



Do Gender Quotas Deliver Substantive Change? Women's Representation from Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia

Mu wahid^{1*}; Moh. Bagus²

^{1,2}Faculty of Sharia and Law, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya

*Corresponding author's email: muwahid@uinsa.ac.id

Article Information

Received for publication March 22, 2024
Accepted after corrections January 5, 2025

Keywords: Gender; Islamic Political Parties; Women's Representation.

DOI: 10.20961/yustisia.v14i3.85522

Abstract

In many countries, women are still treated like second-class citizens when they speak out about politics. This article aims to analyse the implementation of the 30% women's quota by Islamic political parties in East Java, Indonesia, and evaluate its significant effects on the outcomes of the Regional People's Representative Council during the 2019–2024 electoral cycle. This article employs legal research to analyse the implementation of the 30% women's quota by Islamic political parties in East Java, Indonesia, which is widely recognised as a major stronghold of Islamic political parties. The study shows that all political parties, even Islamic ones, have followed the rules and made sure that at least 30% of the candidates for the East Java Regional People's Representative Council from 2019 to 2024 are women. Nonetheless, this numerical representation has not resulted in a significant impact, as just a few regional rules adequately reflect women's interests and rights. This study advances legal scholarship by illustrating that the mere formal adherence to gender quota requirements in electoral law does not inherently result in a substantive gender-responsive law-making process. It thereby enhances socio-legal and feminist legal analysis regarding the disparity between normative compliance and effective legal outcomes in democratic governance.

I. Introduction

In many countries, women are still treated like second-class citizens when they speak out about politics. There are three kinds of limits that come from political, social, economic, and cultural points of view that keep women in a marginal position. From a political perspective, a masculine model phenomenon

arose, marked by insufficient support from political parties and governmental institutions, as well as the impartial nature of the election system, all aimed at enhancing women's representation. From a socio-economic perspective, women's involvement in domestic responsibilities and the pursuit of the dual burden significantly constrained their mobility and functions inside governmental institutions and bureaucracies. The division of roles and social responsibilities between men and women, along with women's lack of confidence in participating in elections, constitutes a socio-cultural issue encountered by women.

Since the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, women's political participation has been consistently marginalised, particularly in terms of their representation in parliament. The Khofifah Indar Parawansa says that the history of how women have been represented in the Indonesian parliament is a process that helps (Khofifah Indar Parawansa, 2020). This circumstance can be seen from the development of women's representation in political parties and parliament in the *vulnerable* time from 1950 to 2009. Between 1950 and 1987, women's representation ranged from 3.8% to 8.5%. This increased in the following period between 1987 and 1992, when the percentage increased to 13.9%. The increase did not lead to the exclusion of women from marginal positions. Women's continued representation in later periods continued to significantly decline. Looking at this, in the period 1999-2004 women's representation in parliament only reached 9% (Nalom Kurniawan, 2014). The shifting data showed that the government's policies for providing professional services and helping disadvantaged groups get involved in decision-making were not consistent.

There are three primary reasons why it is very important for women to be involved in politics and government, especially when it comes to making decisions in political institutions and the bureaucracy. First, there needs to be a balance of involvement between men and women in order to have a robust democratic society, together with democratic procedures and their implementation. Second, the Inter-Parliamentary Union said that for democracy to work, men and women need to work together in a real way to run social affairs. Third, it makes sense for women to be involved in politics and government in any democracy. J. Ballington says that democracy can't ignore gender. It must work toward equality and make sure that both men and women have a say in decisions and the chance to reach both of these goals (Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa, 2016). Aside from the reasons given above, increasing women's involvement in politics and government is a quick way to achieve the best quality of democracy.

Aside from needing democracy to keep a fair balance between men and women, having women involved in making decisions would also change the way things are done and the political culture. A significant presence inside the women's representation framework will ensure a feminist viewpoint in all decision-making processes.

It is now clear that women also have a very low number of seats in Indonesia's

parliament. Indonesia remains in seventh place, behind other Southeast Asian countries. Indonesia is the 105th best country in the world out of 195. There are still 21.39% of women in Indonesia's parliament (Siti Fauziah, 2022). Historically representatives of women in parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat or DPR*) tended to be fluctuating, as can be seen from the following table:

Table 1. The Percentage of Women in Legislative Membership in Indonesia

Number	Election	Total DPR Members	Female DPR	Percentage
1.	1955	272	17	6,25%
2.	1971	460	36	7,83%
3.	1977	460	29	6,30%
4.	1982	460	39	8,48%
5.	1987	500	65	13,00%
6.	1992	500	62	12,50%
7.	1997	500	54	10,80%
8.	1999	500	45	9,00%
9.	2004	550	61	11,09%
10.	2009	560	101	17,86%
11.	2014	560	97	17,03%
12.	2019	560	118	20,5%

The most recent numbers showed that these figures increased by 123 (one hundred and twenty-three) males, or 21.03%. However, there weren't enough affirmative action figures, which should have been 30%. The presence of women in parliament is crucial for political decision-making that promotes gender equality for women and children. Over time, parliamentary goods can improve the status of women and make it easier for men and women to excel in politics in Indonesia. From the background information above, the author will aim to present an evaluation of how the 30% quota worked in the 2019–2024 elections in East Java, especially for Islamic parties that took part in the voting.

To prevent resemblances with existing research, the author elucidates prior investigations. The first is a journal by Ella S. Prihatini called "Islam, Parties, and Women's Political Nomination in Indonesia." This study examines the beliefs regarding Islam that inhibit women's political participation, utilising data from the 2004-2019 legislative elections and comprehensive interviews with political stakeholders, in the context of the 30% gender quota established after the 2004 elections. The study yielded substantial results, indicating that Islamic faith was not a determinant hindering women's political involvement, as both Islamic and pluralist parties met the 30% female candidate requirement. The primary problem resides in the open proportional election system, which entails significant political expenditures, making it more difficult for female candidates to obtain the financial resources necessary to gain important positions on party lists. These findings affirm that the

primary impediments to enhancing women's representation are predominantly structural and economic, rather than ideological. This indicates a necessity for more extensive electoral system reforms to facilitate women's effective political engagement in Indonesia (Prihatini, 2020).

Second, a magazine authored by Colm Fox and Jeremy Menchik entitled "Islamic Political Parties and Election Campaigns in Indonesia." This study shows how Islamic parties in Indonesia change the way they run their campaigns. The analysis reveals that inclusive-nationalist or exclusive-Islamist campaigns are significantly shaped by three primary factors: regional demography, regional characteristics, and the intended level of governance. The findings of this study elucidate that Islamic organisation parties and Islamist parties exhibit distinct adaptation patterns. Islamic organisation parties demonstrate greater flexibility in diminishing the exclusive Islamic narrative while preserving nationalist messages. In contrast, Islamist parties, despite the amplification of nationalist messages, remain steadfast in their Islamic narratives. This indicates that Islamic parties are not inflexible; rather, they can adapt to the local socio-political context while retaining their fundamental identity (Fox & Menchik, 2023).

Third, a study by Rafih Sri Wulandari and others called "Review of Affirmative Action Policy in the Regional People's Representative Council of West Java: Challenges and Solutions of Political Parties in Achieving Women's Representation." This study intends to assess the execution of affirmative action measures for women's participation in the West Java Provincial Parliament, focusing on three primary parties: *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan* (hereinafter written to PDIP), *Golongan Karya* Party (hereinafter written to Golkar), and *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (hereinafter written to PKS). The analysis of this study reveals that while the three parties are dedicated to the affirmative action program, their implementation is significantly shaped by each party's ideological perspective and socio-economic conditions. PDIP adopts an inclusive strategy but faces challenges due to local conservative culture; Golkar employs a pragmatic approach by prioritizing female candidates with robust political networks; and PKS adheres to religious principles that tend to restrict women's political participation. These results indicate that the efficacy of the affirmative action program is significantly contingent upon the party's capacity to modify its strategy in accordance with local dynamics and party ideologies. Consequently, despite the implementation of the 30% quota policy, women's representation in parliament remains below the desired threshold (Wulandari et al., 2024).

A thorough review of the literature reveals no comparable study addressing the representation of women in Islamic parties in the East Java region during that period. This research is innovative due to its complete examination of the policies implemented by Islamic parties during the 2019-2024 elections of the the Regional People's Representative Council in East Java, Indonesia, aimed at promoting women's participation within each party, hence distinguishing it from other studies. The primary objective of this study is to examine the implementation of a 30% female representation quota by Islamic parties in East Java during the Simultaneous General

II. Implementation of Provisions 30% on East Java Legislative Elections 2019-2024 period for the Islamic Party

The existence of the political party signifies the state of democracy in Indonesia. A political party is a group of people who are part of an organised group and have a common goal and purpose (Sri Warjiyati, 2019). Roy C. Marcidis stated that the political party's presence is a necessity in the context of modern politics (Roy C Marcidis, 1996: 17). It is no secret that political parties have been around in Indonesia since it became a democracy. Political parties have been around since before independence and will still be around after the reforms. Every political party indeed has a goal and a direction, as was said before.

There are three primary types of political parties in Indonesia: (a) Islamist parties, which include PPP, PBB, and PKS; (b) Social Islamic parties, which include *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (hereinafter written to PKB and *Partai Amanat Nasional* (hereinafter written to PAN); and (c) pluralist parties, such as Golkar, PDI-P, and the Democratic Party (Chalik, 2021). There are two primary groups within the Islamist party based on their ideas. Islamic parties like PKS, PPP, and the United Nations make it clear in their articles of association and bylaws that they follow Islamic ideas. The party's political beliefs are based on Islam, which is seen in the platforms, programs, and religious symbols it uses in its political operations.

There are Islamic parties that are more nationalistic, but they nonetheless welcome people from all backgrounds and use Islamic principles in their policies. PKB and PAN are two examples of parties that fit this description. Even though they didn't make Islam the major idea in the party organisation, they lived by Islamic ideals in a way that was open and meaningful, while still stressing the need for national unity and plurality in a society that is already diverse (Fernando et al., 2023).

This distinction shows how Islamic parties in Indonesia talk about the connection between religion and politics. PKS, PPP, and UN are more conservative and exclusive when they put Islam at the centre of their ideologies. On the other hand, PKB and PAN are more moderate and open-minded, focusing on variety and nationality. This makes them more adaptable to political and social problems in Indonesia.

Indonesia is the country with the most Muslim communities in the world, yet its Islamic-breathing political party is just as unimportant. In truth, the Islamic political parties have made politics and democracy in Indonesia more peaceful. Also, research showed that political parties won a lot of legislative seats in 2019. The 2019 legislative elections had the following number of votes: 1) National Awakening Party (PKB) had at least 13,570,097 votes; 2) Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) had 11,493,663 votes; and 3) National Mandate Party (PAN) had 9,572,623 votes. The number of votes for the Islamic parties shows that the Islamist party can offer its colourful and strategic development framework in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, the 30% quota rule for women's presence in politics has also opened up new opportunities for women to compete with men in politics. This involvement impacted women's interest as a dependable representative of the populace. The question is whether women want to take part or not. The writers below showed data on how many women ran for office in the legislative elections in East Java from 2019 to 2024.

Table 2. Total Number of Applicants From East Java Regional People's Representative Council 2019-2024 According to Political Party

Number	Political Party	Number of Candidates		Percentage		Total
		LK	PR	LK	PR	
1.	PKB	76	44	63%	37%	120
2.	PAN	67	48	58%	42%	115
3.	PKS	66	46	59%	46%	112
4.	PPP	67	44	60%	40%	111
5.	PBB	50	33	60%	40%	83
6.	GERINDRA	74	45	62%	39%	119
7.	PDIP	73	47	61%	39%	120
8.	GOLKAR	69	51	57,5%	42,5%	120
9.	NASDEM	44	72	38%	62%	116
10.	GARUDA	14	12	54%	46%	26
11.	BERKARYA	66	48	58%	42%	114
12.	PERINDO	68	47	59%	40%	115
13.	PSI	36	24	60%	40%	60
14.	HANURA	47	38	55%	45%	85
15.	DEMOKRAT	65	53	55%	45%	118
16.	PKPI	19	15	56%	44%	34
Total		931	637	57%	43%	1568

 Representing the Islamic Organization Party
 Representing Islamist Parties
 Representing the Pluralist Party

Source: Processed from Data Commission on Elections (KPU) of East Java 2019.

The number of Candidates for the Regional People's Representative Council member Data nominated by the Political Party has met the minimum limit of 30%. If we look only at the Islamic party, the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* or hereinafter written to PKS) comes up on top, with 47% of its candidates being female. Next was the National Mandate Party with 42%, then the United Development Party and Crescent Star Party with 40% apiece, and finally the National Awakening Party with 37%. Five Islamic parties that ran in the 2019 parliamentary elections in East Java have promised to offer women constitutional rights to government jobs. One of the problems is that people in East Java have to run for office.

But it still had some drawbacks, including the stigma of formality that always comes with being in society. As a result, not all elections have women who meet the requirements and are of good quality to be members of the legislature. The political party also often says that it is hard to identify women who could be nominated for a 30% nomination quota. This leads to a women's candidacy base that is not unusual because the women are related to the party's elite (Dirga Ardiansa, 2017).

In overcoming this problem, critical mass theory is very relevant because this theory emphasizes the importance of presenting massive mass representation so that the mass representation can present an impact that represents its group (Hessami & da Fonseca, 2020). According to this theory, considerable representation of women is necessary so that women in parliament are not only symbolic, but able to form a strong and effective group in fighting for the interests of women and society as a whole (Millward & Takhar, 2019). Women's representation in parliament is massive, allowing women to make a real impact in the process of legislation, public policy, and more inclusive political decision-making.

The representation of 30% women is also in line with the principle of gender equality which ensures that women's rights, access, and opportunities in the political field are fulfilled. With the support of massive women's representation, political parties can mobilize women through political education, leadership training, and the creation of social networks that support the sustainability of their role in parliament. This step ensures that women are not only present quantitatively, but are also able to contribute substantially in creating policies oriented towards justice and welfare for the entire society (Suliantoro & Murdiati, 2022).

In addition to the second class citizen, the patriarchal stigma also develops in the community. Patriarchy itself is the placement of men as sole and most dominant rulers, leading to subordination of women. At the core of patriarchy, including absolute power in men, the patriarchy covers a very broad spectrum, both economically, socially, politically, and even legally. Patriarchy in Indonesia is quite strongly rooted, even folklore existing in East Java is found a similar culture, as the cause of patriarchal cultural pattern in East Javanese folklore is the mindset of people which gives rise to the injustice of treatment of men and women (Sugiarti, 2021:424-437). This has an influence on Javanese society itself, because it causes the mindset of the community to become not far from the stories of its people.

The polemics and stigmas that develop in society cause gender bias and will influence these aspects of social life and gender bias must be changed in order to balance and fulfillment rights to women. Previously, the substance of gender bias had been markedly consistent with the development of existing polemics, and the substance of gender bias had to be changed to gender fair, but this would never have happened if the government was insensitive and concerned about women, and still maintained the unfair social construction of gender in the midst of its society (Ade Irma and Dassy Hasanah, 2014: 71-80). In this case, the government should work hard to create state instruments which are pro for women's rights as affirmative action and

create gender justice concepts and stigmas, she said. The lower the patriarchal culture and gender inequality, the higher the participation of women in leadership positions (Fionna Benita, 2021).

The issue of affirmative action started to become very popular in Indonesia with the passing of Law Number 10 of 2008 on the General Elections and Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties. The interesting materials included "an injunction" of a law on the establishment of women's representation to a minimum of 30% of the candidates for the Regional People's Representative Council and the Regional People's Representative Council. Almost everybody, at the time, was talking about affirmative action. A request for judicial review has been submitted to the Constitutional Court for both laws.

On the global level, in fact, the issue became popular in the mid-20th century. For the United States, for example, has had a longer and more complex history of AA. In the 10925 Order signed by President John F. Kennedy on March 6, 1961, the U.S. issued this policy in the labor world. Sri Lanka has also undertaken it in 1971 on the education sector. In the meantime, France has been doing that since the 1980s, and it is also in the area of education. Likewise, Malaysia, Canada, Brazil, South Africa and many of the world nations have implemented the substance of this affirmative action movement far earlier.

Affirmative action is a method chosen by the state for answers to discriminatory social conditions, inequality and marginalization in all walks of life due to the patriarchal structure at the public and private level. Such social structures clearly give birth to certain social groups that have no access and are able to participate in public life just as the general public. Therefore, there needs to be a form of intervention from the state in order to realize a more just and guaranteed system for everyone to participate in the common life.

As such, it can be said that the emergence of affirmative action policies and programs is in response to the history of social system and the existence of institutionalized separations and discrimination. This policy was formed to overcome the existence of a form of discrimination that had long existed between groups. This affirmative action policy basically comes with a long-term goal that serves to reduce the form of discrimination between groups (Faye J. Crosby, 2009).

III. Implication of Women Representation Policy in East Java the Regional People's Representative Council for the 2019-2024 period

From 2019 to 2022, the Province of East Java made 33 Regional Regulations. These were the Governor of East Java Regulation Number 63 of 2020, which was about Regional Gender Mainstreaming in East Java Province from 2020 to 2024, and the Regional Regulations of East Java Number 30 of 2022, which was about helping Pesantren grow. These two rules are the true results of sending women from the Regional People's Representative Council to help develop local laws. This is because women from the Regional People's Representative Council have actual thoughts on women.

Male representation is still quite high, at 87% while female representation is quite

low; it is not certain how high the female candidates' rate will be. There are four political parties from 11 political parties that do not even have an active member of the Regional People's Representative Council, including the PAN political party, UN political party, Greater Indonesia Movement political party and Hanura political party. The most female party was the PKB party with 11, followed by the PDIP party with 8 female members. This was a feat as the political party with the most female members was held by the Islamic party, PKB. PKB itself through Ketetapan Muktamar Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Number 4/Muktamar/PKB/VIII/2019 about Anggaran Dasar Dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, in article 6 it clearly explains that "The Party's identity is Nationalist, Religious and Humanist", in this case, the ideology embraced by PKB consists of nationalists and religious, which causes PKB to be classified as an Islamic organization party (M Nastain et al., 2024) This, of course, is amazing, as the PKB Party has a percentage of female members up to 44% of the female party members.

The total number of women who exceeded the prescribed quota is certainly not independent of the party's role, the political party has a prominent role in providing opportunities and opportunities for women, because the only way for women to participate in the driving force of a political party, must be through political parties and not able to go through an independent path, it is explained in article 1 of 27 of Law Number 7 of 2017 on Elections, which states that election participants in the Regional People's Representative Council are political parties. The provisions are explicated again in Article 240 of Paragraph (1) of the Elections Law, which states that the electoral contestant must become a member of the Political Party. In addition to choosing and nominating the candidate, the political party must also prepare a candidate who is qualified and able to make political policy decisions in the event of election to the Regional People's Representative Council.

Women's representation in the political field outlined in the requirements for fulfilling the quota by 30% is aimed at increasing political participation and assessing women's representation in parliament through a range of education, empowerment and partner politics and fostering more affirmative action sensitive to gender equality and justice, to better accommodate the interests of the nation and society, fairly, in a more equal and fashion. The involvement of women in political and state life is a logical consequence of every framework of democracy. The characteristics of a democratic state are the participation of citizens (citizens) in political decision-making, either directly or indirectly (representatives), the recognition, respect and protection of human rights (citizens) (R. Priandi, and K. Roisah, 2019).

All citizens have equal rights in all fields. All described features have no reference to a gender, in other words both men and women are necessary to form a democratic state. A democratic state requires political participation, the recognition of human rights, and equal rights in all fields where there is a common right that is not only equal to men, but that women are required to fulfill the role in order to achieve a balance index. Balance of participation between men and women is necessary to shape

a robust democratic society as democratic procedures and rule of law are eventually expected for Indonesia to maintain and transform into a democracy where the systems, institutions, laws and society are particularly robust (Farahdiba Rahma Bachtiar, 2014; Januar Rahadian Mahendra, 2023)

The Inter Parliamnetary Union states that the success of the democratic process requires true partnership or real cooperation between men and women in managing social affairs. Democracy must not be gender-blind, democracy must fight for equality and representation of women and men in the decision-making process and on the chance to achieve both ends, and the 30% quota for women in elections is one of the efforts to foster democracy that equal equality and gender justice.

The representation of women in the quota of 30% during the nomination period by the political party led to representation of women who were elected to the DPRP of East Java Province also increased, the higher the political participation indicated the better the ranking of democracy. Public participation is considered crucial for achieving a democratic state, because one of the substantial values of a democratic state is equal rights for its citizens to be political, in this case female (Heri Kusmanto, 2014: 78–90). The substantial value of a democratic state must be implemented in an orderly manner to ensure that the existing substantial value does not fall back to a lower level, i.e. only a procedural value. Following into this theory the political participation of citizens is central to the stability of democracy (Yusuf Fadli, 2018: 41).

The higher the political participation by all the people in the country, the better democracy ranking than ever before, it shows. Women are also important members of political participation, because when we explore this, the female population reaches 49.52% in 2022 based on data issued by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), it requires that the government take into account women in making decisions about policies and regulations because the female population is almost equal to the male population. According to this theory, political participation of citizens is central to the stability of democracy (Yusuf Fadli, 2018).

The representation of women in the East Java Provincial Parliament may make it easier for female legislators to fight for rights - rights related to, health, family, facilities, and others through participation in women in planning, drafting, discussing, legalizing and imposing policies and regulations. It is hoped that women will be able to fight for rights in the parliament by engaging in arguments or arguments during parliamentary sessions so that the men can consider the gender of women in making policies which aim to preserve the rights of women in Indonesia (Widdy Yusputa Widyaningrum, 2020:126–142)

Equality of representation is important to be able to ensure that many other laws and regulations are developed and implemented that not only reflect the needs and interests of women, but above all, the exercise of the principles of political equality and social justice. the principles of democratic political systems. With the participation of women in politics and with an adequate understanding of the different needs of women and men, it is hoped that this will affect the decision-making and policy-making process during the production of regulations, which can eventually lead to women. (Kontu, 2017: 34–46)

In addition to the implications of legislative legislation, the implementation of the 30% quota would have an impact on the political party itself, as in regards to this policy, political party members also began to be filled with gender-female members. In the case of the PKB party, since the establishment of the female gender legislature in the PKB party, the PKB began to overhaul its management within the party into more partisan favor, some of the PKB's policies started to increase the potential, quality, and capacity of its members through the "Women of the Nation" institutions, then the PKB party also gave men the same opportunities as the party's governance or strategic positions, so women could also occupy a high position as long as they had sufficient capacity, even the PKB party canceled the curfew for its members, as the PKB understood that many gender members were also gender women, apart from important meetings attended only by the KSB (Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer), to which it aims to respect women who have dual functioning

In addition to PKB, several other Islamic political parties have also taken significant steps in increasing women's participation and representation in accordance with the 30% quota policy. PKS is a prominent example by meeting the quota of 30% of female legislative candidates for the Regional People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2024 election in all constituencies. This shows PKS's commitment to providing women with a big role in Indonesian politics (Mayrudin & Akbar, 2019). In addition, PKS through *Bidang Perempuan dan Ketahanan Keluarga* (BPKK) actively hold programs aimed at increasing the capacity and political participation of its female cadres, such as leadership training and political education.

PPP is also trying to maximize the potential of its female cadres by welcoming victory in the 2024 election. PPP has female cadres from various backgrounds, abilities, and ages, including millennials and generation Z (Kambo et al., 2023). Overall, the implementation of the 30% quota for women's representation has encouraged Islamic political parties to be more inclusive and responsive to gender issues, although its implementation requires ongoing efforts to ensure substantial women's participation in Indonesian politics.

Women's representation in the legislature is also externally driven, must be sought from within, or from her own women, when policies already lead to affirmative action, but from the women's side is reluctant to participate in politics, the 30% quota rule will be futile. It was found that many women had no interest in political activism, which made them reluctant to participate in the political party, so what had to be done next was to cultivate the political will of women (Abraham Nurcahyo, 2016: 25-34)

IV. Conclusion

Based on the discussions presented in the preceding chapter, the 30% quota for women in politics constitutes a legally binding obligation imposed on all political parties, both Islamist and pluralist, as part of affirmative measures to promote gender equality and remedy structural underrepresentation. Rooted in critical mass theory, this quota aims to secure substantive representation of women in legislative decision-

making processes in order to realise a more inclusive democratic system. Compliance with the quota reflects not only formal adherence to electoral law but also a commitment to the principles of justice and equality within democratic governance. Notwithstanding the formal fulfilment of the quota by all political parties in the 2019–2024 Regional People's Representative Council, an empirical review of 33 regional regulations in East Java, Indonesia, indicates that only two regulations explicitly address issues concerning women and children.

References:

Abraham Nurcahyo. (2018). ReLevansi Budaya Patriaki Dengan Partisipasi Politik Dan Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen. *Jurnal Agastya* Volume 6 (1), 25–34.

Ade Irma and Dassy Hasanah. (2014). Menyoroti Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia. *Social Work*, Volume 7 (1), 71–80.

Chalik, A. (2021). The Half-Hearted Compromise within Indonesian Politics: The Dynamics of Political Coalition among Islamic Political Parties (1999-2019). *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 15(2), 487–514. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.487-514>

Dirga Ardiansa. (2017). Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan Dalam Representasi Politik Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politik* Volume 2 (1), 71.

Edisi. (2022). "Edisi No.04th.Xvi/April 2022 1,".

Farahdiba Rahma Bachtiar. (2014). Pemilu Indonesia: Kiblat Negara Demokrasi Dari Berbagai Representasi. *Jurnal Politik Profetik* Volume 2 (1), 1-17.

Fernando, H., Galuh Larasati, Y., Abdullah, I., Jubba, H., Mugni, A., & Persadha, P. D. (2023). The de-existence of Islamic political parties in general elections: A case study of Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2225838>

Fionna Benita. (2021). Ketidaksetaraan Gender Sebagai Mediasi Pengaruh Budaya Patriarki Terhadap Partisipasi Perempuan Pada Posisi Kepemimpinan Dalam Bisnis Keluarga Di Jawa Timur. *Parsimonia : Jurnal Akuntansi, Manajemen, Bisnis* , Volume 8 (2).

Fox, C. A., & Menchik, J. (2023). Islamic political parties and election campaigns in Indonesia. *Party Politics*, 29(4), 622–635. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221091656>

Hessami, Z., & da Fonseca, M. L. (2020). Female political representation and substantive effects on policies: A literature review. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 63(March). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101896>

Irwansyah. (2021). Penelitian Hukum: Pilihan Metode Dan Praktik Penulisan Artikel.

Yogyakarta.

Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa. (2016). Affirmative Action dan Penguatan Partisipasi Politik Kau Perempuan Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Wacana Politik* Vol.1 (2).

Jurnal Ilmu, Sosial Politik, and Heri Kusmanto. (2014). Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Demokasi Politik. Volume 2 (1), pp. 78–90.

Kambo, G., Muhammad, M., Arsyad, A., & Mundi, M. (2023). The Rise of the Islamic Party (PPP) in Gowa Regency. *Proceedings of the Regional Seminar on Community Issues*, pp. 30–40. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.20-9-2023.2340967>

Khofifah Indar Parawansa. (2020). Hambatan Terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan di Indonesia. *Internasional IDEA*.

Kontu. (2017). Representasi Perempuan Dalam Politik Lokal Di Era Otonomi Daerah. *Societas* Volume 6 (1), 34–46.

<http://chrishandrix.wordpress.com/2009/06/09/12/>, accessed on May 8, 2023.

Labetubun, Muchtar Anshary Hamid. (2010). Perlindungan Hukum HaKI Atas Desain Industri Terhadap Produk Kerajinan Kerang Mutiara Dalam Pemberdayaan Usaha Kecil Di Kota Ambon. *Universitas Brawijaya*.

M Nastain, Abdullah, I., Qodir, Z., & Jubba, H. (2024). Infrastructure Barriers to Islamic Political Parties: Dynamics of PKB in the 2004-2019 Presidential Election Contests. *International Journal of Social Science and Religion (IJSSR)*, 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.53639/ijssr.v5i1.224>

Mahendra, J. R., & Emovwodo, S. O. (2023). Monodualistic and pluralistic punishment politics in criminal code reform: Lessons from Indonesia. *Journal of Law, Environmental and Justice*, 1(3), 225–243. <https://doi.org/10.62264/jlej.v1i3.17>

Mayrudin, Y., & Akbar, M. C. (2019). Identity Politics Within Indonesian Islamic Parties: Study of PKB and PKS. *Atlantis Press Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 367(ICDeSA), 283–288. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icdesa-19.2019.58>

Millward, P., & Takhar, S. (2019). Social Movements, Collective Action and Activism. *Sociology*, 53(3), NP1–NP12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518817287>

Nalom Kurniawan. (2014). Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Pasca Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor: 22-24/PUU-VI/2008, *Jurnal Konstitusi*, Vol. 11 (4).

Prihatini, E. S. (2020). Islam, Parties, and Women's Political Nomination in Indonesia. *Politics and Gender*, 16(3), 637–659. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X19000321>

R. Priandi, and K. Roisah. (2019). Upaya Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, Vol. 1 (1), 106-116, Jan. 2019. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.106-116>.

Roy C Marcidis. (1996). Teori-Teori Mutakhir Politik. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogyakarta, 17.

Sri Warjiyati. (2019). Peranan Partai Politik Islam dalam Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Serentak di Indonesia. *Al- Daulah: Jurnal Hukum dan Perundangan Islam*. Volume 9 (2).

Sugiarti Sugiarti. (2021). Budaya Patriarki Dalam Cerita Rakyat Jawa Timur. *KEMBARA Journal of Scientific Language Literature and Teaching* Volume 7 (2), 424-437.

Suliantoro, B. W., & Murdiati, C. W. (2022). The Role Of Political Parties In Preparing Women's Leadership That Is Just And Gender Sensitive. *Res Militaris*, 12(2), 3175-3190.

Widdy Yuspita Widyaningrum. (2020). Partisipasi Politik Kader Perempuan Dalam Bidang Politik: Sebuah Kajian Teoritis. *Jurnal JISIPOL Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Bale Bandung*, Volume 4 (2), 126–142, <http://ejournal.unibba.ac.id/index.php/jisip>. (n.d.).

Wulandari, R. S., Kartini, D. S., Nandang Alamsah, D., & Santoso, E. B. (2024). Review of Affirmative Action Policy in West Java DPRD: challenges and Solutions of Political Parties in Achieving Women's Representation. *Journal of Ecohumanism*, 3(7), 2633–2649. <https://doi.org/10.62754/joe.v3i7.4676>

Yusuf Fadli. (2018). Islam, Perempuan Dan Politik: Argumentasi Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi. *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, Volume 1 (1), 41.