

Democracy and the Freedom of Women's Participation in Political Life

Prisca Pereira
Universidade da Paz

Abstract: Democracy and freedom offer women and men the opportunity to think together in the political process through political parties, because through them they can have the opportunity to become governors and members of the government, with the ability to implement national development plans to improve the condition of the country, which is lagging behind, and the lives of the people, leading them to prosperity. Therefore, the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, Article 1 (Republic), Point 1, declares that: The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste is a democratic, sovereign and independent State, established by the will of the people and with respect for the dignity of every human being. As the interpretation and application of the article refer to this as respect for human dignity, women utilize their opportunities and abilities to engage in political life, demonstrating courage and wisdom with dignity before men. Thus, the value of respect for human dignity in a democratic country like Timor-Leste applies to freedom within a democracy. Some parts of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Lebanon (DRL), Article 46 on the Right to Participate in Politics, establish that: (1) Everyone has the right to participate in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) All citizens have the right to form and participate in political parties. (3) The formation and organization of political parties will be regulated by law. Based on the context and problem identification above, the problem formulation is as follows: How do democracy and freedom provide opportunities for women in political life to perform their duties as deputies representing the people in the National Parliament? The purpose of the research are: to identify, analyse and describe democracy and the freedom of women's participation in political life. The theory that serves as a basis is Dependency Theory by André Gunder Frank (1960).

This research used qualitative descriptive methods. Data sources are primary data and secondary data. With data collection techniques, observation, interviews and documentation. And using data analysis techniques from experts Miles & Huberman (1992:20), such as: data collection, data presentation, data reduction and valid data verification.

The research and discussion results showed that this fact demonstrated that women's involvement in politics gave politicians the confidence to allow women to assume roles such as President of the National Parliament and Vice-President of the National Parliament, thus leading second (2nd) sovereign bodies in Timor-Leste. And the results finding sowed that the according to each party group, with their respective analysis results, such as Freedom, Women's Participation in Political Life, Quota for Women in the National Parliament, and Women's Political Communication in the National Parliament, aim to increase the number of women participating in political decisions and communication.

Keywords: Democracy, Freedom and Participation.

A. Introduction

Democracy and freedom offer equal opportunities to women and men in important roles, such as participation in politics, using their rights and wisdom in the government formation process to promote fair and equitable national development for the people and the nation. For national development to be successful and guided by human values, the participation of all citizens is necessary, without distinction of gender, so that development becomes a right for all.

Therefore, the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, Article 1 (Republic), Point 1, declares that: The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste is a democratic, sovereign and independent State, established by the will of the people and with respect for the dignity of every human being. As the interpretation and application of the article refer to this as respect for human dignity, women utilize their opportunities and abilities to engage in political life, demonstrating courage and wisdom with dignity before men. Thus, the value of respect for human dignity in a democratic country like Timor-Leste applies to freedom within a democracy.

Some parts of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Lebanon (DRL), Article 46 on the Right to Participate in Politics, establish that:

1. Everyone has the right to participate in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. All citizens have the right to form and participate in political parties.

3. The formation and organization of political parties will be regulated by law.

Democracy and freedom offer women and men the opportunity to think together in the political process through political parties, because through them they can have the opportunity to become governors and members of the government, with the ability to implement national development plans to improve the condition of the country, which is lagging behind, and the lives of the people, leading them to prosperity.

According to scholars, the definition of democracy is as follows: Arief Budiman (1997) states that, for a political system to be democratic, the minimum criterion is the balance of political power in society, with other balancing factors such as ideology, economy, and the socio-political system. J. Kristiadi (1994), said that, democracy is a process for addressing the problems of political systems and structures, valuing them with the aim of raising human dignity.

Based on the opinion of scholars, the author concludes that democracy is means that gives space to all people, men, women, young and old, to be masters of their own future. Because democracy is not just about voting, but about having voices heard, rights protected and opportunities open to all.

Frans M. Suseno (1985:22) states that freedom has two faces: the first is social freedom, that is, the freedom we receive from others. And secondly, existential freedom is the capacity to decide for ourselves. In the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Lebanon, Article 46, concerning the right to participate in politics, states the following:

1. Everyone has the right to participate in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. All citizens have the right to form and participate in political parties.
3. The formation and organization of political parties will be regulated by law.

According to MS. Wahyu (2005: 225): "Participation is the involvement of all societies in all development activities encompassing planning, implementation, evaluation and achievement of results, without sacrificing their own interests." Sumarto (2009) adds that participation is a process in which citizens, individually, in social groups or organizations, participate in the planning, implementation and monitoring of public policies that influence people's lives. Agustino (2007: 59) adds that "Participation is the involvement of ordinary citizens (who do not have authority) in the process of formulating political decisions as public policy, saying that the public has two activities, such as influencing the content of public policy and determining the formulation and implementation of political decisions".

Based on expert opinion, the author concludes that freedom means not only liberation from colonial shackles, but also that all citizens, men and women, have equal power to make decisions about their lives and about the nation.

The specific understanding of women is identical to the biological differences between the sexes. In Nugroho (2008:2), it is stated that "women, as human beings, possess reproductive organs, such as the placenta and ovum, the vagina and the organs for breastfeeding; these are permanently immutable and possess biological determination, that is, dignity (determination by God)". According to Sulaeman and Homzah (2010), from a biological point of view, women are always identical to these organs. It is easily broken, as something fragile, weak, and powerless. Thus, culturally, according to Nugroho, women are known as strong, beautiful, emotional, and maternal. Therefore, women are not below, but on the same level as men in all aspects.

Thus, the author sees that women in Timor-Leste are the generals of peace; they have the power to transform suffering into power and transform power into development. If we value the dignity of women in Timor-Leste, we also value the dignity of the country, because when a woman progresses, the country progresses.

In general, women's involvement in politics in Timor-Leste is seen as a significant step towards a more inclusive and equal democracy. While cultural and structural challenges remain, women's participation continues to grow and is a crucial part of the country's political future. According to many definitions of politics, such as Danker (1996:1-2), Miriam Budiarto (1983:8-14), Garna (1996:33-34), Apter (1985:25), politics encompasses the powers of "regulation" in the life of a nation with all its activities to realize the aspirations of the people in clear laws or regulations. And Roger F. Soltau in Miriam Budiarto (2008:17), political science studies the nation, the nation's objectives, and the bodies that should achieve those objectives.

Politics, therefore, is an activity that involves groups in making collective decisions and resolving disagreements among their members. According to M. Budiarto (2008:43-45), political theory consists of the discussion and generalization of phenomena of a political nature. Thus, politics seeks to maintain and alter the general rules that govern its existence, which means that it cannot be dissociated from the symptoms of conflict and cooperation. Politics is the activity that people carry out, protecting and altering the general rules that compose it, experiencing them as phenomena of conflict and cooperation.

Therefore, the author observes that Timor-Leste is rich in experience but young in institutions. We have a strong fighting spirit, but now our struggle is about how to build a system that doesn't depend solely on individuals or figures, but on the system and the law.

Women's participation in politics is significant as a form of female resistance to depoliticization. It is necessary to introspect and evaluate from all perspectives so that society is aware of the gender inequality and social injustice present in political life in Indonesia (Mulia, 2008), cited by Linda Dwi Eriyanti (2021:14). Thus, women have equal rights in the political sphere, but currently these rights are not considered, as the political game in relation to gender is formulated by the nation and legitimized by patriarchal society. Female participation in politics in Timor-Leste is high, with participation in elections, but the occupation of leadership positions is dominated by men. This occurs because reality demonstrates that men are always the first to think and execute actions in political life. The author concludes that female participation in Timor-Leste is not just about numbers, but also about the quality of language. When more women participate in political decisions, government decisions become more inclusive and benefit the whole family.

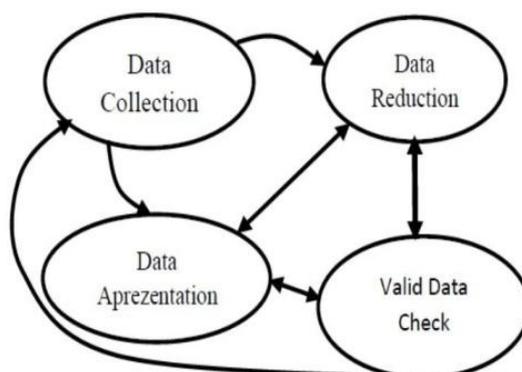
Based on the context and problem identification above, the problem formulation is as follows: How do democracy and freedom provide opportunities for women in political life to perform their duties as deputies representing the people in the National Parliament? The objectives of this research are: to identify, analyse and describe democracy and the freedom of women's participation in political life.

B. Research Methodology

This research uses methods with qualitative descriptive research types. According to Punaji Setyosari (2012:39), namely; "Pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif yaitu bertujuan untuk menjelaskan atau menggambarkan suatu keadaan, peristiwa, objek apakah orang atau segala sesuatu yang terkait dengan penelitian." (A qualitative descriptive approach that aims to design conditions, events, objects such as people or things related to research).

Data collection techniques are the main and important stage in research with the aim of obtaining data on democracy and the freedom of women's participation in political life. The data collection techniques in this research are the same; Observation techniques mean that as a strategy used by the writer to approach the research site and to follow directly the real situation that occurs, it can strengthen knowledge, as well as be a strong evidence in the research. Interview techniques are the same as meeting two or more people with the aim of exchanging information and thoughts by asking and responding, so that data can be obtained with maxism. This type of interviewer is called a structure interviewer means that the writer has prepared questions to be used to ask the owner. Documentation techniques, documentation such as writing events, events or activities that have been carried out. This documentation can be carried out using writing models, image photos, and others.

In this research the data analysis used was data analysis by the expert Sugiyono (2014: 224), states that data analysis means the process of setting up interview results systematically and structurally and can make it easier for the writer and others to understand better. In this research the writer used data analysis techniques based on the data obtained, then developed and finally drawn conclusions. The technical stage of data analysis is as shown below. The data analysis diagram follows the qualitative research method of the scholars Miles & Hubermen (1992:20), as follows:



Source: Sugiyono 2017, Quantitative and qualitative research methods R & D.

C. Research Results and Discussion

Based on the results of the research on democracy and the freedom of women's participation in political life, are following the processes and preparations such as;

1. To understand the presence of women in the National Parliament.

In response, Deputy Maria Terezinha Viegas, President of the National People's Party (PN), stated that the female presence in the PN is reflected in the 30% participation of women in parliament, who perform important functions, including in committees that analyze legislation and the political budget, such as the Presidency of the PN, the 1st Vice-Presidency, the Secretaries, the Presidency of Committees, and the Presidency of Women's Parliamentary Groups. However, the CNRT faction, through an interview with MPCarmida, stated that the CNRT considers the participation and involvement of women in political parties to be very important. Similarly, the CNRT party offers opportunities for women with potential to develop through the party's political organization, called OMP (Organization of Women of the Party), as the party's mass organ, to which the party entrusts the recruitment and training of women to prepare quality women, important in the State of Timor-Leste. In addition, KHUNTO and PLP also reinforced that the participation of women in the National Parliament is very important to contribute to the development of the country, since the party creates conditions to give women with potential the opportunity to assume important positions in the party, allowing them to gain confidence in the sovereign bodies.

The PD stated that the presence of women in the National Parliament is due to the existence of a quota and this legal obligation. (Date: 22/08/2023). Considering the opinions of the respondents representing each parliamentary group, in the author's view, the general principles enshrined in Article 16 of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, on Universality and Equality, encompass points such as: 1. All citizens have all rights and obligations before the law. 2. No one shall be discriminated against on the basis of skin color, race, marital status, sex, ethnic origin, language, socioeconomic status, political or ideological opinion, religion, education, or physical or mental condition. Article 17, on Equality between Men and Women, also mentions that men and women have equal rights and obligations in family, cultural, social, economic, and political life.

Furthermore, there are other laws and policies that serve as political instruments to guarantee the freedom and democracy of women in Timor-Leste, ensuring their freedom to actively participate in any political activity or organization, both in political and public state institutions. The freedom guaranteed by the Constitution allows women to begin assuming political positions, such as the presidency of the National Parliament, the vice-presidency, and many positions as deputies, in addition to taking on roles as presidents of the specialized permanent committees of the National Parliament, including as heads of delegation in their respective areas.

This opposition stems from the party structure itself, which, in turn, demands the participation of women in its structure in order to give them opportunities to assume positions in the National Parliament as deputies. This fact demonstrated that women's involvement in politics gave politicians the confidence to allow women to assume roles such as President of the National Parliament and Vice-President of the National Parliament, thus leading 2nd sovereign bodies in Timor-Leste.

Regarding the issue of quotas as an option for female participation in the Democratic Party's parliamentary representation, the author considers that the quota established in the Law on Political Parties, in article 8, which is regulated by the principle For the promotion of women and the rejuvenation of the party, specifically define a system to provide opportunities for women's participation in political parties, in accordance with Law No. 2/2016, of February 3, first amendment to Law No. 3/2004, of April 14, on Political Parties. The law gives high priority to the involvement of women in party politics and guarantees female participation in the executive structures of parties.

2. To understand the political communication of women in the National Parliament.

The President of the National Assembly, Ms. Terezinha Viegas, commented that there is good communication between all political parties represented in the National Parliament, as well as in the parliamentary groups, as this ensures effective communication on political occasions, contributing to improved participation in political life and the well-being of the people of Timor-Leste. She reinforced this position, with the participation of representatives from the PD, KHUNTO, and PLP, including the GMPTL, that women's communication in the national parliament relates to issues of national interest for the well-being of the population and ensures that the general state budget is allocated to women's issues for development, with deputies always supporting each other.

Political communication is a form of communication that uses means to transmit messages/information within the political system, related to the political system and the political power of the country, including the communicative activities of political actors, such as government communication. Freedom of expression and information is guaranteed in the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Lebanon, Article 40, on Freedom of Expression and Information, which states: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression and the right to receive accurate information. 2. Freedom of expression and information shall not be subject to censorship. 3. The rights and freedoms provided for in this article shall be governed by law, based on the imperative of respect for the Constitution and respect for the dignity of the human person.

As a member of parliament, the right to express your opinions is also guaranteed in Article 94 of the Constitution and Article 7 of the Internal Regulations of the National Parliament, which provides for parliamentary immunity for members of parliament in the exercise of their duties, as stipulated in point 1. Thus, members of parliament will not be held liable in civil, criminal or disciplinary matters, and their votes will be considered in the exercise of their duties.

Furthermore, as we have also observed, the practice of decision-making in the National Parliament, as a collegial body, is not limited to unilateral decisions. The internal regulations apply to any political decision taken by Parliament through voting, which involves the vote of all its members. Discussion, both in plenary sessions and in committees, is essential for the consideration of ideas before any decision is made, whether for the approval of laws, resolutions, or decisions important to the nation and the State.

3. To know the number of women who will participate in the National Parliament in the future.

Those interviewed in the interview conducted by Deputy Terezinha M. Viegas and representatives of the delegates whose names were mentioned in the interview stated that the number of participants has increased in their aspirations to assume the position of female deputies in the National Parliament. Representatives of the PD, KHUNTO, and PLP delegates also commented that the number of women participating in the National Parliament is the highest in ASEAN and that the National Parliament occupies a prominent position on the world political stage, not only because of quotas, but also because the party offers opportunities for its members and activists to assume these positions, in accordance with party policy, and to be elected to the National Parliament.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Timor-Leste and other legal frameworks to guarantee women's right to participate in political life include the Electoral Law, the Political Parties Law, and the Census Law, as well as the adoption of relevant international laws such as the Convention on Human Rights, the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Among the sources of rights established here, these are the laws that guarantee women's rights and become the main sources and obligations of the State and the Government, especially political parties, so that they have a political commitment to fulfill them.

The number of women participating in the National Parliament is very high compared to other Asian countries. In Timor-Leste, female participation in political life has evolved positively, with more than 20 women in Parliament. Furthermore, it is crucial to improve the quality of education, especially for women, and we hope that female participation in the National Parliament, the Government, civil society, and community leadership will increase in the future. Although Timor-Leste is a young country, female participation in politics, the armed forces, the government, and civil society is growing, contributing significantly to the country's development. (Statement by the President).

4. To understand the voice of women in the National Parliament.

The President of the National Parliament, Ms. Terezinha M. Viegas, in her response, considered that, as a member of parliament for the National Party, her representation respects the quota stipulated in the Constitution of Timor-Leste and expressed her gratitude for this law, which reinforces the participation of women in politics, allowing for greater involvement in political life, especially to ensure that women can express themselves and criticize, with equal rights, particularly regarding the right of women in Timor-Leste to compete in political life and contribute to the well-being of the Timorese people. A similar opinion was expressed by the Secretary of the GMPTL, Ms. Sancha Margarida, and by representatives of the KHUNTO and PLP parliamentary groups, who consider the law an incentive for female participation in political life and, at the same time, advocate for an increase in the percentage quota reserved for women in the legislation.

Female representation in politics and in the National Parliament. Provided for in Law No. 02/2016, First Amendment to Law No. 3/2004, of April 14, on Political Parties, of February 3, 2016. Article 8 on quotas is also reinforced by other laws, such as Law No. 1/2012, Third Amendment to Law No. 6/2006, of December 28. The electoral law of the national parliament provides, in Article 12, number 3, that in the organization of the list of effective and alternate candidates, members may include at least one woman on a party's joint list with one woman and two men.

With regard to women's participation in political parties, Timor-Leste's National Action Plan (PAN) for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) is the end result of the multi-sectoral participation process initiated by the State Secretariat for Security. The current PAN, through various learning events, organizes internal and external consultations to mobilize the support and involvement of approximately 25 governmental, civil society (including women's organizations), academic, religious, and development partner organizations.

On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted its first resolution specifically recognizing that women's contributions to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding are undervalued and underutilized. On May 13, 2016, the Council of Ministers approved the National Action Plan, led by the Ministry of the Interior. The development of the program involved United Nations agencies in Timor-Leste, civil society, women's organizations, twelve ministries and donors, as well as other participants. Considering the armed conflicts that marked the country's past, in which women and children were the main victims, their participation is essential to promote peace and security, protection against human rights violations, and access to justice and services to combat discrimination.

The GMPTL (Women's Group of the Timor-Leste Parliament) continues to fight for women's rights in an impartial manner so that, in the future, legislation on female representation will be changed so that the quota for women and men is equal, and not just 30%, but 50%. To increase the quota to 50%, according to the GMPTL's opinion, the main point is to encourage women and feminist groups to formulate ideas and arguments that justify increasing female participation in the Parliamentary Electoral Law. Another key point is awareness-raising and capacity building to promote an integrated gender approach in the National Parliament, including incorporating a gender perspective into legislation, programs, state budgets, and democratic representation, in order to influence the mindset of decision-makers and thus change legislation.

The research and discussion results showed that the data collected from the responding deputies, according to each party group, with their respective analysis results, such as Freedom, Women's Participation in Political Life, Quota for Women in the National Parliament, and Women's Political Communication in the National Parliament, aim to increase the number of women participating in political decisions and communication.

In the first question regarding the presence of women in the National Parliament, it was demonstrated that the rate of female participation in the National Parliament increased by 30% compared to the barrier applied in the Political Parties Law. Furthermore, the rate of female participation at the ASEAN level, according to the quota published in the Timor-Leste newspaper, is 38%, while in other countries women's participation in politics is still lower.

Analyzing the data published by media data blocks, we can conclude that the rate of participation of Timorese women in politics is higher in Timor-Leste compared to ASEAN countries, which have been around for a long time. This demonstrates that there is a significant political shift in Timor-Leste, a relatively new country despite having gained independence at the beginning of the millennium. And sometimes inseparable from the lesson of the heroines' participation in the struggle for the liberation of the country, which became an exemplary factor in encouraging women to participate in political party life, dedicating their knowledge and skills to the development of the nation and the State of Timor-Leste.

Regarding the second question related to women's political communication in the National Parliament, both the delegates and the representatives from the National Parliament and the Women's Group considered that women's political communication in the National Parliament is going very well, both in terms of female participation in delegation interventions and in interventions in plenary debates of the National Parliament and in the Women's Group.

In all important interventions, it is essential to ensure quality, especially in research disseminated in the media and in relevant reports, including specialized literature, to ensure that the information provided is of high quality and meets the interests of the population. In the third question about how to increase female participation in the National Parliament in the future, respondents from the Timor-Leste Women's Parliamentary Group (GMPTL) stated that there is a forecast of changes to raise the quota of female participation in political life to 50%. Despite this, the parliamentary respondents agree that the leadership process and the provision of opportunities, through the preparation and development of women's capabilities within the party, allow them to assume political positions.

The author analyzes two viewpoints mentioned above, relating to these parties, to consider the advantages and disadvantages presented. Both amend the Law on Political Parties, obligatorily granting political parties the possibility of complying only with Article 8, which establishes the principles for the promotion of women and the rejuvenation of the party, specifically defining a system to provide opportunities for female participation in political parties, according to Law No. 2/2016, of February 3, which amends Law No. 3/2004, of April 14, on political parties without leadership.

The delegates also believe that the way to actively involve women in political life is through leadership mechanisms, as a reasonable solution to overcome the dependence on women's participation in political life being granted only by law, and not through their own efforts as strong women in leadership positions. On the other hand, Timor-Leste's National Action Plan for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000) also represents a political commitment by States and institutions to the promotion of women's rights. The plan has specific objectives to promote gender equality and

the empowerment of women and girls. The activities to be implemented in the National Action Plan (NAP) are organized into four pillars: Participation, Prevention, Protection, and Peacebuilding. The National Action Plan (NAP) is the basis for promoting the right of women and girls to live in peace and security, as well as for promoting their equal and active participation and leadership in peacebuilding and development. The NAP will implement activities to promote and ensure the participation of women in all positions and decision-making processes, including in the defense and security, peacebuilding, and development sectors. It proposes concrete actions to review and amend laws, policies, and programs as a way to enhance the active and meaningful participation of women in all aspects of peacebuilding and the State.

D. Conclusion

Based on the respondents' answers regarding how democracy and freedom influence women's participation in political life, the author concludes his thesis with the following conclusions:

1. Political parties grant less space for women's participation in decision-making at the highest levels of the party.
2. There is little participation of women in political positions in the party structure at the national level.
3. The political decisions of women in parties, especially those led by men, do not receive due importance.

E. Bibliography

- [1]. Assembleia Konstituante, 2002, *Konstituissaun Republika Demokratika Timor-Leste*.
- [2]. Basri Seta, 2004, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*. Jogjakarta: Indie Book Corner.
- [3]. Miriam Budiardjo, 2017, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Edisi Revisi, Cetakan kesebelas, Penerbit PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama Jakarta.
- [4]. Husein Umar, 2002, *Petunjuk Lengkap Membuat Skripsi dan Tesis*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- [5]. Imam Hidayat, 2009, *Teori-Teori Politik*, Penerbit SETARA Pres-Malang-Indonesia, Cetakan kedua Edisi Revisi.
- [6]. Khairul, Muluk, 2009, *Peta Konsep Desentralisasi & Pemerintahan Daerah*. Surabaya: ITS Press.
- [7]. M. Iqbal Hasan, M.M, Ir. 2002, *Pokok-pokok Materi Metodologi Penelitian dan Aplikasinya*, Ghalia Indonesia.
- [8]. Mukhtar, 2013, *Metode Praktis Penelitian Deskriptif Kualitatif*, Penerbit Referensi Press Group-Indonesi, Cetakan I.
- [9]. Magnis Suseno F, 1985, *Etika Dasar Masalah-masalah pokok Filsafat Moral*, Penerbit Kanisius, Yogyakarta-Indonesia, Cetakan 17.
- [10]. Nazir, Moh. 1999, *Metodologi Penelitian*, Jakarta, Ghalia Indonesia.
- [11]. Ramlan, Surbakti, 1992, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: PT Grasindo.
- [12]. Soekanto, Soerjone, 2002, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- [13]. Sugiyono, DR. 2002, *Metode Penelitian Administrasi*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- [14]. Soeratno, dan Arsyad 1995, *Metodologi Penelitian (Untuk Ekonomi & Bisnis)*. Yogyakarta: UUP AMP YKPN.
- [15]. Sadu & Petrus, 2017, *Politik Desentralisasi di Indonesia*, Penerbit IPDN Press, Bandung-Indonesia, Cetakan Pertama.
- [16]. Sri Kusriyah, 2019, *Politik hukum Desentralisasi & Otonomi Daerah dalam Perspektif Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*, Penerbit UNISSULA PRESS Semarang-Indoensia, Cetakan Pertama.
- [17]. Sitepu P.A. 2012, *Teori-Teori Politik*, Penerbit Graha Ilmu Yogyakarta, Cetakan Pertama.
- [18]. Usman, 2009, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial*, Penerbit PT. Bumi Aksara-Indonesia, , Cetakan III.
- [19]. Soetjipto, Ani, 2011, *Politik Harapan: Perjalan Politik Perempuan Indonesia Pasca Reformasi*, Jakarta: Marjin Kiri.
- [20]. Soetjipto, Ani Widayani, 2005, *Politik Perempuan Bukan Gerhana*, Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- [21]. Lei PN, Nú. 01/2016, *Primeira alteração ao Regimento do Parlamento Nacional aprovado em 2009*, 11/05/2016.
- [22]. Lei PN, Nú. 02/2016, *Primeira alteração à Lei n.º 3/2004, de 14 de abril, sobre Partidos Políticos*, 03/02/2016.
- [23]. Rezolusaun PN, Nú. 6/2006, *Que Aprova a Constituição do Grupo das Mulheres Parlamentares Timorenses*, 12/04/2006.
- [24]. Rezolusaun PN, Nú.12/2010, *Konaba Preparasaun Orsamento Ne'ebe Konsidera Igualdade Jeneru*, 19/05/2010.
- [25]. Rezolusaun PN, Nú.12/2015, *Ratifica, para adesão, a Convenção n.o 100 da Organização InterNasional do Trabalho, sobre a Igualdade de Remuneração entre Homens e Mulherespor Trabalho de Igual Valor*, Data 05/08/2015.

- [26]. Resolusaun PN, Nú. 11/2003, *Ratifica a convenção sobre a eliminação de todas as formas de discriminação contra as mulheres*, 17/09/2003.
- [27]. Resolução Do Parlamento Nacional, N.º 6/2006 de 12 de Abril, *Que Aprova A Constituição Do Grupo Das Mulheres Parlamentares Timorenses*, Data 12/04/2006.
- [28]. Lei Nú. 1/2012, Terseira Alterasaun ba lei nú. 6/2006 de 28 de Dezembro, *Lei Eleitoral Parlamentu Nasionál*, Data 22/12/2006.