

REPOSITIONING THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN ELECTIONS: GENDER DISCOURSE AND DISCRIMINATION OF WOMEN

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Abstract

Women hold an important position in Indonesia's democratic life, yet their representation in electoral politics remains below the affirmative-action target. This study aims to analyze the repositioning of women's roles in elections and the forms of gender discrimination that continue to limit their political participation. This study employed a library research method by reviewing scholarly articles, books, and legal documents published between 2016 and 2026. The data were analyzed thematically to identify developments in women's representation, forms of gender discrimination, and factors influencing women's participation in the political arena. The findings show that the minimum 30% quota for female candidates has been implemented since 2004, and political parties in the 2024 election formally complied with this requirement, with women accounting for approximately 37% of candidates. However, women's representation in the national parliament reached only about 21.9%. This condition indicates a gap between formal quota compliance and substantive representation. Gender discrimination continues to manifest through marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and double burdens, which are reinforced by patriarchal culture. In addition, family support, socioeconomic networks, and political dynasties influence women's success in electoral competition. This study concludes that repositioning women's roles requires more than fulfilling numerical quotas. It also requires changes in political culture, reform of political party recruitment, and strengthened political literacy through Civic Education to promote more substantive women's representation.

Keywords: *Repositioning; Women's Political Role; Gender Discrimination; Affirmative Action; Substantive Representation.*

Abstrak

Perempuan memiliki posisi penting dalam kehidupan demokrasi Indonesia, tetapi keterwakilannya dalam politik elektoral masih belum mencapai target tindakan afirmatif. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis reposisi peran perempuan dalam pemilu serta bentuk diskriminasi gender yang masih membatasi keterlibatan politik perempuan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi kepustakaan dengan menelaah artikel ilmiah, buku, dan dokumen hukum yang diterbitkan pada periode 2016 hingga 2026. Data dianalisis secara tematik untuk mengidentifikasi perkembangan keterwakilan perempuan, praktik diskriminasi gender, dan faktor yang memengaruhi keberadaan perempuan dalam arena politik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kuota minimal 30% calon perempuan telah diterapkan sejak 2004 dan partai politik pada Pemilu 2024 telah memenuhi ketentuan tersebut secara administratif dengan rata-rata sekitar 37% calon perempuan. Namun, keterwakilan perempuan di parlemen nasional hanya mencapai sekitar 21,9%. Kondisi ini menunjukkan adanya kesenjangan antara pemenuhan kuota secara formal dan keterwakilan perempuan secara substantif. Diskriminasi gender masih muncul dalam bentuk marginalisasi, subordinasi, stereotip, kekerasan, dan beban ganda yang diperkuat oleh budaya patriarki. Selain itu, dukungan keluarga, jaringan sosial ekonomi, dan dinasti politik turut memengaruhi keberhasilan perempuan dalam kontestasi elektoral. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa reposisi peran perempuan tidak cukup dilakukan melalui pemenuhan kuota numerik, tetapi juga memerlukan perubahan budaya politik, reformasi rekrutmen partai politik, dan penguatan literasi politik melalui Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan untuk mendorong keterwakilan perempuan yang lebih substantif.

Kata Kunci: *Reposisi; Peran Politik Perempuan; Diskriminasi Gender; Tindakan Afirmatif; Keterwakilan Substantif.*

PENDAHULUAN

A healthy democracy requires inclusive representation, which is representation that reflects the composition of all elements of society, including women. Women make up almost half of Indonesia's total population as well as half of the voter list. Therefore, the presence of women in the political decision-making space is not only a demand for gender justice, but also a prerequisite for the realization of public policies that are responsive to the needs of all citizens (Women's Political Role in Development, 2025). However, the history of elections in Indonesia shows that the role of women in electoral politics is still far from ideal.

Since the reform, the state has taken affirmative action policies to encourage women's representation. The policy of a quota of at least 30% female representation in the list of legislative candidates has been enforced since the 2004 election and maintained until the 2024 election, accompanied by the implementation of a zipper system that regulates the placement of female candidates in a certain order (Susiana, 2014). This policy is normatively affirmed in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, especially regarding the obligation of political parties to meet the quota of 30% of women candidates in each electoral area.

However, the achievement of women's representation is still unsatisfactory. Various studies show that the quota fulfilled at the candidacy stage is not directly proportional to effective representation in parliament. In the 2024 election, although political parties

cumulatively meet the quota with an average of around 37% of female candidates, the actual representation of women in the House of Representatives for the 2024-2029 period only reaches around 21.9% (Women's Political Role in Development, 2025). In fact, a number of projections put this figure lower, and there was a decrease compared to some of the achievements in the previous period (Fathoni et al., 2024). The gap between formal quotas and substantive representation is the main problem.

The issue of women's representation cannot be separated from the broader gender discourse. Gender, which is different from biological sex, is a social construct about the roles, traits, and positions of men and women shaped by societal values and culture (Fakih, 1996). Unequal gender construction gives birth to gender injustice in various forms, ranging from marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, to double burdens. In the political arena, this gender injustice manifests as an obstacle that makes it difficult for women to participate and compete equally.

The root of these various obstacles is patriarchal culture which is still firmly rooted in society. Patriarchal culture places men as the center of power and decision-makers, as well as constructing the perception that politics is the realm of men and women are less suitable or unsuitable to lead (Patriarchy as a Structural Obstacle, 2024). This kind of perception works structurally and culturally, so that the obstacles faced by women do not only come from outside themselves, but are also internalized in the perspective of society, sometimes even within women themselves (Nurcahyo, 2016).

It is in this context that the discourse on repositioning women's roles is important. Women's role repositioning means a shift in women's position from mere objects or administrative complements to substantive political subjects and actors. Repositioning does not stop at the fulfillment of quota numbers, but requires recognition, opportunities, and empowerment that allow women to contribute meaningfully to decision-making. In other words, women's role repositioning is a transformative effort to transform symbolic representation into substantive representation (Quota or Formality?, 2024).

A number of previous studies have discussed certain aspects of this issue, such as the implementation of quota policies, patriarchal cultural barriers, and forms of gender discrimination. However, these studies are generally partial and spread across different local contexts or disciplines. There have not been many studies that integratively unite gender discourse, the reality of representation in the 2024 elections, forms of discrimination, and repositioning strategies into a complete analytical framework. This gap is what is to be answered through this study.

The study of this issue has significance in the framework of civic education (PPKn) as a discipline that is interested in the formation of democratic and civilized citizens. Understanding the position of women in politics, the obstacles faced, and strategies to overcome them is an important material for the development of gender-responsive political education and education. Thus, this study not only contributes to the discourse on women's

representation, but also to the strengthening of equality values in civic learning.

Based on this background, this study aims to: (1) describe the concept of gender, equality, and the discourse on repositioning women's roles in politics; (2) map the normative basis of women's representation in elections; (3) analyze the reality of women's representation in the 2024 elections; (4) identify forms of discrimination against women in the political arena and its patriarchal roots; and (5) formulate strategies for repositioning women's roles, including their implications for civic education. Through this literature review, it is hoped that a holistic understanding of women's positions in elections will be obtained as a reflection material for strengthening gender-equal democracy.

METODE

This study uses a qualitative approach with the library research method which is a systematic literature review. This method was chosen because the purpose of the research is to analyze, synthesize, and map existing knowledge about the repositioning of women's roles, gender discourse, and women's discrimination in elections, rather than collecting primary data in the field. The analytical-descriptive approach through literature review allows researchers to build arguments based on a synthesis of various scientific sources (Damayanti et al., 2026).

The data sources in this study are in the form of secondary data consisting of articles from accredited scientific journals, books, institutional reports, and relevant laws and

regulations. Literature searches were conducted through academic databases such as Google Scholar, Garuda (Garba Reference Digital), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), and SINTA-indexed journal portals. The keywords used included 'women's representation', '30 percent quota', 'gender and elections', 'women's discrimination', 'patriarchal culture', 'affirmative action', and 'substantive representation', both in Indonesian and English.

The publication time range is 2016 to 2026, considering that this period contains the development of affirmation policies and the dynamics of women's representation before and after the 2024 elections. Inclusion criteria include: (1) publications discussing women's representation, participation, or discrimination in politics and elections in Indonesia; (2) available in full text; and (3) published in credible sources. Exclusion criteria include publications that are not relevant to the electoral political context and sources whose credibility cannot be verified.

The theoretical foundations used as the lens of analysis include the concept of gender analysis and gender injustice from Mansour Fakih (1996), the theory of substantive representation, and the concept of affirmative policy. This framework is used to read empirical findings from various literature conceptually, especially in categorizing forms of discrimination and assessing the quality of women's representation.

The literature collected consists of various types, ranging from studies that focus on the implementation of quota policies, studies

on patriarchal culture and gender discrimination, to empirical studies on women's representation in the 2024 elections in various regions. This diversity of literature types allows for a comprehensive analysis, because the issue of women's representation is indeed cross-disciplinary and includes legal, political, social, and cultural dimensions. These sources are then read cross-referentially to find recurring patterns and differences in emphasis between studies.

Data analysis is carried out using content analysis and thematic analysis techniques through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and verification. The coding process is carried out by identifying the main ideas in each literature, classifying them into thematic categories such as normative foundations, representational reality, forms of discrimination, and repositioning strategies, then synthesizing them into a complete analytical narrative. To maintain validity, source triangulation is carried out by comparing findings from various literature to obtain credible and scientifically accountable conclusions.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

1. The Concept of Gender, Equality, and the Discourse on Repositioning Women's Roles

Understanding the repositioning of women's roles must begin with a fundamental distinction between the concepts of sex and gender. Gender refers to biological differences between men and women that are natural and non-interchangeable. On the other hand, gender

is a social and cultural construction of the roles, traits, and responsibilities attached to men and women (Fakih, 1996). Because they are social constructs, gender attributes can change over time and differ between societies, so they are open to efforts to change towards fairer relations.

Problems arise when gender construction gives birth to injustice, namely when gender differences turn into inequality that harms one party, in this case generally women. This gender injustice is the root of discrimination against women in various fields, including politics. The goal of gender equality is not an effort to standardize men and women, but an effort to provide equal rights, opportunities, and treatment so that both can participate and receive the benefits of development fairly (Yusalia, 2014).

The concept of gender also needs to be distinguished from feminism as a movement. Gender analysis is a tool to understand the power relationship between men and women, while the equality movement is an effort to fight for the improvement of these relationships. In the context of elections, gender analysis helps to uncover why women face obstacles that men do not experience, while the struggle for equality encourages the birth of affirmative policies and cultural transformation. The two go hand in hand in the discourse on repositioning the role of women (Handayani, 2023).

It is within this framework that the discourse on the repositioning of women's roles finds its meaning. Repositioning assumes the existence of an initial position that is less advantageous that needs to be shifted to a more

equal and dignified position. Historically, women have often been placed in the domestic realm and are seen as complements in the public sphere. The repositioning of women's roles in elections means changing the position of women from just an object of vote mobilization and fulfilling administrative quotas to a political subject who has agency, ideas, and power in decision-making (Karmanis, 2022).

This repositioning discourse intersects with the concept of substantive representation. Representation is not enough to be measured descriptively through the number or physical presence of women (descriptive representation), but must be seen from the extent to which women's interests and aspirations are really fought for in public policy. Thus, the repositioning of women's roles is essentially an effort to bridge the distance between presence and influence, between symbolic representation and meaningful representation.

It should be emphasized that the repositioning of women's roles is not an attempt to negate or compete with men, but rather an effort to complement and balance political representation. The presence of women in decision-making is believed to bring different perspectives and priorities, especially on issues directly related to women's and family lives, such as reproductive health, child protection, and the elimination of gender-based violence. Therefore, the repositioning of women's roles has a justice dimension as well as a functional dimension for the quality of public policy (Women's Political Role in Development, 2025).

2. Normative Basis for Women's Representation in Elections

Efforts to increase women's representation in elections in Indonesia are based on a fairly solid normative framework. At the international level, Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) through Law Number 7 of 1984, which affirms the country's commitment to eliminate discrimination and ensure women's participation in political and public life. This commitment is strengthened by Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights which expressly prohibits discrimination based on sex in various fields, including politics.

At the technical level of elections, affirmative policies are realized through the provision of a quota of at least 30% female representation in the list of legislative candidates. This provision is regulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which requires political parties to meet the quota in each electoral area, accompanied by a mechanism for placing female candidates through the zipper system, namely the placement of at least one female candidate in every three candidates (Irfandi et al., 2022).

The figure of 30% is not a randomly chosen number. In the discourse of representation, the threshold is seen as the minimum critical mass that allows women's voices and interests to be effectively taken into account in the collective decision-making process. In other words, the 30% threshold is a quantitative prerequisite so that women's

representation does not just appear as a token, but is able to provide meaningful influence (Susiana, 2014).

This concept of critical mass comes from a representation study that shows that minority groups can only influence the culture and decisions of an institution when their numbers reach a certain proportion. Below this threshold, members of minority groups tend to be isolated, find it difficult to build coalitions, and are vulnerable to conforming to dominant norms. Therefore, achieving the 30% threshold is not just an administrative target, but a strategy to change the power dynamics within representative institutions (Umagapi, 2020).

Although this normative framework is progressive, there is a wide gap between norms and practices. Quota obligations are often interpreted in a minimalist manner by political parties as fulfilling the administrative requirements for candidacy, rather than as a substantive commitment to empower women cadres. As a result, a good legal framework does not necessarily produce quality representation (Rafii & Jaelani, 2024). This issue demands continuous evaluation of the implementation of affirmative policies at every stage of the election.

In addition to the provision of candidacy quotas, the normative framework also includes the management obligations of political parties that contain at least 30% female representation. This provision is intended so that women's representation does not only occur at the level of candidacy, but also at the level of internal party decision-making. However, as with the candidacy quota, this management provision is

also often fulfilled formally without being accompanied by the granting of meaningful authority to women (Damayanti et al., 2026).

3. The Reality of Women's Representation in the 2024 Election

The reality of women's representation in the 2024 election shows a paradox between the fulfillment of the quota at the candidacy stage and the achievement of low electability. At the candidacy stage, cumulatively the political parties participating in the election meet the quota provisions, even the average female candidate reaches around 37% of the total candidates submitted. Some parties propose a fairly high proportion of female candidates, while others are right at the minimum threshold (PDI Perjuangan's Efforts to Achieve the 30% Quota, 2025).

However, the fulfillment of the quota at the nomination stage is not directly proportional to electability. The actual representation of women in the House of Representatives for the 2024-2029 period is only around 21.9%, far below the proportion of candidacy (Women's Political Role in Development, 2025). A number of parties are not even able to translate the high proportion of female candidates into proportional seats. This gap between the number of candidacy and the number of electors confirms that the quota of candidates does not guarantee effective representation.

This low representation is also reflected in Indonesia's position comparatively. Based on data from inter-parliamentary institutions, Indonesia's women's representation ranking is still lagging behind a number of countries in the

region and globally. This condition shows that the achievement of the 30% threshold of substantive representation in parliament is still an unfinished agenda since the quota policy was first implemented in the 2004 election.

These findings lead to an important conclusion: the issue of women's representation cannot be solved only at the level of candidacy regulation. There are a series of obstacles at the recruitment, campaign, and voting stages that make it more difficult for female candidates to be elected. These obstacles stem from forms of discrimination and patriarchal culture that will be described in the next section (Malindir & Septiansyah, 2024).

In addition to obstacles on the candidate side, voter behavior also determines the low electability of women. In a society that is still influenced by patriarchal values, some voters tend to trust male candidates for political leadership positions more. This bias does not always appear openly, but works subtly through preferences formed by cultural socialization. As a result, female candidates must work harder to convince voters of their capacity and feasibility (Handayani, 2023).

It should also be noted that women's representation is uneven between regions and between parties. Some regions and parties show better achievements, while others are still lagging behind. This variation suggests that contextual factors, such as local culture, party elite commitment, and the strength of women's networks, also influence the success of representation. Understanding this variation is important so that repositioning strategies can

be designed contextually and not uniformly (Saputra & Rustiana, 2025).

4. Forms of Discrimination against Women in the Political Arena

Discrimination against women in the political arena can be analyzed using the framework of gender injustice proposed by Fakhri (1996), which identifies five main forms, namely marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and double burden. These five forms are interrelated and cumulatively weaken the position of women in electoral contestation.

a. Marginalization

Marginalization refers to the process of marginalizing women from access to and important political resources. In party practice, women are often placed in less strategic positions, receive more limited financial and structural support, and rarely occupy decision-making positions within the party (Marginalization of Women in the Patriarchal System, 2025). This kind of marginalization makes women compete from a point of departure that is not equal to male candidates.

Marginalization also works at the level of access to political capital. Electoral contests demand large financial resources for campaigns, while women generally have more limited control of economic resources due to gender inequality in the economic field. This limited capital widens the competition gap and puts women at a disadvantage from the beginning (Handayani, 2023).

b. Subordination

Subordination is the placement of women in positions that are considered inferior

or less important than men. In politics, subordination is seen in the assumption that leadership and decision-making are the domain of men, while women are positioned as supporters or complements. This assumption inhibits women from appearing as leaders and reduces the weight of their votes in political forums (Omara, 2004).

Within the internal structure of the party, subordination is seen in the tendency to place women in positions or fields that are seen as appropriate to traditional gender roles, such as social affairs or women's empowerment, and rarely in strategic positions related to the party's core power. This pattern limits women's space for movement and reinforces the perception that women's political roles are secondary (Karmanis, 2022).

c. Stereotypes

Stereotypes are negative labeling attached to women, for example, the assumption that women are too emotional, lack assertiveness, or lack leadership capacity. In the political and media space, this kind of stereotype is often reproduced, forming a public perception that doubts the competence of female politicians (Patriarchy as a Structural Barrier, 2024). Stereotypes also cause the assessment of women to highlight their appearance and personal life more than their ideas and programs.

Mass media and social media have a significant role in reproducing and challenging these stereotypes. News that highlights the physical aspects, marital status, or domestic role of female politicians also perpetuates gender bias. On the other hand, media

representation that highlights women's capacities and achievements can contribute to changing public perception. Therefore, media literacy with a gender perspective is important in dealing with stereotypes issues.

d. Violence

Gender-based violence against women in politics can take the form of verbal violence, harassment, intimidation, and gender-based violence in the digital space (online gender-based violence). This form of violence creates an unsafe political environment and suppresses women's participation, because many potential women are reluctant to enter politics due to concerns about personal attacks (Apriliandra & Krisnani, 2021).

In the digital era, violence against female politicians has taken on a new form that is more massive and difficult to control. Attacks can be in the form of online bullying, the spread of degrading narratives, to harassment that targets women's bodies and personal lives. This kind of attack not only has an impact on the individual concerned, but also provides a collective deterrent effect that discourages other women from entering the political arena. Thus, violence serves as a mechanism that maintains male dominance in politics.

e. Double Load

Double burden refers to domestic responsibilities that are still imposed on women even though they are active in the public sphere. Women politicians are often required to continue to fulfill their roles as mothers and household managers while carrying out political duties. This double burden reduces the time, energy, and resources that women can

devote to competing optimally in the political arena (Wibowo, 2011).

This double burden is even heavier because society tends to tolerate the absence of men in domestic affairs, but demands that women continue to fulfill it without compromise. Women who are active in politics often face harsher moral judgments if they are considered to neglect their families, while similar judgments are rarely imposed on men. This inequality of judgment is a tangible manifestation of an unequal gender construction and is one of the psychosocial obstacles to women's involvement (Fakih, 1996).

These five forms of discrimination do not stand alone, but rather reinforce each other and form a complex system of barriers. Structural marginalization is reinforced by cultural subordination, perpetuated by stereotypes, enforced through violence, and aggravated by double burdens. It is this complexity that explains why barriers to women's representation are difficult to overcome with just one policy instrument.

5. Patriarchal Culture as a Structural Obstacle

Behind these various forms of discrimination there is a common root, namely patriarchal culture. Patriarchy is a social and cultural system that places men as the main authority holders in the family, society, and the state. This system constructs a division of roles that places women in the domestic realm and men in the public sphere, including politics (Nurcahyo, 2016).

As a structural barrier, patriarchy works at various levels at once. At the societal level, patriarchy shapes norms and perceptions that politics is not an appropriate place for women. At the institutional level, patriarchy is reflected in the recruitment pattern of male-dominated parties and political networks that are difficult for women to penetrate. At the individual level, patriarchy can be internalized so that some women themselves are hesitant to advance or doubt the capacity of other female politicians (Patriarchy as a Structural Obstacle, 2024).

Because it works structurally and is entrenched, patriarchal barriers cannot be overcome solely through regulatory changes. A deeper cultural transformation is needed, namely a change in society's perception of gender roles. This transformation demands the involvement of not only women, but also men, as part of the solution towards sustainable gender equality (Marginalization of Women in the Patriarchal System, 2025).

It is important to note that patriarchy is not monolithic. In the pluralistic Indonesian context, patriarchy interacts with different local cultures, religious interpretations, and social structures. These interactions result in patterns of resistance that vary between regions, so strategies for overcoming patriarchal barriers also need to be adapted to the socio-cultural context of each region.

It should also be emphasized that religion and culture are not inherently opposed to gender equality. The problem lies in the biased interpretation that is often used as a justification for women's subordination.

Various studies show that there is a space for interpretation that supports women's equality and participation in the public sphere. Therefore, gender-fair dialogue and reinterpretation of cultural and religious values is an important part of efforts to overcome patriarchal barriers (Yusalia, 2014).

6. Quota Policy: Substantive Representation or Just a Formality?

One of the central debates in the discourse on women's representation is the effectiveness of the quota policy. On the one hand, quotas are an important affirmative instrument to open doors for women in politics that has been dominated by men. Quotas force political parties to at least recruit and nominate women, thereby creating opportunities that were previously closed (Kontu & Pesak, 2025).

On the other hand, a number of critical studies show that in practice, quotas are often reduced to mere fulfillment of administrative formalities. Political parties meet the quota number to qualify for candidacy, but without a commitment to empower female cadres, place them in strategic sequences, or allocate adequate campaign resources. As a result, the representation produced is symbolic and not yet substantive (Quota or Formality?, 2024).

This phenomenon is evident in the 2024 election, when the quota is met at the candidacy stage but women's electability remains low. This gap shows that candidate quotas are a necessary, but not sufficient, requirement for the realization of substantive representation. Other supporting policies are needed, such as incentives for parties that succeed in placing women elected, strengthening the capacity of

female cadres, and strict supervision of the implementation of affirmations (Damayanti et al., 2026).

Thus, the debate over quotas actually boils down to a more fundamental question: whether women's representation is understood as a formal goal or as part of a more equitable democratic transformation. As long as quotas are treated as mere administrative burdens, a real repositioning of women's roles will be difficult to realize. Conversely, when quotas are understood as an entrance to empowerment, they can be a meaningful transformative instrument.

The experience of various countries shows that the effectiveness of quotas is highly determined by their technical design. Quotas accompanied by strict sanctions, placement mandates, and supervision mechanisms tend to be more successful than voluntary or non-enforcement quotas. In the Indonesian context, the provisions of the zipper system are a form of placement mandate, but their implementation still faces various obstacles and interpretations at the party level (Kontu & Pesak, 2025).

Criticism of quota policies also needs to be placed proportionately. The low electability of women is not solely due to the weakness of quotas, but also to factors beyond the control of affirmative policies, such as voter behavior, capital power, and patriarchal culture. Therefore, improving quota policies is a necessary step, but it must be accompanied by interventions on other factors in order for substantive representation to truly be realized. Blaming quotas alone risks obscuring the roots

of more structural problems (Damayanti et al., 2026).

7. Supporting Factors for Women's Electability and Survival

In the midst of various obstacles, a number of women are still able to be elected and survive in electoral politics. Analysis of these success factors is important to formulate an effective repositioning strategy. Various studies show that women's survival in politics cannot be separated from the strong political interest and commitment of the female actors themselves, family support, and their social and economic networks (Analysis of Women's Survival in Electoral Politics 2024, 2026).

Family support occupies an important position because it can alleviate the double burden while providing social legitimacy for women's involvement in politics. Social and economic networks are also decisive because electoral competition requires considerable social and financial capital. Women who have access to networks and resources tend to be more able to compete (Aspinall et al., 2021).

However, these findings also contain problematic sides. Reliance on family support and networks is often related to the phenomenon of political dynasties, in which women are elected because of kinship relationships with established political figures. Although it quantitatively increases the number of women in parliament, this pattern does not necessarily reflect women's empowerment in general, as opportunities remain concentrated in certain circles (Aspinall et al., 2021).

Therefore, the strategy of repositioning women's roles cannot rely on individual factors

and kinship alone. Systemic strengthening is needed so that women's electability does not depend on personal capital or family relationships, but on capacity, ideas, and institutional support that is inclusive for all women across backgrounds.

Another factor that also determines is women's experience and track record in the realm of community organizations before entering formal politics. Women who have been active in social, religious, or community organizations tend to have social capital, leadership skills, and a support base that makes it easier for them to compete. This shows that the path of women's empowerment in non-political public spaces can be an important stepping stone towards stronger political representation (Analysis of Women's Resilience in Electoral Politics 2024, 2026).

The findings on these success factors provide important lessons for strategy formulation. If women's electability is highly determined by personal interests, family support, and socio-economic networks, then policy interventions need to be directed to reproduce these supporting conditions more evenly. Outreach programs that build cross-women's networks, campaign funding schemes that favor female candidates, and mentoring for entry-level female candidates can be ways to close the political capital gap. Thus, successes that have been individual can be transformed into systemic and sustainable successes (Karmanis, 2022).

8. Strategy for Repositioning Women's Roles and Implications for Civic Education

Based on the synthesis of findings, the repositioning of women's roles in elections requires a layered strategy that works at the regulatory, institutional, cultural, and citizen levels. At the regulatory level, it is necessary to improve affirmative policies so that they do not stop at the candidacy quota, but also encourage electability, for example through strengthening the zipper system and providing incentives for parties that successfully place women elected (Fathoni et al., 2024).

At the institutional level, political parties play a key role. Reforming women's recruitment and regeneration patterns, placing female candidates in strategic sequential numbers, and allocating adequate campaign resources are important steps. Parties need to view women's representation not as an administrative obligation, but as an investment in the quality of democracy and representation (Rafii & Jaelani, 2024).

In addition to internal party reforms, strengthening the capacity of women cadres through continuous political education is also very important. Leadership training, strengthening political communication skills, and mentoring for female candidates can increase their competitiveness in contests. The role of civil society organizations, women's groups, and higher education institutions is strategic in providing space for strengthening this capacity in a systematic and sustainable manner (Karmanis, 2022).

At the cultural level, it is necessary to transform the way people view gender roles.

These efforts include deconstructing stereotypes, gender awareness campaigns, and men's involvement in realizing equality. The digital era opens up new opportunities for women to network, advocate, and voice ideas more broadly, although at the same time presenting the risks of gender-based violence in the digital space that need to be anticipated (Patriarchy as a Structural Barrier, 2024).

The media has a special responsibility in this cultural transformation. Gender-fair reporting, which highlights the ideas and track record of women politicians rather than their personal aspects, can help erode entrenched stereotypes. In addition, providing space for women as resource persons and opinion leaders helps normalize the presence of women in public political discourse. Collaboration between the media, civil society organizations, and election organizers is important to create a political ecosystem that is more welcoming to women's participation.

At the citizen level, citizenship education (PPKn) occupies a strategic position. As a discipline that aims to form intelligent, democratic, and civilized citizens, PPKn plays a role in instilling the values of gender equality, respect for women's rights, and critical awareness of gender injustice from an early age. Through gender-responsive education, the younger generation is accustomed to viewing women's political participation as natural and important.

Within the framework of Pancasila values, especially the precepts of just and civilized humanity and social justice, the repositioning of women's roles finds its

philosophical foundation. Gender equality is not just a demand of modernity, but part of the realization of justice that is the nation's ideal. Thus, PPKn not only functions as a transfer of knowledge, but also as a vehicle for the formation of a civic disposition that upholds gender justice and equality.

Overall, the repositioning of women's roles is a transformative agenda that requires the collaboration of various parties. The state, political parties, civil society, media, and educational institutions need to work together to change women's representation from symbolic to substantive. Only in this way can Indonesian democracy become more inclusive, fair, and representative for all its citizens.

9. Synthesis: From Symbolic Representation to Substantive

The synthesis of all the findings shows a consistent pattern: there is a wide gap between normative progress and the empirical reality of women's representation. At the regulatory level, Indonesia already has a progressive affirmative framework; however, at the practical level, women's substantive representation is still hampered by discrimination and patriarchal culture. This distance is at the heart of the problem of repositioning women's roles in elections.

The relationships between the identified factors are layered and mutually reinforcing. Patriarchal culture serves as the root that gives birth to various forms of discrimination; the discrimination then manifests in party recruitment patterns, voter behavior, and a political environment that is not friendly to women; while the quota policy that

is treated as a formality has not been able to break the chain. As a result, women's representation stops at the descriptive level and has not reached the substantive level.

Breaking this chain of problems requires intervention that cannot be done at a single point. Regulatory reform without cultural change will result in formal compliance; cultural change without institutional support will be slow; while strengthening individual capacity without system improvement will unfairly place the responsibility for change on women themselves. Therefore, repositioning strategies must be simultaneous and mutually supportive between levels.

Within this framework, education occupies the most fundamental position because it works on the formation of a way of view. Sustainable change ultimately depends on the formation of a generation that views gender equality as a reasonable value and women's political participation as a democratic necessity. This is where gender-responsive civic education becomes a long-term investment that underpins all efforts to reposition women's roles in politics.

This synthesis also emphasizes that the success of repositioning women's roles must be measured not only by the increase in the number of women in parliament, but by the quality of their influence on public policy. A true indicator of success is when women's presence is able to present new agendas and perspectives that have been marginalized, so that the resulting policies become more inclusive and gender-fair.

Thus, the discourse on repositioning the role of women is basically a discourse on deepening the quality of democracy itself. A democracy that fails to present equal representation is a democracy that is not yet intact. On the other hand, a democracy that is able to embrace the meaningful participation of women is a democracy that is more mature, representative, and closer to the ideals of social justice for all people.

SIMPULAN

This study shows that administrative services in Potangoan Village, Bukal District, Buol Regency have been carried out based on applicable procedures, but the implementation has not been carried out optimally. The findings of the study revealed that the main obstacle lies in the inconsistency of service implementation with the operational standards that have been set, especially related to the location of services that are often carried out outside the village office and the relatively long service completion time. Although the facilities and infrastructure of services are available in adequate conditions, their utilization has not been maximized to support the effectiveness of public services. This finding makes a scientific contribution in enriching the study of public administration at the village government level by showing that the quality of service is not only determined by the availability of formal facilities and procedures, but also by the consistency of the apparatus in implementing service standards oriented to the needs of the community.

Theoretically, the results of this study strengthen the view that the effectiveness of

public services is influenced by the integration between procedural aspects, supporting resources, and behavior of service providers. The qualitative approach used allows researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics of administrative services from the perspective of officials and the community as service users. However, this study has limitations because it was conducted in one village with a limited number of informants so that the results of the study cannot be generalized in all contexts of village government that have different characteristics.

The practical implication of this study is the need to improve the discipline of village officials in providing services according to operational standards, optimizing the use of available facilities and infrastructure, and enforcing service mechanisms that are more effective, efficient, and oriented towards community satisfaction. The results of this research can be considered for village governments in improving the quality of administrative service governance. For further research, it is recommended to examine other factors that affect the quality of village public services, such as the competence of the apparatus, the use of information technology, the leadership of the village head, and the level of community participation by using more diverse research approaches and contexts so that it can produce a more comprehensive understanding of improving the quality of public services at the village level.

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