El modelo de implementación de la política sobre la representación de las mujeres políticas en las instituciones legislativas de la cámara regional de representantes (un estudio de caso en la cámara regional de representantes de la provincia de java occidental)

The implementation model of policy on women politicians' representation in legislative institutions at the regional house of representatives (a case study in the regional house of representatives of west java province)

Euis Ratnaningsih*, Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Pasundan, andung, Jawa Barat, 40153, Indonesia (dra.ratnaningsih128@gmail.com) (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8200-0893)

R. Taqwaty Firdausijah, Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Public Administration Study Program, Universitas Pasundan, Bandung, Jawa Barat,40153, Indonesia (taqwaty.firdausijah@unpas.ac.id) (Orcid:https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8659-1523)

Lia Muliawaty, Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Pasundan, Bandung, Jawa Barat, 40153, Indonesia (lia.muliawaty@unpas.ac.id) (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9647-8396)

RESUMEN

Este estudio tiene como objetivo analizar la condición y el potencial de la representación política de las mujeres en la Cámara Regional de Representantes (DPRD) de la provincia de Java Occidental. Las políticas afirmativas, como la cuota del 30% para candidatas, tienen como objetivo reducir la desigualdad de género. Sin embargo, la implementación de estas políticas no ha sido óptima. Muchos partidos políticos sólo cumplen la cuota simbólicamente sin brindar un apoyo sustancial a las mujeres, lo que crea una brecha entre la política y la realidad. El estudio emplea un método de estudio de casos cualitativo para comprender fenómenos en contextos del mundo real. Los principales problemas incluyen los estereotipos de género, la falta de educación política, las limitaciones financieras, el apoyo insuficiente de los partidos políticos, el estigma social y la tendencia de los medios de comunicación a reforzar los estereotipos de género. La implementación de políticas se evalúa utilizando seis dimensiones de Van Meter y Horn: estándares de políticas, recursos, actividades de implementación, características de los implementadores, entorno socioeconómico y político, y tendencias de los implementadores. Los hallazgos indican que la implementación ha sido ineficaz. Este estudio introduce cuatro nuevas dimensiones en la teoría de Van Meter y Horn (sinergia, compromiso, desarrollo de capacidades y conciencia cultural) para proponer un mejor modelo de implementación de políticas.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the condition and potential of women's political representation in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of West Java Province. Affirmative policies, such as the 30% quota for female candidates, aim to reduce gender inequality. However, the implementation of these policies has not been optimal. Many political parties only meet the quota symbolically without

providing substantive support to women, creating a gap between policy and reality. The study employs a qualitative case study method to understand phenomena in real-world contexts. The main issues include gender stereotypes, lack of political education, financial constraints, insufficient support from political parties, social stigma, and the media's tendency to reinforce gender stereotypes. Policy implementation is evaluated using six dimensions from Van Meter and Horn: policy standards, resources, implementation activities, implementer characteristics, social economic and political environment, and implementer tendencies. The findings indicate that implementation has been ineffective. This study introduces four new dimensions to Van Meter and Horn's theory—synergy, commitment, capacity building and cultural awareness—to propose a better policy implementation model.

1. Introducción

Women's representation is an issue that can enrich perspectives in the legislative process. When women are involved in policy-making, they bring different experiences and perspectives. This can help create more comprehensive solutions to complex problems. Despite awareness of the importance of women's representation, problems and challenges remain. Gender discrimination, stereotypes, and social norms prevent women from being involved in politics. Therefore, policies that support women's participation need to be designed by considering the existing social and cultural context. In Indonesia, women's participation in politics is regulated by Law Number 2/2008 on Political Parties, which stipulates that every political party must nominate at least 30% of women in the list of legislative candidates. Furthermore, the regulation is strengthened by Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, which confirms that every political party must nominate at least 30 per cent of women in the list of candidates for legislative members (DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD). The aim of the policy is to encourage women's participation in politics, but in reality there are still many obstacles. Women's representation in the legislature is an important issue in the context of social and political development in Indonesia. KPU Regulation Number 10 Year 2023 Article 8 paragraph (2) requires 30% women's representation in the nomination of members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD. This policy aims to increase women's opportunities in politics, allow for judgement based on their capacity and capability, and take into account the cultural norms of West Java. It also seeks to reduce discrimination and social, cultural and political barriers that often prevent women from becoming legislative candidates.

In West Java, women's representation in politics is regulated by West Java Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2023 on the Empowerment and Protection of Women, which encourages an increase in the quota of women in the legislature. This regulation regulates the development of women's organisations in political parties and parliament to increase the opportunities for women to be involved in decision-making at the legislative level. In addition to increasing the number of female legislators, this regulation aims to create a safe and supportive environment for women's political participation through access to political education, leadership training, and financial support. We respectfully propose that Perda No. 2 of 2023 aligns with the principles set forth in West Java Governor Regulation No. 56 of 2016. This regulation outlines the primary responsibilities, functions, and operational details of the West Java Provincial Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning (DP3AKB). Pergub Article 8 outlines the importance of improving the quality of life and participation in politics as key avenues for women's empowerment. Similarly, Article 10 underscores the necessity for gender equality in law, politics and social affairs. Despite these efforts, women's political participation in West Java remains relatively low. This highlights the need for a comprehensive empowerment programme that builds on the valuable

expertise of women's organisations and non-governmental organisations to expand outreach and drive change.

In a statement released by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) of West Java Province in 2024, it was observed that the number of women occupying legislative positions in West Java from 2019 to 2023 has not yet reached the specified target of 30%. In 2019, it was noted that there was room for improvement in the representation of women in the West Java Provincial DPRD, with only 19.17% of the 120 seats occupied by women.

Diagram Women's Representation In Legislative Institutions 2009-2024

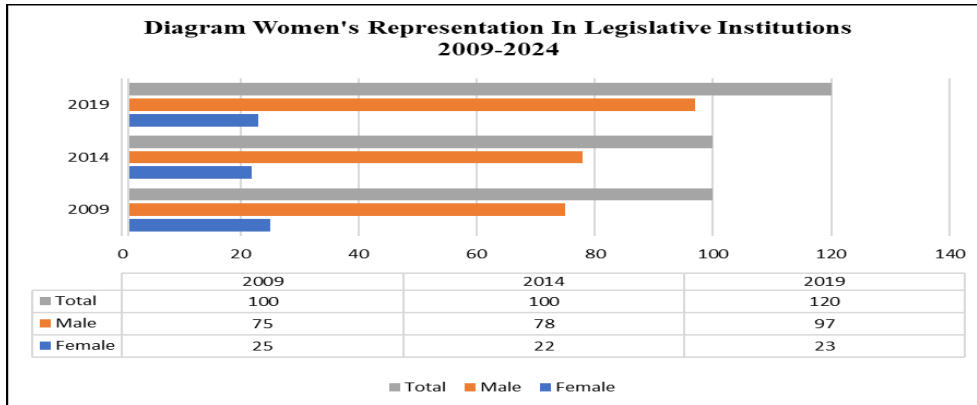|	2009	2014	2019
Total	100	100	120
Male	75	78	97
Female	25	22	23

Figure 1: Diagram of Women's Representation in Legislative Institutions for the Three Periods of West Java Provincial Election Organisers in 2023 Reprocessed in 2024 Research.

Figure 1 shows that there is still a gap between policy and reality in the field. The representation of women politicians in the Legilative Institution has not fulfilled the provisions of the applicable legislation. The implementation of women's representation policies in the legislature faces various challenges. Gender stereotypes that consider politics as the realm of men trigger a negative stigma against women. The education factor is also an obstacle, with the formal education participation rate of women in West Java only 78% according to Susenas 2020, hampering their readiness to compete in politics. Lack of financial support further exacerbates the situation, as high campaign costs, reaching an average of IDR 200 million, are a major barrier for female candidates from weak economic backgrounds.

In addition, political party support is still minimal, with only 20 per cent of parties in West Java having affirmative policies for women. Social factors such as family stigma, limited access to resources, and the role of the media in reinforcing gender stereotypes also complicate the situation. On the other hand, the political transition from the New Order to the Reform Order brought a shift towards a democratic system with more diverse political parties, allowing reform opportunities for women's representation. In the process of implementing a policy, what needs to be considered is identifying various factors that affect the successful implementation of a policy, this is in line with what was conveyed by Van Meter and Van Horn in that the policy implementation process is influenced by several variables including:

1. Policy standards and objectives
2. Resources
3. Interorganizational communication
4. Characteristic of implementing agents
5. Social, economic, and political environment
6. The tendencies of policy implementor

Successfully implemented policies can trigger positive impacts, one of which is the optimization of women's involvement in the legislature, while failed policies can create new problems. Women politicians in the legislature are not fully in line with government regulations, often playing only a symbolic role as an attraction to attract women's votes. Their position in political parties tends to be considered a formality, without significant strategic influence. In addition, the efforts of female politicians in delivering their vision and mission have not fully convinced female voters. In contrast, male politicians are more skillful and flexible in attracting support, including from female voters, so they are more successful in winning votes. Political synergy among women politicians, both in

political parties and non-governmental organizations, is still weak, reflecting a lack of empathy and support for women's representation in the DPRD. Several strategic issues related to this in West Java include:

1.Gender stereotypes: Women politicians are often perceived as household managers, limiting their roles to the domestic and public sectors to a minimum.

2.Influence of Religious Interpretation: Religious values such as sidik, amanah, fathanah, and tabligh are often misinterpreted negatively, hampering women's involvement in male-dominated legislatures.

3.Lack of Party Commitment: The role of women politicians in the legislature is often only to fulfil the 30% quota set by law, without strategic support from the party, while the dominance of male politicians reduces the confidence of the public, especially women, to vote for them.

Based on previous studies, such as those conducted by Cahyowati (2011) on women's representation in the House of Representatives from the perspective of justice, human rights, and democracy; Riza and Abdali (2014) on the selection of female candidates in the nomination of members of the House of Representatives; and Affandi and Npm (2020) who examined the motives and experiences of Sundanese women as politicians, showed that women's representation in the legislature still faces various structural and cultural challenges. This confirms the importance of further research that focuses on policy implementation strategies for women's politician representation, which not only relies on regulations, but also on effective strategic management to encourage women's real participation in the legislative environment. Based on some of the things that underlie this research, researchers are interested in conducting research with a focus on the implementation model of women's empowerment and protection policies related to the representation of women politicians in the legislature of the West Java Provincial House of Representatives, with several research questions, namely; Examining the Implementation of the Policy, its Obstacles, the Model Applied, and Novelty or Novelty of the Proposed Implementation Model. In revealing a phenomenon to be analysed, of course, it is necessary to have an approach or concept commonly referred to as theory to become an analytical tool so that it can answer research questions to bring up novelty in this research, including several concepts used in the analysis process;

1.1. Study of Public Administration

Public administration is created in an effort to fulfil the needs of the people that are closely related to state policies through functional, structural, and scientific (Rogers, 2011). refers to policy as a series of actions proposed by certain parties in a certain environment to achieve goals, taking into account the obstacles and opportunities in its implementation. In a decentralised system, state policies include regulations that apply to all components of government, making public administration not only focus on the bureaucracy, but also involve the Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive, including the DPRD. state that: 'Public Administration has an important role formulating of public policy and thus a part of the political process'. Conversely, policy theory is needed in public administration. This situation gives rise to the second relationship, the study of the field of policy studies in the study of public administration.

Basuki (2021) states that public administration is often regarded as responsible for determining the policies and programmes of the government. Especially as a description of planning, organising, directing, coordinating and controlling government operations. Furthermore, the understanding of public administration is also conveyed by Sharkansky in which states that: 'Public administration as the work of governmen is carried out in accordance with policy choices as promised during the election campaign. Public administration is the use of managerial, legal and political'. It can be concluded that public administration expresses a description of the process of cooperation to formulate and carry out a policy in achieving goals, both for the benefit of the government or the public interest. Thoha (2017)states that public administration plays an important role in running the government, public administration has several objectives including: Ensuring public security properly, ensuring public welfare equally, and ensuring justice for all citizens regardless of ethnicity, ethnicity and culture. Indradi et al. (2006) states that the scope of public administration includes

tendencies in the field of government relations, events and symptoms written by many government experts including central government administration; regional government administration; sub-district government administration; village government administration; municipal government administration; city government administration; government administration; administrative department; administrative no-department. Public administration focuses on synergistic efforts in carrying out decisions or policies for the benefit of the state and society, with concrete and consistent actions to achieve organisational goals (Kadir, 2020). One of them is the political system related to women politicians in political parties, which manages the order of state supremacy. Public administration here plays a role in implementing policies based on social and political rules and regulations applied by cooperative groups in public organisations. Public administration develops according to the needs and conditions of the country, and adapts to the development of the times, people, and countries. The main studies of public administration include policy-based state governance systems, organisation, management, and public services, despite challenges such as bureaucratic rigidity and resistance to change. The function of public administration is to implement government policies, the success of which depends on public engagement, transparency and accountability. The content of public administration focuses on the dynamics of the legislature, judiciary and executive, and deals with the implementation of normative regulations and policies to properly direct the life of the state. Public administration is closely related to the formulation and implementation of state policies in the public interest.

If studied more deeply, public administration and public policy have a close relationship and influence each other. This can be seen from the implementation of public policies which often depends on how the public administration carries out its duties. Misalignment between policy and public administration can lead to failure in achieving the desired goals. Public administration also functions as a liaison between the government and society in the policy-making process. This dynamic causes the relationship between public administration and state policy to be grouped into functional, structural and scientific relationships (David, 2008) . The role of public administration is crucial in creating good governance and quality services, despite facing challenges such as slow bureaucracy, lack of transparency, and inequality of services. Through innovation, information technology, bureaucratic reform, and human resource development, public administration can be more responsive to people's needs, and contribute to social and economic development. Effective public administration strategies should prioritise gender inclusion, focusing on policies that support an increase in the number of women in leadership positions. A key challenge is creating an environment that encourages women's participation, including mentorship programmes that connect young women with existing women leaders. Public administrations should measure and evaluate the impact of policies using relevant data to assess the effectiveness of programmes, while serving as agents of change to achieve gender equality. This strategy also aims to change political patterns through ideas and segmentation in the legislature. identifies three objectives of policy strategy implementation: supporting decision-making, ensuring decision consistency, and achieving targets in line with the organization's vision and mission. The underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions in government is a challenge, so policies to support the appointment of women in leadership positions are essential. Continuous evaluation and monitoring are needed to assess the effectiveness of the strategy and adjust policies to meet women's needs.

1.2. The Scope of Public Policy

Public policies are government decisions to achieve social, economic and political goals, covering sectors such as education, health, environment and security. Policies must consider the needs of society and their impact on daily life, and involve various stakeholders, including public participation in their formulation. According to the public is a space that requires government regulation or intervention based on coordination of action. Public policy should emphasis behavioral planning and goals to be achieved, with society as the main target. Public policy includes a series of actions taken by the government for the welfare of society, including formulation, implementation, and evaluation. classifies policies at three levels: 1) General policy, as a reference for implementation; 2) Implementation policy, related to government regulations; and 3) Technical policy, operational under the implementation policy. Public policy serves to solve the problems of society and the state, as well as being a key factor in achieving organizational goals. In the era of globalization and technological advances, public policy must be adaptive to the changes that occur.

Furthermore, Holt (1993) said that public policy has two important aspects, namely 1) Policy as a social practice, which arises from events that occur in society and usually develops naturally, raising various strategic issues which are then formulated by the government into a public agenda for the welfare of society, 2) Policy as a real response to government action in dealing with events that occur, which aims to create harmonization and reduce and minimize conflict. Public policy focuses on the public interest to achieve public welfare through governance. It encompasses both theory and practice, from planning, to strategizing, to decision-making by the government (Mukarom, 2011). The ultimate goal is to create balance and social justice. Public policy covers various sectors of life, including social, legal, cultural, economic and political, and can have different meanings depending on the perspective used.

1.3. Policy Implementation Definition

Implementation, according to, is an action to achieve the objectives set out in the decision. Salusu in Syafiie (2006) adds that implementation is the operationalisation of activities to achieve goals that cover all levels of the organisation. In conclusion, implementation is the process applied to achieve goals through organising, staffing, and directing activities. Strategic implementation involves three activities: designing organisational structures, selecting integration and control systems, and matching strategies, structures, and controls. Policy implementation is a critical stage in the public policy cycle that determines its effectiveness and outcomes. In the context of women in politics, the implementation of policies that support women is critical to increasing their participation in decision-making. Successful policy implementation requires an in-depth understanding of the social, political, and cultural context in which the policy is implemented.

Policy implementation always involves executive, legislative, and judicial elements acting on behalf of the state. According to Sihombing (2018), state policy is any action chosen by the government, whether done or not done, which includes the goals and objectives of government programmers. State policies can be set out in legislation, official speeches, or government programmers and actions. At a conceptual level, Pressman and Wildavsky in Mustopadidjaja (1989: 9) state that: 'implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared towards achieving them'. Implementation seeks to change behaviour that is required to be responsive to various environmental demands, through various approaches and ways of working that are more creative and innovative, have an entrepreneurial spirit, and have high flexibility. It is expected that with this change, the bureaucracy will be more orientated towards the public interest.

identifies two models of policy implementation: top-down and bottom-up, as well as command and control and economic incentive approaches. Relevant policy implementation models involve theories from Edwards (1980), Meter and Horn, Grindle, Sabatier and Mazmanian, Jones, and Smith. Policy implementation involves the government, civil society and the private sector, taking into account three main factors: policy characteristics, social conditions and organisational structure. For example, in social assistance programmes, the validity of beneficiary data determines the success of distribution. A good evaluation is needed to provide feedback to improve the policy. Policy is a series of actions designed by the government or organizations to achieve specific objectives, taking into account the opportunities and challenges in its implementation. In this study, the strategy for policy implementation focuses on the representation of women politicians in legislative institutions as a key factor. Policy formulation requires expertise, responsibility, and the courage to face risks. However, implementation is not always effective as it depends on the interplay of various factors. Policies must establish clear standards and objectives, with specific evaluation criteria and adequate resources, such as funding and incentives, to achieve their goals.

The success of a policy implementation strategy heavily relies on environmental factors, both internal and external. Internal factors include political party organizations and legislative institutions, encompassing tasks, functions, structures, authorities, and responsibilities. Meanwhile, external factors involve public perceptions and attitudes toward the policy, as well as the dynamics of public support. Wahyudi (1996) identifies five factors that influence the success of policy implementation: socio-economic and technological conditions, public support, the attitudes

and resources of groups, support from higher officials, and the commitment of implementing leaders. The implementation of policies for the representation of women politicians, particularly in legislative institutions, is governed by various regulations, such as Law No. 22 of 2007, Law No. 10 of 2008, and Law No. 2 of 2011. These regulations emphasize the necessity of at least 30% female representation in parliament. However, achieving this target is often hindered by the complexity of policies and internal and external factors, including the characteristics of implementing agents, inter-organizational interactions, and economic, socio-political, and bureaucratic conditions.

Women politicians play a strategic role in promoting openness, innovation, and positive change in the policy implementation process. This role must be supported by strong commitment, high morality, and active participation to enhance policy effectiveness. Public policy implementation represents a critical phase in the policy process, with the decisions made by women politicians in legislative institutions directly impacting executive policies.

1.3.1. The Concept of Women's Political Representation in Regional Legislative Councils

Although women politicians in legislative institutions have gained broader intellectual access, female representation in politics still falls short of expectations. The low number of women in parliament limits discussions on gender equality issues and hinders the response to the importance of women's participation in decision-making processes that are more inclusive. Women's presence in politics can strengthen democracy and result in more pro-women policies. However, patriarchal cultural barriers, which position women as subordinate to men, often obstruct progress. This culture perpetuates the stigma that male dominance is a "natural law," leading many women to feel pessimistic or hesitant about entering the political sphere (Winardi, 1997). Modern democratic systems theoretically provide equal opportunities for men and women to participate in parliament, provided they gain public support. Yet, patriarchal culture continues to dominate, discouraging women from running for office. In the context of West Java Province, female representation in the legislature often remains a regulatory discourse without strategic implementation. This underscores the importance of affirmative policies to promote political equality between women and men.

The success of women's representation strategies depends on the internal environment of political parties and public support, including perceptions, attitudes, and the roles of party organizations as enablers. In this regard, strategies such as propaganda, political advertisements, and rhetoric can be employed to influence public opinion. Women as political subjects are also shaped by their biological and gender identities. Biologically, women possess distinctive reproductive characteristics, while psychologically, gender reflects feminine traits inherent in women. Women are defined as adult individuals with beauty, maternal instincts, emotional maturity, and affection. In the political context, women also play a strategic role supported by regulations mandating a minimum 30% allocation for female representation. These policies emphasize the importance of strategic management, particularly in designing women's political strategies through political parties. Women's political education, facilitated by political parties, aims to encourage women to actively engage in public activities and voice their aspirations on social issues. Consequently, there is a growing emergence of young female political activists.

Conceptually, politics is understood as a collective effort to achieve the common good, both in the formulation and implementation of public policies. In practice, politicians or political actors include party activists, state officials, or legislative members. The presence of women in parliament provides significant advantages, such as advocating for women's rights, formulating long-term policies, and creating a sustainable future for the next generation. identifies four functions of women politicians within political parties: policy implementation, political socialization, political recruitment, and conflict management. Political parties employ marketing approaches to support women's representation: 1) Product: Providing qualified, energetic, and well-recognized female politicians, 2) Promotion: Engaging women in social, religious, and community activities, while broadly publicizing their contributions, 3) Price: Supporting financial needs for campaigns and securing strategic positions on the candidate list, and 4) Placement: Positioning women in key spots on the candidate list to increase their chances of becoming legislators.

Women's representation can strengthen democracy by introducing pro-women ideas in public spaces. However, patriarchal culture, which places women beneath men, often fosters pessimism among women about participating in politics. Despite these challenges, women continue to engage

in voluntary activities and elections, driven by their belief in political efficacy. In modern political systems, women's representation is a strategic necessity for fostering governance that is fair and responsive to societal needs. Political participation occurs at various levels, such as holding political office, seeking positions within political organizations, actively or passively joining organizations, participating in public meetings or demonstrations, and exercising voting rights—or, in some cases, showing apathy toward politics. According to Olsen in political participation offers women numerous opportunities to become leaders, activists, communicators, ordinary citizens, as well as members of marginalized and isolated groups. A country may choose a presidential or parliamentary system to determine what is more just and appropriate. The legislative body must fundamentally reflect women's representation in line with public preferences, considering regional, ethnic, religious, and familial ties within political parties. This ensures that the voices of society are fully represented. The relationship between representatives and those represented is crucial to ensure decisions produce effective and capable women politicians.

In democratic systems that uphold the principle of equality, representation in parliament or executive positions depends solely on public support, regardless of gender. If chosen by the people, any candidate—male or female—can serve in parliament. However, women often hesitate to participate in political contests. Patriarchal culture continues to position men as the primary authority, dominating roles in politics, moral authority, social rights, and property ownership (Bressler, 2007:19). Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the representation of women politicians in the legislative, judicial, and executive branches must be supported by affirmative policies to reduce disparities with their male counterparts. For women, politics is a strategic effort undertaken by citizens to achieve the common good (Aristotle, 2008:29). Politics also becomes more strategic in the formulation and implementation of public policies when supported by effective communication, fostering order in national and state life and reflecting the dynamic communication of humans in society.

The presence of women politicians aims to balance rights and responsibilities through sustained representation within political party communities, encompassing mutual respect, critical reflection, and care for marginalized groups. This ensures greater access for these groups to control collective actions within political parties. Women's representation is based on three dimensions: 1) Resources: Women's empowerment related to economic, social, and normative aspects, which significantly impacts political parties supporting them, 2) Agency: Women possess the power to make decisions that influence others, creating a collective impact within political parties, and 3) Achievement: Women's potential to achieve organizational goals and generate value from those accomplishments.

Based on the overall conceptual review, the research framework and propositions are as follows:

1.Suboptimal implementation: Policies for empowering and protecting women in political representation at the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of West Java Province have not been fully realized in line with their potential.

2.Inhibiting factors: Barriers to policy implementation result in a democracy that is less inclusive and representative.

3.Ineffective implementation model: Based on Van Meter and Horn's six dimensions (standards, resources, activities, communication, implementor characteristics, and socio-economic and political environment, implementation remains far from optimal.

2. Methodology

The research method used in this article is a qualitative approach with a descriptive design, aiming to deeply understand the phenomenon of women's political representation in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of West Java Province. This method was chosen to holistically analyze various related aspects, such as behavior, motivation, perception, and the social dynamics experienced by female politicians. The study adopts a case study design, allowing an in-depth analysis of specific phenomena within the legislative context.

This article emphasizes a naturalistic approach, where data is collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and document studies. The observation technique is used to directly observe

behaviors and interactions within the DPRD environment, while in-depth interviews are conducted flexibly using interview guidelines. Key informants include DPRD members from various periods, officials from the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (DP3AKB), and relevant political figures. Additionally, this article employs data triangulation to ensure the validity and credibility of the findings by comparing data from various sources and confirming them through theoretical frameworks.

The data analysis process is conducted interactively and cyclically, involving steps such as data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The analysis includes domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, and cultural theme analysis, aiming to map and understand various strategic aspects of policy implementation for women's representation. To enhance data validity, this study applies techniques such as theoretical and source triangulation, peer discussions, and verification with informants.

3. Result and Discussion

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) was officially proclaimed by Ir. Soekarno and Drs. Mohammad Hatta on August 17, 1945, marking the beginning of the nation's independence, which unified the entire archipelago. To establish a solid governmental system, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) formed a Subcommittee on August 19, 1945, under the leadership of Otto Eskandarians. This committee was tasked with designing a governance system, including local governments, which involved transforming kingdoms into autonomous regions. The result of this process led to the establishment of Regional National Committees (KND), as recommended by the PPKI on August 22, 1945. In West Java, Otto Eskandarians served as the first chairman of the KND, in line with the initial spirit of decentralization outlined in Law No. 1 of 1945. According to this law, West Java consisted of five autonomous cities, five autonomous residencies, and eighteen autonomous regencies.

During the early years of the Republic of Indonesia's administration, the legislative structure at the regional level began to take shape. The Regional People's Representative Body (BPRD) became the forerunner of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in West Java. This institution served as a platform for local communities to convey their aspirations to the central government. After the dissolution of the United States of Indonesia (RIS) in 1950, the interim DPRD in West Java began operating with 60 members from 22 political parties. This period marked an important milestone in the development of regional political structures. Subsequently, the first general election on September 29, 1955, resulted in 75 definitive DPRD members from 14 political parties, led by Oja Somantri. This election marked the DPRD's initial steps in carrying out legislative, oversight, and representational functions.

However, the DPRD's journey was not without challenges. During the Old Order era, Law No. 18 of 1965 weakened the DPRD's position by making it subordinate to the regional head. The DPRD functioned only as a body accountable to the executive, limiting its role in oversight and policymaking. In West Java, this period was characterized by the leadership of figures such as Lt. Winarno (2012), with DPRD membership reaching 70 individuals.

Governmental reform during the New Order era was marked by the enactment of Law No. 5 of 1974, which affirmed the DPRD's equal standing with regional heads, thereby strengthening its legislative role. The DPRD began to perform legislative and oversight functions more effectively, accompanied by an increase in membership aligned with population growth. The number of DPRD members in West Java increased to 100 in the early 1990s. Figures such as Brig. Gen. (Ret.) H. Adjat Sudradjat (1977–1982) and Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Suratman (1982–1992) led the DPRD during this time, bringing new dynamics to regional policymaking.

The reform movement of 1997–1998 brought significant changes to the governance system, including the strengthening of regional autonomy. Laws No. 22 of 1999 and No. 25 of 1999 became the foundation for decentralization and the enhancement of the DPRD's role. The DPRD was no longer subordinate to regional governments but became an equal partner with legislative, oversight, and representational authority. During the 1999–2004 period, the West Java DPRD held a strategic role in electing regional heads and regional representatives to the MPR.

The 2004 general election saw ten political parties winning seats in the West Java DPRD. Factions such as Golkar, PDI-P, and PKS dominated, with a more complex structure encompassing five main commissions: governance, economy, finance, development, and social welfare. The DPRD

began adopting a more systematic approach to legislative functions, including discussing draft regional regulations (Raperda) and overseeing regional budgets.

The role of women in the West Java DPRD gained serious attention as gender equality issues developed. During the 2014–2019 period, Ineu Purwadewi Sundari from PDI-P made history as the first female chairperson of the DPRD. Efforts to meet the 30% quota for female representation continued, though full realization remained elusive. The West Java Office for Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning (DP3AKB) played a key role in supporting women's representation through political training, gender-based policy advocacy, and empowering women in various sectors.

The struggle to achieve 30% female representation in legislative bodies, including in West Java Province, aims to ensure that women's rights as citizens are equally recognized alongside men's, particularly in politics. This effort seeks to produce policies and laws that reflect gender perspectives, creating more inclusive, fair, and responsive regulations for all segments of society. Article 27 of the 1945 Constitution affirms that all citizens are equal before the law and government, while Article 28H Paragraph (2) emphasizes everyone's right to special treatment to achieve equality and justice. However, fulfilling this quota is not just about numbers but also addressing structural challenges such as resistance to equality and gender stereotypes. Therefore, women's political involvement requires robust political education, empowerment strategies, and strong support networks.

In this context, the West Java DP3AKB plays a strategic role in promoting women's representation in the legislature. With a vision of creating a gender-equal and just society, DP3AKB carries out several key missions, including raising gender awareness through socialization, strengthening women's capacity through training, advocating policies supporting women's representation, and building collaboration with various stakeholders. These strategies are realized through programs that support women's representation, training for female legislative candidates, monitoring policy implementation, and collecting data on women's political participation.

The policies target key objectives such as ensuring at least 30% of legislative candidates are women, encouraging active female participation in political processes, and building support networks for female legislative candidates. DP3AKB also manages various programs to create a supportive ecosystem for women, including outreach, training, and periodic policy impact evaluations. These efforts view women's representation not merely as a quota but as a strategic step toward creating a more inclusive legislature, with women driving change and bringing new perspectives to policymaking and legislation. This is expected to have a significant impact across sectors such as education, health, and economic empowerment, ultimately producing gender-responsive policies for the broader society.

The West Java Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) continues to play a vital role in supporting regional development through inclusive and responsive governance. With a structure comprising five commissions, the DPRD effectively addresses strategic issues such as infrastructure development, regional budget management, and improving community welfare. Oversight of the implementation of the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD) is one of its primary responsibilities, carried out with increasing transparency and accountability.

The journey of the West Java DPRD reflects the dynamics of political and social transformation in Indonesia. From being a subordinate institution during the early years of independence to becoming an equal partner of regional governments, the DPRD has demonstrated remarkable adaptability to changing times. With the strengthening of regional autonomy, increased female representation, and a more inclusive legislative role, the West Java DPRD remains committed to fostering democratic, representative governance focused on the people's interests.

The implementation of policies to empower and protect women in the West Java Provincial DPRD is based on the 30% representation requirement for female politicians, as stipulated in Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties. However, female representation in the West Java DPRD remains far from the targeted goal. Data from the 2019 General Election shows that women's representation reached only 19.7% of the total members of the DPRD, well below the ideal 30%. This disparity

indicates that while affirmative policies have been implemented, structural barriers remain a significant obstacle to female representation.

A deeply rooted patriarchal culture in West Java society is one of the biggest challenges. In this culture, women are often perceived as less competent in leadership or politics, leading to a societal tendency to favor male candidates. Additionally, political parties often fulfill the women's quota only as a formality without providing adequate support, such as political education or campaign funding. For example, only 15% of the total campaign budget is allocated to female candidates, highlighting inequities in the distribution of political resources.

The lack of widespread political education is also a significant barrier. Many women do not have access to political or leadership training, which impacts their capacity to compete effectively in politics. Research shows that only 25% of women have experience with formal political education, compared to more than 50% of men. This disparity exacerbates the challenges faced by women in politics.

The implementation of women's empowerment policies faces several key obstacles, including social, economic, and political factors. Socially, dominant patriarchal norms often confine women to domestic roles, limiting their space for political participation. Moreover, negative stigmas against women in politics, such as being perceived as overly ambitious or deviating from traditional roles, discourage many women from running for office.

Economically, financial limitations are a major challenge. The high cost of campaigning poses significant barriers, particularly for women from lower-middle-class backgrounds. Data from the General Elections Commission (KPU) indicates that only a small portion of political party budgets is allocated to supporting female candidates. This lack of financial support makes it difficult for many women to compete with male candidates who have greater access to resources.

Politically, the internal structures of political parties often do not provide sufficient opportunities for women to advance. Many male-dominated political parties fail to offer strategic support, such as training or placing women in favorable positions on electoral candidate lists. As a result, women candidates are often placed in non-strategic positions on party lists, reducing their chances of being elected. Without significant changes in political parties' approaches to female representation, these obstacles will continue to hinder the growth of women's participation in politics.

The implementation model for policies on women's empowerment and protection in the West Java Provincial DPRD aims to address identified barriers through a strategic and integrated approach. Based on the theory of Van Meter and Van Horn, this policy implementation involves six key dimensions: policy standards and objectives, resources, inter-organizational communication, characteristics of implementing agents, economic, social, and political environment, and the tendencies of policy implementers. The dimension of policy standards, such as the 30% quota for women's representation, serves as an important foundation of affirmation to ensure women's access to legislative institutions. However, this implementation often remains administrative, with many political parties nominating women solely to meet requirements without providing them with strategic positions on electoral candidate lists. To address this, stricter oversight and firm sanctions for political parties failing to substantively apply these policies are necessary. Additionally, local governments should formulate supplementary policies that encourage the nomination of women from diverse social backgrounds, ensuring representation is not dominated by specific groups.

The resource dimension presents another significant challenge in implementing these policies. Many political parties do not allocate adequate resources to support women's representation. According to data, only 15% of the total campaign budget is allocated to female candidates, creating a significant disparity in their ability to compete on equal footing. Equitable resource allocation could help women build confidence and improve their chances of being elected. Therefore, policies requiring that at least 30% of party campaign funds be allocated to support female candidates are needed. Furthermore, political education and leadership training should be enhanced with a focus on communication skills, advocacy, and campaign management. These training initiatives will help women develop their capacities to compete in the challenging political arena.

Inter-organizational communication is also a crucial element in this implementation model. Governments, political parties, and civil society organizations must collaborate to create synergies in improving women's representation. Local governments can partner with NGOs to provide empowerment programs tailored specifically for women, such as political education and leadership

training. On the other hand, political parties need to take a more active role in engaging with the public to promote the importance of women's representation. Targeted public campaigns can shift societal perceptions of women in politics, often influenced by patriarchal culture.

The characteristics of implementing agents, such as political party leaders, play a central role in the success of this policy implementation. Leaders with a strong commitment to gender equality can act as change agents, driving substantial improvements in women's representation. However, in many cases, patriarchal culture within political parties poses a significant barrier. Women are often relegated to administrative roles without access to strategic decision-making. Thus, training programs for political party leaders are needed to enhance their understanding of the importance of gender equality and women's representation in politics.

Economic, Social, and Political environment of West Java society also pose significant challenges to the implementation of these policies. A strong patriarchal culture often influences societal perceptions that women are not competent to lead. Additionally, economic barriers, such as limited access to financial resources, make it difficult for women to run as legislative candidates. The high cost of campaigning adds pressure on women seeking political involvement. Empowerment programs, such as entrepreneurship training or affirmative funding, are therefore needed to support women pursuing careers in politics.

The final dimension, the tendencies of policy implementers, reflects the extent of commitment from the government and political parties in executing these policies. Many political parties tend to fulfill the women's quota administratively without providing tangible support to increase their representation. To address this, the government should integrate strict evaluation mechanisms and provide incentives to political parties that successfully nominate more women. These incentives could include public recognition or additional funding allocations to support party agendas. Moreover, technology, such as social media, can be utilized as a strategic tool to promote women's representation and expand the reach of their messages to the public. With this integrated approach, women's representation in the West Java Provincial DPRD becomes not merely an administrative obligation but a tangible step toward a more inclusive democracy.

Innovative policy models can include providing incentives for political parties that successfully nominate and support the election of women. These incentives may take the form of additional funding allocations or public recognition that enhances the party's reputation. Additionally, the use of technology, such as social media, can be leveraged to increase the visibility of women in politics and address existing cultural barriers. In this context, a novelty model offers a more integrated approach to addressing the challenges faced in achieving women's representation in the legislature.

Synergy emerges as the first critical element. In the complex political arena, women's involvement must be fostered through collaboration between women inside and outside parliament. Women in parliament are expected to lead advocacy efforts for policies that support women's representation, such as revising electoral and political party laws. Meanwhile, women outside parliament should strengthen grassroots movements to raise public awareness of the importance of women's political participation. This synergy must also extend to the media, which serves as a pillar of democracy by providing information, education, and social oversight. The media can be utilized as a tool to disseminate positive narratives about women in politics, strengthen public support, and foster better perceptions of female politicians.

Commitment is the second dimension, emphasizing the seriousness of the government and political parties in supporting women's representation. This commitment should not only focus on fulfilling the 30% quota administratively but also encompass strategic measures such as political training, mentoring, and equitable funding for women. The government should provide incentives to political parties that successfully increase women's representation, for instance, through additional funding allocations or public recognition that enhances the party's reputation. Commitment must also be reflected in stricter regulations, including sanctions for parties that fail to meet women's representation quotas.

Capacity building is the third equally important pillar. Women's representation in regional parliaments (DPRD) will only be meaningful if the elected women possess adequate capacity to contribute to decision-making processes. Hence, specialized training programs for women

legislative candidates need to be promoted, focusing on communication, negotiation, and leadership skills. Furthermore, support networks for women in politics should be strengthened as platforms to share experiences and resources. This way, women can feel more confident and capable of competing equally with men in the often challenging political arena.

The final dimension, cultural awareness, plays a vital role in fostering an environment that supports women's representation. In West Java, patriarchal traditions remain a major obstacle limiting women's participation in politics. Therefore, educational and public awareness campaigns must be intensified to change societal perceptions of women's roles. Mass media and community programs can be utilized to deliver narratives supporting women's representation while providing positive portrayals of women in politics. Community-based approaches are also essential to build closer relationships with the public, increase trust, and encourage women to engage in politics.

The implementation of policies for women's political representation in the West Java Provincial DPRD underscores the importance of strategic approaches capable of addressing structural, social, and cultural challenges. By emphasizing synergy, commitment, capacity building, and cultural awareness, these policies not only aim to fulfill the 30% quota for women's representation but also promote the quality of their participation in political decision-making. A collaborative approach involving the government, political parties, media, and the community is expected to create a more inclusive system where women are not merely fulfilling administrative quotas but are also agents of change bringing new perspectives. Through sustainable strategic measures, women's representation in politics can contribute significantly to more responsive, fair, and democratic policies that reflect the needs of all society.

4. Conclusions

This article concludes that the implementation of empowerment and protection policies for women in relation to their representation as female politicians in the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) of West Java Province demonstrates significant weaknesses. The 30% representation quota is only achieved at 19.7%, reflecting the low participation of women due to patriarchal cultural barriers, lack of support from political parties, negative stigmas, and economic constraints.

The proposed policy implementation model encompasses six key dimensions to address this situation. The policy standards and objectives dimension aims to optimize women's participation in politics and create more inclusive public policies, even though decision-making processes are still male-dominated. The resource dimension focuses on providing women with equal access to political decision-making opportunities. The inter-organizational activities and communication dimension highlights the need to overcome entrenched cultural barriers to strengthen women's political standing. The characteristics of implementing agents dimension emphasizes the importance of internal reform within political parties to support women's inclusion and address their dual burden as politicians and household managers. The economic, social, and political environment dimension aims to alleviate financial challenges, expand political training, and transform social norms that hinder women. Lastly, tendencies of policy implementor dimension necessitates more supportive policies for women in internal party selection processes. By integrating these dimensions, women's representation in the DPRD is expected not only to meet quotas but also to make meaningful contributions to the development of a more inclusive and democratic society.

This policy implementation model also strengthens Van Meter and Van Horn's theory by adding four new dimensions: synergy, commitment, capacity building, and cultural awareness. Synergy is key to enhancing women's representation in parliament and ensuring their presence benefits society, particularly women, children, and families. Commitment is defined as the dedication of individuals or groups to advocating for women's rights in politics, including active involvement in policymaking. Capacity building for women must become a priority in regional development agendas, while cultural awareness is essential to changing societal perceptions of women in politics. Women's representation in legislative bodies is a critical issue in the context of building an inclusive and democratic society.

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