to the customs of the traditional community which sometimes does not pay attention to improving the quality of human resources, especially equality in obtaining education. The

right or opportunity to obtain education equal to men is fundamental because it has an impact on improving the quality of the nation's children, where women, as the primary and first educators at the family level, will give birth to and educate future generation candidates who are superior to the expectations of the nation and state.

The phenomenon of lack of participation or representation of women in the political world, especially in parliament, as has been empirically conveyed in previous research, has caused a lack of acceptance of the existence of women in the political arena, especially to voice the interests of women themselves, especially those related to mothers, children, and family affairs, as well as other interests of society at large, including according to (Budiman, 2022) By representing themselves as regional leaders, there are stereotypes and opposing views on women's leadership as regional heads, even though the Indigenous Peoples Institute emphasizes that there is no prohibition for women's leadership in the public sphere.

So important is the representation of women to improve the quality of life of the nation's children, who can adapt to various continuous changes and compete both locally and globally. This is a challenge for women's representation in parliament. Therefore, innovative and effective new strategies are needed. Further research in these areas can provide valuable insights into effective strategies to increase women's political participation. One of the approaches that has been proposed is to provide a minimum quota of 30% for women's representation in political affairs at the central level and legislative candidacy at each level. This approach has been conveyed by the Chairman of Bawaslu, Rahmat Bagja, as a step that can be taken to increase women's representation in parliament. (Bagja, 2022).

This approach is in line with affirmative policies that have been implemented in the context of general elections in Indonesia. For example, Law Number 17 of 2017 concerning Elections expressly mandates that the list of Legislative Candidates in each Constituency (Dapil) contains at least 30% female representation. Similarly, the General Election Commission (KPU) has required the representation of female candidates for members of the House of Representatives and DPRD at least 30 percent. Nevertheless, efforts are still needed to ensure this policy's implementation and encourage increased representation of women in parliament nationally. In addition, in the local context, efforts to increase women's representation in the Yogyakarta parliament have also shown positive developments.

Data indicates that the representation of female legislative candidates in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) for the 2024 General Election reached 38% (The Representation of Female Candidates in the City of Jogja Reached 38 Percent, 2023), surpassing the affirmative policies previously established. Despite this progress, the number of female candidates elected to the DIY Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) remains low, constituting only around 16% of the 55 seats distributed across seven electoral districts (Dapil). This figure is significantly below the 30% quota for women in parliament, highlighting the persistent challenge of achieving gender parity in legislative representation. This disparity underscores the need for more robust and innovative measures beyond quota or affirmative policies. While such policies have proven effective in increasing the number of female candidates, achieving equitable representation requires a comprehensive and

holistic strategy. This approach should involve various stakeholders, including political parties, government agencies, and civil society organizations. By fostering collaboration and addressing structural, cultural, and institutional barriers, these efforts can pave the way for fairer elections and a more inclusive political landscape in Indonesia.

Women's representation in the political arena is closely linked to their role in political participation. Political participation, as defined by Budiardjo (2008), refers to individuals engaging in the political processes of their country or region by electing leaders directly or indirectly. This participation serves as a benchmark for public control over government actions, reflecting the essence of democracy and the fulfillment of citizens' political rights. The level of participation is evident in the political behavior of Indonesian citizens, as seen through various activities and their engagement with national politics. (Arniti, 2020).

In Indonesia, political participation is constitutionally guaranteed. Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution affirms freedom of association, assembly, and expression. Additionally, Law No. 12 of 2015 guarantees civil and political rights, including voting, expressing opinions, and equal treatment before the law. As a constitutional democracy, Indonesia ensures that women have equal rights and obligations to participate in politics, reinforcing the principle that political participation extends to all citizens, including women.

Women's political participation is vital for influencing decision-making processes through traditional means such as elections and modern avenues like social media platforms, discussion forums, and other digital spaces. (Mudjianto, 2014). Reyes (2013) Emphasized that political participation is not only about voting or election processes but also encompasses active involvement in influencing government policies and decision-making at various levels. Milbrath (as cited in Maran, 2007) Key factors influencing political participation were highlighted: political stimulus, societal and environmental conditions, and political education. These elements are critical for understanding and enhancing women's political involvement.

Internationally, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is a cornerstone for promoting gender equality. Ratified in 1979, this convention underscores the global commitment to eliminating discrimination against women. (Eddyono, 2004). Indonesia demonstrated its commitment by ratifying the convention through Law No. 7 of 1984, which guarantees women's rights in political participation, equal voting opportunities, involvement in policy formulation, and access to bureaucratic and organizational roles.

Significant progress in women's political representation followed the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, particularly Article 28 H Paragraph (2), which ensures special treatment and equal opportunities for all individuals to achieve equality and justice. These legal frameworks and international commitments lay the foundation for increasing women's participation in legislative and other political arenas, fostering Indonesia's more inclusive political landscape.

Some of the studies that have been described describe the factors that cause the lack of participation of women in the political sphere in various district/city governments that

implement the local government system with a system of general autonomy or ordinary autonomy and policy recommendations and measures to overcome them. In contrast, this study further explores the factors that cause women's representation in elections in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province to be low. Yogyakarta Province is an area that implements special autonomy or has special authority regulated by law, especially Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

The privileged status of Yogyakarta is inseparable from the long history of the origin of the establishment of the Yogyakarta sultanate, where identity and cultural background are the dominant variables (Suryawan , 2011). One of the cultural values that are lived as a philosophy and life orientation of the Javanese people, especially Yogyakarta, is "primo in the pandemic," which is a teaching to be balanced and harmonious in the people of Yogyakarta who are very submissive and obedient to the Sultan. The King or Sultan is described as a human being who always takes care of the community in the concept of *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti,* which is internalized and trapped in the minds of the community. (Jaya, 2018). Based on this, this study wants to explore whether the cause of women's lack of representation in the political realm is due to cultural factors in the sultanate government system in Yogyakarta, as well as what strategies are appropriate in increasing women's participation in the political field.

METHOD

This research employed a qualitative method with a descriptive approach, aiming to provide a detailed explanation of the actual state of the object under study, as described by (Creswell & Creswell, 2023). Descriptive research was chosen to offer an in-depth understanding of the phenomena related to women's low representation in legislative elections. Data collection was conducted directly through interviews, observations, and documentation. In particular, in-depth interviews were carried out with 11 informants, including members of the DIY Regional General Election Commission (KPU DIY), representatives from the DIY Provincial Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD DIY), the Vice Chairperson of the DIY Provincial TP PKK, the Founder of the Nararita Association, officials from the National Unity and Political Body (Kesbangpol), and members of the DIY Regional Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu DIY). This diverse group of informants provided a holistic perspective on the structural, cultural, and institutional barriers women face in political participation.

The research involved a systematic SOAR (Strengths, Opportunities, Aspirations, and Results) analysis to formulate effective strategies for addressing the identified issues. The data collected from interviews, observations, and documents were transcribed, coded, and thematically analyzed to identify key patterns and relationships. This rigorous process allowed the researchers to explore the root causes of women's low representation and potential interventions. SOAR analysis was particularly effective in aligning strengths and opportunities with aspirations for change and identifying tangible results to guide strategic actions. The analytical process ensured that the findings were grounded in empirical

evidence, while the strategies formulated were both actionable and contextually relevant to the socio-political landscape of Yogyakarta Province.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Causes of Low Women's Representation

Based on the results of the analysis of data collected through field research (interviews, observations, and documentation) related to the causes of women's representation in the 2024 General Election in Yogyakarta Province is still low, several facts were obtained, including:

1. Lack of Confidence and Family Support

Lack of confidence and support from family is a key factor limiting women's political participation in the Special Region of Yogyakarta Province (DIY) and become the most dominant influential factor. Many women in Yogyakarta experience obstacles in building the confidence needed to be involved in political activities. This self-insecurity can stem from various factors, including cultural norms that emphasize the traditional role of women as housekeepers. In addition, the lack of support and encouragement from family is also a significant obstacle for women who want to be involved in politics (*interview results with members of the DIY Provincial DPRD*).

Many women struggle to express their political aspirations without support from their families. These limitations of support can include outright rejection of women's desire to get involved in politics, distrust of their abilities, or even displeasure with the idea. Family is often the central pillar in shaping a person's beliefs and attitudes towards various aspects of life, including political participation. When women do not receive enough support from their immediate environment, they tend to feel unmotivated to participate in politics.

Therefore, it is important to recognize the importance of the role of the family in shaping women's views and attitudes towards politics. More significant efforts are needed to change perceptions and attitudes in the family environment so women feel supported and valued in their political aspirations. Raising awareness of the importance of women's involvement in politics and providing positive support and encouragement can help overcome these obstacles and increase women's representation in elections in Yogyakarta.

2. Cultural Restrictions

Cultural restrictions that include patriarchal culture and negative perceptions of women who are active outside the home, especially at night, are significant factors hindering women's political participation (*results of interviews with members of the KPU of Yogyakarta Province*). The patriarchal culture that is still strong in DIY society often considers women's roles limited to the domestic sphere, with little room to be involved in public affairs such as politics. This is reflected in the view of the community, which views the presence of women outside the home at night as inappropriate or not by existing social norms.

Negative perceptions of women who are active outside the home at night also hinder women's political participation. A culture that still prioritizes security and adherence to traditional gender roles limits women's movement in public spaces at certain times, especially

at night. As a result, women often feel prevented from engaging in political activities that involve gatherings or events outside the home at night.

In this context, it is important to highlight the need to change people's attitudes and perceptions towards women and their role in politics. Efforts are needed to address gender stereotypes that limit women's political participation. This can be done through counseling and education campaigns that aim to change people's views on the role and rights of women in the public sphere, including in political activities. In addition, concrete steps are needed to create a more inclusive and safe environment for women to engage in politics without fear or discrimination.

3. Lack of Political Education

Women's lack of political education within political parties is a serious obstacle in their efforts to develop and be actively involved in politics. Political education is one of the important aspects in preparing political candidates, including women, to understand political governance, the legislation process, and how political parties work. Unfortunately, many political parties in Yogyakarta Province have not provided adequate political education for their members, including women (*the results of interviews with members of the Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD*).

The lack of political education within political parties creates inequality in opportunities to thrive in politics between women and men. Women often do not have the same access as men to gain knowledge and understanding of politics due to political parties' lack of training and education (*results of an interview with the Founder of the NARASITA Association*). As a result, women may feel less confident or unprepared to engage in politics, as they do not adequately understand the complex political process and political governance.

The importance of inclusive and equitable political education for all party members, including women, should not be overlooked. Adequate political education can help strengthen women's political capacity, providing them with the knowledge and skills necessary to play an active role in political parties and advance their political agendas. Therefore, political parties must take concrete steps to increase women's access to political education, such as organizing training, seminars, or workshops for women. Thus, a more inclusive and equitable political environment will be created for women, allowing them to contribute more to the political process.

4. Discrimination within the Party

Discrimination within political parties is one of the main factors hindering women's active political participation. In many cases, women tend to be placed in administrative roles within the party, such as secretaries or treasurers, which do not allow them to play an active role in the political process (*interview results with the TP PKK of DIY Province*). These roles are often considered "traditional" positions for women, while men often fill more strategic and influential roles, such as councilors or candidates in elections.

Inequality in role placement within political parties not only reduces women's opportunities for politics but also creates an environment that is not inclusive and unfair to them. This discrimination harms not only women individually but also political parties

themselves and the democratic process as a whole. Political parties that cannot harness the full potential of all their members, including women, will lose diverse perspectives and ideas that can enrich their political policies and strategies.

Therefore, addressing discrimination within political parties and creating a more inclusive environment for women is important. Political parties should conduct internal evaluations of practices that limit women's participation in politics and take concrete steps to change them. This could include policies for more equitable role placement, training and support for women who want to be involved in politics, and promoting an organizational culture that values and encourages diversity and active participation of all its members. Thus, a more inclusive and equitable political environment will be created for women, allowing them to contribute more to the development of political parties and the political process as a whole.

5. High Political Costs and Money Politics

The high cost of politics and the practice of money politics are significant factors limiting women's political participation and leading to their low representation in legislative elections in Yogyakarta Province (*interview with the Secretary of the Indonesia Political Women's Caucus*). In this context, the high cost of getting involved in politics as a candidate and in political campaigns is often an unattainable obstacle for women, especially those from economically disadvantaged sections of society. These costs include registration fees as a candidate, campaign costs, and other costs associated with various political activities, such as meetings and campaign events.

In addition, the practice of money politics that is rampant in the world of politics also results in women experiencing inequality in access and political opportunities. This practice creates a political environment dominated by money and financial power. Hence, women who do not have enough capital often cannot compete with candidates supported by significant capital. As a result, women tend to be marginalized from the political process and have low representation in political institutions, including parliaments and regional councils.

To overcome this problem, serious efforts are needed to reduce political costs and limit the influence of money politics in the political process. Measures such as setting maximum limits on campaign spending, providing financial support to underprivileged female candidates, and strengthening oversight of the source and use of campaign funds can help create a more inclusive and equitable political environment for all candidates, including women. Thus, women will have a more significant opportunity to participate in politics and gain equal representation in political decision-making.

Strategies to Increase Women's Representation

SOAR (Strengths, Opportunities, Aspirations, and Results) is a highly positive framework that can be used for strategic thinking and analysis that enables a person, team, or organization to create a strategy and/or strategic plan to build its future through collaboration, mutual understanding, and commitment to action (Watkins, Mohr, & Kelly, 2011). SOAR focuses on the following things: Strength, Opportunities, Aspiration, and Results. As for the results of data collection regarding the low representation of women in elections in

Yogyakarta Province, the components of SOAR Analysis (Strengths, Opportunities, Aspirations, Results) can be identified as follows:

1. Strengths:
   a. Awareness of Problems: There is a relatively good understanding of the challenges and obstacles faced by women in politics.
   b. Cooperation with Organizations: The KPU has worked closely with political parties and women's organizations to increase women's political participation.
   c. The Role of Social Actors: There is awareness from several individuals and organizations, such as TP PKK and KPPI, who are working to increase women's representation in parliament.

2. Opportunities:
   a. Political Education: There is an opportunity to improve political education so that women can be better prepared to enter the world of politics.
   b. New Regulation: An opportunity to change the open proportional system to a closed proportional system and regulate regulations that support women's representation in political parties.
   c. Changes in the Electoral System: Introducing a closed proportional system to provide more significant opportunities for women.

3. Aspirations:
   a. Women's Empowerment: Hope to increase women's political participation through coaching, empowerment, and *capacity building*.
   b. Cultural Change: Aspirations to change patriarchal culture and public perceptions of women's role in politics.
   c. Women's Political Parties: Hope for a political party whose membership is exclusively for women.

4. Results:
   a. Increased Awareness: There is an increase in awareness about the importance of women's political representation.
   b. Collaboration: The formation of cooperation between institutions such as the KPU, DPRD, and community organizations to increase women's representation.
   c. Political Education: Kesbangpol implemented political education programs and democratic schools to increase women's political participation.

Through the SOAR analysis, it can be seen that although there are still some obstacles, there are concrete efforts and opportunities that can be used to increase women's representation in legislative elections in Yogyakarta Province. The synergy between various parties and targeted strategic steps are needed to achieve the expected results. Furthermore, to obtain an appropriate strategy for increasing women's representation in elections in Yogyakarta Province, the SOAR Analysis matrix is used as shown in the following table:

Table 1. SOAR Analysis Matrix

	Strengths (S)	Opportunities (O)
	a) Awareness of Problems: There is a pretty good understanding of the challenges and obstacles faced by women in politics. b) Cooperation with Organizations: The KPU has worked closely with political parties and women's organizations to increase women's political participation. c) The Role of Social Actors: There is awareness from several individuals and organizations, such as TP PKK and KPPI, who are working to increase women's representation in parliament.	a) Political Education: There is an opportunity to improve political education so that women can be better prepared to enter the world of politics. b) New Regulation: An opportunity to change the open proportional system to a closed proportional system and regulate regulations that support women's representation in political parties. c) Changes in the Electoral System: Introducing a closed proportional system to provide more significant opportunities for women.
Aspirations (A)	**S-A Strategy**	**O-A Strategy**
a) Women's Empowerment: We hope to increase women's political roles and participation through coaching, empowerment, and capacity building. b) Cultural Change: Aspirations to change patriarchal culture and public perceptions of women's political role. c) Women's Political Parties: Hope for a political party whose membership is exclusively for women.	Building a Center for Political Women's Empowerment: Community Culture and Education Campaign: Strengthening Collaboration Networks:	Establishment of the Political Education Program: Advocacy for Supportive Regulations.
Results (R)	**S-R Strategy**	**O-R Strategy**
a) Increased Awareness: There is an increase in awareness about the importance of women's political representation. b) Collaboration: The formation of cooperation between institutions such as the KPU, DPRD, and community organizations to increase women's representation. c) Political Education: Kesbangpol implemented political education programs and democratic schools to increase women's political participation.	Public Awareness Campaign: Optimizing Collaboration: Political Education Program Development:	Implementation of the Political Education Program:

Source: Treated by researcher, 2024

From the results of the analysis of the SOAR matrix, as shown in the table above, a strategic formulation is obtained, including the following:

1. S-A Strategy:
   a. Building a Political Women's Empowerment Center: Utilizing awareness of the problem and cooperation with organizations to establish a political women's empowerment center. The center will provide training, coaching, and capacity for women interested in getting involved in politics so that they are better prepared and confident.
   b. Community Culture and Education Campaign: Using awareness about cultural change and new regulatory opportunities to launch a public campaign to change public perceptions of women's role in politics. This campaign can be in the form of socialization, seminars, or community education programs about the importance of women's participation in political life.
   c. Strengthening Collaboration Networks: Encourage stronger collaboration between the KPU, political parties, women's organizations, and related institutions to improve strategies and programs that support women's representation in parliament. Establish a forum or regular meeting to share experiences and coordinate with various stakeholders.

2. O-A Strategy:
   a. Establishment of Political Education Programs: Taking advantage of the need for better political education by establishing special programs for women. The program can include courses, seminars, and workshops to improve women's understanding and political skills.
   b. Advocacy for Supportive Regulation: Use the opportunity of regulatory changes to advocate and lobby for reforms that support women's representation in politics. This includes supporting proposals to change the electoral system to a closed proportional system and pushing for regulations that ensure political parties give fair attention to women's representation in candidacy.
   c. Changes to Electoral Systems for Better Representation): Championing changes to closed proportional electoral systems to provide women more opportunities, conducting public campaigns to explain the benefits of electoral systems supporting women's representation, and coordinating with political parties and government agencies to implement these changes.

3. S-R Strategy:
   a. Public Awareness Campaign: Leveraging increased awareness about the importance of women's representation in politics to launch a broader public awareness campaign. The campaign will aim to increase the general public's understanding of the issues and challenges faced by women in politics.
   b. Optimizing Collaboration: Strengthening cooperation between relevant institutions, such as the KPU, DPRD, and community organizations, to maximize the collaborative impact of increasing women's political

representation. This can be done through the formation of joint work teams, the organization of joint events, or joint programs that support women's participation.

c. Political Education Program Development: Using increased awareness and strengthened collaboration to develop and implement more effective and inclusive political education programs. The program will improve women's political knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be better prepared and engage in the political process.

4. O-R Strategy:

a. Implementation of Political Education Programs: Implementing political education programs and democracy schools that Kesbangpol has prepared as a concrete effort to increase women's political participation

b. Raising Awareness through Education: Conducting counseling and education programs on the importance of women's representation in politics at various levels of society, as well as holding public events such as seminars, workshops, and panel discussions on the role of women in political development.

c. Collaboration between Institutions and Organizations: Encourage cooperation between institutions such as the KPU, DPRD, NGOs, and women's organizations to increase women's representation in politics, as well as form cross-sectoral forums or working groups to discuss and formulate concrete steps to increase women's political participation.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis results in the previous section, it can be concluded that the cause of the low representation of women in the 2024 Legislative Election in Yogyakarta Province is caused by 5 (five) things. *First*, there is a lack of confidence and family support, where women in Yogyakarta Province face obstacles in building confidence and getting support from their families to get involved in politics. *Second*, cultural restrictions, namely patriarchal culture and social norms that prevent women from being active outside the home, especially at night, are obstacles to women's political participation. *Third*, the lack of political education, namely the lack of political education within political parties, creates unequal access and opportunities for women to develop in politics. *Fourth*, there is discrimination within the party, where discrimination and inequality within political parties are also an inhibiting factor for women's political participation. *Finally*, the high cost of politics and the existence of money politics in every election contest is one of the factors that hinder women's representation.

Based on the results of the SOAR analysis, several strategies can be formulated to address the low representation of women in legislative elections. The first strategy focuses on building political women's empowerment centers, launching cultural campaigns, and strengthening collaboration networks. This approach aims to enhance women's political capacity, shift public perceptions, and foster greater cooperation among relevant institutions

and organizations. Another strategy emphasizes establishing political education programs, advocacy for supportive regulatory reforms, and changes to the electoral system. This strategy seeks to leverage opportunities arising from regulatory changes to improve women's political education and create a more inclusive political environment.

Furthermore, efforts to increase public awareness through campaigns, optimize collaboration, and develop effective political education programs are also key components of the strategy. These initiatives are designed to raise public consciousness about the importance of women's political participation, enhance cross-agency cooperation, and ensure the effectiveness of education programs tailored to women in politics. Lastly, implementing political education programs, raising awareness through targeted educational initiatives, and fostering collaboration among institutions and organizations are critical steps. These measures aim to execute well-designed programs, deepen public understanding of women's political roles, and strengthen stakeholder cooperation to build a supportive ecosystem for women's political engagement.

These conclusions indicate an integrated effort to increase women's representation and participation in politics through education, advocacy, collaboration, and capacity building.

REFERENCES

Achmad, I. A. (2018). Penguatan Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Kepengurusan Partai Politik. *Jurist-Diction*, *1*(1), 164–181. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.20473/jd.v1i1.9734

Arniti, N. (2020). PARTISIPASI POLITIK MASYARAKAT DALAM PEMILIHAN UMUM LEGISLATIF DI KOTA DENPASAR. *Jurnal Ilmiah Dinamika Sosial*, *4*(2), 329. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.38043/jids.v4i2.2496

Bagja, R. (2022). *Bawaslu Bicara Peran Perempuan pada Pemilu 2024: Majunya Demokrasi Terletak di Bahu Perempuan.*

Budiardjo, M. (2008). *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*. PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Budiman, N. (2022). WOMEN IN THE LOCAL POLITICAL VORTEX: A STUDY OF WOMEN CANDIDATES INVOLVEMENT IN 2020 REGIONAL ELECTIONS IN TANAH DATAR. *Politik Profetik*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/:https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v10i2a3

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2023). *Research Design - Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (6th ed.). Sage College.

Eddyono, S. W. (2004). Konvensi CEDAW Hak Azasi Perempuan sebagai Hak Azasi Manusia. In *Seri Bahan Bacaan Kursus HAM Untuk Pengacara* (pp. 1–31).

Africa. (2012). *Political Explore, Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik*. Alfabeta.

Jaya, P. H. I. (2018). The dynamics of public support for the king in Yogyakarta. In *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik.*

Lestari, Y., Prastyawan, A., & & Prasetyo, I. (2019). No Title. *LENTERA: Journal of Gender and Children Studies*, *1*, 52–61.

Maran, R. R. (2007). *Pengantar Sosiologi Politik.*

Martini, A., Wutoy, M., & Wardhani, P. D. (2021). Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Keanggotaan Legislatif di Kabupaten Sukoharjo Provinsi Jawa Tengah Periode 2019-2024. *Jurnal Kebijakan Pemerintahan*, 14–22. https://doi.org/10.33701/jkp.v4i1.1712

Marwah, S., & Pratiwi, O. C. (2022). Representasi Perempuan pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah: Ikhtisar Pilkada Serentak di Jawa Tengah 2020. *POLITIKA: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, *13*(1). https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.13.1.2022.101-118

Masykur, R. A. (2017). Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Politik di Indonesia Studi Tentang Perolehan Suara Perempuan Partai PPP di Provinsi DKI Jakarta Pada Pemilu 2014 di Indonesia. In *Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia,* (pp. 1–101).

Mudjianto, B. (2014). Media Baru, Budaya Politik dan Partisipasi Politik (Survei Pemilih di Jambi, Babel dan Jakarta Mengenai Aktivitas Komunikasi Politik Melalui Media Baru). *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, *18*(2), 183–198.

Nisa, E. F. (2012). *Partisipasi Politik Perempuan dalam Pemilu di Kabupaten Sragen.* Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

Oakley, A. (1972). *Sex, Gender, and Society*. Yale University Press.

Priandi, R., & Roisah, K. (2019). Upaya Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan dalam Pemilihan Umun Indonesia. *Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, *1*(1), 106. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116

Putri, A. M. H. (2023a). FYI! Persentase Perempuan di Kursi Parlemen Kurang Dari 30%. *CNBC Indonesia.*

Putri, A. M. H. (2023b, February 15). FYI! Persentase Perempuan di Kursi Parlemen Kurang Dari 30%. *CNBC Indonesia.* https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/research/20230215123904-128-414001/fyi-persentase-perempuan-di-kursi-parlemen-kurang-dari-30

Rasyidin, & Aruni, F. (2016). *Gender dan Politik: Keterwakilan Wanita dalam Politik.* Unimal Press.

Rasyidin. (2014a). *Politik Gender Aceh: Studi tentang Pemberdayaan Politik Gender di Provinsi Aceh Pasca MoU Helsinki*. Unimal Press.

Rasyidin. (2014b). *Politik Gender Aceh: Studi tentang Pemberdayaan Politik Gender di Provinsi Aceh Pasca MoU Helsinki* (Issue January). Unimal Press.

Reyes, L. E. G. (2013). Tipologi Partisipasi Politik. *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, *53*(9), 1689–1699.

Suryawan, I. N. (2011). Komin Tipu Komin: Elit Lokal dalam Dinamika Otonomi Khusus dan Pemekaran Daerah di Papua. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *15*(2), 140–153. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.11390