

IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE 173 OF LAW NO. 7 OF 2017 ON THE 2024 GENERAL ELECTION (A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EAST JAKARTA CONSTITUENCY)

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Abstract

This study examines the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 on the 2024 Elections, particularly regarding women's representation in East Jakarta. The aim is to determine the extent to which the regulation has been implemented and to identify the supporting and inhibiting factors. This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method, through observation, interviews, and documentation. Informants were drawn from political parties, the General Elections Commission (KPU), and women's organizations in East Jakarta. The results show that although the 30% quota for female candidates has been met administratively, the level of electability remains low. The main obstacles include domestic roles, social stigma, limited funds, and weak political communication. Real support from political parties and ongoing political education are needed to effectively encourage women's participation.

Keywords: East Jakarta, Elections, Implementation, Political Parties, Women's Representation



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INTRODUCTION

This phenomenon stems from the cultural constructs and patriarchal ideology that have long been institutionalised in Indonesian society, positioning women as second-class citizens and restricting their freedom of movement in the public sphere including politics thereby perpetuating discrimination and marginalisation against women. In response, a trend towards

affirmative action policies has emerged through the government's corrective measures, such as Law No. 7 of 2017 and KPU Regulation No. 10 of 2023, which mandate a 30% quota for women's representation in legislative candidacies (Sahyana et al., 2023). However, the reality on the ground, as seen in the 2024 General Election, shows that the implementation of this policy still faces serious obstacles. This is due to a political system that is unresponsive and tends to favour candidates with male-dominated networks of influence, as well as a societal culture that still questions women's competence (Sitompul et al., 2025). The crucial point in this issue is the need to understand that the demand for gender equality is not a zero-sum game that disadvantages men, but rather a collective necessity to reinterpret social values in order to create a political system that is fair and beneficial to all parties. It is therefore essential to ensure that the 30% quota policy is not merely a symbolic figure, but is genuinely capable of promoting the election of women and eliminating the structural discrimination that has long disadvantaged them.

Based on a review of the implementation of Article 173 of Law No. 7 of 2017 on the 2024 General Election, with a focus on women's participation in electoral constituencies, three main trends have been identified in the existing literature. Firstly, the formal-legal approach emphasises political parties' compliance with the administrative rules on candidate nominations and the 30% quota mechanism, as set out in KPU Regulation No. 10 of 2023 (Fauziyah & Adiwilaga, 2024). However, structural weaknesses in this regulation were revealed during the judicial review of Article 245 of the Election Law at the Constitutional Court, which highlighted the absence of firm sanctions for parties that fail to meet the quota; as a result, this obligation remains merely an administrative requirement lacking sufficient legal enforceability (MK RI, 2025). Secondly, the sociocultural approach highlights structural barriers such as deeply entrenched patriarchal culture, gender stereotypes, the double burden, and a lack of party support, which mean that women's representation in political leadership positions remains far below the 30% target, even though female voter turnout is relatively high (Barat, 2025). Thirdly, the institutional approach criticises the role of political parties as gatekeepers, noting that affirmative action strategies implemented through party-affiliated organisations have yet to yield significant results due to obstacles in the implementation of recruitment and cadre development (R. S. Ayu et al., 2025), as well as gender quota policies, which are heavily influenced by the electoral system, party ideology and the women's rights movement (Cahyowirawan et al., 2025; Fernandez et al., 2022).

However, from a critical perspective, using Edward III's implementation framework (Goyal, 2023; Setiawati & Agustini, 2024), the existing literature still overlooks several important aspects, namely the two-way communication dimension that enables feedback from grassroots female candidates to policymakers. The readiness of individual female candidates' resources such as financial resources and digital capabilities in dealing with the open proportional representation system, which is only indicated by a study in Ciamis Regency on the optimisation of efficient fund management and a collaborative system with provincial and national-level candidates, as well as the disposition of technical staff at the lowest level, such as PPS and KPPS, which has been overlooked, where the inclusion of women in the selection process for the ad hoc bodies for the 2024 regional elections is merely a formality (Puspitasari et al., 2025; Putu et al., 2025). In fact, the amendment to PKPU No. 10 of 2023, which is fully supported by the DKPP, is intended to fulfil the mandate of the relevant law regarding the 30% quota for women's representation (DKPP, 2023), will not be effective without the support of an understanding of and commitment to gender issues on the part of technical staff at polling stations. Therefore, future studies need to broaden their focus not only to macro-level structures and cultural barriers, but also to the micro-level dynamics of implementing actors on the ground, as well as more stringent enforcement mechanisms for sanctions, as highlighted in the challenge regarding the absence of sanctions in Article 245 of the Election Law, which was brought before the Constitutional Court in 2025.

Data on women's representation in East Jakarta from year to year shows considerable fluctuation. In 2010, the percentage stood at 23.40%, before rising to 24.47% in 2011 and 2012 (Dharmayudha, 2024). That figure rose significantly in 2013, reaching a peak of 27.17%. However, this positive trend did not last long, as 2014 saw a sharp decline to 17.92%, a level that persisted into 2015 (Dharmayudha, 2024). In fact, in 2016, female representation hit 0%, the lowest level on record. Following that period, female participation began to recover, rising to 18.87% in 2018, then increasing further to 21.7% in 2019, and remaining stable until 2021. Although it fell to 20.75% in 2022, this figure rose again to 22.64% in 2023. This latest increase signals a recovery in women's political participation, although it has not yet surpassed the highest level ever recorded in 2013 (Dharmayudha, 2024).

According to a report by TEMPO.CO (2023), The Jakarta Capital Region General Election Commission (KPU) has officially announced the Final Candidate List (DCT) for members of the Jakarta Capital Region Regional Representative Council (DPRD) for the 2024 General Election. The announcement, disseminated via the official website jakarta.kpu.go.id and the KPU DKI Jakarta's social media channels, lists a total of 1,818 legislative candidates from 18 political parties who will be competing for seats across 10 electoral districts in the capital. The announcement also detailed the number of female candidates from each party, with the Indonesian Republican Guard Party fielding the highest number of female candidates at 44, followed by the Gerindra Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), each of which put forward 39 female candidates. Meanwhile, the Crescent Star Party fielded the fewest female candidates, at 27. This data illustrates the efforts made by political parties to meet the 30 per cent quota for women's representation on their lists of legislative candidates for the upcoming 2024 general election.

Although the quota of at least 30% women on the Final Candidate List (FCL) has been met in administrative terms, the fact that the proportion of women elected to the Jakarta Regional Legislative Council remains below this figure indicates a failure to transition from formal representation to substantive representation. This suggests that affirmative action policies have not yet addressed the root causes of structural issues, such as the elitist and male-dominated nature of party recruitment, the placement of women in less strategic positions on candidate lists or in less strategic constituencies, limited access to political resources, and the prevalence of cultural biases and gender stereotypes in voter preferences. Thus, the issue is not merely the existence of regulations, but rather the effectiveness of their implementation and the commitment of political actors to putting Law No. 7 of 2017 into practice in a substantive manner. However, empirical studies that specifically examine how these regulations are implemented and negotiated in local contexts particularly in strategic and heterogeneous regions such as East Jakarta remain limited. It is this gap that forms the research gap: to critically analyse why quota fulfilment does not automatically lead to an increase in the election of women, and to identify the specific structural factors that hinder the effectiveness of these policies in the 2024 general election.

This article seeks to address this gap by analysing the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017, specifically Article 173, in the context of the 2024 general election in East Jakarta, with a focus on the representation of women. Specifically, this study addresses two main questions: first, how Law No. 7 of 2017 was implemented in the 2024 general election in East Jakarta, particularly with regard to women's representation; and secondly, what factors act as barriers and enablers in its implementation. Building on these two analytical focuses, this article argues that the effectiveness of regulations is determined not only by administrative compliance with quota provisions, but also by the structural, political and social dynamics that influence the processes of recruitment, nomination and the election of women in electoral contests.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Implementation of Electoral Policy

The implementation of electoral policy refers to the process of putting into practice the rules and programmes established within the electoral system to achieve democratic objectives and uphold the principles of free, fair, honest and accountable elections, including how electoral bodies, supervisory bodies and political actors translate regulations into concrete actions on the ground. This process encompasses a series of administrative, coordination and evaluation activities involving inter-agency communication, resource allocation, the deployment of personnel, and a bureaucratic structure that supports the conduct of elections in line with public policy objectives (Akindaisi & Ikupolati, 2025; Bukhari et al., 2025). In the context of contemporary elections, policy implementation is not only concerned with technical aspects such as monitoring or public awareness campaigns, but also involves structural challenges such as resource constraints, inter-organisational coordination, and responding to the socio-political dynamics of the electorate (Duijn et al., 2026; Listiana et al., 2025; Marwiyah et al., 2024). If implementation fails at the operational level, the normative objectives of electoral legislation such as equitable political representation, including the representation of women will not be substantially realised, even though the rules are formally in place (Maria et al., 2025; Maulana & Program, 2025). Recent empirical studies indicate that the implementation of electoral policies is often influenced by factors within the organising bodies, local political culture, and the capacity of those responsible to address complex challenges; consequently, an analysis of implementation is key to understanding the effectiveness of electoral regulations at various levels of administrative jurisdiction (Mambo et al., 2025).

The implementation of electoral policy is the process of translating electoral norms and regulations into practical administration, involving various actors and institutions, with key variables such as policy communication, implementation resources, bureaucratic structures, and the attitudes of implementers influencing the effectiveness of implementation (communication, resources, bureaucratic structures, attitudes), components that are frequently used as a framework for analysis in studies of policy implementation (Gerston; Edwards), as seen in the Bawaslu study on the monitoring of electoral violations in the 2024 elections in Bogor Regency (Nurfatimah et al., 2024). Key elements include the formulation of regulations (such as the Election Law and KPU regulations), mechanisms for inter-agency coordination, and the infrastructure required for implementation such as the voter data information systems (SIPOL/SILON/SIREKAP) whose reliability is being continuously tested in the 2024 elections (Umum, 2024). Signs of suboptimal implementation include a lack of transparency in the recruitment of election committees at sub-district level, insufficient dissemination of policies, and a heavy workload for organisers on the ground. Examples of how this might be implemented include the exercise of supervisory functions by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), voter education and outreach strategies by the General Election Commission (KPU), and the integration of technology for the updating of voter data (Materu et al., 2024). Indicators of success include increased public participation, effective monitoring of violations, regular updating of the electoral roll, and the use of technology to enhance the transparency and accuracy of the electoral process (Mariyamah, 2025). Examples of implementation cases that continue to face challenges in Indonesia include technical difficulties in operating the Bawaslu monitoring application, disparities in human resources among electoral authorities across different regions, and the complexity of coordination between electoral bodies in the 2024 general election.

Women's Political Participation

Women's political participation refers to women's active involvement in political processes and decision-making at all levels of government, encompassing rights and actions

such as voting in elections, standing as candidates for legislative or executive office, participating in political parties, and influencing the formulation of public policies that affect their lives and society at large (Jailani & Humaya, 2025; Ndimung et al., 2025). This definition encompasses women's ability to participate on an equal footing with men in political life and formal power structures, whether as voters, candidates, leaders or other political actors an aspect considered vital to an inclusive democracy and substantive gender equality, rather than merely numerical equality (Warjiyati, 2016). Women's political participation is regarded as a key indicator of women's empowerment and a healthy democracy, as it ensures that women's voices, interests and experiences are represented in policymaking and public institutions of power, whilst reducing the structural biases that have long restricted women's access to the political arena (Kahpi, 2024). This conceptual approach has been extensively developed in contemporary academic and policy literature, which emphasises the importance of substantive and sustained participation, rather than merely formal or symbolic participation.

Women's political participation is a key variable in political studies, reflecting the extent to which women are involved in the political process, whether as voters, legislative candidates, members of political parties, candidates in general elections, or through public policy advocacy (Ndini et al., 2019); These elements include the right to vote, the right to stand for election, membership of political parties and organisations, and meaningful involvement in political decision-making. These indicators of participation can be seen in the level of women's participation in voting, standing for election, holding legislative or executive positions, and their influence in the formulation of public policy (Nurfatimah et al., 2024). In general, the characteristics of women's political participation include: (1) the existence of structural barriers such as patriarchal culture and gender stereotypes that limit women's roles in the public sphere; (2) the existence of affirmative policies such as gender quotas to encourage women's involvement; (3) variations in engagement at the local versus national level; and (4) differences in participation levels between general elections and local elections, as well as women's roles in campaigns and political organisations (Nasir & Ibrahim, 2025). Forms of participation include voting in elections, standing as a candidate for a legislative seat, involvement in campaigning and advocacy, and leadership within political parties or civil society organisations (Arniti, 2020). Over the past five years, various studies have shown that, despite an increase in women's participation, their representation remains low due to patriarchal cultural barriers, stereotypes and a lack of access to political resources, as well as the fact that political parties remain male-dominated in political decision-making structures; for example, female voter turnout in the 2024 elections was influenced by gender norms and engagement on social media, but is still dominated by men in online political debates

Women's Representation in the Legislature

Women's representation in the legislature refers to the presence and role of women as members of legislative bodies, which not only fulfils administrative quotas but also reflects substantive political participation in public policy-making, with the aim of achieving gender equality in political decision-making (V. D. Ayu, 2025). This concept encompasses a formal dimension namely, the number of women elected as representatives in accordance with gender quota rules and a substantive dimension namely, the ability of female legislators to articulate, advocate for and influence policies that are responsive to the needs and interests of women and society at large (Fatharani et al., 2025). Although Indonesia has implemented a policy requiring a minimum quota of 30% for female candidates in elections, the actual representation of women in parliament often falls short of this target due to structural barriers and patriarchal culture, and the barriers faced by political parties in placing female candidates in strategic positions, resulting in women's representation being merely formal rather than fully substantive in legislative decision-making (V. D. Ayu, 2025). Empirical research shows that the low representation of women in parliament is due to a combination of legal, internal party

political and cultural factors, which results in women having little influence over legislation and public decision-making.

Women's representation in the legislature is a complex issue that encompasses not only the proportion of female councillors, but also the effectiveness of the 30% quota policy and support from political parties (Sahira et al., 2025). In the literature on politics and gender, discussions on this topic highlight structural factors such as the role of political parties in nominating women, cultural barriers such as patriarchal culture, and legal mechanisms such as the Election Law No. 7/2017. Indicators of representation include the percentage of female legislators, trends in this figure, and the strategic positions they hold. The data shows that actual figures are still far from the target; for example, at the national level, the figure stood at just 21.74% in 2022. Empirical evidence from various district, municipal and provincial legislative councils, including the Jakarta Capital Region Legislative Council and the Indonesian House of Representatives, confirms that although affirmative action policies have increased the nomination of female candidates, their election success remains hampered by patriarchal culture, a lack of institutional support from political parties, and voter preferences that do not yet fully favour female candidates.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of women's political participation in its natural context. In line with the definition put forward by Moleong (2018), This approach aims to explore the subjects' behaviour, perceptions and motivations holistically through descriptive data. In qualitative research, the researcher acts as the primary instrument (human instrument) and must possess theoretical sensitivity in order to uncover and construct meaning from the social situations under investigation (Sugiyono, 2013).

Informants were selected using a purposive sampling method to obtain relevant and in-depth data. The informants in this study included representatives from political parties (PKS, PDIP, Nasdem), commissioners from the East Jakarta General Election Commission (KPU), and representatives from community organisations (Fatayat and Aisyiyah East Jakarta). Data was collected using three methods: in-depth interviews, direct observation and documentation. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach to elicit the informants' views openly, whilst observation was used to capture dynamics and behaviours not revealed through the interviews. This primary data was supplemented by secondary data sourced from official documents, archives and relevant academic literature.

Data analysis follows Miles and Huberman's interactive model, which comprises three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions/verification. Data reduction is carried out to focus on relevant information, followed by the systematic presentation of data, and concluded with the verification of findings to ensure the validity and significance of the research results.

RESULTS

The Implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections in Enhancing Women's Representation in East Jakarta: A Policy Communication Perspective

The implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections in East Jakarta demonstrates that communication, as a crucial variable in George C. Edward III's theory of implementation, has become a key strategy in promoting women's representation. The General Elections Commission (KPU) of East Jakarta City has actively carried out its policy communication functions by conducting structured and collaborative outreach activities. This initiative has been realised through invitations and collaboration with various women's organisations, such as Muslimat NU, Fatayat, IPPNU, HMI and Aisyiyah. This collaboration has proven effective not only as a forum for disseminating information, but also as a significant

means of political empowerment. Women's organisations such as Aisiyiyah are using the election period to foster a collective awareness of the importance of women holding seats in the legislature to champion their aspirations, and are even actively campaigning for votes for female candidates standing for various political parties. This demonstrates that the intensity and clarity of communication between policymakers (the KPU) and the target group (women's organisations) have successfully fostered a shared understanding and collective action to strengthen women's political base within society, in line with the principle that effective communication is key to the successful implementation of policies.

Although communication has been effective, the implementation of the 30% quota policy for women's representation still faces complex structural and cultural barriers. In terms of consistent policy communication, political parties such as Nasdem have responded by establishing a women's wing (Garnita Mahalayati) as a strategy to reach the predominantly female electorate. However, the main obstacles lie in the resources available and the disposition of those responsible for implementation (Hasanah et al., 2025). Political parties tend to meet the 30% quota merely as an administrative formality, often placing female candidates in non-strategic positions on the ballot and providing them with minimal campaign support (Anwar et al., 2025). Consequently, although the quantitative criteria for candidacy have been met, in qualitative terms the number of women elected to the legislature is still far from the ideal figure of 30 per cent, as acknowledged by various sources (Wiwin & Syahril, 2024). Another obstacle is the lack of individual political communication skills among female candidates themselves. In the party's view, female candidates often fail to establish an emotional connection with voters and to convey their vision and mission in an engaging manner, unlike male candidates. Furthermore, deeply entrenched gender stereotypes in society also act as a barrier; there is a perception that politics requires physical strength and flexible working hours, which are seen as better suited to men, as well as the view that women are better suited to working in non-political sectors such as education. It is these factors that mean that, although the electorate is predominantly female, women do not necessarily vote for other women. Consequently, the implementation of this affirmative action policy has not yet achieved optimal results.

Implementation of the Policy on Women's Representation in East Jakarta

Research data indicates that efforts to increase women's representation in the 2024 general election in East Jakarta have been undertaken through intensive communication strategies. The local General Election Commission (KPU) has actively collaborated with various women's organisations, such as Fatayat, Aisiyiyah and Muslimat NU. This collaboration has taken the form of seminars and discussion forums aimed at raising awareness of the importance of women's role in politics. As a result, these organisations have not only become recipients of information, but have also taken an active role in mobilising support from their members for female legislative candidates, regardless of their party affiliations. This demonstrates that the communication efforts undertaken by the KPU have succeeded in fostering a collective awareness that the presence of women in parliament is vital for directly championing women's aspirations and rights.

Although the awareness-raising campaign went smoothly, the data reveals that the target of 30% female representation in the legislature is still far from being achieved (Hasanah et al., 2025). The main obstacle is no longer a lack of candidates, as political parties have already met the 30% representation requirement on their candidate lists (Anwar et al., 2025). However, problems arise in the subsequent stages, where female candidates do not receive optimal support from their parties, such as being placed in less secure positions on the ballot. Furthermore, there remains a perception within society that questions women's capabilities in the dynamic world of politics, as well as the stereotype that politics is better suited to men. Female candidates are also seen as less capable of establishing the kind of emotional connection that captures voters' attention, despite the fact that the number of female voters is

very large. Consequently, although there is support from other women's organisations, the number of seats won by women has not yet reached the 30 per cent threshold mandated by law.

Based on an analysis of research data from East Jakarta, there are at least three key trends in the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 regarding women's representation. Firstly, in terms of communication, there has been an expansion of the role of women's organisations from mere recipients of awareness-raising activities to active advocates. Groups such as Aisyiyah and Fatayat not only gather information from the General Elections Commission (KPU), but have also become agents of change by instructing their members to collectively support female candidates standing for legislative office, regardless of their party affiliation. This indicates that the policy communication efforts have succeeded in fostering organic solidarity at the grassroots level, where support for women's representation is driven in a decentralised manner through social networks.

Secondly, from the perspective of implementation within political parties, there is a strong tendency towards 'formal compliance' that is not matched by substantive support. All parties have demonstrated procedural compliance by registering 30% female candidates to meet the General Elections Commission's administrative requirements. However, behind this formal compliance, the data suggests that political parties tend not yet to provide full strategic support, such as placing female candidates in less secure positions on the ballot or providing minimal campaign support. This trend indicates that the 30% quota is still viewed merely as an 'administrative obligation', rather than a 'strategic necessity' for winning seats, meaning that the quality of support for female candidates remains low.

Thirdly, from a socio-cultural perspective, the persistence of gender stereotypes remains a persistent structural barrier for female candidates. Interview data reveals a widespread perception in society that the political arena requires physical stamina and the flexibility to work late into the night qualities that are stereotypically associated with men. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that female candidates face a double burden of domestic and public responsibilities, leading to the perception that they are less 'suited' to the cut-throat dynamics of politics. Consequently, although female voters account for 52% of the electorate, they do not automatically vote for other women, suggesting that emotional affinity and stereotypes remain more influential in determining political choices than an awareness of the importance of gender representation.

DISCUSSION

This study found that the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 in East Jakarta to increase women's representation in the 2024 general election has yielded two contradictory overarching trends: success in terms of communication and public awareness campaigns, yet stagnation in terms of electoral outcomes. These findings were obtained through in-depth interviews with KPU commissioners, political party officials, and leaders of women's organisations such as Fatayat and Aisyiyah.

Policy Implementation: Communication as a Pillar for Strengthening Collective Awareness

The first finding indicates that the policy communication aspect has been highly effective. The East Jakarta City Election Commission has successfully implemented the mandate of Law No. 7 of 2017 not merely as an administrative procedure, but as a social movement through collaborative outreach. The Commission has actively engaged grassroots women's organisations such as Muslimat NU, Fatayat, IPPNU and Aisyiyah in every seminar and discussion forum (Ogja.antaranews.com, 2026). A key finding of this collaboration is the transformation of women's organisations from mere recipients of awareness-raising initiatives into driving forces at grassroots level. As stated by the Secretary of Aisyiyah East Jakarta, the organisation is actively rallying support and instructing its members to vote for female

candidates standing for legislative office, in the belief that the presence of women in parliament is vital to championing the aspirations of their community directly. These findings confirm that the intensity of communication between policymakers and target groups has succeeded in fostering collective awareness and organic solidarity, whereby support for women's representation is driven in a decentralised manner through social networks, regardless of political party affiliation.

Enabling and Hindering Factors: Between Formal Compliance and Structural Barriers

The second finding reveals the presence of both enabling and hindering factors operating simultaneously. The main enabling factor stems from the structural response of political parties, with parties such as Nasdem establishing a women's wing (Garnita Mahalayati) as a strategic instrument to reach the female voter base, which accounts for 52%. However, these findings also identify three key obstacles that have prevented the 30% quota target for women's representation in the legislature from being fully achieved:

Firstly, obstacles relating to party resources and attitudes. The findings indicate a tendency towards 'formal compliance' amongst political parties. All parties were found to be procedurally compliant by registering 30% female candidates to meet the General Elections Commission's administrative requirements. However, behind this formal compliance, political parties tend not to provide substantive support. Female candidates are often placed on non-strategic positions on the ballot and receive minimal campaign support, suggesting that the 30% quota is still viewed merely as an administrative obligation, rather than a strategic necessity for winning seats.

Secondly, there are obstacles relating to the individual capabilities of candidates. From the perspective of political parties and political observers, female candidates are still considered to lack individual political communication skills. They often fail to establish an emotional connection with voters and to convey their vision and mission in an engaging manner, unlike male candidates. This is ironic given the large number of female voters, as female candidates have not yet been able to effectively articulate issues relevant to the lives of female voters themselves.

Thirdly, barriers in the socio-cultural sphere (gender stereotypes). The most fundamental finding is the persistence of gender stereotypes in society. There is a persistent perception that the political arena requires physical strength and the flexibility to work late into the night qualities that are stereotypically associated with men. The reality of the double burden borne by women (domestic and public responsibilities) means they are often seen as ill-suited to the cut-throat dynamics of politics. Consequently, although the electorate is predominantly female, women do not automatically vote for other women, which underscores the fact that emotional affinity and stereotypes still play a greater role in determining political choices than an awareness of the importance of gender representation.

In summary, the findings of this study confirm that the effectiveness of affirmative action is determined not only by administrative compliance with quota provisions, but also by complex structural, political and social dynamics (Chika et al., 2026). Success in terms of communication and outreach has not yet translated into electoral results, as it has been hampered by party practices that lack substantive support and the deep-rooted nature of patriarchal values within society.

This article makes a significant academic contribution to the field of public policy implementation studies, particularly in the context of women's representation in Indonesia. Using George C. Edward III's perspective on policy communication as its primary analytical tool, this study does not merely replicate the theory, but develops it by demonstrating that communication in policy implementation is two-way and transformative. The research findings expand on the Edward III model by identifying that effective communication between policymakers (the Election Commission) and the target group (women's organisations) is

capable of creating what might be termed a “social multiplier effect”. Organisations such as Fatayat and Aisyiyah no longer act as passive recipients of outreach, but have transformed into active agents driving a movement that fosters organic solidarity at grassroots level. This offers a new perspective on implementation theory, suggesting that the success of affirmative action policies is determined not only by the clarity of top-down directives, but also by the strength of social networks and the capacity of civil society organisations to articulate and advocate for such policies independently at the community level (bottom-up).

Furthermore, this article successfully introduces a critical perspective by offering a sharp analysis of the phenomenon of ‘formalised compliance’ within political parties. This study found that party compliance with the 30% quota is more procedural-administrative in nature than substantive-strategic. This finding enriches the discourse on the effectiveness of affirmative action policies by demonstrating that the same regulation, Law No. 7 of (RI, 2017) may be responded to differently by implementing actors (political parties) depending on their disposition and allocation of resources. Furthermore, this study raises a crucial new research question, namely how to develop ‘gender-sensitive political communication’ for female legislative candidates (Kristina, 2024). The finding that female candidates often fail to establish an emotional connection with voters, despite the electorate being predominantly female, suggests the need for a new, more authentic campaign approach that addresses the realities faced by women. Thus, this article not only addresses its two analytical focuses—implementation and enabling/hindering factors but also confirms that the effectiveness of regulations on women’s representation is largely determined by the complex interplay between structural (party bureaucracy), cultural (gender stereotypes) and agency-related (candidates’ individual communication skills) factors within the dynamics of electoral contests.

This study has a number of limitations that require careful consideration, whilst also opening up opportunities for future academic exploration. Methodologically, this study is limited to the administrative area of East Jakarta and employs a qualitative approach that focuses on the perceptions and experiences of informants from among the KPU Commissioners, leaders of women’s organisations (Aisyiyah, Fatayat), as well as representatives of political parties such as PKS, PDIP and Nasdem. This focus on a single location means that the findings, whilst rich in detailed data, cannot necessarily be generalised to describe the more complex realities in other regions with different socio-cultural characteristics and political dynamics. Furthermore, the perspectives addressed in this study are still dominated by the viewpoints of the policy-making and implementing elites; consequently, the diverse experiences of other actors such as female legislative candidates who failed to be elected, female voters from various age groups and demographic backgrounds, or even the voices of men as part of the electorate and as policy-makers within political parties—have not yet been explored in depth.

Another limitation lies in the fact that the analysis focuses primarily on the communication and implementation of policies from the perspective of the organisers; consequently, other crucial variables such as the influence of the media, political corruption, or the dynamics of internal party recruitment beyond gender issues have not yet been given primary attention. Further research is therefore essential to address these as yet unexplored dimensions. Future research is recommended to conduct comparative studies across regions with different cultural backgrounds and varying levels of women’s political participation, in order to assess the extent to which the findings in East Jakarta are unique or, conversely, reflect a broader national pattern. In addition, there is a need for research that specifically incorporates the male perspective in support of gender equality (male engagement), as well as studies comparing experiences across generations for example, between young millennial candidates and senior candidates in addressing electoral challenges. With a more diverse sample in terms of gender, age and location, further research is expected to provide a more holistic picture of the effectiveness of regulations, which is determined not only by administrative compliance

with quota requirements, but also by the structural, political and social dynamics that influence the recruitment, nomination and election of women in electoral contests.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of a study into the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections in East Jakarta, the most shocking and unexpected finding was that, although female voters accounted for 52% (a majority) and women's organisations such as Aisyiyah, Fatayat and Muslimat NU had been actively campaigning to rally support for female legislative candidates, the proportion of women elected remained well below the 30% quota. This stark irony reveals a surprising paradox: female voters who are the primary target of affirmative action policies are not necessarily the ones who vote for female candidates. This is due to deeply ingrained gender stereotypes within society, including amongst women themselves, which hold that politics requires physical strength, flexible hours and an aggressive nature traits more commonly associated with men. In other words, the greatest obstacle to women's representation no longer lies solely in policies or political parties, but in the collective consciousness of society including women themselves which still views politics as a 'man's world'. The lesson to be learnt is that a 30% quota policy will never be effective without a massive and sustained shift in cultural mindset, because numbers on paper will never prevail against the stereotypes that exist in the minds of voters.

Based on the findings of a study on the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 in East Jakarta, the main contributions to academic development, particularly in the fields of Policy Communication and Gender Studies (Politics of Representation), are as follows: Firstly, in terms of methodology, this study offers an integrative approach combining George C. Edward III's implementation model (particularly the communication variables) and a gender sociology perspective, which demonstrates that the effectiveness of public policy is determined not only by the clarity of top-down information, but also by the capacity of the target group (women's organisations) to transform themselves into active agents of change. Secondly, in terms of theoretical contribution, this study enriches policy communication theory by introducing the concept of "social network-based organic solidarity", where intensive communication between the KPU and women's mass organisations (such as Aisyiyah and Fatayat) was able to generate decentralised collective action, going beyond the conventional role of public awareness-raising. Thirdly, in terms of conceptual contributions, this study introduced the concepts of 'formal compliance' versus "substantive support", which explains the gap between political parties' procedural compliance with the 30% quota and the lack of strategic support (such as the allocation of ballot positions and campaign resources). Fourth, regarding contributing variables, this study identifies new variables that are crucial to the implementation of affirmative action policies, namely "the individual political communication skills of female candidates" and 'gender stereotypes as an intervening variable', which has been shown to have a greater influence on female voters' preferences than awareness of representation itself. Consequently, this study significantly shifts the discourse from a mere focus on the number of female candidates to the quality of support and systemic cultural barriers.

Based on the findings of a study on the implementation of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections in relation to increasing women's representation in East Jakarta, there are several limitations to the research that require further investigation to achieve a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding. Firstly, the study has limitations in terms of scope and conceptual framework, as it focuses solely on the perspective of policy communication based on George C. Edward III's model; consequently, it has not examined in depth other factors beyond communication, such as the incentive and sanction mechanisms of the supervisory body (Bawaslu) or the influence of the electoral system (open-list proportional representation) on parties' strategies for fielding female candidates. Secondly, there are limitations regarding the variables, as this study has not yet quantitatively measured the direct impact of interventions by

women's organisations (such as Aisyiyah and Fatayat) on the increase in votes for female candidates, nor has it analysed mediating variables such as male voters' perceptions of women's leadership. Thirdly, methodological limitations: as this qualitative study, which was confined to East Jakarta, has produced findings that cannot yet be generalised to other regions with different socio-cultural and political characteristics, such as areas with a conservative religious base or matrilineal societies. Further research is therefore recommended to conduct a comparative study across different regions (urban vs rural, Java vs outside Java), using mixed methods alongside a large-scale survey to examine the influence of communication variables, party resources and campaigners' dispositions on the electability of female candidates, as well as exploring the perspectives of male voters and the strategies of political parties in building substantive support rather than merely complying with the 30% quota.

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