

Review of Affirmative Action Policy in West Java DPRD: challenges and Solutions of Political Parties in Achieving Women's Representation

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Abstract

This study tries to analyze the performance of affirmative action policies for female participation in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of West Java Province, focused on three principal political parties: PDIP, Golkar, and PKS. Notwithstanding the implementation of a 30% female quota, women's representation in parliament has yet to attain an ideal percentage. This study applies a qualitative methodology utilizing explanatory and descriptive approaches, concentrating on the strategies utilized by each party to recruit and assist female parliamentary candidates. The results indicate that although PDIP, Golkar, and PKS are dedicated to affirmative action programs, their execution is shaped by varying ideological perspectives and socioeconomic circumstances. PDIP employs an inclusive strategy to enhance female representation but encounters challenges posed by conservative local cultures. Golkar prioritizes electoral efficacy by selecting pragmatic candidates, focusing on women with robust political networks, while PKS adheres to religious principles that constrain women's political participation. The findings indicate that affirmative action programs must be tailored to local dynamics and party beliefs to effectively enhance meaningful female representation in parliament. The study indicates that while affirmative action fosters female representation, its effectiveness relies on the adaptive strategies of each party in tackling local obstacles.

Keywords: *Affirmative Action; Female Representation; Regional House of Representatives; Political Party; Modern Party.*

Introduction

It is thought that the presence of women in the legislature provides an opportunity for the realization of women's interests in the formation of policy. The cases of Scotland and Sweden illustrate the impact of feminist advocacy in the pursuit of legislative reforms aimed at achieving 50 per cent representation of women in the cabinet and executive. Rwanda has the highest representation of women in its legislature, with 49 female legislators out of 80 seats, representing 61.3% of the total. Subsequently, Bolivia has a representation rate of 53 per cent of women.

The implementation of affirmative action policies is typically undertaken with the objective of enhancing the representation of women in government institutions, such as legislative bodies. Dahlerup elucidated that the term "affirmative action" denotes the concept of "positive discrimination" within a specified temporal framework, with the objective of augmenting the representation of women in political arenas. Affirmative action, in the form of gender quotas, is a policy designed to ensure that a specific number of women are represented in political and government institutions. Since the enactment of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the General Election of Members of the House of Representatives, the Regional Representatives Council, and the Regional Representatives Council, efforts have been made to expand the representation of women in the legislature in Indonesia. This legislation has undergone several amendments, with the most recent being the enactment of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. At the time of writing, this was the most recent amendment. Article 173 (e) of the Law stipulates that political parties participating in the elections must include at least 30% (thirty per cent) of women in their management at the central level. Similarly, Article 245 states that the list of candidates, as outlined in Article 243, must contain at least 30% (thirty per cent) of women.

Moreover, the General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 of 2013 delineates the penalties for political parties that fail to meet the criteria for women's representation. In each electoral district, there

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must be at least one female candidate for legislative member among the first three candidates. In the event that the General Election Commission (KPU) is unable to issue a list of permanent legislative candidates, it will not be possible for any legislative candidates in the political party concerned who are in electoral districts that do not meet the aforementioned requirements for women's representation to advance to participate in the elections. These regulations appear to be ineffective in achieving women's representation in legislative positions at the national and provincial levels. In West Java Province, women's representation in the DPRD did not exceed 23% in the two general elections of 2014 and 2019. Further details can be found in the table below.

Table 1 Percentage of Women's Representation from the 1999 - 2019 General Elections

Percentage (%) of Women's Representation in the House of Representatives				
Elections 1999	Elections 2004	Elections 2009	Elections 2014	Elections 2019
9% (45 dari 500)	11% (61 dari 550)	18,72% (103 dari 560)	17,32% (97 dari 560)	20,8% (120 dari 575)
Percentage (%) of Women's Representation in DPRD PROV. JABAR				
25% (25 of 100)	9% (9 of 100)	24%(24 of 100)	22% (22 of 100)	19,2% (23 of 120)

(Source: Results of research data processing, 2023)

The table demonstrates that the proportion of women in the legislature has consistently fallen below the minimum quota of 30% at both the national and West Java provincial levels between 1999 and 2019.

Political parties, as the sole infrastructure for placing their cadres in the legislature, play a pivotal role in establishing a minimum quota for women's representation. Therefore, it is essential to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the manner in which political parties implement affirmative action as a means of achieving women's representation in the legislature, particularly in West Java Province. Caul (1999) findings indicate that specific party characteristics exert a discernible influence on variations in women's representation at the party level. This article will analyse the affirmative action policies of three major parties that won seats in the West Java Provincial Legislative Council in 2019. The three parties are the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Golkar Party (Golkar), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). This is because the three parties are the parties with the most seats in West Java and have already established their own internal rules regarding the selection of legislative candidates within the party, employing a range of different strategies.

The analysis of affirmative action policies in the three political parties will be conducted in accordance with the ideas and theories proposed by Grindle (in Maringka et al., 2021) to further examine the empirical conditions surrounding the implementation of affirmative action policies in the three political parties. The recruitment pattern of legislative candidates in political parties in West Java Province is examined through the lens of the first factor, namely, the Content of Policy. This factor encompasses the Interest Affected, which represents the various interests that influence policy implementation. As Grindle (1980, p. 9) observed, programmes designed to achieve long-term objectives may prove more challenging to implement than those offering immediate benefits to the intended beneficiaries. Meanwhile, as posited by Bambang and Sugianto (2007, p. 126), interests may manifest as public interest or the wider community's interests, or alternatively, as those of specific groups. This implies that the implementation of a policy must consider

the involvement of a multitude of interests, as well as the extent to which these interests exert influence on its implementation.

The aim of this study is to demonstrate that a policy must encompass a range of benefits that illustrate the positive outcomes of its implementation. Wibawa and Hesel (2004, p. 19) asserts that the content of a policy must align with established standards and objectives, which must be met by policy implementers. Moreover, Grindle (1980, p. 12) posited that the content of policy program and policies is a pivotal determinant of the outcome of implementation initiatives. It is therefore necessary to adopt an assertive stance in order to assess the level of policy performance, which in turn determines whether the policy is successful or unsuccessful in its implementation. Consequently, the implementation of a policy is, in principle, an endeavor to enhance the circumstances of a community or group. In the event that the prevailing conditions remain largely unaltered, the benefits of the policy are effectively nullified.

The extent of change or degree of change to be achieved is dependent on the target group of each policy. Therefore, the extent of the desired change from a policy must be clearly defined. Grindle (1980, p. 8) posits that the assertion that policy implementation is contingent upon program implementation implies that the program in question are, in fact, aligned with the objectives of the policy. Tachjan (2008, p. 39) additionally posits that the target group constitutes a collective of individuals or entities within the social sphere who will receive goods or services that will be shaped by their actions in response to the policy. This indicates that the success of a public policy is not contingent upon its intrinsic merits, but rather upon its practical implementation. A programme that aims to alter the attitudes and behaviors of the target group is comparatively more challenging to implement than a programme that merely implements affirmative action policies at the legislative level.

The site of decision-making, or the location of the decision-making process within a policy, plays an important role in its implementation. Therefore, this section must explain where the decision-making for the policy in question is to be located. Wahab (2012, p. 18) defines decision-making as 'choosing the best alternative and a number of available alternatives'. Syamsi (2000, p. 5) posits that a decision is a conclusion reached after consideration of multiple possibilities, whereby one is chosen and others are excluded. It is essential that the programme is accurate in order to ensure its success upon implementation. In this context, the term "right" encompasses the appropriate target, the necessary needs, the conducive environment, and the optimal utilization. This aligns with Grindle's perspective (1980, p. 12), which emphasizes the pivotal role of policy or programme content, given its potential to influence the social, political, and economic landscape. This implies that the location of a programme that is implemented is accurate or otherwise when viewed from various perspectives.

The implementation of a policy or programme must be supported by competent and capable policy implementers if it is to succeed. As Grindle (1980, p. 10) notes, decisions made during the formulation of a policy may also indicate who is to be charged with executing the various programmes. Such decisions can affect how the policy is pursued. Consequently, the efficacy of a policy cannot be evaluated in the absence of an implementor, given the pivotal role they play in the implementation process. It is important to note that implementors are not a single entity, but rather a group of individuals with distinct roles and functions. Each implementor plays a unique and complementary role, ensuring the effective and comprehensive implementation of a policy or programme. In such circumstances, implementers are likely to adhere to the directives issued by their immediate superiors or those who exert the most significant influence over their continued existence (performance appraisal, position, rank, finance) over the longer term Mazmanian and Sabatier (in Wahab, 2012, p. 78) . Consequently, it is essential that every policy that is implemented be thoroughly documented, including the identity of the programme implementers, as exemplified by the utilizations of political party assistance.

The commitment of resources or the utilization of resources in policy implementation represents a significant factor, as the absence of resources necessary for program implementation renders the policy merely a theoretical construct, lacking the tangible outcomes that would otherwise result from its realization. As Grindle (1980, p. 8) notes, the degree of behavioral change envisaged for program beneficiaries is another factor that affects policy implementation. Furthermore, Islamy (2004, p. 117) posits

that the unattainability of policy objectives is frequently attributable to the dearth of resources, encompassing not only material and temporal resources but also the human and intellectual capital required for their realization. In a similar vein, Edwards III (1980, p. 52) posits that the sources that underpin effective policy implementation encompass four key elements: personnel, authority, information and facilities. The personnel involved in the implementation of a policy represent the most crucial resource, given the potential limitations in the reliability of those tasked with its execution. The presence of a considerable number of personnel does not necessarily ensure the success of a policy implementation, unless accompanied by the requisite skills and expertise. However, a lack of personnel can also give rise to complex issues in the implementation of policies. It is therefore evident that policy resources (implementors) must be supported by a variety of resources, including a reliable implementing apparatus and adequate facilities and infrastructure support, in order for the implementation of activities to proceed smoothly.

The second factor is the Context of Implementation, which encompasses a number of variables, including power, interest, and the strategy of the actors involved. In order to facilitate the implementation of a policy, it is essential to consider the power, interests, and strategies that the actors involved employ. As Grindle (1980, p. 8) asserts, it is essential to consider the context or environment in which administrative action is pursued. The implementation process is conceived of as an ongoing process of decision-making involving a variety of actors. Furthermore, Grindle (1980, p. 8) posits that the final stage of implementation is to establish a link that allows the goals of public policy to be realized as outcomes of governmental activity. This consequently entails the establishment of a 'policy delivery system'. Grindle's perspective aligns with the understanding that public policy encompasses a declaration of intended outcomes, strategies, and methods, which are then translated into action plans with the objective of attaining the stated policy goals. It is evident that the development of distinct program can be undertaken in response to a common set of policies and objectives. The action program themselves can be further subdivided into more specific projects. The objective of action program and individual projects is to effect changes in the policy environment, changes that can be considered as a consequence of the program. It is therefore evident that policy actors, given the multiplicity of their roles, must possess a diversity of perspectives and interests, which will inevitably inform their strategies and impact the policies they implement. Without careful consideration of these factors, the resulting program may deviate significantly from the anticipated outcomes.

The characteristics of the institution and regime within which a policy is implemented also have an impact on its success. This section will therefore examine the characteristics of an institution that will influence a policy. As Grindle (1980, p. 13) observes,

“The other side of the problem of achieving policy and program goals within a specific environment is that of responsiveness. Ideally, public institutions such as bureaucratic must be responsive to the needs of those they are intended to benefit in order to serve them most adequately”.

Grindle (1980, p. 15) additionally elucidates that the examination of the context of administrative action encompasses variables such as the structure of political institutions and the type of regime in which a policy or programme is pursued. In general, the characteristics of the ruling institutions and regimes are inextricably linked to the structure of the bureaucracy. In this regard, the bureaucratic structure represents a crucial element that must be taken into account in the study of policy implementation. The term "bureaucratic structure" is defined as "the characteristics, norms, and patterns of relationships that occur repeatedly in executive agencies that have both potential and real relationships with the implementation of policies." Bureaucracy is one of the most common, and in some cases the sole, implementers of policies (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, p. 470).

The extent of compliance and responsiveness on the part of those responsible for implementing a policy is a crucial factor in the process of implementing that policy. This paper will now examine the extent of compliance and responsiveness of those responsible for implementing a policy. This is a crucial consideration, as officials must navigate two key challenges when striving to achieve a goal. These challenges underscore the intricate interplay between the program environment and program administration. Firstly,

officials must address the issue of how to achieve policy compliance. For instance, they must secure the backing of the political elite and gain the cooperation of implementing agencies, as well as address the potential for bureaucratic burdens to impede the implementation of programmes from lower-level political elites and beneficiaries. As Grindle (1980, p. 13) asserts,

“In achieving such goals officials face two subordinate problems that highlight the interaction of program environment and program administration. First, officials must address the problem of how to achieve compliance with the ends enunciated in the policy”.

A policy is typically comprised of two primary groups: the programme implementers and the groups or individuals who are the intended beneficiaries of the programme or policy. The attitude of the implementers can be defined as their commitment to act in accordance with the established policy. As Rogers and Bullock explain in Wahab (2012, p. 105), the attitude in question is manifested in a person's decision to comply with regulations. Therefore, the compliance of a policy implementer does not necessarily indicate loyalty to their obligations, but is instead related to the individual's assessment of the potential benefits and costs associated with following the provisions set out in the policy. This highlights the importance of supervision to ensure the effectiveness of policy implementation.

Methods

This article employs qualitative methods, utilizing explanatory and descriptive techniques. This method was selected for its suitability in exploring the nuances of the Affirmative Action policy within the context of three political parties (PDIP, Golkar, and PKS). This is in accordance with the views of Creswell (2009 and 1998), Ritchie and Lewis (2003) and Denzin and Lincoln (2003), who posit that qualitative research is research that aims to undertake a profound analysis of a phenomenon or case related to the focus of research that is explored in the field. Creswell further posits that qualitative research is conducted for the following purposes: The following six objectives are typically pursued in qualitative research:

1. exploring certain meanings,
2. understanding and exploring the context,
3. identifying unanticipated phenomena,
4. understanding the processes that occur behind phenomena,
5. building causal explanations, and
6. describing patterns.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of affirmative action policies, it is essential to employ a combination of explanatory and descriptive approaches. Descriptive research provides a basis for understanding the actual situation and development of affirmative action policies, while explanatory research helps elucidate the reasons behind the policy's functioning, as well as the challenges and opportunities encountered in its implementation.

Qualitative research is conducted through a process of inquiry, whereby researchers pose a series of questions pertinent to the subject matter in order to gain insight into the perspectives, beliefs, and experiences of informants. The data and information obtained through this process are then subjected to a series of analytical techniques, including grouping, coding, triangulation, and inductive analysis, throughout the research journey. The researcher, as the principal instrument, collected data through the administration of interviews to a number of informant.

In order collect data on the implementation of affirmative action policies in the West Java Provincial DPRD (Study on PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, PKS in the 2014 and 2019 Elections), researchers utilise data from a

variety of sources, including information obtained directly from research informants and reports, as well as research results that are pertinent to the research topic. This research employs two distinct categories of data: primary data and secondary data. The primary data is in the form of information and facts sourced from informants in response to a series of questions. The primary data comprises a series of questions pertaining to the implementation of affirmative action policies at the West Java Provincial DPRD (Study on PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, PKS in the 2014 and 2019 Elections). Secondary data is comprised of information and facts derived from documents, books, reports, articles, notes, and other sources pertaining to the implementation of affirmative action policies in the West Java Provincial DPRD (studies on PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, PKS in the 2014 and 2019 elections).

The data obtained from various sources of life are subjected to inductive analysis, whereby patterns, categories and themes are constructed, beginning with the actual occurrences in the field and subsequently interpreted and given meaning so that they may be applied generally and abstractly. The process of developing theoretical propositions and concepts that can be applied more widely from the findings in the field is an ongoing one. It forms a cyclical process of synthesis, which provides a valuable tool for understanding the phenomena being observed.

Results and Discussion

Content of Policy

A policy may be defined as a series of fundamental decisions that are implemented as a preliminary step in order to achieve previously established objectives. This decision is undoubtedly predicated on the primary objective of addressing specific challenges inherent to the functioning of the government. The implementation of a policy represents a crucial juncture in determining its ultimate success in achieving the objectives set out in the policy document. This phase encompasses a range of actions or activities conducted by diverse actors, including those responsible for implementation and the intended beneficiaries of the policy. The resource factors and characteristics of an organization are also significant determinants of the trajectory of a policy. This sub-chapter will present an analysis and interpretation of the content of policy factors in order to demonstrate how the implementation of affirmative action policies in three parties, namely PDIP, Golkar, and PKS, has been achieved.

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) in the 2014 West Java Provincial legislative elections succeeded in placing 20 of its cadres in the West Java Provincial legislative seats, 3 or 15% of which were female cadres. In the 2019 West Java Provincial legislative elections with the same number of seats in the West Java Provincial legislature, 7 or 35% of them were female cadres, for more details see the table below,

Table 2 PDIP Seat Acquisition in the West Java Provincial DPRD

Periode Pemilu Legislatif Provinsi Jawa Barat	Jumlah Kursi Yang Diperoleh	Laki-laki	%	Perempuan	%
2014 - 2019	20	17	85%	3	15%
2019 - 2024	20	13	65%	7	35%

(Source: Results of research data processing, 2024)

The table above shows a comparison of the number of PDIP female cadres who successfully became legislative members in West Java Province, between the 2014 - 2019 and 2019 - 2024 legislative periods. These figures indicate that PDIP has a commitment to realizing women's representation in the legislature in West Java Province, as stated by Ineu Puwadewi as a member of the West Java Provincial DPRD for the 2019 - 2024 period as well as the treasurer of PDIP West Java, who stated,

The PDIP West Java Province is committed to fostering the professional development of its female cadres, with the objective of enhancing their competence as political actors. This is with a view to ensuring that,

when competing in legislative elections, they are not merely putting forward names, but are equipped with the ability to represent the aspirations of the people they represent. This entails not only demonstrating competence in the electoral process, but also competence in the role of a representative, particularly in relation to the aspirations of women. Furthermore, the commitment of PDIP West Java Province can be evidenced by the number of female candidates submitted to the KPU, which must exceed 30% in both 2014 and 2019. Furthermore, I am consistently advocating for and facilitating the participation of women in competitive arenas, encouraging them to embrace the opportunity to contend with their male counterparts. I emphasize that they should not be deterred by any apprehensions, as both genders share a common objective of advancing the collective welfare of the community.

The significance of female representation in legislative bodies is underscored by the party's unwavering commitment to providing avenues for women to pursue candidacy as legislative candidates in West Java Province. This assertion is corroborated by Ono Surono, a member of the DPR RI and the chairman of PDIP West Java Province.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) is a source of national pride, particularly given the strategic position of its party cadres in executive and legislative institutions. The party's commitment to gender equality is evident in the formation of a dedicated party wing, Srikandi, which provides support for female cadres in optimising their political activities. Periodic Guraklih sessions facilitate quality improvement.

Furthermore, the aforementioned evidence demonstrates how interest groups, specifically political parties and female actors, facilitate the advancement of women's representation in the legislative assembly of West Java Province.

The aforementioned description demonstrates that the stakeholders in the PDIP of West Java Province, including female cadres, have been aligned with the interests associated with the affirmative action policy. This is evidenced by their continued encouragement of female cadres in the nomination of legislative members, while maintaining the core interests of the party to secure as many legislative seats in West Java Province as possible. Furthermore, the PDIP West Java Province has recognized the advantages, or types of advantages, that women bring to legislative elections in West Java Province. One indicator of this success is that when there was a change in the number of seats in the West Java Provincial DPRD in 2019, PDIP consistently won 20 seats, the same number as in the 2014 election. Of these, 35% were represented by female cadres. This is also confirmed by the consistent percentage of female legislative candidates submitted by PDIP between 2014 and 2019, which never fell below 30%. Further details can be seen in the table below.

Table 3 Number of Legislative Candidates of West Java Province from PDIP

Periode Pemilu Legislatif Provinsi Jawa Barat	Jumlah Seluruh Calon Anggota Legislatif PDIP	Laki-laki	%	Tingkat Keterpilihan (%)	Perempuan	%	Tingkat Keterpilihan (%)
2014 - 2019	100	62	62	27,42%	38	38	7,90%
2019 - 2024	118	74	62,7	17,57%	44	37,3	15,91%

(Source: Researcher data processing results)

The table above illustrates the percentage of PDIP female legislative candidates who consistently exceed 30%, as well as the notable increase in the level of electability of female candidates between the 2014 and 2019 elections as legislative members of West Java Province. This suggests that the PDIP in the West Java Provincial legislature is aware of the advantages, or types of advantages, associated with the nomination of women.

In terms of the extent of change, or the degree of change to be achieved, affirmative action is not solely about achieving a specific quota of women in the legislature. Rather, it is about ensuring that women's interests are represented and realized in the development of policy. In light of the findings from the interviews conducted with members of the West Java Provincial DPRD and the treasurer of the PDIP of West Java Province, namely Ineu Purwadewi, it can be stated that

The implementation of affirmative policies has led to the introduction of numerous local regulations at the provincial level, initiated by the DPRD. These regulations have been beneficial to the community, with notable examples including those pertaining to the empowerment and protection of women and children, as well as those concerning the creative economy and entrepreneurship. Additionally, research and technology have begun to establish a roadmap for meeting the needs of the population in West Java.

Furthermore, the extent of change within the internal structure of the PDIP of West Java Province is evidenced by the formation of West Java Province Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2023 concerning the Empowerment and Protection of Women. This regional regulation was established based on the initiative of the West Java Provincial DPRD. The commitment of female legislative members is evidenced by the formulation of a policy product that accommodates the interests of women. One such policy is the empowerment and protection of women in West Java Province.

Each party has developed its own strategy to meet the needs of facilities and infrastructure in fulfilling affirmative action policies, and each has encountered its own obstacles. To illustrate, the PDI Perjuangan is renowned for its unwavering commitment to ensuring women's representation in legislative bodies, frequently surpassing the 30% quota. Additionally, the PDI Perjuangan has implemented a series of initiatives aimed at fostering the regeneration and political education of women. Nevertheless, detailed information regarding the financial resources allocated to this initiative is not readily accessible, and the provision of tangible assistance to facilitate the development of these facilities remains a challenge.

Table 4 Number of Legislative Members of West Java Province from Golkar Party

Legislative Election Period of	Number of Seats
West Java Province	
2014-2019	17
2019-2024	17

(Source: Researcher data processing results)

The table above demonstrates the stability of the Golkar Party's seat acquisition in the West Java Provincial DPRD in the 2014 and 2019 legislative elections. The party was able to maintain a relatively similar number of seats, namely 17, throughout this period. This demonstrates that the Golkar Party is capable of retaining a robust voter base in the context of the evolving political landscape in West Java.

Moreover, while the number of seats has remained consistent, this phenomenon can be interpreted as evidence of Golkar's strategic approach to maintaining methods and approaches that have proven effective. However, the absence of an increase in the number of seats in the two election periods could also be indicative of limitations in reaching new voters or the party's capacity to adapt to broader local political changes. This stability could be interpreted as an attempt to maintain the status quo without significantly increasing the appeal to new voters.

Conversely, with regard to female representation, despite the Golkar Party's pledge to reserve 30% of its legislative candidate slots for women, the actual participation of women in the elected legislative body does not appear to align consistently with this commitment. This suggests that, whilst the Golkar Party has a normative commitment to the involvement of women in politics, there is still a need to strengthen the implementation of this commitment in practice. It can be hypothesised that structural factors, including the

lack of campaign support or gender stereotypes in local politics, may still act as significant barriers to the electability of female candidates in West Java.

In conclusion, this table demonstrates not only the stability of Golkar's political power in West Java, but also the potential for improvement, particularly in terms of increasing women's representation in the legislature. The GOLKAR Party, one of the largest political parties in Indonesia, responded favourably to this policy. Furthermore, it was stated that efforts have been made to fulfil the regulation, with the Golkar Party Management already meeting the 30% quota and a staged regeneration process already underway. In terms of the advantages of this policy, particularly for the Golkar Party, Iswara highlighted the following:

The participation of Golkar cadres in the legislative process, particularly women, can facilitate the enactment of local regulations that prioritize the interests of women. Examples of such regulations include the Regional Regulation on Family Resilience, the Regional Regulation on Child Protection, and the Regional Regulation on Women's Empowerment. These regulations aim to create opportunities for women who aspire to enter politics, although they must still meet the same standards as their male counterparts.

The aforementioned statements illustrate that political parties recognise the necessity of implementing the Affirmative Action policy within the legislative framework. It is evident that the current efforts are not yet optimal, as evidenced by the fact that in numerous elections that have taken place since the policy's enactment, the fulfilment of the 30% quota in the legislature has not been achieved. This suggests that the selection of female cadres occurs primarily at the momentum of the election, rather than as a result of a more comprehensive and sustained process. This viewpoint was corroborated by observer and academic Airlangga Pribadi.

Political parties tend to prioritize the recruitment of female candidates, often solely during election periods, with unclear mechanisms due to the element of proximity to the political party structure. This approach is popular because the woman is known to have an artistic background, has financial capabilities due to entrepreneurship, and is perceived as a suitable candidate due to her background. While this strategy is not entirely misguided, given the current electoral system's tendency to encourage political parties to pursue these patterns, it is essential to consider the preparedness of these candidates when elected as legislative members.

Furthermore, the aforementioned observations align with the growing recognition of the significance of women's representation in the West Java Provincial DPRD. Additionally, they illustrate the role of the Golkar Party and its female members in promoting the advancement of women in the legislative body of West Java. From the perspective of Golkar politics, this initiative serves to demonstrate the fulfilment of the affirmative action policy regarding women's quotas, while simultaneously reflecting a strategy that is aligned with the interests of the party as a whole.

The aforementioned description illustrates that the stakeholders within the Golkar Party of West Java, comprising both male and female cadres, are unified in their stance on the variables pertaining to the affirmative policy. Golkar has demonstrated a consistent commitment to nominating female cadres, while simultaneously pursuing its primary objective of maintaining or increasing the number of seats in the West Java Provincial DPRD. The consistency with which the party gained 17 seats in the 2014 and 2019 elections, despite the different political dynamics that prevailed in each case, demonstrates that the representation of women is not an obstacle to the achievement of the party's goals. Conversely, this representation constitutes a strategic move by the party to enhance its inclusive image and expand its voter base.

The awareness of the benefits of women's representation in Golkar is reflected in the party's efforts to increase the number of female candidates, despite the challenges at the electoral level faced by elected women. Nevertheless, the Golkar Party in West Java has demonstrated a commitment to integrating women into the local political landscape while maintaining a focus on securing the maximum number of legislative seats.

The specific strategies employed by political parties to fulfil the requirements of affirmative action policies, particularly regarding the representation of women in legislative bodies, vary considerably. Additionally, the Golkar Party is attempting to fulfill the 30% quota for women in the list of legislative candidates within the context of West Java Province. Nevertheless, as with other parties, Golkar also encounters obstacles in guaranteeing that the quota is genuinely met, both in the nomination and election of women.

Golkar has sought to promote women's representation through a range of initiatives, including regeneration and political training program, with the objective of enhancing women's participation in the political sphere. Additionally, it has established mechanisms to enhance women's participation in political decision-making at the local level. Nevertheless, one of the most significant challenges the party is confronted with is ensuring that its endeavors to enhance the representation of women are not confined to the mere fulfilment of the 30% quota, but rather culminate in a tangible and substantial increase in the number of women in the legislature.

The challenges faced by Golkar in fulfilling this affirmative action policy are primarily related to the availability of resources, including budgetary resources and supporting infrastructure. Despite the party's commitment to increasing women's involvement, the lack of sufficient budgetary allocations for dedicated program that support women's regeneration often impedes implementation. This is consistent with the necessity for more comprehensive and sustainable political education program to guarantee that women cadres are not only nominated, but also possess the capacity to be elected and play an active role in the legislature.

Moreover, while the Golkar Party espouses the principle of women's representation at the national level, the practical implementation of this policy is frequently constrained by the intricate dynamics of local political circumstances. In some regions, the political structures remain predominantly male-dominated, which presents a significant challenge for women seeking to gain a foothold in the political arena. This also reflects the necessity to reinforce the provision of more tangible forms of assistance, including in terms of logistics and campaign resources, in order to facilitate a more substantial increase in women's representation in the legislature.

In the context of West Java Province, it is imperative that Golkar continues to reinforce its affirmative strategy, particularly by extending more robust assistance to female cadres, encompassing both political mentorship and financial backing. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to enhance networks and collaboration with local women's organisations, thus providing female cadres with enhanced social capital, which would in turn facilitate their participation in legislative elections.

In conclusion, while Golkar has demonstrated a commitment to supporting women's representation, there is still considerable scope for improvement, particularly in the strengthening of facilities, infrastructure and support structures to enhance women's regeneration and electability in West Java. It is not sufficient for women to be formally represented; their role in the political decision-making process at the regional level must also be substantial.

Table 5 Number of Legislative Members of West Java Province from PKS

Legislative Election Period of West Java Province	Total Seat Acquisition	Male	Female
2014-2019	11	9	7
2019-2024	9	2	2

(Source: Researcher data processing results)

The table above illustrates the seat acquisition of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in the West Java Provincial DPRD in the 2014 and 2019 legislative elections. In the two election periods under consideration, the PKS won a total of 11 seats in 2014, but experienced a decrease in the number of seats to 9 in 2019. This decline indicates that PKS is encountering difficulties in maintaining its voter base in the context of evolving political dynamics in West Java.

This condition can be understood as an indication of the extent to which PKS is able to adapt to broader local political developments. Despite enjoying considerable support, the reduction in the number of seats indicates that the party must assess its campaign strategy and identify new methods to engage with voters, particularly the younger demographic and marginalised groups that may have been inadequately reached.

Moreover, with regard to the representation of women, the data indicates that PKS secured two seats for women in both election periods. This indicates that, despite PKS's dedication to promoting female participation in politics, the representation of women at the legislative level has not yet reached the desired level. This indicates that there are challenges in achieving the women's quota, whereby the party must reinforce its support for female legislative candidates and overcome the structural obstacles that impede this.

In light of these observations, the table not only reflects changes in PKS's seat gains in West Java, but also highlights the necessity for more concerted efforts to enhance the party's appeal to new voters and reinforce the representation of women in the legislature. The reduction in the number of seats held by the party suggests the necessity for a period of reflection and the development of new, more innovative strategies to enable the party to face future political challenges.

The representation of women in politics is a pivotal concern that serves to advance the development of a more inclusive and representative democracy. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in West Java Province has demonstrated its commitment to increasing the number of female legislative candidates, reflecting an awareness of the importance of gender representation in decision-making processes. Nevertheless, the issue of ensuring women's election to the legislature remains a topic that requires further discussion and analysis.

There are several indications that the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is aware of the benefits of women's representation. Firstly, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) has established a policy that supports the inclusion of women in the list of legislative candidates in a ratio of at least 30%. This policy is not merely a formality; it also reflects an acknowledgement of the contribution women make to the political process. In this context, the PKS has initiated programmes that are specifically designed to empower women, including training in leadership skills and capacity building for female legislative candidates.

Secondly, the efforts made by PKS to recruit women from a variety of backgrounds demonstrate a courageous commitment to fostering a more inclusive environment. This encompasses the recruitment of women from a range of professional, academic and social activist backgrounds, who are capable of making a valuable contribution to the political sphere. Consequently, PKS not only complies with the quota, but also endeavours to guarantee that the women elected possess the requisite quality and ability.

Thirdly, PKS proactively incorporates women into its organisational structures and decision-making processes. It is crucial to ensure that women's voices are not only heard but also given due consideration in the formulation of every policy. By providing a forum for women to engage in strategic discourse and political planning, PKS demonstrates its commitment to integrating women's perspectives into the political process.

Despite PKS's evident dedication to promoting women's representation, significant obstacles remain in achieving parity in electoral competitiveness. Despite an increase in the number of female candidates in the 2014 and 2019 elections, the proportion of those who were ultimately elected remained below expectations. This indicates that, despite strategic initiatives to bolster the candidacy of female politicians, pervasive structural and cultural impediments within society continue to exert a considerable influence.

Affirmative action policies have constituted a pivotal aspect of the strategies deployed to enhance the representation of women in Indonesian politics. In this context, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) has positioned itself as one of the parties that has demonstrated a commitment to fulfilling the quota for women in the list of legislative candidates. By establishing a quota of 30% for female legislative candidates, PKS is not only meeting the formal requirements but also striving to foster a more inclusive environment in political decision-making.

Nevertheless, despite this commitment, the practical challenges of implementation remain considerable. Although the number of female candidates has increased in elections, the proportion of women elected often fails to reflect these efforts. This suggests that structural and cultural impediments continue to exert a considerable influence on the success of women in politics. The presence of gender stereotypes and traditional societal norms frequently impedes women's access to positions of authority. The assumption that women are unfit or unable to lead persists in many circles, which in turn affects voter support for female candidates.

PKS has implemented a series of strategic measures with the objective of empowering women through leadership training and capacity building. The intention is to equip female legislative candidates with the requisite skills to enable them to compete effectively. Nevertheless, the efficacy of these initiatives is contingent upon broader community and party-level support. In the absence of a transformation in societal perspectives and an adequate provision of assistance, endeavours to enhance the representation of women will inevitably encounter obstacles.

One significant element of PKS's affirmative action policy is the reinforcement of support networks for female candidates. It is imperative that the party establishes avenues through which women can foster connections with voters and communities, a fundamental aspect of political campaigns. The provision of logistical and financial support is also a significant determinant of the success of female candidates in the field. In many instances, female candidates are afforded less support than their male counterparts, which creates an inequitable playing field in terms of their chances of being elected.

The effective implementation of affirmative action policies necessitates the continuous evaluation and adjustment of strategies. It would be beneficial for PKS to conduct comprehensive analyses of the factors affecting women's electability, with a view to identifying potential areas for improvement. By implementing a robust monitoring system, PKS can guarantee that the endeavours undertaken will yield tangible outcomes.

In a broader context, the success of PKS in implementing affirmative action policies will have a significant impact on the political development of Indonesia. The increased representation of women in the legislative branch will not only enhance the quality of decision-making processes but will also diversify the perspectives that inform policy-making. This will contribute to the creation of a more just and equal society.

In conclusion, while PKS has demonstrated a robust commitment to affirmative action and increased women's representation, the challenges that persist demand serious attention. It is imperative that efforts to create an enabling environment for women in politics are maintained and enhanced. By countering gender stereotypes, providing greater support to female candidates, and conducting ongoing evaluations, PKS can reinforce its position as a party committed to gender equality, while having a positive impact on society as a whole.

The pervasiveness of gender stereotypes in society often gives rise to negative perceptions of women's capacity to assume leadership roles. For instance, the perception that women are better suited to the domestic sphere can impede women's endeavours to engage in politics. Furthermore, the disparity in campaign support between male and female candidates represents a significant challenge. This results in a disparity in opportunities for women to connect with voters and convey their vision and mission.

In order to address these challenges, it is necessary for PKS to implement a more comprehensive strategy. Firstly, the party should endeavour to enhance public awareness of the significance of women's

representation through the implementation of educational campaigns that elucidate the contributions of women in politics. By utilising social media, seminars and public discussions, PKS can construct favourable narratives that contest gender stereotypes and prompt individuals to endorse female candidates.

Secondly, PKS should augment the financial and logistical assistance it offers to female candidates during the campaign period. By facilitating greater access to resources, PKS can assist women in developing networks, promoting themselves, and reaching voters in a more effective manner.

Thirdly, it is imperative that PKS enhances its evaluation mechanisms to monitor and analyse the progress of women's representation in each election. By conducting comprehensive analyses of the factors that influence women's electability, the party can identify areas for improvement and develop more effective strategies for the future.

The implementation of these measures will not only ensure the fulfilment of the quota for women's representation, but will also facilitate the realisation of the wider benefits associated with the involvement of women in politics. It is anticipated that balanced representation in the legislature will facilitate the input of different perspectives, thereby enhancing the quality of the resulting policies. Consequently, despite the persisting challenges to achieving equal representation of women, PKS remains dedicated to pursuing the rights and opportunities for women in politics. It is anticipated that greater involvement of women in decision-making will have a positive impact on society, resulting in the formulation of policies that are more inclusive and responsive to the needs of all groups in society.

PKS, as a party based on Islamic teachings, has developed a specific strategy for the screening of female cadres. It is also noteworthy that West Java Province is still characterised by a strong patriarchal culture, which makes the issue of women becoming leaders a highly sensitive topic. The PKS party therefore has the responsibility to provide rational arguments in favour of women's leadership roles. The implementation of the screening process was conveyed by Siti Muntamah as follows:

Furthermore, PKS bears responsibility for the sending of over 30% of the total, although it is important to note that the electoral process is not straightforward for women. One of the difficulties is the performance of the individual and the acceptance of the community itself. Self-confidence is also a significant challenge for female cadres. I currently serve as the leader of several organisations, including the Indonesian Family House. The primary objective of this institution is to cultivate familial bonds, enhance familial financial stability, and foster a supportive environment for women. This entails equipping women with the capacity to address challenges within their immediate context, such as instances of violence, through effective advocacy.

The aforementioned explanations provided by informants from internal political parties illustrate that the selection of female cadres is an internal political party activity, conducted by the party leadership and characterised by the implementation of distinct strategies. The party leader is responsible for determining the pattern of implementation of activities, regardless of whether they originate from internal or external sources. The scarcity of human resources can be addressed by drawing from other regions or by recruiting prominent individuals who possess the requisite qualities to enhance the party's performance, in addition to party cadres who have assumed positions in the legislature.

The decision taken by the political party serves to reinforce the public perception that the political party itself has not been fully leveraged in the implementation of the affirmative action policy. A further crucial decision for political parties concerns the promotion of cadres for election contestation. As previously discussed, the Affirmative Action policy aims to facilitate change at varying degrees. One such degree of change is the ability of political parties to field the most qualified female candidates, who have undergone rigorous political education, as national leaders in the electoral process.

Content Of Implementation

Table 6 DCT (Permanent Candidate List) of West Java Legislative Members

PARTY	DCT		Total	Percentage of female candidates
	Male	Female		
PDI Perjuangan	75	45	120	37,5%
GOLKAR	78	44	122	36,1%
PKS	68	44	112	39,2%

(Source: Researcher data processing results)

Affirmative action policies in Indonesia, particularly within the political sphere, seek to enhance the representation of women in legislative institutions. In West Java Province, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Golkar Party, and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) are the three political parties that play a significant role in the implementation of this policy in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). The commitments and approaches of the various parties with regard to women's representation policies are influenced by a number of factors, including those pertaining to internal party dynamics and the socio-political context within which they operate. The implementation of affirmative action policies in these three parties is inextricably linked to the role of the implementation content variable, which underscores the significance of aligning the policy content with local needs and challenges, as well as the policies of each party.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), a nationalist party, is firmly committed to ensuring diversity, including women's representation, within its political structure. In the context of West Java Province, which is generally more conservative, the PDIP faces challenges in aligning its internal party values with the aspirations of the local community. On the one hand, the PDI Party is committed to encouraging women to actively participate in politics, reflecting the party's inclusive and progressive vision. Conversely, the implementation of affirmative action for women in West Java necessitates a more flexible and adaptive approach to ensure the policy's acceptability within the community. Consequently, PDIP must guarantee that its initiatives for women's empowerment, including political training and capacity building for female candidates, can be effectively integrated with local values. This will ensure that women who are encouraged to run not only meet the quota but also have legitimacy in the eyes of voters.

Golkar, a party known for its pragmatic approach, situates women's representation within the context of broader political support. In West Java, Golkar recognises that the successful implementation of affirmative action policies is contingent upon the efficacy of women in garnering support on the ground, in addition to the implementation of quotas. Golkar's approach to affirmative action is strategic in that the party's objective is not merely to fulfil the 30% women requirement in the list of candidates, but also to ensure that the selected candidates have the ability to win votes. In practice, Golkar selects female candidates based on their electability potential. This implies that the party tends to select women who have established political connections, robust social networks, and the capacity to adapt to a competitive environment. This approach may, however, prove limiting for women who are capable but less well known in the public eye, given that Golkar tends to prioritise candidates who have a high chance of being elected.

The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) employs a distinct approach, shaped by the party's ideological stance and perceptions regarding the role of women in society. PKS, with a voter base that is predominantly conservative, conceptualises affirmative action as a form of moral responsibility, which it believes can empower women without compromising their religious values. In the context of West Java Province, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) supports affirmative action through the implementation of a women's regeneration programme. This programme is oriented towards both electability and the understanding of

party values. The programme provides a forum for women to engage in political activities while simultaneously retaining their social roles in accordance with local norms. The primary challenge for PKS is to reconcile its commitment to affirmative action policies with the expectations of its constituents, who hold conservative views regarding the role of women in the public sphere. This indicates that, despite the implementation of affirmative action policies, women candidates for legislative positions from the PKS often encounter social and political obstacles that are challenging to overcome. This is due to the fact that society continues to question the role of women in politics outside the domestic context.

In the context of these three parties, the implementation of affirmative action cannot be considered in isolation; rather, it must be viewed in conjunction with the variable content of implementation, which serves to illustrate the necessity for affirmative action policies to be adapted to align with local conditions and needs. PDIP, with its progressive approach, is confronted with the challenge of mitigating the negative perceptions prevalent in the conservative West Java society. Consequently, PDIP must adapt its approach to align with the local community in order to avoid being perceived as a threat to traditional values. Golkar, with a pragmatic approach, selects female candidates who are likely to succeed in the political arena, but often fails to recognise the potential of younger women who are not yet widely acknowledged. This presents a significant challenge to the sustainable political regeneration of women in West Java. Meanwhile, PKS must address the challenge of values that require women to continue to play a role in accordance with existing social norms. These norms often expect women to occupy a role within the domestic sphere, rather than the public sphere. This reduces the opportunity for women to advance in large numbers.

In conclusion, the content of the implementation factor in affirmative action for women's representation in the West Java DPRD demonstrates that the commitment of major parties such as PDIP, Golkar, and PKS to encouraging women cannot be observed solely from a quantitative perspective. Rather, it is essential to consider the quality and context of policy implementation. Affirmative action policies must be aligned with the challenges in West Java, where women's representation is still considered a secondary issue compared to other needs in local politics. Ultimately, the efficacy of affirmative action cannot be gauged merely by the proportion of women in the DPRD. Instead, it is essential to assess whether the policy has fostered the emergence of women who are genuinely empowered and capable of advocating for the broader community's interests.

Conclusions

Affirmative action policies in Indonesian politics represent an effort to ensure diversity in representation, particularly for women who have historically encountered obstacles to accessing the political sphere. In West Java Province, the implementation of affirmative action policies presents a dual challenge: a technical one and a strategic one. From the perspective of political parties, it is a matter of striking a balance between political interests and community values. An analysis of the three major parties (PDIP, Golkar and PKS) reveals that the implementation of affirmative action in regional politics is contingent upon a number of variables, the influence of which determines the success or failure of the policy.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), a political party with a nationalist-progressive ideology, approaches affirmative action with a strong vision of inclusivity. Despite encouraging women's representation through various capacity-building programmes, the PDIP still encounters significant challenges from local communities that tend to be more conservative. The commitment of PDIP to support women's quotas has not been entirely straightforward, given the social resistance to women in more dominant public roles. Nevertheless, PDIP attempts to mitigate this discrepancy through the provision of tailored training for female candidates, with the objective of ensuring that they not only serve as symbolic representations but also possess the requisite capabilities to compete with male candidates on an equal footing. In this instance, the PDIP demonstrates that affirmative action policies can be integrated in a substantive manner, although the process necessitates a more profound adaptation to local norms in West Java.

The Golkar Party employs a more pragmatic approach to the implementation of affirmative action, adjusting policies based on the electability potential of female candidates rather than merely fulfilling quota numbers. In West Java, Golkar places a premium on women who have a significant degree of political influence or connections, with the objective of enhancing their prospects of being elected. This strategy effectively ensures that Golkar's female candidates have the capacity to compete in a competitive political field. However, this approach tends to exclude the potential of younger women who do not yet have popularity or strong networks. Consequently, although affirmative action in Golkar has demonstrated favourable outcomes in enhancing the participation of capable women, it has not yet fully facilitated the entry of women into politics without a robust social foundation. This strategy indicates that the implementation of affirmative action within Golkar is conducted in a more selective framework, with an emphasis on immediate electoral outcomes rather than long-term development.

Conversely, PKS encounters distinct challenges in the context of affirmative action implementation, primarily due to the party's more conservative ideological stance. PKS is committed to ensuring the representation of women, while simultaneously maintaining the religious values that characterise its voter base in West Java. Affirmative action for PKS is not merely a matter of numerical representation; rather, it constitutes a comprehensive and targeted empowerment initiative in alignment with the party's religious principles. This approach attracts support from a society that values these values, but it also constrains women's flexibility to assume greater roles in politics. Women in PKS are expected to assume public roles in a manner that does not transgress the social boundaries that remain of significant importance to their conservative constituents. Consequently, the implementation of affirmative action within the context of PKS is based on the quality of representation, taking into account local values, rather than focusing solely on the quantity of representation.

In conclusion, the implementation of affirmative action in the context of these three parties in West Java not only reflects the diversity of political approaches, but also demonstrates that each party must adjust its policies to align with the social conditions and expectations of its constituents. In this case, the content of the implementation variable is of significant importance, as the content of affirmative action cannot be made uniform across Indonesia, particularly given the diverse local socio-cultural dynamics. Affirmative action policies have been developed by PDIP, Golkar and PKS in a manner that is consistent with their respective political characteristics. However, these policies demonstrate the potential of affirmative action to foster more inclusive representation, provided that implementation strategies are sufficiently adaptive.

Conversely, the efficacy of affirmative action in West Java Province is contingent upon a transformation in the public's perception of women in politics. As long as women's representation is perceived solely as an administrative obligation, the policy will fail to achieve its true purpose. The three parties, despite their disparate approaches, are confronted with the dual challenge of not only meeting the quota numbers but also of enhancing the legitimacy and capability of women in strategic roles. Over time, consistent and quality-oriented affirmative action will lead to increased involvement of women in public policy-making, which will in turn result in more fundamental changes for gender equality in Indonesian politics.

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