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# Unveiling the Hidden Struggles: Political Violence Against Women Through the Lens of Standpoint Theory

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## *Abstract*

Violence against women in politics is fundamentally rooted in the patriarchal socio-cultural construct that creates unfair and unequal perspectives, disadvantaging women while benefiting men. This study focuses on the violence experienced by women due to the perspectives and power relations shaped by long-standing patriarchal values. Using Standpoint Theory and the theory of power relations in communication influenced by patriarchal culture, this research analyzes how differences in viewpoints between men and women can lead to divergent ideas, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors regarding women. The study adopts a qualitative approach using a single holistic case study method. The research object is the perspective underlying violence against women in politics. The entrenched patriarchal culture has reinforced discriminatory understanding and awareness towards women. Consequently, this study emphasizes the importance of a continuous movement to eradicate political violence, aiming to establish a political communication framework that is free from violence and equitable for all, regardless of gender.

**Keywords:** *Political Violence, Patriarchy, Political Culture, Women, Standpoint Theory*


## Abstrak

Kekerasan terhadap perempuan dalam politik pada dasarnya berakar pada konstruksi sosial-budaya patriarkal yang membentuk perspektif yang tidak adil dan tidak setara, merugikan perempuan dan menguntungkan laki-laki. Penelitian ini berfokus pada kekerasan yang dialami perempuan akibat perspektif dan relasi kuasa yang dibentuk oleh nilai-nilai patriarki yang telah lama mengakar. Dengan menggunakan Teori Standpoint dan teori relasi kuasa dalam komunikasi yang dipengaruhi oleh budaya patriarkal, penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana perbedaan sudut pandang antara laki-laki dan perempuan dapat menghasilkan ide, sikap, pengetahuan, dan perilaku yang berbeda terhadap perempuan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus holistik tunggal. Objek penelitian adalah perspektif yang melandasi kekerasan terhadap perempuan dalam politik. Budaya patriarkal yang mengakar kuat telah memperkuat pemahaman dan kesadaran diskriminatif terhadap perempuan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini menekankan pentingnya gerakan berkelanjutan untuk menghapus kekerasan politik, dengan tujuan membangun kerangka komunikasi politik yang bebas dari kekerasan dan adil bagi semua pihak, tanpa memandang gender.

**Kata kunci:** kekerasan-politik, partiarki, budaya politik, perempuan, stanpoint theory
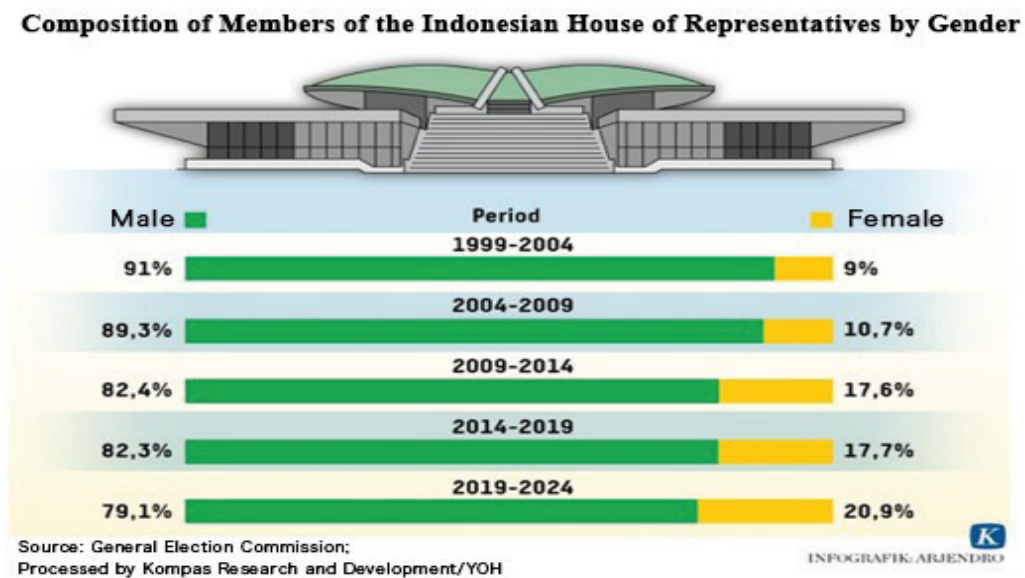
**INTRODUCTION.**

In 2020, there were 226,062 reported cases of gender-based violence against women, representing a 50% increase from the previous year. One effective strategy to combat this violence is to empower women within the political sphere, thereby enhancing their representation in political decision-making processes. Various initiatives aimed at eradicating violence against women in political contexts have been implemented, including the introduction of affirmative action policies and the establishment of a mandate that requires a minimum of 30% representation of women in political positions (Aini, 2022). The entrenched male dominance and subordination of women are indicative of an unequal power distribution, perpetuated by a patriarchal framework that fosters disparities in power dynamics between men and women. Power serves as a foundational element in constructing relationships between the general public and the political community (Lasswell, 2017; Wahid, 2014).

The patriarchal culture engenders a social construct that prioritizes men and affords them greater advantages than women. In societies that maintain patriarchal systems, men are positioned as more dominant than women, perpetuating a narrative that consistently places women in secondary roles. Patriarchy operates as a social and ideological framework that regards men as inherently superior to women (Batton & Wright, 2019; Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015a). The pervasive influence of patriarchal culture serves as the foundation for power relations, which are pivotal in understanding the underlying causes of violence against women within society, including in the political domain (Hadi, 2019; Namy et al., 2017). Patriarchal culture can be characterized as an orientation marked by disparity, wherein men maintain control over women. Furthermore, patriarchal culture is defined as a systemic framework that establishes authority over determining permissible actions for individuals within society (Adisa et al., 2020; Idrus et al., 2023).

The disparate treatment of women compared to men can be attributed to the prevailing patriarchal cultural understanding that shapes political norms. This understanding perpetuates the notion that women are less relevant in political spheres, whereas men are deemed more suitable for such roles. According to (Idrus et al., 2023), that subordination manifests as the perception that one gender is inherently weaker or inferior to another. Such perceptions inevitably influence the differential treatment based on gendered appearances. In the context of Indonesian politics, the belief in women's inequality relative to men is strongly reinforced by entrenched partisan culture (Elizabeth et al., 2023). This dynamic results in the positioning of women within subordinate roles, thereby perpetuating gender inequality between men and women (Padavic et al., 2020). To address this gender disparity that fosters the political subordination of women and contributes to the emergence of political violence, the implementation of affirmative action policies, including a quota of 30 percent for women's representation, is fundamentally essential (Dahlerup, 2005; I. Ifejika, & V. Ojo, 2024).

That the majority of the Indonesian population actively supports patriarchal culture which is essentially detrimental to women (Nurmila, 2015). This patriarchal system pervades all aspects of Indonesian life, ensuring that men consistently occupy the most prominent, superior, and dominant roles in society, while women are relegated to subordinate positions. To mitigate violence against women, the implementation of affirmative action

policies, specifically a quota mandating 30 percent representation of women in political spheres, is essentially crucial.  The establishment of This 30 percent quota is crucial in enhancing women's representation in politics, thereby enabling them to exert influence in legislative and policy-making processes. The introduction of such measures signifies a vital step toward the eradication of political violence against women (Organization, 2021; Wahid & Legino, 2023), especially considering that prior to this legislation, political parties frequently displayed reluctance in providing equitable opportunities to women (Gondal et al., 2023), placing them at a disadvantage relative to their male counterparts in legislative and governmental roles (Nisa & Wahid, 2014)

**Composition of Members of the Indonesian House of Representatives by Gender**

| Male ■ | Period | Female ■ |
|---|---|---|
| | **1999-2004** | |
| 91% | | 9% |
| | **2004-2009** | |
| 89,3% | | 10,7% |
| | **2009-2014** | |
| 82,4% | | 17,6% |
| | **2014-2019** | |
| 82,3% | | 17,7% |
| | **2019-2024** | |
| 79,1% | | 20,9% |

Source: General Election Commission;
Processed by Kompas Research and Development/YOH

INFOGRAFIK: ARIENDRO

**Figure 1. Composition of Members of the Indonesian House of Representatives by Gender (Source: Kompapedia, 2024)**

In the context of the 2024 legislative election, female representation within the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia reached only 21.9 percent of the total 580 elected members (Susiana, 2024). This figure starkly highlights the ongoing disparity in gender equality, a phenomenon deeply rooted in prevailing patriarchal cultural paradigms (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020a). While female voters exhibit a propensity to support and endorse female candidates, the prevailing public skepticism regarding women's roles in politics reveals the entrenched effectiveness of a patriarchal system that positions women as "second-class citizens" or as the "second sex." As articulated by Stets and Burke, femininity is not an innate state but rather a socially constructed identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). This patriarchal framework is fundamentally responsible for the systemic marginalization of women within the political landscape. Consequently, this dimension of political culture demands significant reform, as it is intrinsically linked to socio-cultural constructions. Culture, in this sense, embodies the beliefs and values that shape societal behaviors, including political engagement and representation (Jovchelovitch, 2019; MATSUO

& BROWN, 2022; Ratner, 2019; Ugwu & Ekekwe, 2021).

Political violence targeting women (PVTW) encompasses acts of violence that specifically affect women or girls within political contexts, distinguishing it from general gender discrimination present in broader instances of political violence. Numerous forms of exploitation within the political arena manifest, such as the tokenistic engagement of female voters and candidates, who are often merely employed to satisfy the mandated 30 percent representation quota. This phenomenon underscores that the presence of Female candidates frequently reflects a superficial compliance with quota requirements rather than a genuine commitment to developing capable female political leaders through rigorous party initiatives. The entrenched patriarchal culture exacerbates the challenges into political climate that systematically disadvantages women, perpetuating narratives that diminish their roles. Media representations exacerbate these issues, employing double standards that skew public perception and reinforce stereotypes about women's capabilities in politics. Consequently, the prevailing political culture positions women as tools for garnering votes or merely meeting quotas, which undermines their legitimacy. It is critical to advocate for the recognition of women's equal status in Indonesian politics, fostering an environment that encourages genuine participation and leadership ("ACLED," 2021).

The cultural dynamics of a community significantly influence its political, social, and economic spheres. The ramifications of culture manifest both implicitly and explicitly, extending beyond familial and domestic realms to permeate the broader social, economic, and political fabric of society (Shively, 2017). Political culture is inherently shaped by the prevailing norms and values within a community, which dictate the responsibilities of individuals engaged in the political sphere(Almond & Verba, 2005). Consequently, the orientation of cultural values emerges as a pivotal factor in shaping citizens' political commitments. An individual's engagement in politics-whether in terms of participation, the nature of their involvement, or the extent of their activism-is, to a considerable degree, contingent upon entrenched cultural biases (Almond & Verba, 2005; Chen, 2023).

The strength of political culture in any nation is significantly determined by the level of political participation exhibited by its citizens. This engagement is evident through the active involvement of people in political life, influenced by the existing political orientations within the community (Budiana, 2023; Pureklolon, 2021) (Pureklolon, 2021; Budiana, 2023). According to (Almond & Verba, 2005) Almond & Verba (1965), the taxonomy of political orientation consists of three essential elements related to political objects: a) Cognitive Elements — referring to an individual's thoughts and beliefs regarding political matters, as well as their perceived roles and responsibilities as citizens; b) Emotional Aspects — reflecting the feelings and sentiments individuals have towards the political system, its functioning, key actors, and perceived effectiveness; and c) Evaluative Criteria — involving the standards used to assess political entities and events based on established norms and values (Budiana, 2023).

The persistent endeavor to eradicate all forms of violence against women in the political domain necessitates a steadfast commitment to cultivating a political climate that is both safe and equitable, free from discrimination. Any acts or threats of gender-based violence that obstruct women's exercise of their equal rights in politics represent

profound violations of their fundamental freedoms (Arowolo, 2020; Klugman, 2017). Traditionally, the political sphere has been perceived as predominantly masculine, and contemporary Indonesian society continues to be profoundly shaped by patriarchal values. This entrenched patriarchal ideology fosters a binary understanding of public and domestic spaces, relegating politics to a realm deemed unsuitable for women (Akita, 2010; Were, 2017). The prevalent notion that men are inherently more qualified to lead, formulate policies, and address societal challenges is intricately linked to a masculine construct. Such ideologies perpetuate significant injustices and gender biases, often rendering women as inadequate leaders and reinforcing stereotypes. that have become normalized (Latief et al., 2021; Strand & Cohen, 2022). This systemic context exemplifies the violence that women endure within the political landscape (Bardall et al., 2020; Menjívar & Walsh, 2017).

The ongoing prevalence of political violence against women is underscored by the persistently low representation of women in political positions in Indonesia, which can be viewed as a manifestation of systemic political violence. Despite the implementation of Law No. 8/2012, which mandates that political parties must ensure a minimum quota of 30% female legislative candidates for elections to the House of Representatives, Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) at the district and city levels, this quota remains unmet as of the 2024 elections. Analysis of electoral data reveals that the proportion of female members in the House of Representatives was merely 11.82% in 2004, which rose to 17.86% in 2009, followed by a slight decrease to 17.32% in 2014, and an increase to only 20.8% in 2019. Despite the fact that women comprise approximately 130 million of Indonesia's population, nearly equal to that of men, their representation in political roles remains unsatisfactory, even in the context of ongoing affirmative action initiatives aimed at enhancing women's political participation (Choi, 2019). This persistent underrepresentation exemplifies the pervasive violence that women face within the political landscape (Latief et al., 2021).

The prevailing societal perspective predominantly shaped by patriarchal values cultivates a political culture that is fundamentally detrimental to women. Women experience various forms of violence, including physical violence, emotional or psychological violence, economic violence, and restrictions on activities, including participation in political affairs. Based on the analysis of phenomena, identification of issues, and focus of the research problem, this study formulates the following research questions: 1) How does patriarchal politics contribute to the manifestation of violence against women in the political sphere? 2) What are the distinctions between the viewpoints of women and men as articulated by Standpoint Theory? The aim of this research is to deconstruct, critique, and propose alternative solutions to the issue of political violence against women. The differences in perspectives arise from the socio-cultural and politically critical constructions experienced by the two genders. According to Standpoint Theory, the divergence in viewpoints between men and women reflects their distinct social positions and experiences (Griffin, 2006a).

The *Standpoint Theory* provides an analytical lens through which to examine power structures within society. This theory posits that marginalized groups, including single mothers who juggle multiple roles, exist within a framework dominated by patriarchal culture, which conveys a perception of male superiority while relegating women to a

subordinate status (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020b; Kronsell, 2005). The theory elucidates how power is intricately tied to identity, suggesting that individuals who are oppressed or marginalized often embody several identities, enabling them to interpret the world through multiple perspectives (Thatcher et al., 2023). A feminist interpretation of Standpoint Theory highlights the significance of foregrounding the experiences and narratives of marginalized populations, recognizing that their limited viewpoints are informed by their specific experiences while also acknowledging the inherent subjectivity of truth (Cohen et al., 2022a; Edmonds, 2019; Kronsell, 2005; Utami, 2018).

Sandra Harding and Julia Wood assert that one of the most insightful approaches to understanding societal dynamics is to begin investigations from the perspectives of women and other marginalized groups (Sawer et al., 2020). A viewpoint functions as a lens through which we observe our surroundings. This perspective gains political significance when members of marginalized groups recognize their particular standing in relation to the dominant culture and endeavor to challenge that dominance (Bell, 2016; Littlejohn & Foss, 2010). That social position is shaped by various demographic factors, including gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and economic status.(Fatwasuci & Irwansyah, 2022b; Riley, 2019).

The theory of standpoint in communication studies was developed by Julia T. Wood, serving as a recognition that unequal power relations contribute significantly to the marginalization and oppression of certain groups. This theory emphasizes that knowledge is socially situated and that those in marginalized positions possess unique insights about social dynamics. Key concepts within standpoint theory include (Littlejohn & Foss, 2010)

a) **Women as a marginalized group**. Significant disparities exist between men and women that influence their communication styles and societal roles. Relational dialectical theory provides a framework to explore these differences, revealing that men often experience greater autonomy while women typically prioritize connection and relational dynamics. Importantly, Harding and Wood highlight that women should not be viewed as a singular entity; their experiences and perspectives are diverse and shaped by various social contexts (Crasnow, 2007, p.; Musingafi et al., 2021).

b) **Strong objectivity**. The viewpoints of marginalized individuals offer critical insights that contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of social realities. Harding argues that the perspectives of these groups can enhance objectivity, a concept further elaborated by Wood. She notes that marginalized individuals are often more motivated to understand the experiences and viewpoints of those in power, whereas those in positions of privilege may lack the impetus to engage with perspectives outside their own. This disparity highlights the importance of integrating diverse voices into societal discussions (Sprague, 2016; van den Berg & Jeong, 2022).

c) *The Situated Knowledge*

The different social positions occupied by men and women significantly shape their perspectives and interpretations of the world. Individuals within the social hierarchy often perceive and respond to their environments in ways that reflect their positions. Society tends to view women as a minority group, leading to assumptions that they have unique insights distinct from the male majority. This understanding of situated

knowledge emphasizes the necessity of acknowledging various perspectives in the discourse surrounding gender and power dynamics (Widhagdha & Ediyono, 2022).

### d) The Relationship between Viewpoint and Communication

Communication is a pivoital mechanism through which individuals construct their viewpoints based on their social interactions and experiences. Within the framework of feminist standpoint theory, communication serves as an instrument for advocating change and challenging prevailing norms. By amplifying the voices of marginalized groups, communication practices work to address inequities and foster understanding. Those engaged in meaningful dialogue from a standpoint perspective develop communication styles reflective of their lived experiences, enhancing the richness of societal conversations (Richard West, 2017; Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018).

The existence of varied viewpoints contributes to different portrayals of women in media. Cultural contexts and circumstances significantly shape the construction of reality, positioning the media as a vital "medium of transformation" for messages. Due to these varied perspectives, the depiction of women in the media often diverges. In Indonesia, mass media faces numerous hurdles in promoting women's political participation. Frequently, women are characterized as incompetent or relegated to supportive roles in politics, undermining their participation and diminishing public confidence in them (Egbuniwe, 2024; Winfrey & Schnoebelen, 2019; Yoteni et al., 2023). Furthermore, *sensationalism* and *trivialization* present significant obstacles, along with restricted access and insufficient acknowledgment of women's interests in politics. These issues are intricately connected to women's social positioning (Hunnicutt, 2019; *Shattering Boundaries*, n.d.).

The portrayal of women in media often reinforces sexist interpretations of their roles in politics, which stems from prevailing stereotypes. These stereotypes significantly impact public perceptions and expectations surrounding women in political positions. When media outlets, including social media, represent women as weak and ill-equipped for political engagement, they reflect the patriarchal political culture of society, further shaping men's perceptions and behaviors toward women in this sphere. Although social media was initially thought to offer a more open platform for marginalized voices, it is similarly influenced by patriarchal culture, which manifests in distinct language differences between women and men. As a result, women in politics continue to be associated with feminine traits and domestic responsibilities, often used to undermine their competence in political contexts (Rheault et al., 2019; Saluja & Thilaka, 2021).

This ongoing cycle perpetuates prejudice against women in politics. However, social media presents a valuable platform for female politicians to express their aspirations and challenge the stereotypes that undermine their identities. Women are often perceived as weak, dependent, and lacking autonomy, views that find considerable legitimacy within the political sphere, thus reinforcing patriarchal culture (Musdalifah et al., 2022). Women are considered to be weak, independent, and dependent, and this kind of view gains strong legitimacy in the political world so that it favors the patriarchal culture (Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015b) and Violence against women arises from the pervasive conditioning of patriarchal culture (Kollo, 2017; Kollo & Sunarso, 2018), manifesting as structural violence that women experience in the political arena. Unfortunately, this violence is frequently overlooked or silenced due to concerns about tarnishing the reputations of political parties. To address

this issue, it is essential to implement a robust model aimed at addressing and ultimately eradicating violence against women in politics. Therefore an effective applied model is crucial for addressing and ultimately eradicating violence against women in political contexts (Raimondo et al., 2022; Tong, 2017; Wahid, 2016).

## RESEARCH METHODS.

The research employs a qualitative approach utilizing case study methods. Quantitative research often emphasizes how the world is interpreted through the researcher's perspective, typically relying on abstract concepts and terminology to treat subjects as dynamic entities (Eaton et al., 2022). In contrary, qualitative research encompasses the use and collection of diverse empirical materials-such as case studies, personal experiences, introspections, life narratives, interviews, observations, and various texts (historical, interactional, and visual to elucidate routine and problematic moments in an individual's life. This study adopts a single-case analysis method, focusing specifically on the phenomenon of political violence against women in Indonesia, particularly during general elections (Aspers & Corte, 2021; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Describes a case study as a methodological approach that involves a meticulous investigation of a specific issue, gathering detailed information through diverse data collection strategies. A critical case study can serve as an extreme or prolonged examination of a subject once the study has been completed. This research aims to explore three primary themes: 1) the connections and contributing factors of violence against women in the political arena; 2) a critical analysis of the differing viewpoints of men and women; and 3) an examination of the distinct communication dynamics between genders resulting from their unique perspectives. The data sources for this research will include: 1) members of political parties and legislative candidates; 2) experts in political communication; 3) administrators of political parties; and 4) the general public (Creswell, 2012).

The methodology has employed in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis as means of data collection. Interviews will be conducted with legislative candidates, party administrators, and subject matter experts who can contribute significant insights to the research. The analysis units have been concrened on: 1) the relationship between political violence experienced by women and the influence of patriarchal values; 2) the political culture that fails to support women; 3) the differing perceptions of political violence among female and male politicians; and 4) the role of the media as a platform that inadequately supports women's political engagement, thereby perpetuating their experiences of violence. The analysis process has commenced with data collection, followed by data processing, which involves reduction, categorization, and application to answer the research questions through description, explanation, and critical interpretation (Umar, 2013), research has been conducted in Jakarta and its surrounding areas over a period of six months, from June to December 2023. The aim is to uncover findings related to political violence experienced by women and to propose solutions that foster changes in the patriarchal culture that influences political culture and perpetuates political violence.

## RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.

### Partisanship in Political Culture and Media

In Indonesia, political discourse is predominantly male-centric, reflecting a deeply entrenched patriarchal culture that significantly influences societal perceptions. The entrenched patriarchal ideology fosters a binary understanding of public and private spheres. As articulated by Fakih, Marginalization and discrimination against women manifest across various domains, including economics and politics; however, such discrimination often begins within the family dynamics  (Fakih, 2008). Further elucidates that for a significant number of women, political participation is hindered by prevailing stereotypes that position men as more capable leaders, thus engendering systemic gender biases (Muthmainnah, 2021). This view certainly causes a lot of injustice or gender bias that occurs in society. Such perceptions propagate gender-based injustices and biases, as exemplified by  Latief contribute to the widespread perception of women's incompetence in leadership roles, a construction that is instilled from familial upbringing and perpetuated across various societal institutions (Latief et al., 2021b).

The representation of women in political leadership positions in Indonesia remains markedly insufficient, despite the existence of a legal framework established by Law No. 8/2012, which governs the general election of members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional People's Representative Councils (DPRD). Notably, this legislation mandates that political parties must allocate a minimum quota of 30% female candidates for legislative positions in both the DPR and local DPRD elections. However, data from the 2004 elections revealed that female representation in the House of Representatives stood at a mere 11.82%. Although this figure saw an increase to 17.86% in 2009 and 17.32% in 2014, it rose only slightly to 20.8% in 2019—still falling short of the stipulated 30% quota. Given that women constitute approximately 130 million of Indonesia's population, nearly equivalent to that of men, the level of female political representation remains unsatisfactory, despite ongoing efforts to promote women's affirmative politics. This persistent underrepresentation raises pertinent questions regarding the quality of women's political communication and the prevailing societal perception that politics is an unsuitable domain for women. Such beliefs are deeply entrenched, as noted (Latief et al., 2021).The struggle for women to break through the prevailing male dominance in the political sphere is emblematic of a broader civil society movement aimed at empowering women who have long been marginalized within a political landscape predominantly controlled by male politicians (Basu, 2016).

Furthermore, the patriarchal cultural framework, characterized by its entrenched dominance of male-oriented values, contributes significantly to the systemic marginalization of women. This prevailing ideology underscores the imperative for affirmative action, represented by the 30% quota, to counteract historical injustices (Wahid, 2013).  The implementation of affirmative action policies is posited as a crucial intervention to address gender inequality within the realm of political participation. The persistence of patriarchal political structures has cultivated a culture wherein violence against women in politics is both prevalent and normalized, reflecting broader gender disparities (Tamunomiegbam & Arinze, 2024). This imbalance is characterized by a hierarchical power dynamic that privileges men, who possess greater social status and influence, thus rendering women's

political agency significantly compromised (Hamid, 2019; Sofiani, 2021). The patriarchal system engenders a disproportionate power dynamic between men and women, which contributes significantly to the prevalence of violence against women (Wahid, 2013).

The prevalence of political and cultural violence against women has become an accepted norm, often overlooked by society. Lely Arriani, an influential commentator, reinforces the patriarchal perspective that relegates women to symbolic roles within politics. She states that *"the requirement for a minimum of 30% women's participation in political processes indicates that both political parties and institutional frameworks pressure women to conform to this standard. Such coercion is, in my view, a form of violence. The discourse surrounding gender must transcend biological determinism, focusing instead on the socio-cultural roles that delineate the experiences of men and women."*

The resource individual dismissed the 30 percent quota policy as a sufficient initial solution for enhancing women's opportunities in political contexts, including political parties and legislative positions. In stark contrast, another speaker, Chusnul Mar'iyah, pointed out that one in five women has reported experiences of sexual violence in the workplace or within parliamentary settings. This violence can take various forms, such as being subjected to catcalls, leering stares, and physical confrontations. Additionally, Chusnul Mar'iyah, a political expert from the University of Indonesia and an advocate for women's political issues, indicated that one in three women suffers from economic and political violence, underscoring the pervasive nature of these issues through the following explanations:

"Violence against women, which encompasses both physical and psychological forms of abuse, includes acts such as sexual harassment and bullying, alongside the commodification of women's bodies in advertisements designed to market products. This violence is not confined to individual encounters but extends into economic and political domains, illustrating the pervasive nature of gender-based violence in various societal contexts." (October, 2023).

Chusnul Mar'iyah (October 2023) who stated as follows:

"Beyond various policy frameworks, women frequently emerge as the primary victims of social dislocation, often uprooted from their communities due to systemic evictions. This malevolent global system is frequently linked to patriarchal structures, which perpetuate not only individualized forms of violence against women but also broader systemic injustices. Ideologies such as liberalism, neoliberalism, and capitalism can be understood as interwoven with patriarchal norms, further exacerbating the conditions that facilitate gender-based violence."

The statement of the Chairman of the Women's Caucus, that in Indonesia, women persistently face violence within the political landscape, for example, women often encounter psychological underestimation when they constitute a larger proportion of candidates than their male counterparts, leading to the widespread belief that women are inherently less qualified for leadership positions (Herbst, 2020). This form of violence reflects the broader imbalances in political culture, which characterizes women as weak and reliant

on others. Such views have gained substantial traction within the political domain, favoring the continuation of patriarchal ideologies. The prevalence of violence against women is perpetuated by the overarching conditioning of patriarchy as an all-encompassing cultural framework (Irene et al., 2021; Nimrah & Sakaria, 2015b). This violence encompasses various forms, including political violence, which further reinforces systemic gender inequalities (Ramadhan, 2017; Tong, 2017).

The prevailing political norms continue to exhibit skepticism about the impact of women on political participation, resulting in a hesitance for women to pursue active political roles. In response to this partisan cultural framework, a feminist ideological movement has emerged to advocate for a transformation in political attitudes and behaviors (Celis & Childs, 2018; Hansen & Dolan, 2023). This movement seeks to enhance political awareness, underscoring the necessity for women to have equal opportunities for election and political trust. Consequently, this paradigm shift encourages both women and men to initiate changes in the political landscape. This aligns with the principles of viewpoint theory, developed by Sandra Harding and Patricia Hill Collins, which has been further contextualized within communication studies by Julia Wood and Marsha Houston. This theory explores how an individuals' life experiences significantly inform their understanding and interaction with the social realm (Bolton et al., 2018; Fitri, 2019; Littlejohn & Foss, 2010).

The manifestation of violence against women in politics is evident, particularly in the selection of party candidates, where many women merely fulfill the mandated 30 percent quota. This underscores the necessity for a robust applied model aimed at addressing and ultimately eradicating violence against women in the political sphere. Such a model should ensure that all political actors are afforded equal opportunities, free from the constraints imposed by dominant groups whose perspectives may perpetuate harm to women (Sumintak & Idi, 2022). The prevailing power dynamics rooted in patriarchal culture engender a subjective understanding of the male-female relationship, which in turn shapes perceptions of women's subjectivity in the political arena. The societal structure delineates the mechanisms governing interactions between men and women, heavily influenced by culturally ingrained norms and values that perpetuate social, political, and economic imbalances. Consequently, the entrenched understanding of women's situational roles within a socio-cultural context significantly impacts both cultural norms and political participation (Aasa, 2021; Chouchou Lyliane, 2022; Sumintak & Idi, 2022).

The differing viewpoints of men and women regarding women's engagement in politics illustrate a fundamental social construct characterized by unequal understandings and divergent perspectives. Viewpoint theory advocates for the attainment of equality for women in social, political, economic, and civil arenas, positing that these constructs undergo significant changes and advancements as societal norms evolve. The reinforcement of knowledge and awareness surrounding gender equality is crucial and must be established as a fundamental pillar in the advancement of the political development process (Fukuda-Parr & McNeill, 2019). By fostering equality, women gain the opportunity to cultivate their potential in diverse sectors. A disregard for the significance of equitable roles and rights for women emerges as a key obstacle impeding the advancement of a nation (Wayan & Nyoman, 2020). The pursuit of justice for women is enshrined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). To enhance participation in democratic

spaces, it is imperative to establish a gender-oriented political paradigm that guarantees equality for all citizens, devoid of discriminatory practices. Political parties must earnestly support female candidates in their political endeavors while simultaneously safeguarding them from the risks of political commodification, including exploitation by media narratives (Royer, 2018; Williamson, 2023).

The media must provide substantial encouragement as an indispensable component of political communication. The interplay between politics and media is symbiotic; while politics relies on media for dissemination, the media requires political engagement for relevance (Nord & Grusell, 2021; Wei & Xu, 2019) . It is crucial that media practitioners are well-versed in gender issues to champion women's rights effectively. A critical analysis reveals that the media often reinforces the existing power structures. Nevertheless, both legacy and emerging media platforms hold significant potential to bolster public involvement in the political arena. The advent of digital media, especially social media, has revolutionized opportunities for interaction and message sharing, enabling individuals to engage with political content from a plethora of sources (Tucker et al., 2018; Wahid, 2014). Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter (X), and TikTok have substantially expanded user interactions. Nevertheless, traditional media persists as a crucial component of the media landscape, even in the era of digital dominance (Nieborg, 2021; Noorikhsan et al., 2023).

The initiatives to combat political violence have not achieved comprehensive success and remain significantly below expectations, particularly regarding the consciousness fostered by a transformation in thinking and mental constructs—liberation from the ingrained patriarchal values that dominate political culture. The intended support of the 30% quota policy designed to enhance women's representation in parliament has not been effectively realized. Although Law No. 8/2012 provides a legal foundation governing the general elections for members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR), the House of Regional Representatives (DPD), and regional legislative councils (DPRD), the representation of women in political roles remains alarmingly minimal. This legislation mandates that political parties must fulfill a quota of 30% female candidates. Nonetheless, electoral data highlights a concerning pattern: the proportion of female members in the House of Representatives was merely 11.82% in 2004, increasing to 17.86% in 2009, slightly decreasing to 17.32% in 2014, and rising to only 20.8% in 2019—still failing to meet the required quota. Given that the female population in Indonesia approximates 130 million, nearly equal to that of males, the lack of adequate representation emphasizes the shortcomings of women's affirmative action policies. Estimates suggest that women's representation in the upcoming 2024 elections will only reach 20.9%. (Umi Kulsum, 2024). Through this essence, the realm of politics embodies a fundamental right for women, equivalent to the political rights that men possess (Latief et al., 2021).

## Women's Political Violence, *Standpoint Theory Analysis*

The dynamics of violence against women are significantly shaped by the prevailing ideologies of dominant groups within political contexts, who wield their authority to enact injustices. These inequities, deeply embedded in patriarchal values, contribute to the formation of standpoint theory—an analytical framework that highlights the subjective

knowledge and perspectives arising from gendered experiences, situational factors, and societal values that ultimately marginalize women. Such a framework underscores the systemic inequities that permeate various sectors, perpetuating a hierarchical relationship between men and women. The patriarchal cultural framework that informs the social, cultural, and political experiences of both genders acts as a substantial impetus for the injustices that women encounter across diverse domains, particularly in the political sphere (Kabeer, 2015; Shakiba et al., 2021).

Women constitute an essential element of political progress, yet they are often relegated to the status of political objects rather than recognized as active participants. Unfortunately, this reality reflects a broader societal understanding that frequently positions women as subordinates, with men occupying the role of primary agents who define and dictate the conditions of women's realities. In accordance with the perspective of feminist theory, the persistent inequalities in the dynamics between women and men reinforce the notion that women are inherently disadvantaged (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997). The concept of women's empowerment encapsulates the struggle against discrimination and injustice (Kalita, 2018). Despite women achieving professional success, generating their own income, and sharing domestic responsibilities, they continue to be perceived as weak and are subjected to exploitation. In the political realm, women are often depicted as inherently inferior to men, leading to the widespread perception that they are ill-suited for the political arena, which is frequently characterized as corrupt and rife with intrigue (Moghadam, 2019; Nurussa'adah, 2020).

The power imbalance between men and women is manifested through violence, which acts as a mechanism to enforce male dominance and perpetuate discrimination against women (Dahal et al., 2022). In patriarchal societies, men are perceived as the dominant gender, benefiting from deeply ingrained socio-cultural norms that uphold masculine ideals as superior (Dankwa, 2018). These values bind women to subordinate roles, reinforcing male authority. The disparity in viewpoints between men and women further legitimizes the subjugation of women, with men interpreting women's needs and interests through their own lens, thereby perpetuating gender-based inequality. These differences arise from **social constructions** that foster unequal understandings and differing perspectives between genders (Gergen, 2018; Wahid & Legino, 2023). Men are frequently perceived as more dominant, with inherent advantages that make them central to societal hierarchies (Griffin, 2006b). The unequal power relations, wherein dominance is conferred upon men, contribute to biased and unobjective perspectives toward marginalized groups, particularly women. From a standpoint theory perspective, the marginalization of women underscores the persistent inequality they experience (Nugroho et al., 2021). The process through which violence is constructed and the steps required for understanding it are depicted in the following model. This model represents the researcher's critical analysis, informed by research findings and relevant literature, 2024):
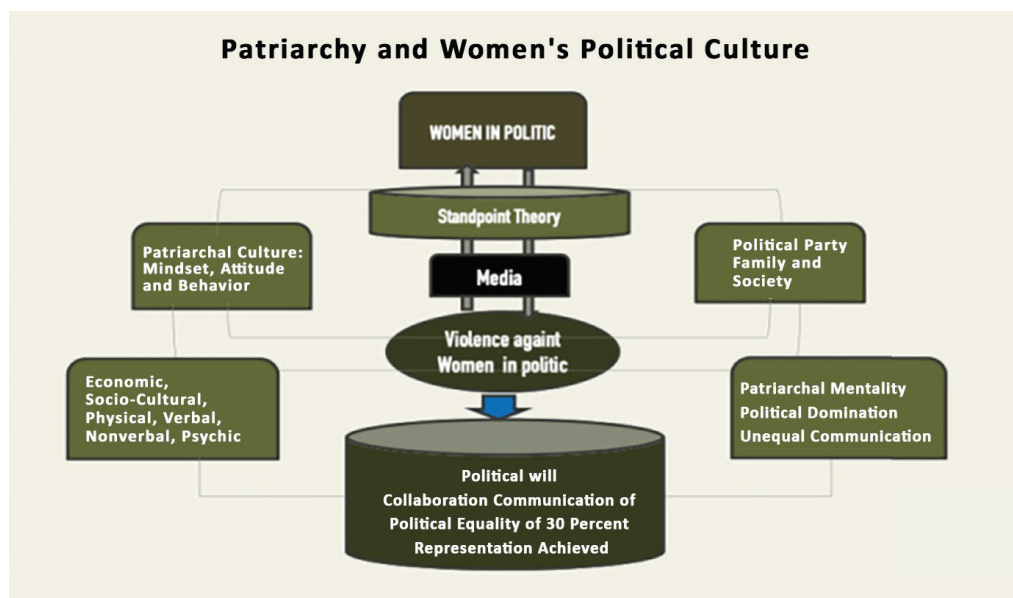
**Figue 2. Critical Construction Model of Political Violence Against Women, 2024**
**(Source : Research result, 2024)**

The crucial step in addressing solutions regarding the detrimental power relations challenged by women is through a sustained collective movement against injustice. This aims to transform knowledge, create a foundation of strong objectivity, and foster equal understanding and communication for women. The effort to deconstruct the dominant thinking shaped by unfair and systematic power dynamics is essential, despite the deep-rooted patriarchal socio-cultural reality that continues to influence societal attitudes, behaviors, and even state policies. Political will is necessary, alongside efforts like political literacy and media campaigns, to shift the mindset towards equality for all groups—men, women, and other marginalized communities. Standpoint theory explains that this imbalance in relationships and responsibilities is often imposed by the dominant group. For instance, a woman's perspective is shaped by her societal expectation to take on domestic tasks such as housework and childcare, roles traditionally labeled as 'women's duties. Within this framework, women's identities and roles are defined by men's perceptions, positioning women in a subordinate role that aligns with male-dominated interpretations of gender norms (Fatwasuci & Irwansyah, 2022a; Littlejohn et al., 2016).

The political violence against women in Brazil, as seen in many countries, reflects the deeper issue of systemic gender inequality within political institutions. Despite the implementation of the 30 percent quota to increase women's representation, the core problem remains unaddressed: persistent patriarchal values and stereotypes that undermine women's political roles. True progress in combating gender-based political violence requires dismantling entrenched social norms and reshaping political culture (Kunz, 2023). Gender equality must be promoted not only through quotas but by challenging the societal structures that marginalize women, ensuring that their voices are equally valued in political decision-making (Bogossian, 2023).

In Malaysia, the goal of achieving 30% female representation in Parliament remains elusive, with only 30 women securing parliamentary seats, a decline from 14.86% to 13.51%. Malaysia's global ranking for female parliamentarians fell to 151 out of 187 countries in December 2022, positioning it as the second lowest in Southeast Asia. Despite women making up 15.7 million of the population, their representation in politics remains limited. Several factors contribute to this: women in leadership are often criticized for violating religious teachings, societal norms continue to restrict women to family roles, and female parliamentarians face challenges equivalent to those of their male counterparts, including navigating party politics, societal expectations, and discrimination. Women are compelled to work harder to demonstrate their leadership capabilities while also enduring disparaging remarks from male colleagues (Elizabeth et al., 2023; Phillips et al., 2024).

Japan's statistics on gender equality are troubling and may elucidate the delayed and less enthusiastic reception of the #MeToo movement, particularly when compared to the responses observed in other advanced democracies. In contrast, South Korea, which ranks similarly to Japan on various indices of gender inequality, provides an intriguing counterpoint. President Moon Jae-in's emphatic public endorsement of the #MeToo movement and the women affected by sexual harassment underscores a proactive governmental stance in addressing these pervasive issues (Cantalupo & Kidder, 2018; Hasunuma & Shin, 2020).

The entrenched pattern of sexual harassment in Japan is perpetuated by deeply ingrained gendered and sexist cultural norms, which endorse the sexual objectification of women and girls, thereby inhibiting their ability to resist such violations. Sexual harassment within Japanese political spheres is intricately woven into prevailing cultural constructs of gender relations, rendering it challenging to both identify and address. Acknowledging it as a systemic issue confronting women in politics and the media represents a critical first step toward initiating meaningful reform (Union, 2016).

Turkish women face conditions not dissimilar to those observed in other regions, characterized by both high levels of violence and minimal political participation. While the global average of women's political involvement stands at 36% in local governance and 26% in national legislatures, Turkey's participation rates are notably lower, with only 10% in local governance and 20% in Parliament, underscoring the enduring gender gap in political representation (Köse et al., 2023). Despite extensive research on the barriers women encounter in politics and the prevalence of violence against women (VAW) in Turkey, significant challenges persist. The current levels of women's participation in local and national politics remain low, at 11.8% and 17.4%, respectively, reflecting the enduring influence of a male-dominated public sphere. According to the "Women in Politics 2023" map produced by UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the global proportions of female representatives and ministers stand at 26.5% and 22.8%, respectively. In this context, Turkey ranks 131 out of 186 countries in terms of women's representation in parliament and 173 out of 182 for women in ministerial positions. These figures highlight the structural inequalities that hinder women's political participation in Turkey, as well as the systemic barriers that contribute to their underrepresentation. The phenomenon known as "absenteeism syndrome," characterized by the nominal presence of women in political roles, exacerbates this issue by perpetuating the marginalization of women's voices in the political landscape. Systematic efforts to exclude women from political participation

and to silence their contributions underscore the urgent need for transformative change in the political realm (Aslan Akman, 2021; Union, 2016; Uzun & Keçecioğlu, 2024).

Political violence against women remains a pervasive issue globally; however, significant strides have been made in enhancing women's participation in public life over recent decades. Despite these advancements, numerous challenges persist, notably the high incidence of violence against women. Increasingly, anger and frustration are exacerbated by the rise of online media and technology, which create new avenues for violence against women. The entrenched patriarchal values that underpin this violence have far-reaching implications for women in various sectors. A study examining violence against women in parliaments worldwide revealed alarming statistics: 81.8% of female parliamentarians reported experiencing psychological violence, 44.4% reported receiving threats of murder, rape, assault, or kidnapping (Union, 2016), and 25.5% experienced physical violence within parliamentary settings (George et al., 2021). These findings underscore the urgent need for comprehensive strategies to address and mitigate political violence against women (Ebron et al., 2024; Namy et al., 2017). Various forms of violence perpetrated against women in public spheres exemplify deeply entrenched gendered and misogynistic attitudes which are predicated on the notion that political spaces are inherently male domains (Kaul, 2021; Stevenson & Hopkins, 2024).

The data unequivocally indicates that women's representation in politics has not met the stipulated 30 percent threshold. This discrepancy raises critical questions regarding the differing perspectives of men and women on women's political participation. Political violence, rooted in a patriarchal culture, positions men in dominant roles while relegating women to subordinate status, perpetuating an understanding that shapes the political mindset of male participants. This disparity can be contextualized within the framework of standpoint theory (Griffin, 2006b; Johnson & N., 2022; Klonowski, 2023). The *Standpoint Theory* serves as a framework for analyzing power dynamics, grounded in knowledge derived from individuals' everyday experiences. This theory posits the existence of underrepresented groups, particularly marginalized individuals such as single mothers who navigate dual roles (Cohen et al., 2022b; Rodriguez et al., 2022). Despite advancements, violence continues to permeate women's lives across various sectors. Therefore, it is essential to persistently deconstruct the prevailing power structures and critically advocate for the notion that political rights should be equitable for both women and men (Ondekova, 2021; Utami, 2018).

According to Sandra Harding and Julia Wood, a critical approach to understanding societal dynamics begins with the perspectives of women and other marginalized groups. This notion posits that a viewpoint is not merely a subjective lens but a politically charged stance that emerges when individuals from these groups become cognizant of their unique positions relative to the dominant culture. Such awareness empowers them to challenge existing power structures. Julia T. Wood further developed the theory of viewpoint within the field of communication studies, asserting that the acknowledgment of unequal power relations is pivotal in understanding the marginalization and oppression of specific groups (Davis, 2018; Moore & Manning, 2019). This theoretical framework is essential for dismantling patriarchal norms and advocating for equitable political rights across genders (Griffin, 2006a; Littlejohn et al., 2016; Tatah & Ndakeyo, 2023).

Critiquing and addressing the political violence experienced by women is a formidable task that necessitates a profound commitment to social change, especially since both men and women are entitled to equal citizenship rights. The projected voter turnout for the 2024 elections stands at 204,807,222, comprised of 102,218,503 male voters and 102,588,719 female voters (KPU, 2023). The failure to meet the 30 percent female representation quota among elected legislative members further illustrates the pervasive nature of ideological violence. This enduring violence is evidenced by entrenched mindsets and behaviors shaped by a patriarchal culture, which underscores the necessity for dismantling such constructs to facilitate equitable representation in political spheres.

## CONCLUSION.

The extensive data and analysis reveal that the pervasive culture of patriarchy is a fundamental factor in shaping divergent perceptions of women's political participation compared to that of men. This dichotomy results in varied interpretations and values associated with political realities, which ultimately disadvantage women. Despite the absence of explicit discriminatory practices within electoral and political legislation, these entrenched biases persist, reinforcing the notion of female inferiority in the political domain. The enduring societal and state attitudes that have failed to evolve raise significant concerns about the efficacy of constitutional frameworks, political laws, and electoral regulations that profess to uphold equality. While such legal instruments assert equal rights and opportunities, the ongoing experience of political violence against women during electoral processes underscores the gap between legal principles and social realities.

In order to rectify this situation, state politics must adopt a more assertive approach to fostering women's involvement in political affairs. The introduction of a 30 percent quota for female representation is a strategic measure; however, its impact will be maximized only if accompanied by binding legal enforcement rather than serving as a mere guideline. Furthermore, it is crucial to dismantle the deeply rooted patriarchal constructs that hinder the political advancement of women. On the other hand, the media must simultaneously embrace a transformative role, acting as a critical ally in promoting women's participation while providing platforms for other marginalized voices. Media institutions should reevaluate their narratives and operational practices, moving away from portraying women as superficial political figures. Ultimately, dismantling these societal constructs is a collective responsibility, necessitating concerted efforts from all stakeholders, including state actors, to uphold equality and justice in women's political rights.

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