

## ***Women's Representation in Islamic Mass-Based Political Parties in Indonesia***

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### **ABSTRACT**

The results of the 2019 elections placed four political parties with a muslim constituent base PKB, PKS, PAN, and PPP into the parliament. The objectives of this research is to describe the accessibility of women in the membership and leadership of political parties, as well as their efforts to increase women's representation in public offices by Islamic mass-based political parties. This research was conducted using a feminist research methodology, which uses a qualitative research method such as document analysis, literature review, and interviews. The findings are analyzed using feminist institutional theory, indicating that gender interest accommodation in the four mass-based Islamic political parties is weakly institutionalized. This is due to the formal regulations at the state level being implemented very weakly within the internal structures of political parties. The weakness of these formal regulations cannot be detached from the influence of informal institutions, where decision-making considerations often revert to gender-biased views resistant to positive gender-based changes.

**Keywords:** Women's representation, Islamic mass-based political party, feminist institutional.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The religious perspective is often referred in the political decision-making processes in Indonesia, including in the formal political arena. The use of religious perspectives in the formulation of national policies can be observed, for instance, during the deliberation of the Sexual Violence Criminal Law (UU TPKS). This law, successfully ratified on April 12, 2022, underwent dynamics intricately tied to the politicization of religion (Maharani, 2019). The politicization of religion itself refers to the role of politicians who use religious and caste feelings as a means to gain popular support and come to power

(Maxim D.SJ, 2015)

Data shows that the composition of supporters and opposites to the RUU TPKS in parliament consists of eight fractions/political party groups in parliament, namely Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI Perjuangan), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Partai Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem), Partai Demokrat (PD), and Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), supported the enactment of the UU TPKS. Meanwhile, three fractions provided conditional support, including Golongan Karya (Golkar), Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), and Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN). On the other hand, one fraction Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), opposed the enactment of the UU TPKS. Public relations of PKS (2022) citing the need for the approval of revisions to the Criminal Code Law (KUHP), along with various opinions grounded in religious views.

**Table 1. The Composition of Supporters and Opposites to the RUU TPKS**

<b>Party Position/Orientation</b>	<b>Political Party</b>
<b>Supported the enactment</b>	PDI Perjuangan PPP Nasdem PD PKB
<b>Provided conditional support</b>	Golkar Gerindra PAN
<b>Opposed the enactment</b>	PKS

Each party considers a focus on different aspects of justice and victim protection, while PKS rejects it for not addressing a broader range of moral issues, including adultery and sexual deviance. This divergence illustrates the influence of varying interpretations of values (including Islamic values) on policy perspectives within these parties.

No less at the local level, discriminatory regional regulations (Perda) that directly or indirectly restrict, ignore, and exclude citizens based on gender, ethnicity, religion, and race, have emerged falling into at least three categories. Firstly, regulations related to public order, such as the prohibition of prostitution and restrictions on the distribution and consumption of

alcoholic beverages. Secondly, regulations concerning religious obligations and skills, such as the payment of zakat and the ability to read the Quran. Thirdly, regulations involving religious symbolism, particularly in clothing (Salim, 2008). The object target of these policies is to regulate women's bodies.

Apart from legislative regulations, political parties, including those based on Islamic mass movements, often participate in decision-making processes that are frequently gender-blind (even misogynistic). For example, during the 1999 election, there was strong resistance to female leadership. Islamic-based parties formed a parliament coalition named Poros Tengah/Central Axis, which tend to be short-term and pragmatic in orientation to tackled Megawati to become a president (Romli, 2017). The attempt to block Megawati's candidacy at that time was closely tied to the debate among Islamic scholars regarding female leadership (Sadikin, 2008).

Candraningrum (2014) notes that Indonesian society tends to intertwine religion and politics, obliging political parties to play the religious card. Therefore, all political parties in Indonesia essentially employ a religious façade, regardless of their underlying principles. Based on this perspective, it can be inferred that the relationship between women and political parties in Indonesia is not always easy.

Political parties play a pivotal role in public policy decision-making, significantly influencing the consideration of women's interests. Nationally, several policies promoting women's representation in political parties and elections are outlined in various regulations including Law No. 8 of 2012 on the Election of Members of the People's Consultative Assembly, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council; Law No. 2 of 2011 on Amendments to Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties; and Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections.

These laws stipulate that political party members must include a minimum of 30% female representation, particularly at the national level. Additionally, regulations also mandate that candidate lists for legislative

members must include a minimum of 30% female representation. The goal is to boost the number of women in political parties and parliaments, thereby enhancing their influence on state policies. However, in practice, the percentage of women elected rarely meets the 30% target for total parliamentary seats.

Several variables have contributed to the limited number of women in parliamentary seats, including the lack of gender perspective policies emerging from parliaments. Fundamentally, this situation can be traced back to the recruitment and cadre formation processes for women by political parties. Internally, political party members tend to have a limited understanding of affirmative policies, primarily adhering to administrative aspects to comply with regulatory requirements. Moreover, in the formulation of public policies, the agendas of female legislators often clash with the agendas of political parties (Irwansyah et al., 2013).

In the context of Islamic parties, which have significantly shaped national politics from pre-independence to the reform era, the integration of religious thought within political parties is always intriguing to study. This research focuses on four Islamic parties that succeeded in the 2019 elections as research objects. Regarding the principles of political parties, only two out of the four parties, namely PKS and PPP, explicitly mention Islam as their party's political foundation. PKB, on the other hand, is based on Pancasila, while PAN mentions both Pancasila and a political morality based on religion that brings blessings to all creation.

Referring to the foundational principles of the parties mentioned, even though they do not explicitly stated Islam as their ideology, it does not mean that these four parties do not claim an Islamic mass-based. Therefore, Islamic parties in this research not only refer to their principles but also to their mass bases. In this regard PKB for example, is often associated with the religious organization Nahdlatul Ulama, although PKB is not the only choice for Nahdliyin (Chalik, 2011; Nurdiyansyah, 2021; Rohmatin, 2016). Similarly, PAN

appears closely aligned with the religious organization Muhammadiyah (Farhah Anis Isnaini, 2018; Pratama, 2022; Prihandini, 2014; Wilindaya, 2018)

Academically, numerous articles have been produced by political scientists on this topic, but there is limited research on how Islamic parties relate to women's issues. Upon reviewing both domestic and international literature, seven journal article publications on this topic were found. Among these journal articles, some focus on women in Islamic parties at the local level (Susanti & Lubis, 2015; Walahe, 2018); Ropik & Wijaya, 2019; Basri & Lestari, 2021), while others concentrate on the dynamics of women in Islamic parties at the national level (Prihatini, 2020; Octavia, 2012; Sweinstani, 2019). From the research topic categorization, the majority of existing research on women and Islamic parties focuses on election moments or women's candidacy.

Given the scarcity of research on women in Islamic political parties in Indonesia, there is a significant gap in studies. This research focuses on two aspects, the women's accessibility in membership and leadership within the four Islamic mass-based political parties and their efforts to enhance women's representation in public positions. The practical significance of this research is to provide an understanding of women's positions within Islamic mass-based political parties, using an institutional feminist analysis framework.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study is structured within the framework of feminist research methodology employing qualitative methods through a literature review. Abbott and Wallace (Santoso, 2010) have mentioned research methods with a women's perspective through several criteria: (1) Addressing issues related to women's interests; (2) Emphasizing hypotheses and data relevant to women's interests; (3) The research objective is to understand women's perspectives and promote women's emancipation; and (4) The researcher has a unique relationship with the research subjects. From the outset, the issues investigated have shown a specific interest in women's problems.

Through a feminist perspective, the analytical tool used in this research

is the feminist institutional analysis. Through this theory, two research focuses are analyzed (1) the accessibility of women in the membership and leadership of four Islamic mass-based parties, and (2) efforts to increase women's representation in public positions by these four mass-based Islamic parties.

Data collection methods were carried out through three approaches namely document study, literature review, and interviews with informants within the scope of East Java (one chairman of a Political Party Regional Board and three female legislative members). In the document study, use the AD/ART documents of each political party as the main document. In the literature review method, the collection of articles was conducted both online and offline. Online literature was gathered using primary keywords such as women's representation in Islamic political parties and the feminization of women in Islamic political parties. These keywords were collected primarily from July 2023 to November 2023. Offline searches were conducted through the purchase of several print journals published by the Women's Journal Foundation, addressing topics relevant to women in Islamic political parties.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

This section comprises two subsections: the accessibility of women within the internal structure of political parties for the first part, and efforts to enhance the representation of women in public offices for the second part. Both will be examined from the institutional feminism perspective, a theory derived from new institutionalism, where feminist institutionalists critique new institutionalism for its perceived gender blindness, despite women experiencing exclusion in political institutions based on their gender (Bogaards, 2022; Clavero & Galligan, 2020; Holmes, 2020; Mackay et al., 2010; Thomson, 2018)

Feminist institutionalism adds a new dimension to understanding power and the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion within institutions, by highlighting the power relations embedded in gender norms. (Bogaards, 2022; Chappell, 2014; Clavero & Galligan, 2020; Thomson, 2018) Feminist

institutionalism seeks to include women as key actors in the political process by recognizing that women often experience discrimination and low levels of representation. It directly impacts policies, legislation, laws, quotas, and provides deep insight into the gender underpinnings of political institutions (Childs, 2023)

Both new institutionalism and feminist institutionalism emphasize institutions as an explanatory variables, with the primary principle that changes are driven by the internal dynamics of institutions rather than societal forces. However, gender analysis needs to be integrated into the analysis of new institutions to examine how gender-neutral structures, rules, norms, and practices result in specific impacts on women.

In the context of the selection of female aspirants, Mona Lena Krook (2010) notes three interrelated aspects of gender institutions: systemic, practical, and normative. Systemic refers to the formal characteristics of the political system, such as legislative regulations. Practical aspects pertain to both formal and informal criteria in candidate selection, such as age and party membership. Normative aspects involve values that determine the ways and goals of politics such as beliefs in equality, visible formally in party laws or constitutions, and informally in speeches or comments by elite figures.

Apart from considering gender institutions, a crucial variable in feminist institutional analysis which is contributed by new institutionalism, is their perspective on the existence and interconnection of formal and informal institutions. Understanding both institutions is useful for seeking answers to why the implementation of formal regulations doesn't always lead to expected actions and outcomes due to the existence of informal rules that may not be explicit but are powerful enough to hinder change (Clavero & Galligan, 2020).

At its core, new institutionalism delves into how institutions operate, including how they shape political behavior and how the actions of political actors can alter these institutions. On the one hand, formal institutions refer to official, codified systems like laws, governments, and organizations that are

documented and established by formal procedures. On the other hand, informal institutions consist of unwritten norms, beliefs, and practices that shape how people behave and interact in society. These include cultural norms, social expectations, and informal networks. Both types of institutions play a key role in understanding how political behavior is shaped and how political outcomes are influenced. Formal institutions set the rules and structure, while informal institutions provide the context and norms that affect how those rules are followed and interpreted (Bodnieks, 2020)

In the gender context, informal institutions often play a significant role within formal institutions. Waylen (2014) notes that informal institutions may encompass various entities or practices not regulated by official rules, including unwritten practices influencing social dynamics in a community. Examples of informal institutions include social norms, cultural values, traditions, daily habits, and social networks that influence individual behavior and interactions.

The real world of the intertwining of formal and informal institutions can be seen in Holmes's (Holmes, 2020) research, which investigates the context of international peacekeeping within the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) in 2017. Based on the study shows how changes are implemented and identifies the challenges faced when internal 'institutional enforcers' try to maintain the GAF's current gender order, often resisting changes introduced by both external and internal 'feminist activists.' The interplay of formal and informal institutional barriers creates a challenging environment for women seeking peacekeeping roles.

In Indonesia, policies to affirm women's representation continually face failures, especially at the national level. Through feminist institutional analysis, this research attempts to describe these failures by considering both formal and informal institutions. Why formal institutions, as stipulated, have not been able to increase the number of women, and how practices of informal institutions co-opt formal ones.



## WOMEN ACCESSIBILITY WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES

Accessibility of women in membership and leadership roles within the internal structure of political parties is crucial as it serves as the gateway to women's political roles in public offices. Therefore, the Political Party Law plays a vital role in opening opportunities for women's involvement in the political party. Essentially, the Political Party Law can shape the political environment and influence the role of women in political parties such as providing more opportunities to run for office, increasing their presence in party structures and leadership, and the visibility and influence of women.

In Indonesia, political parties are governed by Law No. 2 of 2011 amending Law No. 2 of 2008, which regulates the minimum quota of women in party leadership as one of the requirements for the establishment and formation of political parties. As a result of this national regulation, in the registration for the 2024 elections, the four parties consecutively had the following numbers of female members at the central level: PPP had 16 out of 46 (34.78%), PKS had 45 out of 130 (34.62%), PAN had 14 out of 41 (35.15%), and PKB had 20 out of 61 (32.79%) (KPU, 2023). Based on this data, all parties have met the minimum quota for women's representation as stipulated by legislation, with PAN achieving the highest and PKB the lowest. The specific quotas in each party can be found in their party constitutions (AD/ART):

**Table 2. Rules for Women in Internal Political Partie**

PPP	PKS	PKB	PAN
<b>AD/ART Article 18 paragraph 3, Article 27 paragraph 3, Article 35 paragraph 3, Article 43 paragraph 5, Article 48 paragraph 3, Article 53 paragraph 3 states that the daily management at the DPP, DPW, DPC, PAC, PR and DPLN levels consists of at least 30% of women from the</b>	ART Article 86 paragraph 2: Recruitment for political positions for prospective members of the DPR-RI, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD is carried out through a screening and screening process that takes into account: (a) membership level;	AD/ART Article 42: Party management structures at all levels must accommodate at least 30% of women	AD/ART Article 27: Placement of cadres in management for each level of party leadership must take into account women's representation of at least 30%.

<b>total number.</b>	(b) integrity, capability and professionalism; (c) women's representation; (d) youth representation; (e) community aspirations
<b>Article 23 paragraph 3: Members of the DPP Party Court consist of at least 2 (two) women.</b>	Article 28: Placement of cadres in legislative positions by PAN, carried out objectively, transparently and decided through a Party Plenary Meeting, taking into account women's representation

Source: Processed from AD/ART of four political parties, (Researcher, 2023)

Examining the formal regulations, each party's constitution's provisions have addressed women's involvement in the management of political parties. However, it should be noted textually that each party has differences, including the placement of cadres for legislative positions (without a specified quota) only found in PAN's constitution. Furthermore, PKS is the only party that doesn't regulate a minimum quota in its party management. Notably, PPP has a provision for a minimum quota of two women in the Central Party Court (DPP). Based on the party constitution, it appears that PPP has a relatively high commitment compared to other parties to enhancing women's quota in party management.

Indeed, besides examining the number of women in the management of political parties, assessing the positions of women is equally important. Are women placed in leadership roles, or are they only positioned in non-strategic roles. In this regard, parties sometimes do not provide opportunities for women to occupy strategic positions in party management, where leadership roles are typically dominated by men (Walahe, 2018).

All four political parties have met the minimum quota for female members. However, it's important to assess whether this is due to a genuine commitment to addressing women's interests or just to fulfill administrative requirements. While meeting the legal quota is a basic step, it's not enough on its own. Gender disparities persist because even with the minimum quota, male and female politicians often have unequal access to key positions within and outside the parties. Therefore, evaluating women's representation should also include an analysis of their leadership roles to better understand their ability to advocate for their interests.

In the context of this research, at the Central Executive Board (DPP) of PPP for the 2016-2021 term, women seem to be accommodated in strategic party positions. In the leadership structure, two women, namely Dini Mentari and Lena Maryana hold key positions. The total number of daily members in the High Council (A'la) of PPP are 14, making women's participation 14.2% of the total leadership structure (Thoriq, 2016). In PKB, out of a total of 26 central members, nine female cadres (34.6%) are part of the DPP PKB 2019-2024 management structure (Ryandi, 2019). Then in PKS, out of a total of 43 members in the Central Leadership Council, four of them are women (9.3%) (PKS, 2020). Unlike PPP, PKB, and PKS, in the list of PAN's central members totaling 10 individuals, none of them are women (Puspa, 2020).

The regulation mandating a minimum quota of women in leadership positions exists only in the PPP, such a regulation is not present in the other three parties. From an institutional feminist viewpoint, the lack of formal regulation should be scrutinized because it often leads to the domination of informal regulations—such as norms, customs, or unwritten rules—that can obstruct women's political participation. According to (MacKay, 2014), gender-biased informal regulations are a subtle form that can obstruct the formation of adequate formal regulations for gender equality, including impeding the effectiveness of existing regulations. The dominance of these informal regulations benefits a group of powerful male elites who, for their

best interests, will maintain the status quo of such institutions.

Returning to the issue of formal regulations on women's quotas within political parties, it's clear that these rules are not fully effective in enhancing women's representation. Beyond focusing on the number of women and their leadership roles, it's also important to consider whether a party has women's wings, as this affects the inclusion and exclusion of female members. Research by Hurriyah & Wildianti (2020) suggests that there is an informal pattern of interrelation between women's wings and political parties, placing wing organizations only as collateral organizations that play a role in bringing the party closer to the women voter but are excluded from the formal power structure and decision-making of political parties. Thus, on one side, women's party wings can build social bases among women voters, but on the other side, they also limit the potential of women to advance their agenda.

Three out of the four parties under this research have women's party wings. In PPP, there is Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan (WPP), aiming to cultivate cadres who are devoted to Allah SWT, knowledgeable, virtuous, skilled, responsible, and beneficial to religion, nation, and state (DPC PPP SITUBONDO, n.d.). Then, in PKB, there is Perempuan Bangsa, which serves as a gathering place for Indonesian women without discriminating based on origin, descent, ethnicity, religion, or profession (DPP PKB, 2019). Meanwhile, in PAN, there is Perempuan Amanat Nasional (PUAN), claiming their organization has autonomous status, with the main function of supporting all PAN's political activities (Antara Megapolitan, 2022).

PKS is the only party without women's party wings. In PKS, activities for women are carried out by a division named Bidang Perempuan dan Ketahanan Keluarga (BPKK). However, when discussing the women's division in the party structure, in fact, the other three parties also have it. PAN and PKB have a women's division named the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Field, while PPP has the Women's Empowerment and Child Field.

The political party law does not mention the clear function of political

party-wing organizations (Panjaitan, 2019; Saleh Muhamad & Nugroho, 2023) However, in practice, divisions, including the women's division are structures that exist within the core of the party, while party wings are organizations that are autonomous but related to the functions and policies of political parties.

The difference in functions between women's wings and women's division in each party is as follows; generally, women's divisions are more functioned in the development of policies related to gender issues, monitoring the implementation of gender equality policies, coordinating activities of female members within the party, and executing the functions of mobilization and socialization to voters. Meanwhile, women's wings move to the external area, acting as a medium between political parties and society, including being a recruitment pool and vote-getter during elections (PUSKAPOL UI, 2019).

In the BPKK of PKS itself, normatively, this division adheres to four pillars: family resilience, strengthening the family resilience paradigm, improving the capacity and characterization of female members, and optimizing institutional relations for women. They believe that the role of women should be built on two dimensions: the fundamental role as a wife and mother, and the expanded role as a member of society (PKS, 2023). Based on these two role dimensions, it appears that PKS's view of women's roles tends to be conservative, emphasizing roles in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, in the context of women's roles in society, Nurman (2017) notes that PKS's recruitment and cadreship policies are conducted under a gender-neutral paradigm.

On the other hand, the PKB manifesto outlines several goals for the women's division, including boosting women's representation and political influence in legislative, executive, and public institutions; promoting women's economic empowerment to strengthen family-based economies; improving access to education and lowering female illiteracy rates; and enhancing protection for children and women from violence and crimes like human trafficking by strengthening law enforcement. According to the PKB manifesto,

PKB's approach to women's issues seems more progressive compared to PKS, as it addresses specific concerns affecting women. However, we could not find documents detailing the roles and functions of the women's divisions in PPP and PAN, which limits our ability to fully compare across four parties.

Based on the elaboration on women's accessibility in the internal structure of political parties, limitations are evident in both formal regulations, whether regulated by the state or internal political parties. Ultimately, the effectiveness of women's presence in political parties depends heavily on informal regulations that often exhibit gender bias and favor male politicians.

### **WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC POSITIONS**

All four political parties in this study have over 30% female members. However, it is worth questioning whether meeting this minimum quota for management positions has actually led to more women in public roles or has contributed to the advancement of gender-responsive policies in the public sphere. For the first question, this can be seen from the number of women who have successfully assumed positions in the government. Specifically, for the legislative context, the complexity of acquiring women's seats begins with how political parties place them in the Daftar Calon Tetap/Permanent Candidate List (DCT) and the candidate's serial number.

Among the three other parties, PPP has the largest number of DCT. They fielded a total of 554 candidates, with 223 (42.06%) of them being women. In the same election, PKB nominated 575 candidates, with 220 (38.26%) being female candidates. Following that, PAN had a total of 575 candidates, with 219 (38.09%) being female candidates. Lastly, PKS had a total of 533 candidates, with 212 female candidates (39.77%) (Perludem, 2018).

All four political parties have exceeded the minimum 30% women quota in their candidate lists, which is not surprising given the national regulations requiring this for election participation. However, to assess each party's commitment to increasing women's representation, it is important to examine how they position women on their candidate lists, as this reflects their

dedication to promoting women's roles within the party.

Unfortunately, the formal state regulations for placing women on candidate lists are limited to the zipper system, which requires that at least one woman be included for every three candidates. This means women can be positioned in spots 1, 2, 3, or multiples thereof, with the exact placement often determined by the political party's internal rules and informal considerations. Here is data on how women were positioned on the candidate lists for the 2019 elections.

**Table 3. Serial Numbers of Female Legislative Candidates in the 2019**

Election Ballots				
SERIAL NUMBER	PPP	PKB	PKS	PAN
1	6,52%	6,94%	2,43%	6,48%
2	8,26%	6,02%	12,14%	8,80%
3	23,91%	25,46%	25,73%	23,15%

Source: Processed from various sources, 2023

Based on Table 3, it is evident that all four political parties tend to place women in the number 3 position. In general, political parties do tend to position women at multiples number of 3. Concerning the four Islamic mass-based political parties, PAN placed 19.44% of women at serial number 6, followed by PPP with 18.70% of women, and PKB with 20.37% of women. It is slightly different in PKS, where, besides the serial number 3 position, women are also frequently placed at number 5, totaling 17.48%.

The facts about the sequence number in the 2019 Elections are as follows: out of 100 women who successfully secured parliamentary seats, 48 women came from the number 1 position, 25 came from the number 2 position, and 12 came from the number 3 position. Therefore, even though the determination of the winner is based on the most votes received, the top sequence number plays a crucial role in the electability of candidates (Puskapol UI, 2019). Based on this fact, it is clear that the effectiveness of the women's quota depends on political parties because the determination of the sequence number is solely their authority. Hence, the seriousness of political parties to increase women's seats can be seen, among other aspects, in the

placement of women on the candidate list. Referring to the articles and bylaws of the four parties, PAN is the only one mentioning the placement of female cadres in legislative positions, even without a minimum quota.

As a result of the arrangement of DCT and the sequence number of women, the following data show the number of women's seats from the four Islamic mass-based political parties in the 2019 elections.

**Table 4. Number of Seats for Islamic Mass-Based Parties from the 2019 Election**

No	Party Name	Total Seats	Women's Chair	% Female Seats
1	PKB	58 Seats	12	20,69
2	PKS	50 Seats	8	16,00
3	PAN	44 Seats	7	15,91
4	PPP	19 Chairs	5	26,32

Source: Processed from various sources, 2023

The parties with the highest number of women seats in the 2019 elections were PKB, followed by PKS, PAN, and PPP. This distribution is essentially linear with each party's vote rankings in the 2019 elections. However, when compared to internal vote distribution within the party, PPP emerges as the party with the largest female representation among other Islamic mass-based parties. The success of PPP in this regard is likely a result of the significant number of women on their DCT.

When discussing the quota system, there are two main types globally based on their regulatory sources: electoral or legislated quotas and voluntary party quotas. Electoral quota binds all political parties participating in the elections, as it is regulated by national law. Conversely, the voluntary party quota applies only to parties that voluntarily set a quota for women (Dahlerup, 2007). The Inter-Parliamentary Union report mentions that the country with the highest female representation, Costa Rica (47.4%), practices both electoral and voluntary party quotas simultaneously. While Sweden, with the second-highest female representation (46.1%), has some political parties practicing the voluntary party quota (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022).



Based on data regarding these quota practices, it appears that increasing women's representation in parliament is more effective when political parties implement voluntary party quotas. However, all political parties participating in elections in Indonesia, including the four Islamic mass-based parties in this study, have not set any voluntary quotas.

Among the four parties, PPP has actually shown a commitment to women even before the government implemented the quota policy in the 2004 elections. This commitment is evident in the results of the 2003 V Congress, which focused on gender equality and justice at all levels of their leadership (Sweinstani, 2019). This commitment was solidified during the 2007 Congress, which specified the minimum number of women to sit at each level of the party's leadership. This means that quotas for female members were established before Law No. 2 of 2008 came into effect. In the context of public office, this commitment is confirmed by the high number of women in PPP's DCT for the national parliamentary elections, the efforts made by PPP can be seen as positive steps towards increasing women's seats.

The critical mass concept, which theoretically represents the minimum number of individuals typically achieved through affirmative policies, is often viewed as inadequate because it does not guarantee significant representation on its own. Therefore, other concepts such as critical actors have emerged. Concerning critical actors, this concept holds a significant place in institutional feminist analysis, helping identify individuals capable of driving gender change in political institutions. In some cases, a small group of critical individuals can be more effective than a large number of women. Alongside institutional feminists, the critical actor concept can enhance our understanding of why some institutions resist change (Thomson, 2018).

The analysis of critical actors can be seen in how women politicians understand and advocate for women's interests. Moreover, it can be observed in the strategic positions accessible to women. From the limited number of women who have successfully obtained public office, the following is a list of

women who have secured leadership positions in the legislature.

**Table 5. Women in Legislative Leadership Positions 2019 - 2024**

Party	Name	Department
PPP	Dra. Hj. Wartiah, M.Pd.	Chairman of the Commission XI Fraction Group
	Hj. Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal, S.E.	Chairman of the Commission X Fraction Group
	Elly Rachmat Yasin	Chairman of the BURT Faction Group
PKS	Dr. Hj. Kurniasih Mufidayati, M.Sc.	Deputy Chairman of Commission IX
	Dr. Hj. Kurniasih Mufidayati, M.Sc.	Deputy Chairman of Commission IX
	Dr. Hj. Anis Byarwati	Deputy Chairman of BAKN
PKB	Ela Siti Nurayah, S.Sos	Leader of the Fraction Group
	Dr. Hj. Nihayatul Wafiroh, M.A.	Deputy Chairman of Commission IX
	Dr. Hj. Anggia Erma Rini, M.K.M.	Deputy Chairman of Commission IV
	Dr. Hj. Nihayatul Wafiroh, M.A.	Deputy Chairman of Commission IX
PAN	drh. Hj. Dewi Coryati, M.Si.	Chairman of the Commission X Fraction Group

Source: Processed from various sources, 2023.

Table 5 is compiled by examining the aspects of leadership in legislative institutions, focusing on the commission chair, deputy commission chair, faction group chair, and bodies in the People's Consultative Assembly (DPR-RI). Based on the table, it is evident that PAN has the fewest women placed in leadership positions. The following table illustrates women in executive institutions for each political party:

**Table 6. Women in Executive Positions 2018 - 2023**

Party	No	Executive Department
PPP	Ade Munawaroh Yasin	Regent of Bogor (2018-2022)
	Mundjidah Wahab	Regent of Jombang (2018-2023)
	Hairiah	Deputy Regent of Sambas (2016-2021)
PKB	Ida Fauziyah	Minister of Manpower (2019-2024)
	Anna Mu'awanah	Regent of Bojonegoro (2018-2023)
	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	Governor of East Java (2019-2023)
	Chusnunia Chalim	Deputy Governor of Lampung (2019-2023)
	Irene Manibuy	Deputy Governor of West Papua (2015-2017)
	Rini Syarifah	Regent of Blitar (2021 - 2024)
	Kartika Hidayati	Deputy Regent of Lamongan (2016-2021)
PAN	Susanti Dewayani	Mayor of Pematangsiantar (2022-2027)
	Siska Karina Imran	Deputy Mayor of Kendari (2017-2022)
	Kustini Sri Purnomo	Regent of Sleman Regency (2021-2026)

Source: Processed from various sources, 2024

Table 6 shows that among the four Islamic-based political parties, PKS

is the only party that doesn't place women in executive leadership positions. PKS's position is indeed an opposition to the President Jokowi, resulting in the absence of ministers from PKS. However, in previous government periods, PKS also never placed women in ministerial positions. This also applies to the positions of regional heads; at least during the 2018 - 2023 period, PKS did not have any female cadres for regional head or deputy regional head seats.

The scarcity of women in strategic positions, both in the legislative and executive branches, raises the question of whether they can be effective critical actors. The issue, besides the small number of female leaders, is that three out of the four parties, namely PPP, PKB, and PAN, are considered to have a strong influence of familism. These parties are often run by elites with family relationships and relationships involving Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) students/disciples/followers. The impact of familism is strongly felt in party decision-making practices, especially in PPP, where decisions such as the formation of the party's management structure and the list of candidates depend on this familism (Alfirdaus & Azahra, 2019).

The data processed by the research team on DPR-RI candidates in 2019 with serial number 1 in the four parties shows that the network of kinship among religious/party elites still dominates. In PPP, out of 14 candidates, seven female candidates come from the network of kinship among religious/party elites. Then in PAN, out of 12 female candidates, seven come from the network of kinship among religious/party elites. In PKS, out of five female candidates placed in the first sequence, one female candidate comes from the religious elite. Finally, in PKB, out of 14 female candidates in the first sequence, five come from the network of religious/party elites. In general, Islamic parties tend to rely heavily on charismatic figures (Rahman & Tungkagi, 2022). In the context of women's representation, indicates that the critical mass figure has not been met, and the emergence of critical actors is hindered by the family ties of religious/party elites, which affects the ineffectiveness of women in participating in the public policy-making process.

Furthermore, we can also see the substantive representation of women to policy products driven/supported by each political party. Several legislative regulations related to women's lives, whether already completed (UU) or still in the proposal/discussion stage (RUU), are shown in the following table:

**Table 7. Fraction Supporting/Rejecting the Legislation Bill for women**

No	Law	Proposing/Supporting Fraction	Rejecting Fraction
1	Sexual Violence Crime Law (TPKS)	Nasdem, PKB, PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra, PD, PAN, and PPP	PKS
2	Family Resilience Bill	PKS, Golkar, Gerindra, and PAN	
3	Gender Justice and Equality Bill (RUU KKG)	Commission VIII DPR-RI, in the process there are six factions (PD, Golkar, PKB, Hanura, PDIP and PPP)	PKS and Gerindra, as well as one faction that has not been able to accept the results of the harmonization of the KKG Bill, is PAN
4	Domestic Workers Protection Bill (PPRT)	Re-proposed by Commission IX DPR-RI. Fractions that support the discussion include PKB, PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra, Nasdem, PKS, PAN, PPP	PD

Source: processed from various sources, 2024

Among all the laws discussed, the Sexual Violence Criminal Law (TPKS) is the most controversial. During its deliberation, eight factions accepted the draft law's results from the Working Committee. However, PKS opposed it, arguing that the approval of the TPKS bill should be aligned with the approval of the Criminal Code Law (RKUHP) (DPR RI, n.d.).

The discussion of the TPKS Law is intriguing as it reveals the religious perspectives of the four Islamic-based mass political parties towards women. Three out of the four parties support it with the following considerations: PPP fraction supports the TPKS bill as an initiative of the DPR-RI with a primary emphasis on restorative justice in law enforcement against perpetrators. Next, the PKB fraction believes that sexual violence contradicts Islamic values; therefore, they approve the endorsement of the TPKS bill with a primary note that the definition of sexual violence should include physical, psychological, and economic harm, as well as the necessity for easy access to justice for the victims. Meanwhile, the PAN fraction holds the view that eradicating stigma

against victims requires the participation of society, ensuring that victims feel protected and accepted within the community (DPR RI, n.d.).

In contrast to the other three parties, PKS explicitly rejects the TPKS bill. They argue that the bill does not comprehensively cover all immoral acts, including sexual violence, adultery, and sexual deviance (PKS, 2023). PKS expresses concerns about adultery, free sexual lifestyles and the consequences such as unwanted pregnancies and abortions. Hence, they propose that the TPKS bill should include prohibitions against adultery and sexual deviance, as well as prohibit sexual relationships based on deviant sexual orientations (LGBT). In responding to the TPKS bill, all four political parties essentially consider universal Islamic values. However, regarding the stance of PKS, it demonstrates a conservative perspective compared to the other.

The conservative perspective of PKS on the role of women in politics can also be seen in the statements made by party figures. During the 2009 presidential election, PKS Deputy Secretary Zulkieflymansyah mentioned that the hearts of PKS supporters favored Jusuf Kalla-Wiranto because his wife wore a hijab. Subsequently, Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (DPR-RI) from the F-PKS, Mahfud Sidik, suggested that the wives of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Boediono, should wear Islamic clothing to enhance their appeal among Muslim voters. Here, it is evident how PKS views women's clothing as a symbol of a 'good' society exploited for political purposes. Although PKS has met the minimum quotas for both management and female candidate lists, including supporting women to run in regional elections, these practices can be seen as pragmatism, an effort to reach out to female constituents (Octavia, 2012).

Referring to Mona Lena Krook (2010) regarding the configuration of three institutional aspects in institutional feminism, namely systemic, practical, and normative, where these three institutional aspects work together, shaping the characteristics of who is selected and not selected as political candidates. Among these three analytical aspects, the statements of

the figure mentioned earlier can be categorized as normative-informal aspects, representing the values and beliefs of politicians regarding gender equality.

Furthermore, the values and beliefs of Islamic mass-based parties can be associated with the typology of Islamic political parties. Romli (2012) noted that in the early of reform era, there were three types of Islamic party in Indonesia: traditionalist groups that no longer advocated the Jakarta Charter (such as PKB), revivalist groups (PK/PKS) proposing a compromise, namely "a state based on the One and Only God with worship according to their respective religions." Then there were modernist groups (PPP and PBB) advocating the Jakarta Charter but not for establishing an Islamic state.

Regarding the Jakarta Charter, PKB and PAN disagree with the implementation of Sharia, as does the Justice Party, which rejects the formalization of Sharia. Based on their stance toward the Jakarta Charter, the actions of Islamic parties are more appropriately described as pragmatic rather than ideological. Concerning the ideological practices of mass-based Islamic parties, PKB and PAN position their parties as open to followers of any religion (Herdiansah, 2017). The other two parties, PPP and PKS, basically placed their parties as open party, with one of their characteristics being openness to candidates from non-Muslim groups.

The open stance of the four parties is aimed at gaining more constituents. However, in the context of women's interests, they exhibit a pragmatic stance on one side and a patriarchal stance on the other. This can be seen in the subsequent normative-informal institutional aspect, during the discussion of Regulation of the General Election Commission (PKPU) No. 10 of 2023 regarding the nomination of members of the national and local parliament. The problematic point in this PKPU is in Article 8 paragraph 2a, which regulates the calculation of the number of female legislative candidates. In the calculation, if 30% of the number of female candidate in each electoral district results in a decimal, and if the two digits after the decimal point are less than 50, the calculation result is rounded down. Conversely, if it reaches

50 or more, the calculation result is rounded up.

The consequences of this PKPU is a reduction in the political party's obligation to promote women's representation. Ultimately, electoral districts with seat sizes of 4, 7, 8, and 11 lose the opportunity to force parties to meet at least 30% women in the list of candidate. Substantially, this PKPU is an indication of the looseness of regulations for political parties to fulfill quotas.

The rejection of PKPU No. 10 of 2023 was responded to by holding a hearing meeting (RDP) on May 17, 2023, involving the General Election Commission, Election Supervisory Board, Election Organizer Honorary Council, and the Ministry of Home Affairs. The RDP meeting ended with each fraction's viewpoints being presented, represented by male legislators, with a male perspective. The Chairpersons of the Fraction Groups (Kapoksi) of PKS, PAN, and PPP each expressed views essentially against changes to the PKPU, to avoid legal uncertainty. Similar to the other three parties, Kapoksi of PKB also did not want new regulations because the formula used in PKPU, rounding to the nearest, was considered suitable for mathematical formulas. As a result, the RDP decided that PKPU 10/2023 doesn't need a revision.

Referring to the RDP process, it is apparent that the gender aspects of institutions, both systemic, practical, and normative, influence each other, leading the four mass-based Islamic parties under research to contribute to systematic efforts to reduce women's seats in parliament.

## **CONCLUSION**

The dynamics of women's political representation demonstrate how formal institutions, both at the state and political party levels, have not yet fully supported representation descriptively and substantively. The weakness of formal institutions is closely tied to the significant influence of the first layer, namely informal institutions. In this first layer, decision-making considerations are often influenced by gender-biased perspectives.

Examining the relationship between formal and informal institutions shows that decision-making practices in the four mass-based Islamic political

parties tend to be male-biased, and favor men. This advantage is certainly evident in the ineffectiveness of various affirmative policies that have been encouraged by the state. Resistance to gender-sensitive change can be seen in the lack of institutional support for women's interests, as shown by the absence of quota policies within the parties and challenges in implementing gender-sensitive policy changes in the government.

Nevertheless, the religious differences among these four parties need to be highlighted to understand their influence on party decisions. In this regard, PPP, PKB, and PAN can be grouped due to their relatively constructive and moderate tendencies toward efforts to increase women's representation, despite often being constrained by familialism where family connections heavily influence political processes and power structures. On the other hand, the conservative religious views of PKS clearly serve as a strong basis for their decision-making practices. These views impact the lack of institutional support for female cadres, the difficulty women face in accessing leadership positions both internally and externally within the party, and their weak support for public policies aiming to protect women.

Formally, the existence of affirmative policies driven by the state is not enough if mass-based Islamic political parties adopt pragmatic and patriarchal (even conservative) stances in accommodating women's interests in politics. These attitudes can be seen in the absence of party rules that support the legislated quota system, as well as in the positions taken when approving or rejecting draft legislation. Therefore, an overall evaluation of gender institutionalization in the four mass-based Islamic political parties indicates a weak institutionalized status.

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