

**T.C.
İSTANBUL KÜLTÜR UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**GENDER AND DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND
REPRESENTATION IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY
CONTEXTS, WITH A FOCUS ON JAKARTA AND MADURA**

MA Thesis by

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**Department: International Relations
Programme : International Relations**

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nazlı Çağın Bilgili

OCTOBER 2025

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ÖZET

Bu tez, Endonezya'da toplumsal cinsiyet ve demokrasi arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi, kadınların siyasi katılımı ve temsili açısından Jakarta ve Madura gibi birbirinden farklı iki bölgeyi karşılaştırarak incelemektedir. Tarihsel olarak, Endonezya siyasetinde kadınların rolleri, sömürge öncesi gelenekler, sömürge etkisi ve bağımsızlık sonrası reformlarla şekillenmiş çeşitli evrelerden geçmiştir. Çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin hem gerçek bir demokrasinin göstergesi hem de itici gücü olduğunu vurgulamakta ve yerel kültürel normlar, dini değerler ve sosyo-politik yapıların kadınların siyasi etkinliği üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmaktadır.

Nicel karşılaştırmalı bir yöntemle yürütülen araştırmada, Jakarta ve Madura bölgelerinde eşit sayıda toplam 60 katılımcıdan veri toplanmıştır. Kadınların siyasi katılımına yönelik algılar, kadın temsiline verilen destek ve toplumsal cinsiyet kotası politikalarına yönelik tutumlar ölçülmüştür. Tanımlayıcı analizler, güvenilirlik ve geçerlilik testleri ile Mann–Whitney U ve bağımsız t-testi gibi karşılaştırmalı istatistiksel araçlar kullanılarak iki bölge arasındaki anlamlı farklılıklar belirlenmiştir. Bulgular, Jakarta'nın daha kapsayıcı ve destekleyici bir ortam sunduğunu, buna karşılık Madura'nın ataerkil ve dini gelenekler nedeniyle kadınların siyasi rollerini sınırlayan daha kısıtlayıcı bir yapıya sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Hukuki reformlar ve toplumsal cinsiyet kotası politikaları yoluyla ulusal düzeydeki çabalara rağmen, özellikle Madura gibi kırsal bölgelerde önemli engeller devam etmektedir. Araştırma, Endonezya'da kadınların siyasi katılımını artırmak için yalnızca kurumsal reformları değil, aynı zamanda derin kültürel tutumları da dikkate alan bağlama duyarlı stratejilere ihtiyaç duyulduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bölgeye özgü analizler sunarak bu çalışma, daha kapsayıcı bir demokrasi anlayışına katkı sağlamakta ve politika yapıcılar için toplumsal cinsiyet duyarlı yönetişimin ve eşit siyasi fırsatların güçlendirilmesine yönelik önerilerde bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Demokrasi, Kadınların Siyasi Katılımı, Jakarta, Madura, Siyasi Temsil, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kotaları, Endonezya.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the complex relationship between gender and democracy in Indonesia by comparing women's political participation and representation in two contrasting regions: Jakarta and Madura. Historically, women's roles in Indonesian politics have evolved through phases shaped by pre-colonial customs, colonial influence, and post-independence reforms. The study highlights how gender equality is both a benchmark and a driving force for a truly democratic society, and explores how local cultural norms, religious values, and socio-political structures continue to influence the political agency of women.

Using a quantitative comparative approach, the research collected data from 60 respondents equally divided between Jakarta and Madura. It measured perceptions of women's political participation, support for female representation, and attitudes toward gender quota policies. Statistical tools such as descriptive analysis, reliability and validity testing, and comparative tests (Mann–Whitney U and independent t-tests) were used to identify significant differences between the two regions. The findings reveal that while Jakarta presents a more inclusive and supportive environment, Madura remains more constrained by patriarchal and religious traditions, which inhibit women's political roles.

Despite national efforts through legal reforms and gender quota policies, significant barriers remain especially in rural areas like Madura. The research concludes that advancing women's political participation in Indonesia requires context-sensitive strategies that address not only institutional reforms but also deeply embedded cultural attitudes. By offering region-specific insights, this study contributes to a more inclusive understanding of democracy and provides recommendations for policymakers to strengthen gender-sensitive governance and equal political opportunities.

Keywords: Gender, Democracy, Women's Political Participation, Jakarta, Madura, Political Representation, Gender Quotas, Indonesia.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

Indonesia, the largest archipelagic country in the world, possesses a rich diversity of cultures, languages, and religions. Throughout its history, Indonesian society has undergone numerous significant transformations influenced by pre-colonial traditions, colonialism, and post-independence movements. One important aspect of this evolution is the role of women in politics (Jandevi, 2019).

The historical context of women's political participation in Indonesia reflects a journey influenced by various cultural traditions and socio-political transformations. In the pre-colonial era, matrilineal societies such as the Minangkabau in Sumatra demonstrated the significant economic and social roles of women, including in leadership positions and participation in decision-making processes. Women were actively involved in trade, agriculture, and handicraft industries, contributing to the pre-colonial economy. However, Dutch colonialism introduced patriarchal norms and restrictions on women's autonomy, impacting their status and opportunities for political involvement (Rhoads and Elizabeth, 2012).

During the post-independence period, women played an important role in the nationalist movement, advocating for education and empowerment. The Indonesian Constitution includes provisions regarding gender equality, but translating these rights into actual opportunities for political participation by women requires ongoing efforts. Gradually, women began to be more active in politics, gaining representation in the Indonesian parliament and regional government institutions.

Religion and other forms of culture exist in nearly limitless variety, with older forms fading away and new forms constantly emerging. Cultural influences, including religious diversity and traditional norms, continue to shape gender dynamics in Indonesia. The influence of Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and other

religions varies in each region, affecting women's rights and roles differently. Traditional beliefs and practices, such as *adat* or customary law, also impact women's social status and their political participation. Additionally, family and community structures play a significant role in shaping women's opportunities to engage in politics, including through informal leadership roles within those structures. Ongoing barriers to women's political participation persist, including cultural stereotypes, discriminatory laws, and limited access to resources and education (Annamaria Milazzo and Markus Goldstein, 2019). Initiatives from the government and civil society, such as gender quotas and capacity-building programs, aim to promote women's leadership and political participation. Recent trends indicate the emergence of women's advocacy groups, increased parliamentary representation, and the use of social media as a tool for political activism. Understanding this complex historical context is crucial for policymakers and activists to address the ongoing challenges and create a more inclusive and equitable political landscape for women in Indonesia (David Sloan Wilsona, Yasha Hartberg, Ian MacDonald, Jonathan A. Lanman, and Harvey Whitehouse, 2016).

Moreover, Indonesia has a colonial legacy, particularly under Dutch rule, that deeply influenced gender relations and women's involvement in politics. Dutch colonization focused on economic exploitation, leading to the establishment of a plantation economy system that affected traditional gender roles and family structures. Dutch colonial ideology also promoted patriarchal norms, which restricted women's autonomy and placed them in subordinate positions within society. These dynamics shaped the roles of women during the colonial period, including their participation in domestic labor, access to education, and employment opportunities. Although opportunities in colonial administration were extremely limited, women still played roles in resistance movements against colonial oppression. This period also marked the emergence of feminist discourse among Indonesian women who advocated for rights and gender equality. Nevertheless, the persistence of patriarchal norms and the integration of colonial-era laws into the modern legal system continue to contribute to gender inequality in Indonesian society today. Even so, Indonesian women have demonstrated resilience

by rejecting and challenging colonial legacies while reclaiming local cultural practices and promoting alternative narratives of gender empowerment. Understanding the colonial legacy is crucial to addressing contemporary challenges and advancing gender equality in postcolonial Indonesia. By acknowledging the complexity of this legacy, policymakers and activists can work to dismantle structural barriers and create a more inclusive and just society for all Indonesians. This requires sustained efforts to reform discriminatory policies, empower women politically and economically, and promote cultural resilience and diversity (Prianti, 2019).

In the post-independence era, Indonesia embarked on a journey of transition and reform with the goal of promoting gender equality and politically empowering women. The government initiated various efforts to address gender disparities and enhance women's participation in the political process. This essay explores Indonesia's post-independence initiatives, focusing on the adoption of relevant laws and policies to promote gender equality. Constitutional provisions were introduced to uphold the principles of gender equality, complemented by anti-discrimination laws aimed at preventing gender-based discrimination in employment, education, and political participation. Additionally, the implementation of gender quotas and affirmative measures were intended to increase women's representation in political institutions, in order to shape a more inclusive political landscape.

Nonetheless, women's political representation has become a central focus, with attention given to legislative representation, political party dynamics, and leadership in local government. Analyses show trends in women's electoral success and their levels of representation over time, while also highlighting challenges in securing party nominations and electoral support. Despite these ongoing challenges, various efforts to increase women's representation at the subnational level are still being carried out, including initiatives targeting leadership roles in local governance. Government-led programs and initiatives play a critical role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. National action plans and strategies aimed at mainstreaming gender perspectives into government policies

and programs have sought to integrate women's needs and priorities into decision-making processes.

However, significant challenges remain, including cultural barriers, structural obstacles, and deeply ingrained gender norms. Cultural norms and societal attitudes continue to pose challenges to women's political participation by reinforcing traditional gender roles and stereotypes. Structural barriers within political institutions and the electoral system limit women's access to political power, exacerbated by factors such as lack of financial resources and electoral violence. Nevertheless, civil society organizations, women's groups, and grassroots movements play vital roles in advocating for gender equality and holding the government accountable for its commitments to women's rights and empowerment. The future vision for women's political participation in Indonesia emphasizes the importance of ongoing efforts by the government, civil society, and the international community to create a more inclusive and just political landscape. Policy recommendations include reforms to electoral laws, increased support for female candidates, and gender-sensitive governance practices. By prioritizing gender equality and women's empowerment, Indonesia can strengthen its democratic institutions and realize its full potential as a diverse and inclusive society.

Furthermore, the gap between urban and rural areas significantly affects women's political participation and representation in Indonesia, particularly when comparing Jakarta, the urban capital, with Madura, a rural region. This essay examines the complexity of these differences by exploring how socio-economic disparities and cultural norms shape women's political engagement differently in each region. In Jakarta, as the economic and political hub of Indonesia, women have more opportunities due to greater access to education, employment, and economic resources. Conversely, Madura, with its rural landscape and limited economic opportunities, presents challenges such as barriers to education and economic empowerment for women.

Cultural norms and traditions also play a critical role in shaping women's political participation. Jakarta's cosmopolitan environment has encouraged a shift in traditional gender roles and values, while Madura's patriarchal culture—strongly influenced by Islamic beliefs—limits women's autonomy and agency in decision-making processes. Despite these differences, both regions continue to face challenges in achieving gender equality in politics, albeit in different contexts.

Women's political participation shows significant disparities between Jakarta and Madura, reflecting the diverse socio-political dynamics of each region. In Jakarta, women are actively involved in government institutions, civil society organizations, and grassroots movements, supported by a progressive legal framework, better access to education, and more substantial economic resources. As the national capital and a political barometer, Jakarta has made progress in increasing women's political engagement, with promising developments in participation rates and improvements in gender inequality indices. However, these achievements still fall short of the minimum target of 30% female representation in parliament. For example, in the 2014 and 2019 elections, the proportion of female legislators in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of DKI Jakarta increased only moderately, from 19.8% in 2014 to 21.7% in 2019. The presence of women in political parties and parliament in Jakarta adds a distinctive and evolving dynamic to the political landscape (Dharmayudha, 2024). In addition, initiatives such as capacity-building programs and gender mainstreaming efforts have significantly empowered women, strengthening their leadership roles in political and social contexts.

Conversely, women in Madura face deeply rooted challenges stemming from traditional patriarchal structures. Research by Hannan (2016) illustrates how patriarchal norms are deeply embedded in Madurese society, where men are consistently regarded as superior to women. This systemic inequality is reinforced by fundamentalist religious values and cultural traditions that prioritize women's roles within the family, thereby limiting their agency in public decision-making processes (Hefni, 2019). Furthermore, limited access to education and economic

empowerment further restricts women's capacity to participate politically and take on leadership roles.

Efforts to promote women's political empowerment also differ significantly between the two regions. In Jakarta, government-led initiatives, civil society engagement, and structured programs such as capacity-building trainings and gender mainstreaming have created a supportive environment for women to assume leadership and political roles. In contrast, in Madura, progress heavily depends on grassroots initiatives and community-based campaigns that challenge deeply ingrained gender norms. While these efforts are important, they often face resistance due to the strong patriarchal culture, making systemic change difficult to achieve.

Bridging the gap between urban and rural areas requires a comprehensive strategy tailored to the unique challenges and opportunities of each region. Policy recommendations should focus on improving access to education, economic opportunities, and political spaces for women in rural areas, while also addressing patriarchal norms and supporting women's leadership in urban centers. Community engagement and collaboration between government institutions, civil society organizations, and local communities are crucial for developing context-specific solutions that address the diverse needs of women in Jakarta and Madura. Ultimately, prioritizing women's political empowerment and promoting inclusive governance will contribute to a more equitable and participatory democracy in Indonesia, benefiting all citizens regardless of location or socioeconomic status.

The legal framework governing gender equality and women's rights in Indonesia plays a vital role in shaping the social landscape, especially in the political sphere. This essay examines the complex legal structure, beginning with constitutional provisions that have evolved since independence to uphold principles of gender equality and prohibit gender-based discrimination. Mechanisms for enforcing these provisions—including the judiciary and government institutions are essential in guaranteeing women's rights and ensuring accountability. Anti-discrimination laws constitute another critical aspect of Indonesia's legal

framework, covering sectors such as employment, education, healthcare, and political participation. Analyzing the scope and reach of these laws provides insight into their effectiveness in preventing gender-based discrimination and promoting equal opportunities for women.

In addition, an evaluation of law enforcement mechanisms highlights the pathways available for victims of discrimination to seek legal justice and hold perpetrators accountable, contributing to a fairer framework for women's political representation. Political representation quotas are a proactive measure aimed at addressing gender disparities in legislative bodies. Examining the legal basis and implementation mechanisms of these quotas offers a perspective on their impact in enhancing women's participation and influence in decision-making processes. Assessing their effectiveness provides valuable insights into the progress made toward gender equality in political representation.

Despite significant progress in promoting gender equality through the legal framework, challenges and limitations remain. These include gaps in legal protection, lack of awareness of rights, and deeply entrenched cultural and social norms that hinder the implementation of gender equality laws. Addressing these challenges requires political will and commitment, accompanied by comprehensive legal reforms to strengthen the legal framework and overcome cultural barriers.

Opportunities for improvement lie in legal reform, awareness-raising initiatives, and civil society engagement. Proposing legal reforms to strengthen existing laws, accompanied by educational efforts to promote gender equality and women's rights, can foster the creation of a more inclusive and just society. Additionally, cooperation and collaboration between Indonesia and international partners can provide crucial support in advancing gender equality and women's rights, while ensuring Indonesia remains committed to its international obligations and commitments in this area.

Political institutions serve as the backbone of governance and decision-making processes in Indonesia and strongly influence women's access to political power. This essay explores the role of political parties, the electoral system, and

decision-making mechanisms in Jakarta, the urban capital, and Madura, a rural region. In Jakarta, structured political institutions such as the Provincial DPRD (Regional House of Representatives) of DKI Jakarta and city councils provide formal pathways for political participation, although they are still influenced by the ideologies and strategies of political parties. In contrast, Madura's political landscape is marked by the dominance of traditional leaders and local elites, which shape women's political opportunities in different ways.

Political parties play a crucial role in candidate selection and the electoral process, thereby influencing women's access to political power. While Jakarta offers more formal opportunities for participation, politics in Madura is often shaped by traditional structures, creating additional challenges for female representation. Decision-making processes within political institutions are influenced by patriarchal structures and gender norms, which hinder women's ability to impact political outcomes. Overcoming these barriers requires addressing structural constraints, promoting gender-sensitive policies, and empowering women through capacity-building programs and civil society involvement.

The structure and functioning of political institutions significantly affect women's access to political power in Jakarta and Madura. While Jakarta provides more formal avenues for political participation, Madura's political dynamics are influenced by traditional hierarchies. Political parties play a vital role in selecting candidates and guiding the electoral process, while patriarchal norms continue to shape decision-making within political institutions. Addressing barriers to women's political participation requires tackling these structural issues and promoting inclusive governance through gender-sensitive policies, ultimately fostering a more equitable democracy in Indonesia.

Civil society organizations, women's groups, and grassroots movements are pivotal in advocating for gender equality and women's rights in Indonesia. This essay examines their multifaceted role in shaping political discourse and influencing policy agendas, highlighting their sustained efforts to promote women's empowerment and combat gender-based discrimination. By exploring the historical

context of the rise of civil society and the development of women's movements, we gain insights into their enduring commitment to advancing gender equality.

The advocacy strategies employed by civil society organizations are diverse and impactful. These range from policy advocacy aimed at raising awareness of gender-based discrimination and violence against women, to legal advocacy that supports victims and engages in strategic litigation. Such efforts significantly contribute to shaping Indonesia's legal and social environment. Moreover, coalition building, networking platforms, and international partnerships amplify their voices and strengthen their collective influence, despite challenges such as legal constraints, limited funding, and political resistance. Success stories and achievements underscore the tangible results of civil society's advocacy, including legislative reforms addressing gender-based violence and discrimination.

Grassroots initiatives and community-led projects play a vital role in empowering women, challenging traditional gender norms, and fostering social inclusion at the local level. Public awareness campaigns have also been instrumental in rallying support for women's rights and gender equality, illustrating the transformative power of civil society advocacy.

Strengthening legal frameworks, enhancing the capacity of civil society organizations, and innovating advocacy strategies are essential steps toward further progress in gender equality and women's rights in Indonesia. By fostering collaboration and solidarity among diverse stakeholders, Indonesia can work toward a more inclusive and equitable society where women are empowered to fully participate and thrive—reflecting the core values of democracy and human rights.

1.2 Research Problems and Objectives

Women's political participation and representation in Indonesia continue to face challenges stemming from cultural, social, and public perception factors. Jakarta, as a metropolitan city characterized by diversity and high access to information, and Madura, as a region with deeply rooted traditional values, offer

contrasting contexts in their views on women's roles in the political sphere. These differences raise questions about how communities in the two regions perceive women's involvement in politics and the extent to which support is given for women's political representation.

Based on this background, the research problems formulated in this study are as follows:

1. How does society perceive women's political participation and leadership in Jakarta and Madura?
2. Is there a difference in the level of support for women's political representation between the communities in Jakarta and Madura?

In line with these research questions, the objectives of this study are:

1. To describe public perceptions of women's political participation and leadership in Jakarta and Madura.
2. To compare the level of public support for women's political representation in Jakarta and Madura.

1.3 Significance of the Research

This research holds significance in providing empirical, data-driven insights into public perceptions and patterns of women's political participation in Indonesia, particularly in the regions of Jakarta and Madura. By employing a comparative quantitative approach, the study offers a deeper understanding of how gender and democracy interact within differing sociocultural contexts.

Specifically, this research is expected to contribute in the following ways:

1. Regional Comparison

This study identifies differences in perceptions and levels of women's political participation between Jakarta and Madura, serving as a foundation

for designing more context-sensitive strategies to enhance women's participation, tailored to the characteristics of each region.

2. Current Snapshot of Public Perceptions

Utilizing survey data, the research presents an up-to-date picture of how society views the role of women in politics. These findings can be used as a reference to understand the social and cultural barriers that continue to hinder gender equality in the political arena.

3. Input for Public Policy

The research explores public views on affirmative policies such as gender quotas. The findings can be used to inform the evaluation and refinement of policies aimed at increasing women's political representation.

4. Sociodemographic Analysis

The study also examines how factors such as age, gender, education level, and occupation influence public attitudes toward women's involvement in politics. These findings provide important insights into which demographic groups support or do not yet support gender equality.

5. Strengthening Inclusive Democracy

The findings of this study support the development of a more inclusive democracy by highlighting regions or social groups that show strong support for women's leadership, while also identifying areas that still require increased participation and gender awareness.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This thesis explores the relationship between gender and democracy in Indonesia through a comparative quantitative approach focusing on public perceptions, as well as the levels of political participation and representation of women in Jakarta and Madura. The selection of these two regions is based on their social, cultural, and political contrasts: Jakarta represents a relatively progressive

urban area, while Madura reflects a more conservative rural region. The study focuses on public attitudes, awareness of gender-affirmative policies, and patterns of women's political engagement. The objective is to reveal measurable gaps and identify the factors influencing support for women in the political sphere across different regional contexts.

The structure of this thesis is organized into five chapters, as follows:

Chapter I: Introduction

This chapter explains the background of the problem, the research questions, objectives, and the significance of the study. It also outlines the rationale for selecting the research locations, as well as the scope and limitations of the research. This chapter serves as a foundation for understanding the context and direction of the study.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and relevant previous studies, covering concepts such as gender and democracy, political representation, gender-affirmative policies, and the influence of cultural values. The review also includes relevant national and international quantitative studies that examine public attitudes and the effectiveness of policies related to women's political participation.

Chapter III: Research Methodology

This chapter details the quantitative research design employed, including sampling techniques, survey instrument design, and data collection procedures. Additionally, it outlines the data analysis techniques used, including validity and reliability testing of the instruments, descriptive statistical analysis, and comparative tests to identify differences between Jakarta and Madura.

Chapter IV: Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the findings of the survey, comparing public perceptions and patterns of women's political participation between respondents in Jakarta and Madura. The discussion includes analysis based on sociodemographic variables

such as age, gender, education, and occupation, as well as an evaluation of public perception regarding the effectiveness of gender quota policies.

Chapter V: Conclusion

The final chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and discusses their implications for building a more inclusive democracy and achieving gender equality in Indonesia. It also provides policy recommendations and suggestions for future research, particularly region-based quantitative studies for deeper exploration.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Gender and Democracy

Gender is generally understood as the differentiation of roles, statuses, and attributes assigned to men and women through social and cultural constructions (Nurhaeni, 2009). Oakley (1972), as cited in Fakihi (1999), defines gender as the behavioral differences between men and women that are socially constructed, in contrast to innate characteristics or what is perceived as divine nature. These differences arise from ongoing social and cultural interactions that shape roles and expectations over time. According to Hasples and Suriyasarn (2005), gender serves as a social variable to analyze the disparities between men and women, including their roles, responsibilities, opportunities, and challenges within society.

The relationship between gender and democracy is a close one, as the recognition of women's political rights is crucial to achieving a more inclusive and representative system of governance. This recognition was formally affirmed by the ratification of the *Convention on the Political Rights of Women*, a key United Nations convention that guarantees women the right to vote, run for office, and hold public positions on an equal basis with men, free from discrimination. Similarly, Indonesia's ratification of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) and the enactment of Law No. 7 of 1984 further institutionalize women's political rights. These steps reflect a commitment to eliminating discrimination and promoting women's political participation, aligning gender equality with democratic principles.

The theoretical connection between gender and democracy is reinforced by historical trends and research findings. Beer (2009) highlights that democracy and gender equality are mutually reinforcing, with women's participation being vital to sustaining democratic traditions. Historical examples, such as women's suffrage, demonstrate how democratic practices create pathways for women to influence governance and policymaking. Countries with long-standing democratic traditions

and early women's enfranchisement tend to show higher levels of women's political representation and labor force participation. These countries also often experience better social outcomes for women, such as longer life expectancy and lower birth rates, reflecting the broader benefits of inclusive governance structures.

A useful framework for analyzing the development of women's political representation is the economic concept of supply and demand. According to Norris and Lovenduski (1995), women's representation depends on the availability of qualified female candidates (supply) and the willingness of the political system and society to accept and promote those candidates (demand). However, systemic barriers such as institutional bias, social norms, and stereotypes continue to limit women's political opportunities. Efforts to overcome these barriers often involve the implementation of quota systems and affirmative action policies, which have proven effective in promoting greater gender equality in political representation.

Feminist perspectives further enrich the discourse on gender and democracy by emphasizing the need to challenge systemic inequalities. Eisenstein (1994) critiques traditional democratic frameworks for excluding marginalized groups, particularly women of color. She argues that concepts like universal democratic rights are often shaped by race, gender, and class-specific experiences, calling for a reimagining of democracy that includes diverse voices. This perspective underscores the importance of addressing structural inequities in order to build more inclusive institutions.

Lessons from other countries provide valuable insights into how gender and democracy intersect. For instance, Iran's experience with the gendered implications of Islamization policies illustrates the complexities of integrating gender equality into democratization processes. Iranian women played crucial roles in resisting democratic repression during the 1980s and continued to engage in civil activism in the 1990s, culminating in the election of the first Islamist reformist government. However, they faced significant challenges in securing feminist spaces within a political system that often marginalized gender issues (Paidar, 2001). The divide between Islamist and secular feminists in Iran reveals ongoing debates over the

compatibility of Islam and feminism, as well as the universality of women's rights. These tensions also resonate in other regions, including Indonesia, where religious and cultural norms influence gender dynamics.

Ultimately, the advancement of gender equality and women's political representation is both a measure and a driver of the health of a democracy. As Indonesia continues to address these issues, tackling systemic barriers and promoting inclusive governance will be essential. In doing so, democracy can evolve into a truly representative system that reflects and supports the needs of its diverse citizenry.

2.2 Theories of Democracy and Gender Equality

Opportunities for women's representation in elected office are shaped by various factors, including institutional contexts and available resources. The type of electoral system and the implementation of affirmative action strategies within party lists significantly influence these opportunities. Such strategies can increase the likelihood of women being elected by ensuring a minimum number of female candidates or allocating reserved seats for women. In addition, the resources individuals possess to pursue legislative careers—such as social networks and employment—are crucial, as they provide the support and opportunities women need to enter and sustain political careers (Ronald Inglehart, Pippa Norris, and Christian Welzel, 2003).

Beyond institutional factors, trends toward gender equality are closely linked to broader cultural shifts and the processes of democratization. Historically, women only gained the right to vote in the 20th century, and their political representation remained limited for decades. The timeline for granting women suffrage varies across cultural and religious contexts, with Protestant countries generally extending voting rights earlier than Catholic nations. Today, women remain underrepresented in parliaments and cabinets worldwide. The growing emphasis on gender equality is now viewed as a key element of democratization,

reflecting a broader cultural shift toward post-materialist values. This shift—from material concerns to values of self-expression and quality of life—supports gender equality and democratization, indicating that modernization drives cultural change that enhances women’s representation in the public sphere and supports the development of democratic institutions.

Customary law often contains provisions that discriminate against women, violating constitutional guarantees of equality. These practices are deeply rooted in many traditions and cultural norms, making the realization of gender equality a major challenge. Although constitutional protections exist, women’s rights are often compromised by customary law, leading to continued systemic inequality. However, the theory of deliberative democracy offers a means to reconcile the protection of customary law with the enforcement of gender equality by emphasizing dialogue and contestation within cultural communities. This approach suggests that legal systems should empower women to influence and reform the customary laws of their communities. By encouraging internal dialogue, women can advocate for their rights and shape the norms that govern their lives. This method also addresses the backlash that often arises when legal rights are imposed externally and supports women in driving change from within their own communities. Programs following this approach aim to increase women’s agency and leadership and to promote meaningful and sustainable changes in customary law and gender relations. Thus, while constitutional guarantees of equality are vital, deliberative democracy offers tools for achieving community-based, lasting change that ultimately enhances the protection of women’s rights within customary legal frameworks (Williams, 2011).

Inglehart and Norris (2002) argue that the primary conflict between the Islamic world and the West centers more on gender equality than on democracy itself. This perspective highlights significant cultural differences regarding women’s rights and social roles, which often obscure democratic aspirations. However, to validate this conclusion, it is essential to compare attitudes between Arab and non-Arab Muslim societies. Studies show that non-Arab Muslim

countries generally demonstrate greater support for women's rights, and individuals who support gender equality in these countries are also more likely to endorse democratic principles. This indicates a strong relationship between gender equality and democracy in non-Arab Muslim contexts, suggesting that the two concepts reinforce one another.

Helen Rizzo, Abdel-Hamid Abdel-Latif, and Katherine Meyer (2007) also argue that Arab Muslim countries show a weaker correlation between support for women's rights and democratic governance. Cultural and religious norms in these societies may explain this difference, suggesting that democratization in the Arab Middle East requires a distinct approach. Building a strong legal framework that protects gender equality, minority rights, and civic inclusion is essential for forming a comprehensive and unbiased democracy. Such structures are crucial for creating a democratic culture that respects and upholds the rights of all citizens, including women and minority groups. Therefore, while Inglehart and Norris emphasize gender equality as a central issue, effectively promoting democracy and gender equality requires approaches tailored to the specific cultural and religious contexts of both Arab and non-Arab Muslim societies.

In recent years, academic institutions have increasingly prioritized gender equality, with universities and research organizations implementing gender equality plans aimed at promoting parity in academic careers and decision-making processes. For instance, the European Commission requires research funding applicants and their partners to have gender equality plans approved by senior management, reflecting the prevailing values of equality in academia. Equality in this context includes ensuring that evaluations and recruitment decisions are based on merit, free from biases related to social background, gender, or ethnicity, and that resources such as time and funding are distributed fairly (Fjørtoft, 2023). However, achieving substantive equality goes beyond mere compliance with formal regulations; it requires addressing informal power dynamics, social networks, and group-based biases that hinder individuals' advancement opportunities. Contemporary approaches to gender equality emphasize cultural transformation

rather than temporary fixes, targeting informal power structures reinforced by unwritten norms and expectations.

Cultural change is especially complex due to the subconscious influence of social norms and expectations on individuals' perceptions and judgments of others. This chapter encourages a focus on "democratic equality," a relational concept advanced by Elizabeth Anderson, which asserts that justice in academia requires dismantling structural and cultural barriers that disadvantage women and minority groups. This perspective emphasizes the distinction between equality and equity, arguing that treating individuals equally may, in fact, require treating them differently—thus challenging conventional conceptions of fairness.

The pursuit of gender equality in political representation has become a central goal for feminists in many Western countries, symbolizing women's empowerment as advocated at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. However, achieving gender parity is not without controversy—both politically and legally. Political debates often question the strategic wisdom of efforts to ensure equal female presence in representative bodies, while legal debates challenge the compatibility of such measures with constitutional frameworks. Dominant models of political representation emphasize generality, unity, and equality, assuming that representatives act on behalf of the entire electorate. This notion of formal equality in politics often discourages affirmative measures, as they are perceived to risk undermining political representation and party autonomy.

By contrast, proponents of electoral quotas advocating for increased women's political representation challenge the limitations of formal equality, arguing that it is insufficient to address gender disparities in political representation. They contend that true gender equality requires equal representation between women and men, given the gender balance in the population. Nonetheless, these proponents maintain that this does not diminish the principles of generality and unity in political representation, as elected representatives continue to represent all people. This article examines constitutional arguments surrounding gender quotas or parity, presenting case studies from France, Italy, and Spain to provide a

comprehensive analysis of the debate. The conclusion asserts that the pursuit of gender parity in representation is not merely an affirmative action measure but an essential component of democracy itself, complementing the transition from a liberal state to a democratic one that began with universal suffrage. Therefore, the promotion and, when necessary, enforcement of gender parity is considered vital for achieving genuine democracy, consistent with the structural prerequisites of democratic states (Blanca Rodríguez Ruiz and Ruth Rubio-Marín, 2008).

The relationship between support for democracy and attitudes toward human rights—particularly gender equality—has been widely studied across regions, showing that democratic values and institutions often promote gender equality by advancing individual freedoms and social justice. However, dynamics in Arab countries reveal a unique and complex pattern. The first wave of the Arab Barometer project offers insights into these patterns. In contrast to global trends, Arab Barometer data show a weak correlation between support for democracy and gender equality in Arab countries, highlighting the unique interplay of cultural, social, and political factors.

Tessler (2011) and Jamal and Tessler (2008) emphasize that, while there is a clear desire for democratic governance, this is not always accompanied by progressive gender attitudes, indicating that democratic aspirations in the region often exist independently of support for gender equality. Demographic and socioeconomic factors play a significant role in shaping these attitudes. Education and social status are highly influential, with more educated and middle-aged to older individuals more likely to support both democracy and gender equality, consistent with modernization theory. However, a significant segment of less-educated men support democracy but not gender equality, reflecting a disconnect between political and gender progressivism.

Generational differences further complicate the picture. Younger individuals—especially men aged 25–35 in 2007—tend to reject both democracy and gender equality, which contrasts with global trends where younger generations are typically more progressive. Conservative attitudes among young Arab men may

stem from economic insecurity, cultural norms, and political dynamics. Norris and Inglehart (2012) argue that economic and social uncertainty often drives younger populations to cling to traditional values. Paradoxically, despite education generally promoting gender equality, younger and more educated Arabs display more conservative gender attitudes than older generations.

This may be a reaction to perceived overreach of Western cultural influences or the result of rapid social change in the region, consistent with Moaddel's (2005) findings on complex responses to modernization in the Middle East. Thus, findings from the Arab Barometer suggest that the region is undergoing two simultaneous processes: modernization—marked by rising education, urbanization, and economic development—and regression in social values, with large segments of the population, especially youth, holding traditional patriarchal views. This tension between progressive and conservative forces is explored by scholars such as Wickham (2013) and Keddie (2011), who reflect on the dual processes underway in Arab societies.

Therefore, the relationship between support for democracy and gender equality in Arab countries is multifaceted, shaped by factors such as education, age, and socioeconomic status. Policymakers and scholars must understand these patterns to simultaneously promote democratic governance and gender equality in the region. Further research is needed to uncover underlying causes and develop strategies tailored to the specific sociopolitical contexts of the Arab world (Veronica Kostenko, Pavel Kuzmichev, and Eduard Ponarin, 2016).

2.3 Gender Theory in Political Science

Gender studies have become a significant intellectual force in political science, influencing various subfields within the discipline. Traditionally, political science consists of four main subfields: American Politics (AP), Comparative Politics (CP), International Relations (IR), and Political Theory (PT). Gender studies have had the most profound impact on PT, where feminist theorists have introduced new perspectives on justice, morality, and the public-private dichotomy.

In AP, there is a considerable body of work related to gender, particularly in quantitative studies of political behavior, although it is often theoretically shallow. CP and IR have been slower to adopt gender perspectives, with gender-related research being underrepresented in major journals and often focusing on broader, non-gender-specific themes.

Methodological differences between quantitative and non-quantitative approaches also affect the integration of gender studies, reflecting differing assumptions about politics and the production of knowledge. Gender research remains limited in representation within leading political science journals, where journals such as the *American Political Science Review* publish very few gender-related topics, while *Political Theory* exhibits better representation. This lack of representation indicates a resistance to recognizing gender as a legitimate subject and reflects broader disciplinary trends. Gender politics researchers often publish their work in interdisciplinary journals or edited volumes, due to methodological and field-based divides, which can limit the visibility of their work within the discipline's mainstream. As a result, students and scholars who rely on top-tier journals may miss out on important insights regarding the relationship between gender and politics, thus hindering a comprehensive understanding of the field. Addressing this challenge by increasing the representation of gender research in top journals and encouraging interdisciplinary approaches can enhance both the impact and understanding of gender studies within political science (Gretchen Ritter and Nicole Mellow, 2000).

Since the late 1980s, scholars in gender and politics have developed and refined concepts to better understand the complexities of gender within political research. This process, referred to as the “gendering of political science,” aims to improve the scientific accuracy and relevance of political theory and studies. Gender scholars have identified gaps in existing social science concepts, proposed ways to integrate gender into those frameworks, and developed new concepts specifically related to gender issues. Despite this progress, much of the work remains scattered across lengthy research papers, special journal issues, and book

chapters, and has not yet been compiled into a single comprehensive body (Gary Goertz and Amy G. Mazur, 2002).

According to Tickner (2002), feminist theory in International Relations (IR) introduces critical and transformative approaches that challenge traditional paradigms and broaden the analytical framework of the discipline. The work of J. Ann Tickner, particularly *Gendering World Politics*, serves as an example of integrating feminist perspectives into IR, contributing both empirically and theoretically. Feminist scholars such as Tickner argue that conventional IR theory ignores gender as a vital category of analysis, resulting in incomplete and biased understandings of global politics. They emphasize the importance of applying a gender lens to uncover the deeply gendered structures and dynamics of power in global politics and to encourage a more comprehensive understanding that includes the influences of masculinity and femininity.

The “chilly” academic climate includes both explicit and implicit forms of gender discrimination and exclusion, which can marginalize women and hinder their professional opportunities. Research culture often prioritizes methodologies and areas of study traditionally dominated by men, thus marginalizing research fields more commonly pursued by women, such as feminist political science and qualitative studies. This can limit recognition and career advancement for women whose interests do not align with dominant paradigms. The term “chronological crunch” refers to the conflict between academic career timelines and personal life events such as childbirth and family responsibilities, which disproportionately affect women. The inflexibility of academic career paths exacerbates this issue and creates additional barriers for women in political science.

Internationally, there is a growing commitment to addressing these issues through strategies such as expanding mentorship opportunities, promoting work-life balance, and developing inclusive research cultures. These initiatives aim to create supportive environments for women in political science, thereby enhancing their presence, status, and achievements within the profession. For the context of New Zealand, it is recommended that the political science community adopt similar

commitments to reduce gender gaps. This includes implementing policies and practices that address identified barriers, supporting work-life balance, ensuring fair recognition of women's work, and fostering an inclusive academic culture. By doing so, the discipline of political science can progress toward more equitable representation and advancement for women scholars. Although progress has been made, challenges persist, and ongoing dedication to identifying and addressing these barriers is essential for creating a more inclusive and just academic environment within political science (Timperley, 2013).

2.4 Intersectionality: Analyzing Gender Dynamics Across Contexts

Intersectionality studies have become an important area of focus within feminist discourse, encompassing disciplines such as law, politics, sociology, and psychology. Scholars emphasize the need for more sophisticated research approaches to understand the complex and multifaceted nature of individual identity. However, despite significant theoretical advances in intersectionality studies, practical guidelines for conducting such research remain limited, thus presenting major challenges (Nash, 2008; Browne & Misra, 2003; Healy et al., 2010).

Atewologun, Sealy, and Vinnicombe (2016) contributed to this discourse by integrating the concept of identity work into intersectionality research. They proposed that identity work, defined as the process of constructing personal meaning and self-identification, can serve both as a theoretical framework and an analytical tool in intersectionality studies. This approach emphasizes the dynamic construction and negotiation of identity in everyday life, providing a deeper understanding of how intersecting identities affect individual experiences.

Through case studies of senior Black and Asian professionals in the United Kingdom, the authors illustrated how these individuals navigate power dynamics by leveraging their intersecting identities in interactions with clients, subordinates, and superiors. These findings highlight the dual nature of intersecting identities,

which can simultaneously expand and limit positions of power. Although this identity work perspective offers rich insights into identity navigation, the authors also noted its limitations, such as reliance on extensive qualitative data and the potential to overlook broader systemic issues.

Atewologun, Sealy, and Vinnicombe (2016) emphasized that future intersectionality research must develop systematic approaches that integrate individual experiences with structural contexts. Such advancements would strengthen the field of intersectionality studies by bridging the gap between personal identity work and broader social structures.

According to Floya Anthias (2013), academic debates on intersectionality continue to evolve as researchers seek to develop theoretical frameworks that effectively address the complexity of intersecting social identities. This article contributes by introducing a theoretical approach that considers multiple levels of analysis, including social categories, concrete social relationships, societal arenas, and historical contexts.

This multi-level focus facilitates comprehensive examination of social boundaries and hierarchies, offering richer understanding of interactions and their impact on individuals and groups. By emphasizing the importance of both abstract social categories and concrete social relations, the proposed framework delves into fundamental questions of social ontology, such as how social categories are constructed, maintained, and experienced within societal contexts. The framework also highlights the dynamic and dialogical nature of concrete social relationships, in which boundaries and hierarchies are continuously negotiated. Additionally, it situates social relations within specific historical and social contexts, emphasizing the significance of power and social hierarchy. By integrating these multiple levels of analysis and emphasizing spatial and temporal contexts, this theoretical approach offers comprehensive sensitivity to the complexity of intersecting identities and social dynamics, which can serve as a foundation for future research exploring the evolving nature of power and hierarchy in various societal contexts.

From 2010 to 2019, substantial progress was made in family studies through the application of gender, feminist, and intersectionality theories. This review explores three main areas in the literature: the framing of gender as systemic social stratification and inequality; the use of feminist perspectives to highlight and address power disparities in both private and public spheres; and the application of intersectionality to examine and reduce social inequality, privilege, and oppression. These approaches collectively provide critical theoretical lenses on family life, challenging traditional norms and emphasizing the diverse experiences of various family structures. Gender, feminist, and intersectional perspectives offer strong frameworks for understanding how family members experience both privilege and marginalization. These perspectives critique the traditional Standard North American Family model, which is considered to fail in representing the true diversity of family life.

The framing of gender as systemic social stratification highlights how gender roles and norms influence family dynamics and intersect with other forms of social stratification. Feminist theory aims to expose and challenge power imbalances within families and society, promoting gender equality and social change. The intersectional approach is crucial for understanding how various social identities and axes of oppression intersect, particularly for historically marginalized groups. Empirical studies employing these critical approaches have provided deeper insights into the diverse forms and contexts of family. This review recommends that future research prioritize inclusivity and relevance and continue to develop intersectional methodologies to capture the complexities of family life and the impact of social inequality (April L. Few-Demo and Katherine R. Allen, 2020).

The concept of intersectionality, formulated by social scientists, aims to dissect the interaction between social location, identity, and historical oppression. While this framework has been widely adopted across disciplines, its application in public health remains underdeveloped. This review highlights the landscape of health inequality research in the United Kingdom, which still predominantly

focuses on class and socioeconomic position. This narrow perspective often neglects other crucial dimensions such as ethnicity, gender, and caste. By integrating an intersectional approach, researchers can go beyond class- and status-based analyses to more comprehensively examine the structural determinants of health disparities.

The intersectional approach in health inequality research encourages a broader examination of how various social determinants collectively affect health outcomes. This approach aligns with recent theoretical developments that advocate for the concept of inter-categorical social location, which emphasizes social dynamics over static categories. This perspective also addresses the historical tendency to prioritize methodological concerns and separate different axes of inequality. By shifting focus from micro-level behaviors to the structural drivers of inequality, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the complex interactions among the various factors that sustain health disparities. This comprehensive framework is essential for developing effective and inclusive public health interventions, thereby strengthening the study of health inequality and advancing more equitable public policy (Anuj Kapilashrami, Sarah Hill, and Nasar Meer, 2015).

2.5 Contemporary Trends in Women's Political Engagement

Women's involvement in Latin American politics has historically been influenced by the concept of maternalism, with foundational work by Elsa Chaney emphasizing how women's roles as mothers were used to justify their involvement in politics. This reflects a social belief that women are naturally suited for nurturing roles both in the private and public spheres. Building on this foundation, this literature review explores the extent to which such cultural narratives continue to affect female politicians' access to high-level political office. Using public opinion data, media coverage, and elite interviews, Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas (2013) identify the strategic frameworks adopted by women in politics as well as the structural and cultural challenges they continue to face.

Contemporary research shows that although traditional maternalism remains influential, female politicians now employ various strategies to navigate the political landscape. The traditional *supermadre* figure still emphasizes motherhood, often reinforcing gender norms that constrain women's suitability for non-nurturing roles. The *technocratic caretaker* adapts maternalism by highlighting women's professional and managerial skills. The *macho minimiser* disregards gender and motherhood roles to avoid stereotypes and demonstrate that women are equally tough as leaders. Meanwhile, the *difference denier* rejects gender-based narratives altogether and focuses on universal political competence. Despite these different approaches, structural barriers such as party politics, electoral systems, gender quotas, and deeply rooted cultural expectations continue to significantly shape women's political careers. Further research is needed to examine how these dynamics are evolving and how a new generation of female politicians may redefine political participation beyond traditional maternalist narratives.

According to Beth Reingold and Jessica Harrell (2010), the relationship between women's presence in prominent political office and the political engagement of female constituents has garnered considerable attention in recent research. This literature review explores whether female political representation encourages women's political interest, with a particular focus on the role of gender congruence and party affiliation between politicians and their constituents. Early studies suggested that visible female political figures could serve as role models who inspire greater political engagement. However, recent findings challenge this view, indicating that the mere presence of women in politics is insufficient to broadly enhance female political engagement.

One key finding from contemporary research is that gender congruence alone does not significantly enhance women's political engagement. Instead, alignment between gender and party affiliation has a more substantial impact. Female candidates who share the same party affiliation as their female constituents are more likely to increase political interest. This effect is amplified by greater visibility and substantive agreement on issues, as politically and ideologically

aligned female politicians are more likely to be seen and heard by their constituents. These findings highlight the complex relationship between gender and party affiliation in electoral politics, and suggest that while gender representation is important, its effectiveness is greater when accompanied by political alignment.

According to RG Mwatha, G Mbugua, and G Murunga (2014), women's political participation is increasingly growing globally, with countries such as Rwanda, Uganda, and South Africa leading examples in the East African region. However, young women remain severely underrepresented in leadership roles, and their participation varies widely across regions. This review explores the barriers faced by young women in political leadership in Kenya and proposes strategies to overcome them. Despite years of progress, women in Kenya still face significant obstacles due to deeply rooted patriarchal norms, outdated legal frameworks, and socio-economic constraints. Kenya's 2010 Constitution and its Bill of Rights aimed to address these disparities, yet women's representation in leadership remains too low to drive gender-sensitive policy change.

Historical data shows that the presence of women in Kenya's Parliament has been minimal since 1963, reaching only 9.8% in 2013, far below the global average. Neighboring countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda show better representation levels, with Rwanda leading at 56.3%. Various initiatives, including a presidential directive in 2006 and efforts by civil society organizations, have attempted to increase women's political participation, yet progress has remained slow. To promote young women's political engagement, it is essential to advocate for gender-sensitive education, enforce gender equality in law, and support initiatives that empower young female leaders to build a more inclusive and representative governance system.

Indonesian society, with its diversity and strong patriarchal culture, is highly vulnerable to issues of gender inequality that affect various aspects of life. The current development approach has yet to account for the differing benefits for men and women, thus perpetuating injustice and gender disparity. The Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection noted in 2016 that the Gender

Development Index (GDI) in West Java was 55.77, lower than the national average of 62.3. This indicates persistent gender inequality in West Java, requiring further efforts to improve quality of life and enhance women's participation in politics and decision-making processes. In Indonesia, mandates from the Election Law and the Political Parties Law have opened the political arena for women. Law No. 12 of 2003 specifically aimed to increase women's political presence through quantitative measures.

Despite this legal framework, women still face major challenges in getting elected and making meaningful changes within parliamentary institutions. Globally, women's political representation peaked in 2008, with women winning 20.6% of 12,879 contested seats across 54 countries. However, female politicians often face various social and political constraints that may weaken their commitment to advancing gender equality agendas. Women's multiple identities may also complicate their political priorities and create tension between party loyalty and the advocacy for women's rights.

Women's political participation spans various aspects of representation and engagement. Studies show that high levels of women's representation at the national level can positively impact local-level representation. However, women's representation in parliament remains generally weak, limiting their influence on policymaking. Research also highlights differences between men and women in seizing opportunities and attaining positions of power. Additionally, studies discuss social stereotypes and unfriendly political environments for women, underscoring the need for multidimensional efforts to establish their presence in political parties. Although significant progress has been made, global disparities remain large, and continuous efforts are required to address these inequalities.

This study focuses on the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI), a women's political activist organization, and its efforts to enhance women's political engagement. KPPI aims to prepare strong-character women with resources to occupy public roles in legislative and executive institutions. This research explores the historical background of KPPI's establishment in West Java, its political

struggles, and the programs implemented to raise awareness and readiness among women to take on political roles. By focusing on women's empowerment in political roles, KPPI seeks to increase women's representation and influence in political institutions. The organization's efforts in outreach, training, networking, and advocacy are crucial for building a more inclusive political landscape. However, further research and continued efforts are necessary to understand and overcome the barriers to women's political participation in Indonesia (Dede Lilis Chaerowati, Nova Yuliati, and Mochamad Rochim, 2018).

In Indonesia, the struggle for gender equality in the religious sphere has become a focal point of the global feminist movement. The Indonesian Women Ulama Congress Network (KUPI) has emerged as a pioneering force in reclaiming female religious authority, challenging the male-dominated religious landscape. This literature review highlights the methodologies used by KUPI to assert women's religious authority and socio-political recognition. Three main strategies are reviewed: reconstructing the concept of ulama, developing a non-patriarchal and gender-inclusive epistemology, and issuing fatwas on critical issues. Through this approach, KUPI aims to redefine women's roles in religious discourse and dismantle gender bias in religious institutions.

KUPI's efforts mark a paradigm shift in Indonesia's religious landscape, challenging entrenched patriarchal structures and advocating for the recognition of women's leadership in religious affairs. By reconceptualizing the notion of ulama, promoting a gender-inclusive epistemology, and issuing influential fatwas, KUPI affirms the legitimacy and capacity of female religious leaders. Moving forward, further research is needed—particularly quantitative studies—to assess the extent to which women's religious authority is accepted nationally and internationally. Such research will deepen understanding of KUPI's impact and contribute to discussions on gender equality in religious and socio-political contexts (Inayah Rohmaniyah, Samia Kotele, and Rr. Siti Kurnia Widiastuti, 2022).

According to Merkle (2022), higher political participation in Indonesia correlates globally with lower levels of corruption. This policy report explores that

relationship in detail, highlighting its importance for politicians, anti-corruption activists, and those promoting women's political representation. Several key questions are raised: how do women influence corruption at various levels of government, how does corruption hinder women's political participation, and what is the role of women in combating corruption? Women may influence corruption because they are perceived as more honest, risk-averse, treated differently by voters, or excluded from power networks.

Corruption can hinder women's political engagement, especially through clientelist networks that limit their active participation. However, women can also disrupt male-dominated corrupt networks and raise different policy issues. The report examines this relationship through case studies in Ukraine, Kenya, and Indonesia, reviewing the state of corruption and women's political participation in each country. In Ukraine, corruption is entrenched due to its Soviet legacy, although anti-corruption efforts have become a voter priority. Gender equality remains a challenge, with only 20.8% of parliamentarians being women. In Kenya, high levels of corruption and low women's political participation are interlinked, with dominant male patronage networks. In Indonesia, patronage networks and corrupt political leasing hinder women's participation but also offer opportunities to intervene in corrupt structures. The success of women winning elections through women-based networks demonstrates their important role at various political levels, highlighting the need for women's involvement in anti-corruption initiatives.

2.6 Comparative Study on Women's Political Representation

A comparative study on women's political representation in Jakarta and Madura can reveal important insights into the differing dynamics related to gender, politics, and socio-cultural factors in these two diverse regions of Indonesia. Jakarta, as the capital city, presents a more urban and diverse socio-political environment, often serving as the center of national politics and economy with a more progressive attitude toward gender equality. This urban setting facilitates a higher level of visibility and participation for women in politics, influenced by

factors such as better access to education, strong civil society organizations, and extensive media coverage advocating for gender equality. In contrast, Madura, with its rural background and conservative culture, depicts a different condition where traditional gender roles are more dominant. The socio-cultural structure in Madura, heavily influenced by customs and religious practices, often becomes a significant barrier to women's political involvement. However, local support mechanisms and women's groups play a crucial role in encouraging women's political participation, even within more limited environments.

In Madura, the village head position (*klebun*), predominantly held by men, reflects a patriarchal power structure and political dynasties. This study examines how female *klebun* respond by empowering themselves and other women, using qualitative descriptive methods and Foucault's theories of power and legitimacy. Findings from observations and interviews with 11 female *klebun* reveal strategic efforts to challenge patriarchal constructs, including leveraging political influence, building relationships with officials, and seeking support from legal aid institutions. These actions aim to address village security issues, restore public trust, and transform the social and political dynamics within Madura's male-dominated political landscape. By advocating for gender equality and challenging existing power structures, female *klebun* aspire to foster change not only locally but also beyond Madura. This study provides valuable insights into promoting women's political empowerment at the village level and advancing gender equality in local governance, while also offering inspiration for broader social transformation (Aminah Dewi Rahmawati, Hetti Mulyaningsih, and Aliya Hamida, 2024).

In Jakarta, the relationship between Islam and women's political representation has been widely debated, with previous studies suggesting that Islamic ideology acts as a barrier to women's political candidacy. This literature review evaluates gender quotas and the efforts of political parties in Indonesia—the world's most populous Muslim-majority country—to assess whether religious ideology influences the recruitment and electability of female legislative candidates. Research shows that both formal and informal recruitment rules

significantly influence women's legislative representation, although party selection processes are often non-transparent. Since Indonesia implemented a 30% gender quota in 2004, it has been observed that both Islamist and pluralist parties comply with the quota requirement similarly, yet both face financial constraints under the open-list proportional representation (PR) system, which disproportionately affects women. Contrary to some views, Islamic ideology does not significantly hinder women's participation, as both Islamist and pluralist parties face the same challenges. This review affirms the importance of comprehensive reforms, including financial and organizational support for female candidates, to overcome systemic barriers and advance gender equality in political representation (Prihatini, 2019).

Previous studies comparing women's political representation in Jakarta and Madura offer valuable insights into the diverse gender, political, and socio-cultural dynamics across Indonesia. Jakarta, as the capital, reflects a more urban and progressive environment, promoting greater visibility and participation of women in politics. Factors such as increased access to education, active civil society organizations, and broad media coverage supporting gender equality contribute to this dynamic. In contrast, Madura, with more rural and conservative conditions, presents different challenges to women's political involvement, characterized by strong patriarchal structures and traditional gender roles. However, research on female *klebun* in Madura highlights strategic efforts to challenge these norms and empower women in local politics by leveraging political influence and seeking support from various stakeholders. Despite the various obstacles, women in both Jakarta and Madura share aspirations to promote gender equality and challenge existing power structures, providing inspiration for broader social transformation. This research emphasizes the importance of comprehensive reforms, including financial and organizational support, to overcome systemic barriers and enhance women's political representation throughout Indonesia.

2.7 Cultural Dimensions in Women's Political Representation

Culture plays a fundamental role in shaping the representation of women in politics, as it influences societal norms, values, and behaviors related to gender roles. In Indonesia, patriarchal culture still dominates many aspects of life, creating structural and cultural inequalities that disproportionately disadvantage women. This cultural framework positions men as natural leaders, both in the private and public spheres, while women are placed in roles as domestic caregivers and supporters. Iqbal Aidar Idrus et al. (2023) emphasize that patriarchal norms create systemic barriers for women, limiting their political opportunities and maintaining unequal power dynamics. Women often face greater challenges than men in accessing resources, building networks, and gaining electoral support, all of which are essential for effective political participation.

At the core of this issue is the reinforcement of gender stereotypes through cultural norms. Women are often portrayed as emotional and unsuitable for leadership, while political roles are associated with “masculine” traits such as assertiveness, strength, and resilience. Yuda (2020) notes that such stereotypes are deeply embedded in culture, frequently portraying women as less capable or unfit to hold leadership positions. This perception is further institutionalized by male-biased political structures, resulting in systemic exclusion. Walby (2014) identifies this phenomenon as a form of double patriarchy, where women face barriers both in the private sphere, such as family expectations, and in the public sphere, such as political institutions that fail to provide equal opportunities.

Nevertheless, cultural dynamics are not always restrictive. In certain contexts, cultural values and norms can offer unique opportunities for women's political engagement. For example, studies in East Nusa Tenggara show that women have made significant progress in overcoming cultural barriers through grassroots initiatives and collective efforts. Tabun et al. (2023) observe that community-based programs and organizational support enable women in this region to participate more actively in local governance. This success highlights the potential of utilizing cultural traditions in ways that empower rather than restrict

women, while emphasizing the importance of local approaches to achieving gender equality.

Political education and economic empowerment also emerge as crucial strategies to overcome cultural barriers. By equipping women with knowledge and resources, these interventions enhance their capacity to navigate the political landscape. Empowerment initiatives in regions with strong patriarchal cultures, such as East Nusa Tenggara, demonstrate that when women are given tools for advocacy and leadership, they can effectively challenge existing stereotypes. This progress underscores the importance of integrating cultural awareness into broader gender empowerment programs, ensuring that such interventions are contextually relevant and impactful.

However, the role of policy cannot be overlooked in addressing the cultural dimensions of women's political representation. Although regulatory frameworks such as the 30% gender quota have been established to promote equality, their implementation is often superficial. Kamal et al. (2023) indicate that this quota is frequently treated as an administrative requirement rather than a substantive commitment to inclusivity. Without mechanisms to support capacity-building and women's inclusion, such policies risk becoming symbolic rather than transformative.

To address this gap, a more integrative approach is needed. Strengthening women's social and political networks is one strategy that can be adopted. These networks not only provide a platform for advocacy but also help women build alliances that can challenge patriarchal norms. Creating spaces within male-dominated political systems where women can thrive requires cultural sensitivity as well as structural reform. Kamal et al. (2023) stress the need for collaborative efforts involving government institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and community groups to build an ecosystem that supports women's political ambitions.

Therefore, the cultural dimension is not a static obstacle; it is a dynamic force that can either hinder or facilitate women's political representation. Recognizing this duality is essential in designing effective interventions. In regions dominated by patriarchal norms, gradual change driven by education, empowerment, and policy reform can slowly shift societal attitudes. Meanwhile, in areas where cultural traditions already support women's leadership, these efforts can be strengthened to create broader systemic change.

Ultimately, addressing the cultural dimension requires a multifaceted approach that combines advocacy, education, policy, and grassroots action. Only by engaging these diverse elements can we create an environment in which women are not merely included, but also empowered to lead. This approach must be rooted in cultural sensitivity, recognizing the diversity of Indonesia's socio-political landscape while striving toward a future of fair and inclusive representation.

2.8 The Role of Media and Technology in Shaping Women's Political Agency

Media and technology have transformed the political landscape, offering new pathways for women to engage, advocate, and lead in spheres traditionally dominated by men. These platforms provide tools to challenge systemic barriers, amplify women's voices, and reshape public perceptions. In Indonesia, where patriarchal norms often limit women's political opportunities, the role of mass and digital media has become increasingly crucial in promoting inclusivity and strengthening democracy. As emphasized by Yoteni et al. (2023), media carries a dual responsibility: not only to highlight women's political contributions but also to counter stereotypes that undermine their legitimacy in leadership roles.

Traditional media, such as television, radio, and newspapers, have historically acted as a double-edged sword. While media can increase women's visibility in politics, it also often reinforces gender bias by focusing more on trivial aspects such as physical appearance or personal life rather than substantive issues.

This sensationalism, as noted by Pratiwi (2018), obscures meaningful discussions about policy and leadership, and can reduce women's interest in participating in politics. In Ambon City, local media have made progress in addressing this challenge by showcasing diverse women leaders and their contributions to policymaking, creating more inclusive narratives around women in politics (Ramdhan & Afdhal, 2023).

Digital media, particularly social media platforms, have emerged as revolutionary tools for women's political agency. Unlike traditional media, digital platforms provide direct access to audiences, allowing women to convey messages, engage with constituents, and build networks independently. In Indonesia, digitally literate female politicians have utilized platforms like Instagram and Twitter to bypass traditional pathways, gain visibility, and build trust among voters (Amin & Ritonga, 2022). This shift underscores the democratizing potential of digital technology in creating direct communication channels previously unavailable.

Moreover, social media has proven to be a powerful tool for mobilization and advocacy, particularly among younger generations. Research by Scherman & Rivera (2021) shows that young women active on platforms like Instagram tend to be more involved in political activism, indicating that digital tools play a key role in fostering early political engagement. By enabling real-time interaction, these platforms help women build communities and rally support for gender-sensitive policies, turning online networks into tangible political influence.

However, the digital realm also presents its own challenges. Female politicians and activists face unique vulnerabilities online, including targeted harassment and disinformation campaigns. (Rohrbach et al. (2023) and Wagner et al. (2021) document the disproportionate levels of hostility women face online, especially when advocating progressive issues. These experiences discourage many women from fully utilizing digital tools, highlighting the need for stronger protections and regulatory frameworks to ensure safe and equal participation.

In authoritarian and patriarchal societies, digital platforms can also become instruments of repression. Moreno-Almeida & Gerbaudo (2021) illustrate how

governments in Morocco and China use digital surveillance and manipulation to silence feminist voices and suppress dissent. This underscores the importance of a context-sensitive approach in leveraging media and technology for women's empowerment, recognizing that these tools can serve both as instruments of liberation and oppression depending on their use.

Recognizing the transformative potential of media and technology, various innovative campaigns have emerged to empower women and challenge deeply rooted biases. In Indonesia, initiatives like the “Perempuan Kanan” program on Kompas TV demonstrate how media can amplify women's voices, promote inclusive narratives, and enhance the visibility of female leaders. By prioritizing substantive issues over sensationalism, such campaigns highlight the potential of media to shape public perception and foster greater gender equality in politics.

At the grassroots level, media and technology also play a vital role in capacity building and education. Local media in Ambon City, for example, have developed programs that provide women with practical skills, knowledge of their rights, and opportunities to network with other leaders (Ramdhan & Afdhal, 2023). These initiatives not only empower women but also encourage them to participate in decision-making processes, ultimately contributing to more inclusive governance.

Despite the progress made, over-reliance on digital platforms also carries risks. “Clicktivism” or shallow online activism is often insufficient to generate lasting change. As noted by Gelber (2011), effective digital advocacy requires a balance between online engagement and real-world action. Therefore, policymakers and organizations need to design comprehensive strategies that integrate digital tools with on-the-ground initiatives to maximize their impact on women's political participation.

In conclusion, media and technology are critical arenas in the struggle for gender equality in politics. While they offer unprecedented opportunities for visibility, advocacy, and engagement, they also pose challenges that require proactive solutions. By promoting digital literacy, enforcing robust protections

against harassment, and advancing positive portrayals of women in leadership, media and technology can become powerful allies in strengthening women's political agency. An inclusive and nuanced approach is essential to leveraging these tools for building a more just and representative political landscape.

2.9 Previous Study

Previous research on women's political participation and representation in Indonesia and other countries provides a critical foundation for this study. Over the past two decades, scholars have explored the complex interplay of gender, culture, and political structures, highlighting that women's access to political spaces is shaped by legal frameworks, party dynamics, socio-cultural norms, and public perceptions. These studies collectively demonstrate that formal equality does not always translate into substantive participation, as structural and cultural barriers often limit women's political agency. By reviewing these studies, this research situates the comparative analysis of Jakarta and Madura within a broader scholarly and policy discourse on gender and democracy.

International literature emphasizes that legal reforms alone are insufficient to achieve gender parity in politics. Norris and Inglehart (2003) argue that cultural modernization and value shifts are critical for the acceptance of women in political leadership, particularly in societies with a history of male-dominated governance. Krook (2009) highlights that gender quotas, widely adopted across developing and developed democracies, produce varying outcomes depending on party structures, electoral systems, and societal attitudes. In regions where patriarchal norms remain strong, quotas often result in symbolic rather than substantive representation, a pattern relevant to rural Indonesia. Comparative studies in South Asia and the Middle East also demonstrate that religion and local customs play a decisive role in shaping whether women in politics are viewed as legitimate actors or as exceptions to social norms.

In the Indonesian context, several scholars have examined the implementation and effectiveness of gender quotas and women's political engagement. Budiati (2018) found that urban regions with greater media exposure and educational access demonstrate higher support for female legislative candidates, while rural regions remain resistant due to conservative social attitudes and limited role models. Similarly, Prihatini (2019, 2020) analyzed the gap between descriptive and substantive representation, noting that women's presence in legislative bodies does not automatically lead to gender-sensitive policymaking if they lack political capital and institutional support. These findings resonate strongly with the urban–rural divide observed in this study, where Jakarta reflects an environment conducive to female participation, and Madura illustrates the persistence of structural and cultural exclusion.

Previous studies also highlight the importance of public perception and societal acceptance in determining women's success in politics. Norris and Lovenduski (1995) demonstrated that voter confidence in female competence is a prerequisite for electoral success, and that negative stereotypes or structural distrust can significantly hinder women's political advancement. In Indonesia, Rinaldo (2013) examined the influence of Islamic authority and local religious networks, noting that women often require male endorsement or family lineage to gain legitimacy in conservative regions. This aligns with the qualitative findings of the present study, where female candidates in Madura rely on kinship and religious support, while women in Jakarta pursue more autonomous, issue-based, and media-driven strategies.

In summary, the existing literature underscores three critical insights that frame this research. First, women's political participation is highly context-dependent, with outcomes shaped by the interaction of legal, institutional, and socio-cultural factors. Second, urban environments tend to provide more favorable conditions for female political engagement due to education, media exposure, and pluralistic social structures. Third, rural regions with entrenched patriarchy and religious conservatism continue to produce low public support and limited

substantive representation, even when formal legal mechanisms like gender quotas are in place.



3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study employs a comparative and exploratory research design to analyze women's political participation and representation in Jakarta and Madura within both historical and contemporary contexts. These regions were intentionally selected to reflect contrasting socio-cultural environments:

1. Jakarta represents an urban, politically progressive, and relatively gender-inclusive setting.
2. Madura reflects a rural, culturally conservative, and patriarchal context where women's political roles remain limited.

This comparative approach enables the study to identify both common trends and distinctive local dynamics in women's political engagement, as well as to examine how socio-political structures and cultural norms shape opportunities for political participation. By contrasting two divergent regions, the research highlights the structural barriers and adaptive strategies experienced by women under different socio-political conditions Norris and Lovenduski (1995)

To achieve this objective, the study integrates macro- and micro-level analyses:

1. Macro-level analysis focuses on institutional and policy dimensions, including the implementation of gender quota policies, the electoral system, and historical changes in political structures affecting women's access to representation.
2. Micro-level analysis explores women's lived experiences in political processes, shaped by cultural expectations, religious norms, education levels, and access to resources.

The research adopts a mixed-methods approach:

1. Quantitative component: A survey of 60 respondents (30 in Jakarta and 30 in Madura) was conducted to capture general public opinion regarding women's political participation and representation. Due to the limited sample size, the survey is not intended for statistical generalization but rather to provide indicative insights into public attitudes.
2. Qualitative component: In-depth interviews with six key informants—including female politicians, civil society activists, and local opinion leaders—were conducted to provide contextual and interpretative depth. These interviews help explain the underlying cultural and structural factors behind the survey patterns and enrich the comparative analysis.

By combining comparative, exploratory, and mixed-methods approaches, this design produces a comprehensive understanding of gender and democracy in Indonesia. It facilitates both the identification of region-specific challenges and the formulation of context-sensitive recommendations to strengthen women's political participation (Prihatini, 2019; Rahmawati et al., 2024).

3.2 Research Location and Period

This research was conducted in two regions with differing socio-cultural characteristics, namely Jakarta and Madura. Jakarta was selected as a representation of an urban area with relatively high levels of modernization, political participation, and access to information. Conversely, Madura represents a rural area that tends to be conservative, where local social and cultural norms still strongly influence women's roles and participation in politics. The selection of these two locations is intended to reveal differences and similarities in public perception and women's political engagement within two contrasting social contexts.

The data collection was carried out from May to June 2025. This time frame was chosen by considering the readiness of the research instruments, the accessibility of the locations, and the availability of respondents. During this period, data collection activities were conducted through both in-person and online surveys,

accompanied by field observation notes to support the validity of the comparative quantitative analysis results.

3.3 Case Studies: Jakarta and Madura

The selection of Jakarta and Madura as case studies in this research is based on the consideration of the contrasting social, cultural, and political characteristics that influence women's political participation and representation. Jakarta, as the capital city and center of government, economy, and culture, represents a relatively progressive urban environment. Meanwhile, Madura is a rural region with a social structure still heavily influenced by patriarchal norms and conservative religious traditions.

In Jakarta, women have broader access to education, employment opportunities, and institutional support such as gender quotas. The presence of active civil society organizations also contributes to raising awareness and enhancing women's political participation. However, barriers such as male dominance within political parties and prevailing social stereotypes remain significant challenges.

Conversely, women in Madura face more complex constraints, ranging from limited access to education and economic opportunities to strong cultural and religious roles that restrict women's presence in the public sphere. Nonetheless, grassroots movements and local initiatives are beginning to emerge as transformative forces that challenge traditional norms and offer new opportunities for women's political engagement, although still largely informal in nature.

The comparison between Jakarta and Madura enables a comprehensive analysis of gender dynamics in politics in Indonesia. This study not only highlights the structural and cultural differences between urban and rural regions but also reveals women's adaptive strategies in overcoming these obstacles. The findings from this case study are expected to enrich the discourse on a more inclusive democracy that is sensitive to the diversity of social contexts in Indonesia.

3.4 Population and Sample

The population of this study consists of Indonesian citizens living in DKI Jakarta and on Madura Island who are at least 17 years old or already married and eligible to vote in general elections. These two regions were chosen because they represent contrasting socio-cultural and political environments: Jakarta reflects an urban, politically progressive, and gender-inclusive context, while Madura reflects a rural, culturally conservative, and patriarchal context. This contrast forms the basis for examining variations in public perceptions of women's political participation and representation across different regional settings.

The quantitative component of this research involved a survey of 60 respondents, with 30 participants from Jakarta and 30 from Madura, selected using purposive sampling based on age, gender, education, and occupation. Given the limited sample size, this survey is exploratory rather than generalizable, aiming to capture indicative trends and public opinion regarding women's political roles in the two regions. These data provide an initial comparative overview that highlights perceptual differences between urban and rural communities.

To enrich and validate the findings, the study also incorporated six in-depth interviews with key informants, including female politicians, civil society activists, and local opinion leaders. These interviews provide contextual insights into the socio-cultural and institutional factors that influence women's political participation. By combining exploratory survey data and qualitative interviews, the study generates a comprehensive comparative understanding of gender and democracy in Jakarta and Madura.

3.5 Data Collection Method

Data for this study were collected using a mixed-methods approach that combined an exploratory survey and in-depth interviews. The survey component was conducted online through Google Forms, which was selected for its time- and cost-efficiency, as well as its ability to reach respondents in both Jakarta and

Madura. The online format is particularly relevant to the productive-age demographic, who are generally familiar with digital technology and capable of completing questionnaires independently. This approach aligns with Sugiyono (2017), who highlights online surveys as an effective method for collecting quantitative data efficiently across geographically separated regions.

The survey questionnaire was structured with closed-ended questions and designed to capture three main research variables: perceptions of women's political participation, support for women's political representation, and attitudes toward gender quota policies. Responses were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from "*strongly disagree*" to "*strongly agree*", allowing for the quantitative assessment of public opinion patterns in the two study regions. The survey was conducted between May and June 2025 using purposive sampling, targeting respondents who met the study's demographic and electoral criteria.

To enhance the depth and validity of the findings, the study also incorporated six in-depth interviews with key informants, including female politicians, civil society activists, and local opinion leaders. These qualitative interviews were conducted online and offline, depending on the informants' accessibility, and followed a semi-structured format to allow for both guided discussion and contextual exploration. The integration of survey data with interview insights enables a comprehensive comparative analysis of women's political participation and representation in Jakarta and Madura, capturing both quantitative trends and qualitative explanations behind regional differences.

3.6 Research Instrument

The instrument used in this study is a structured questionnaire designed to measure public perceptions, support for women's representation, and views on gender quota policies. The instrument was constructed in the form of closed-ended questions using a five-point Likert scale, namely: 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. The use of the Likert

scale aims to capture the spectrum of respondents' attitudes toward political and gender-related issues (Sugiyono, 2017).

The formulation of variables and indicators refers to theories and previous studies on democracy, political participation, women's representation, and affirmative policies. Perception of women's political participation is built on the theoretical framework emphasizing the importance of women's involvement in democratic processes and its influence on the quality of democracy (Beer, 2009; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). Support for women's political representation reflects the extent to which the public is willing to accept and support women's presence in decision-making positions, widely discussed in theories of representation and gender equality (Eisenstein, 1994; Hasples & Suriyasarn, 2005). Meanwhile, perceptions of gender quota policies refer to public evaluations of the effectiveness of affirmative policies in increasing women's participation in the political sphere (Prihatini, 2019; Kapilashrami et al., 2015).

The questionnaire consists of two parts: (1) sociodemographic data of respondents (gender, age, education level, and occupation), and (2) statements that measure the research variables. The content validity of the instrument was consulted with academic supervisors and public policy experts. Subsequently, the instrument was tested for validity and reliability using appropriate statistical methods.

Table 3.1 Research Instrument Design

No	Variable	Indicator	Scale	Theoretical Basis
1	Perceptions of Women's Political Participation	Women's ability to lead political institutions	Likert 1–5	Beer (2009); Norris & Lovenduski (1995)
		Quality of women's political decisions	Likert 1–5	
		Women's contribution to strengthening democracy	Likert 1–5	
		Importance of women's votes in elections	Likert 1–5	

No	Variable	Indicator	Scale	Theoretical Basis
		Support for female political candidates	Likert 1–5	
2	Support for Women's Political Representation	Willingness to vote for female legislative candidates	Likert 1–5	Eisenstein (1994); Hasples & Suriyasarn (2005)
		Confidence in female leaders	Likert 1–5	
		Women in policymaking positions	Likert 1–5	
		Women's ability to represent the public	Likert 1–5	
		Women deserve to lead top institutions	Likert 1–5	
3	Perceptions of Gender Quota Policy	Agreement with the 30% female quota	Likert 1–5	Prihatini (2019); Kapilashrami et al. (2015)
		Effectiveness of quota in increasing women's participation	Likert 1–5	
		Fairness of affirmative policies for women	Likert 1–5	
		Quotas accelerate gender equality	Likert 1–5	
		Success of quota implementation in the legislature	Likert 1–5	

3.7 Data Analysis Technique

The data in this study were analyzed using a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative and qualitative analyses to comprehensively address the research questions. The quantitative analysis aimed to capture patterns of public perception in Jakarta and Madura, while the qualitative analysis provided contextual explanations for the differences observed. Data analysis was conducted in three stages: instrument testing, descriptive statistics, and comparative testing, which were complemented by thematic analysis of the interview data.

1. Research Instrument Testing

Before proceeding to further analysis, validity and reliability tests were conducted on the research instrument to ensure that the questionnaire accurately and consistently measured the intended variables.

a. Validity Test

The validity test was used to determine the extent to which each item in the questionnaire could measure the intended construct. The technique used was Pearson Product-Moment correlation. An item is declared valid if the correlation coefficient (r) between the item score and the total score is greater than the r -table value at the 5% significance level. In this study, validity was calculated using SPSS software, and only items meeting the criteria were used in further analysis (Sugiyono, 2019).

b. Reliability Test

□ The reliability test aimed to measure the internal consistency among items within the same variable. The instrument is considered reliable if the Cronbach's Alpha value is ≥ 0.70 . The closer the value is to 1.00, the more consistent the instrument is. This test was also conducted using SPSS software for all items under each variable. The results of the reliability test determine whether the instrument is feasible for further research (Sugiyono, 2019).

2. Descriptive Statistical Analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was used to provide an overview of the data obtained from respondents in Jakarta and Madura concerning perceptions and political participation of women. This technique includes calculating the mean, percentage, and standard deviation to describe respondent tendencies for each indicator in the questionnaire. The analyzed variables include attitudes toward female leadership, support for gender quota policies, and levels of political participation. In addition,

sociodemographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, and occupation were presented to better understand the sample composition. The results of this analysis serve as the basis for identifying dominant patterns in perception and participation prior to comparative testing between the two regions (Sugiyono, 2019).

3. Comparative Testing

Comparative testing was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences between the two regional groups, namely Jakarta and Madura, in relation to variables such as public perceptions of women's political participation, the effectiveness of gender quota policies, and levels of support for female leadership. The analysis technique used in this stage depended on the data characteristics. If the data were normally distributed and the variances between groups were homogeneous, a parametric Independent Samples t-Test was used. However, if the data did not meet parametric assumptions, a non-parametric alternative such as the Mann–Whitney U Test was applied. This test aimed to identify statistically significant differences between the two regions, thereby providing deeper insight into how differing sociocultural contexts influence public attitudes toward women's political representation (Sugiyono, 2019).

4. Qualitative Analysis

The in-depth interview data were analyzed using thematic analysis to identify recurring themes and contextual factors affecting women's political participation. This qualitative component complemented the survey findings, helping explain why differences exist between Jakarta and Madura, and linking statistical results with socio-cultural narratives and policy implications.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 General Description of Respondents

This study involved 60 respondents evenly distributed across two strategic regions, namely DKI Jakarta and Madura Island, with 30 individuals from each area. Respondents were selected using a purposive sampling technique, which entails choosing participants based on specific criteria relevant to the research objectives. The criteria included productive age, educational background, and engagement in social and community life. This technique was chosen to ensure that the data collected would reflect a diversity of experiences and perspectives relevant to the issue of women's political participation, particularly within the distinct social contexts of urban and rural areas.

The division of respondents based on domicile—between Jakarta and Madura—served as the main framework for the comparative approach applied in this research. Jakarta was selected to represent an urban area with greater access to education and political opportunities for women, while Madura was chosen to reflect a rural context still heavily influenced by traditional and religious norms. By balancing the number of respondents from both regions, this study aims to provide a more objective illustration of how local social, cultural, and political differences affect public perceptions of women's involvement in the political sphere. This comparison is expected to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the state of women's political representation within Indonesia's diverse sociopolitical landscape.

4.1.1 Respondent Characteristics Based on Gender

Gender is one of the key characteristics in this study as it is directly related to the issue under investigation, namely women's political participation and representation. Understanding the gender distribution of respondents allows the researcher to assess the extent to which perceptions of women's involvement in politics reflect the views of both gender groups. Moreover, this data plays a crucial role in interpreting the tendency toward support or resistance regarding affirmative policies such as gender quotas.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Region	Female	Male	Total
Jakarta	21	9	30
Madura	25	5	30
Total	46	14	60

A visualization of the respondents' gender distribution is presented in Figure 4.1 below.

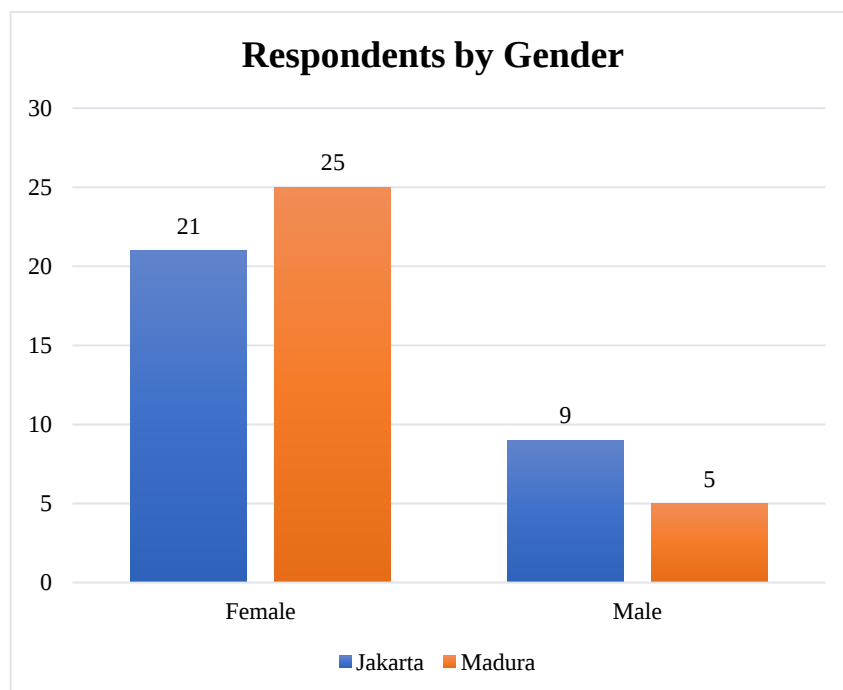


Figure 4.1 Graph of Respondent Distribution by Gender

Based on Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1, it is evident that the majority of respondents in this study are female, totaling 46 individuals or approximately 76.7% of the total 60 respondents. In the Jakarta region, there are 21 female respondents and 9 male respondents, while in Madura, there are 25 females and only 5 males. This composition indicates that women tend to be more enthusiastic in responding to questionnaires related to women's political participation. This may reflect a higher level of concern among women regarding issues of gender political representation. Nevertheless, the presence of male respondents also provides an important contribution in understanding the overall social dynamics, particularly in measuring cross-gender support for affirmative policies and women's involvement in politics.

4.1.2 Respondent Characteristics by Age

Age is an important variable in observing tendencies in perceptions of women's political participation. Certain age groups, especially those in the productive age range, generally have better access to information and are more actively involved in social and political activities. Therefore, the age distribution of respondents can help explain the context of understanding and the level of support for women's political representation in each region.

Table 4.2 Respondent Distribution by Age Group

Age	Jakarta	Madura	Total
17–25 years	6	8	14
26–35 years	12	10	22
36–45 years	8	6	14
46–55 years	3	5	8
>55 years	1	1	2
Total	30	30	60

The visualization of the respondents' age group distribution is presented in Figure 4.2 below.

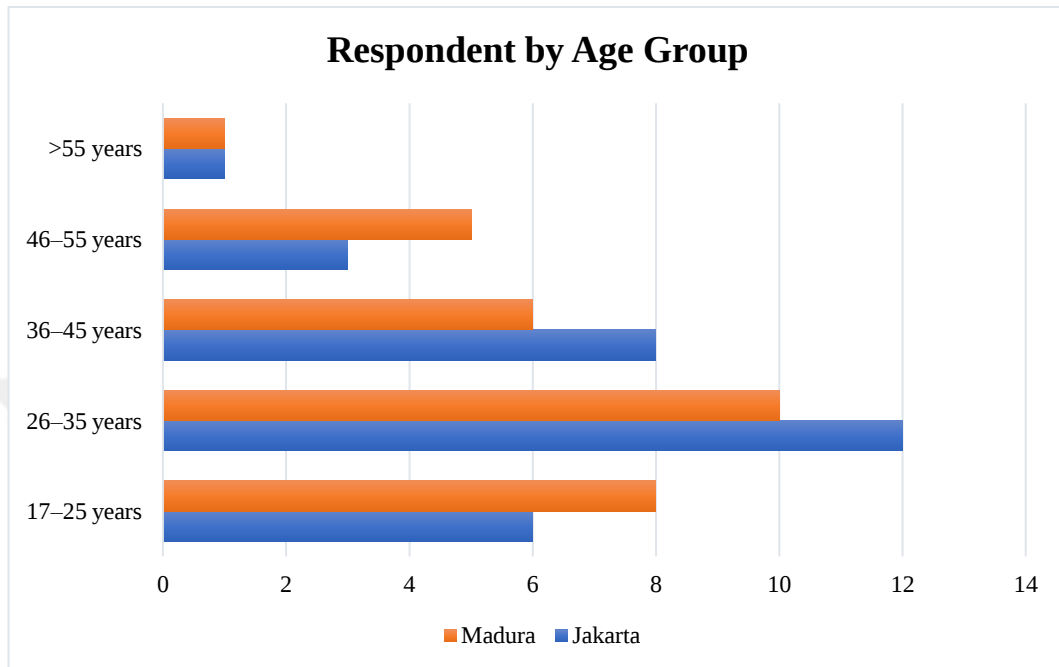


Figure 4.2 Graph of Respondent Distribution by Age Group

Based on Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2, the distribution of respondents by age group shows that the majority fall within the productive age range. The 26–35 years age group is the largest, consisting of 22 individuals (36.7%), followed by the 17–25 years and 36–45 years age groups, each totaling 14 individuals (23.3%). Meanwhile, the 46–55 years age group includes 8 individuals (13.3%), and only 2 respondents (3.3%) are over 55 years old. This age composition indicates that most respondents are in a socially and economically active life phase, making their perspectives relevant for issues concerning women's political participation. The presence of both younger and middle-aged adults also reflects intergenerational diversity of perception, which can enrich the analytical findings of this study.

4.1.3 Respondent Characteristics by Education Level

Education level is one of the factors that influence an individual's perspective on social and political issues, including gender equality and women's political participation. Respondents with higher levels of education generally have

broader access to information and tend to hold more open and critical views regarding women's representation in democratic systems. Therefore, analyzing respondents' educational backgrounds is essential for interpreting the perceptual tendencies that emerge in this study.

Table 4.3 Respondent Distribution by Education Level

Education Level	Jakarta	Madura	Total
Elementary/Equivalent (SD)	1	2	3
Junior High School (SMP)	1	3	4
High School/Vocational (SMA/SMK)	10	13	23
Diploma/Bachelor's Degree (D3/S1)	15	11	26
Master's/Doctorate (S2/S3)	3	1	4
Total	30	30	60

The visualization of respondents' education level distribution is presented in Figure 4.3 below.

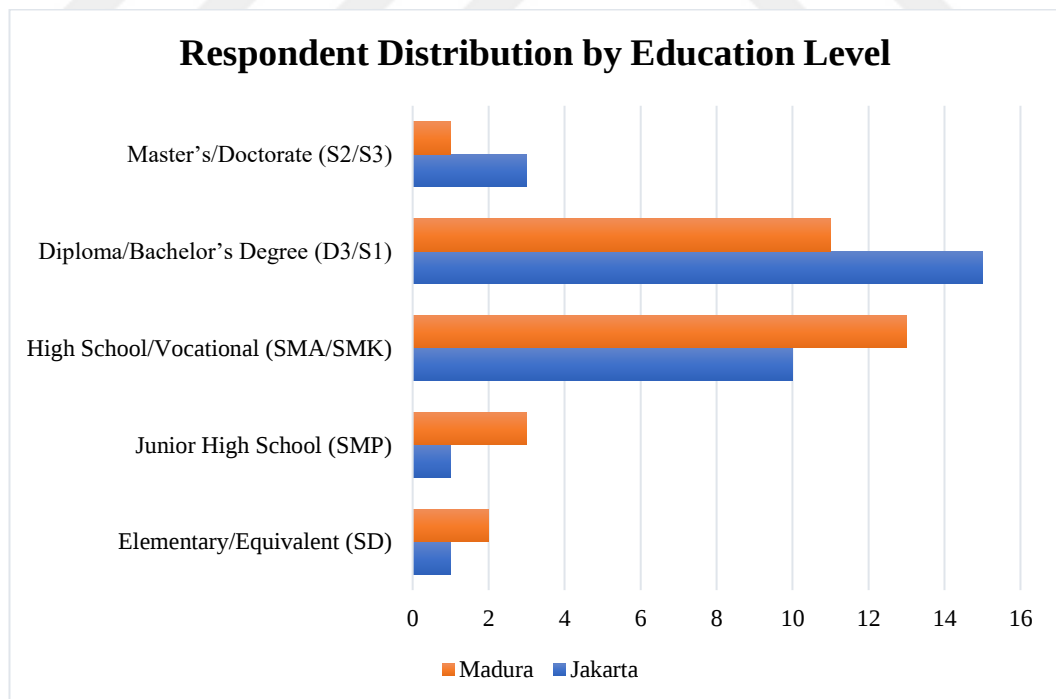


Figure 4.3 Graph of Respondent Distribution by Education Level

Based on Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3, it is evident that the majority of respondents in this study have a background in secondary and higher education. Respondents with a final education level of Diploma or Bachelor's degree (D3/S1) form the largest group, totaling 26 individuals (43.3%), followed by high school/vocational school graduates (SMA/SMK) with 23 individuals (38.3%). Meanwhile, respondents with only elementary and junior high school education are relatively few, with 3 individuals (5%) and 4 individuals (6.7%) respectively. Postgraduate degree holders (S2/S3) comprise only 4 individuals (6.7%). This composition indicates that most respondents have a sufficiently high level of education to comprehend social and political issues in greater depth. A higher education level also allows broader access to information regarding gender equality, political representation, and affirmative action policies such as gender quotas, thereby enhancing the quality of data obtained in this study.

4.1.4 Respondent Characteristics by Occupation

The occupational background of respondents reflects their social position and level of involvement in public or political activities. Occupation can influence access to information, organizational experience, and tendencies in discussions or policies related to women's political participation. Therefore, identifying the distribution of respondents' occupations is important to understand the diversity of perspectives involved in this study.

Table 4.4 Respondent Distribution by Occupation

Occupation	Jakarta	Madura	Total
Student/University Student	6	7	13
Housewife	3	6	9
Civil Servant/State Employee (ASN)	5	2	7
Private Sector Employee	8	4	12
Entrepreneur	5	7	12
Farmer/Fisherman	0	2	2
Unemployed	3	2	5
Total	30	30	60

The visualization of respondent occupation distribution is presented in Figure 4.4 below.

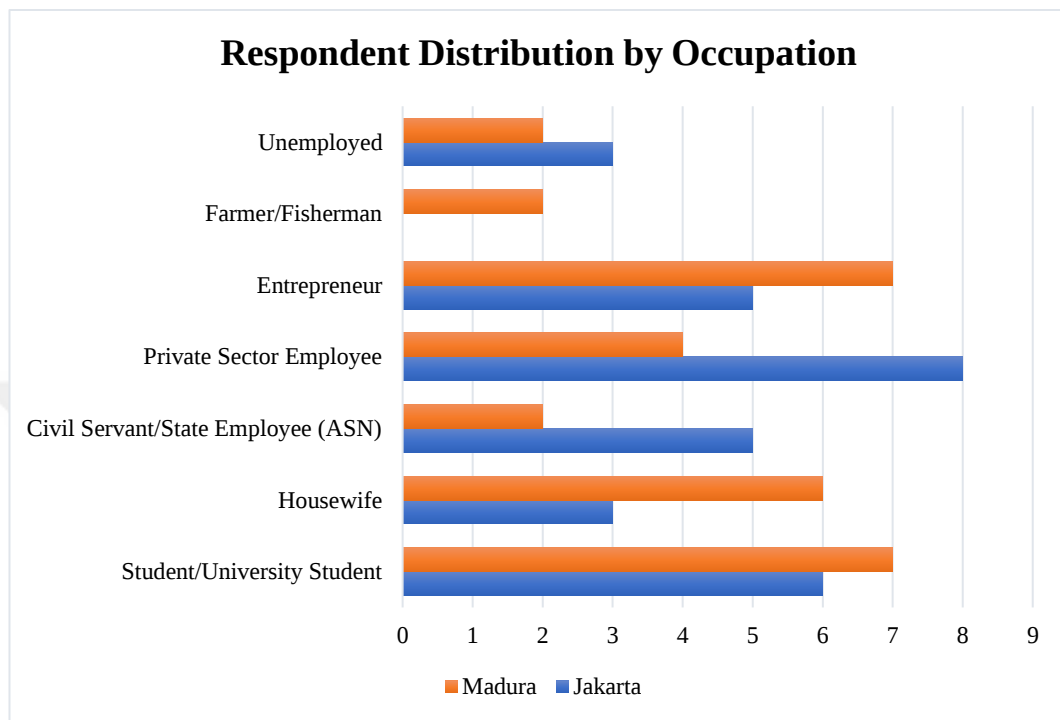


Figure 4.4 Graph of Respondent Distribution by Occupation

Based on Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4, respondents in this study come from various occupational backgrounds. The largest group is students/university students, with 13 individuals (21.7%), followed by private sector employees and entrepreneurs, each with 12 individuals (20%). Housewives total 9 individuals (15%), while civil servants/state employees (ASN) make up 7 individuals (11.7%). There are 5 unemployed respondents (8.3%), and only 2 respondents work as farmers or fishermen (3.3%). This diverse occupational distribution indicates that the study has included viewpoints from multiple sectors of society—formal, informal, and domestic. This variety provides a range of perspectives on women’s involvement in politics, particularly in relation to access to information, organizational experience, and the social standing of each respondent.

4.2 Instrument Testing Results

Before proceeding with further data analysis, validity and reliability tests were conducted on the questionnaire instrument to ensure that all constructed statements accurately and consistently measured the intended variables. This instrument testing was performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 29, which provides accurate and efficient statistical analysis features for quantitative research.

4.2.1 Validity Test Results

This study employs three variables: perception of women's political participation, support for women's political representation, and perception of gender quota policies. The validity test was conducted to determine the extent to which each statement item in the questionnaire accurately measured the intended construct in line with its theoretical foundation.

The analysis technique used was item-total correlation with the Pearson Product Moment method, supported by SPSS version 29. The correlation value of each item was then compared with the critical r-value (r table) at a 5% significance level with degrees of freedom (df) = 58 (N = 60), which is 0.2542. An item is declared valid if the calculated r-value is equal to or greater than 0.2542. Additionally, the validity is reinforced by the significance value (p-value) of each item. If the p-value is less than 0.05, the item is considered statistically significant and suitable for further analysis.

Table 4.5 Validity Test Results for Perception of Women's Political Participation

Item Code	r value	Sig. (2-tailed)	Description
A1	0,700	0,000	Valid
A2	0,651	0,000	Valid
A3	0,612	0,000	Valid
A4	0,578	0,000	Valid
A5	0,484	0,000	Valid

Item Code	r value	Sig. (2-tailed)	Description
A6	0,585	0,000	Valid
A7	0,442	0,000	Valid
A8	0,565	0,000	Valid
A9	0,634	0,000	Valid
A10	0,598	0,000	Valid

Based on Table 4.5, all statement items under the variable "perception of women's political participation" (A1–A10) show r-values greater than the critical value of 0.2542, with significance values (p-values) of 0.000 or less than 0.05. This indicates that each item has a statistically significant correlation with the total score and is valid for measuring the intended construct. The highest r-value is found in item A1 (0.700), while the lowest is in item A7 (0.442); nonetheless, both meet the validity criteria. Therefore, all ten items are declared valid and can be used in further analysis to describe respondents' perceptions of women's political participation.

Table 4.6 Validity Test Results for Support for Women's Political Representation

Item Code	r value	Sig. (2-tailed)	Description
B1	0,552	0,000	Valid
B2	0,640	0,000	Valid
B3	0,462	0,000	Valid
B4	0,592	0,000	Valid
B5	0,647	0,000	Valid
B6	0,517	0,000	Valid
B7	0,608	0,000	Valid
B8	0,672	0,000	Valid
B9	0,730	0,000	Valid
B10	0,630	0,000	Valid

Based on Table 4.6, all statement items under the variable *support for women's political representation* (B1–B10) show r-values greater than the critical value of 0.2542, with significance (p-value) of 0.000 or < 0.05. This indicates that all items have a statistically significant correlation with the total score and are thus considered valid. The highest correlation is found in item B9 ($r = 0.730$), while the lowest is in B3 ($r = 0.462$), but both are well above the validity threshold. Therefore, all items in this variable are valid and can be used to measure the level of respondent support for women's representation in politics.

Table 4.7 Validity Test Results for Perception of Gender Quota Policy

Item Code	r value	Sig. (2-tailed)	Description
C1	0,740	0,000	Valid
C2	0,577	0,000	Valid
C3	0,610	0,000	Valid
C4	0,597	0,000	Valid
C5	0,750	0,000	Valid
C6	0,682	0,000	Valid
C7	0,489	0,000	Valid
C8	0,646	0,000	Valid
C9	0,552	0,000	Valid
C10	0,601	0,000	Valid

Based on Table 4.7, all items under the variable *perception of gender quota policy* (C1–C10) have r-values exceeding the critical value of 0.2542. All significance values (p-values) are 0.000, which is less than 0.05, indicating that each item has a statistically significant correlation with the total score. The item with the highest correlation is C5 ($r = 0.750$), while the lowest is C7 ($r = 0.489$), but all items meet the validity criteria. Thus, all items are declared valid and can be used to measure respondents' perceptions of gender quota policies in the political sphere.

4.2.2 Reliability Test Results

The reliability test was conducted to measure the extent to which the research instrument could produce consistent and stable data in measuring a construct. An instrument is considered reliable if it demonstrates good internal consistency, indicated by a Cronbach's Alpha value of ≥ 0.70 . This technique is used to assess how well the items within a variable correlate with each other and consistently measure the same dimension.

Table 4.8 Reliability Test Results of the Research Instrument

Variable	Cronbach's Alpha	Total Item	Description
Perception of Women's Political Participation	0,788	10	Reliable
Support for Women's Political Representation	0,807	10	Reliable
Perception of Gender Quota Policy	0,826	10	Reliable

Based on Table 4.8, all variables show Cronbach's Alpha values above the 0.70 threshold. The highest value is found in the variable *Perception of Gender Quota Policy* (0.826), while the lowest is in *Perception of Women's Political Participation* (0.788). These values indicate that the instruments used in this study are considered reliable and suitable for further data analysis.

4.3 Descriptive Statistical Analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was conducted to provide an initial overview of respondents' perceptions and attitudes toward women's political participation, women's political representation, and gender quota policies. The assessment was based on the average score (mean) and standard deviation of each statement item in the questionnaire, measured using a 5-point Likert scale. The mean value is used to observe the general tendency of respondents' attitudes toward an issue, while the standard deviation indicates the extent of variation or dispersion in the responses. The data were analyzed separately for respondents from Jakarta and Madura (30 individuals each) to illustrate perception patterns based on different social and cultural backgrounds. The results of this analysis serve as the foundation for understanding general trends before conducting comparative tests between the two regions in the next stage.

4.3.1 Perception of Women's Political Participation

The analysis of perceptions regarding women's political participation was conducted by measuring the level of agreement among respondents on a set of statements that reflect their views on women's capacity, contributions, and the importance of their involvement in politics. Each statement was analyzed using mean and standard deviation scores to observe general trends and variations in respondent responses. This measurement was conducted separately for respondents in the Jakarta and Madura regions to obtain a more contextualized overview, in line with the comparative approach applied in this study.

Table 4.9 Descriptive Statistics of Perceptions of Women's Political Participation

Item	Statement	Jakarta		Madura	
		Mean	Stdev	Mean	Stdev
A1	Women have equal capacity as men in leading political positions.	3,80	0,805	2,33	0,758
A2	Women's leadership in politics can bring positive change to society.	3,83	0,913	2,77	0,858

Item	Statement	Jakarta		Madura	
		Mean	Stdev	Mean	Stdev
A3	Decisions made by women in politics generally take public interest into account.	3,97	0,890	2,63	0,765
A4	Women are capable of making complex strategic decisions in the political sphere.	3,77	0,817	2,77	1,073
A5	Women's involvement broadens democratic perspectives in public policy.	3,50	0,820	2,73	0,944
A6	Democracy becomes more inclusive when women are involved in decision-making processes.	3,67	0,711	2,57	0,898
A7	Women play an important role in determining political leadership through elections.	3,70	0,702	2,73	0,980
A8	Women's votes in elections significantly impact public policy outcomes.	3,67	0,758	2,83	0,913
A9	Women should be more active in running for legislative office.	3,63	0,718	2,57	0,898
A10	Society should support women's candidacies as a form of equal participation.	3,77	0,774	2,83	0,913
Rata-Rata		3,73	0,79	2,68	0,90

Based on Table 4.9, there is a noticeable difference in the level of perception between respondents in Jakarta and Madura regarding women's political participation. The overall mean score for respondents from Jakarta is 3.73, with a standard deviation of 0.79, indicating a general tendency to agree with the statements presented. In contrast, respondents from Madura have a lower mean score of 2.68 with a standard deviation of 0.90, reflecting a lower level of agreement and greater variation in responses. Almost all items show a similar pattern, in which Jakarta respondents express a more positive view of women's roles and capabilities in politics compared to those from Madura. This difference reflects the influence of

contrasting socio-cultural backgrounds: Jakarta, as a metropolitan city, tends to be more open to gender equality issues and is more exposed to progressive discourses through education, media, and civil society activities; whereas Madura remains strongly influenced by conservative values, patriarchal structures, and traditional roles that emphasize women's domestic responsibilities.

4.3.2 Support for Women's Political Representation

This section aims to understand respondents' attitudes toward women's political representation through a set of statements reflecting their willingness to vote for female candidates, their belief in women's leadership capacity, and the importance of women's involvement in political decision-making. Each statement is measured using a Likert scale and analyzed through mean scores and standard deviations. Separating the results based on the respondents' regions allows for initial observations of support patterns within two different socio-cultural contexts.

Table 4.10 Descriptive Statistics: Support for Women's Political Representation

Item	Statement	Jakarta		Madura	
		Mean	Stdev	Mean	Stdev
B1	I am willing to vote for female legislative candidates in elections.	3,43	0,774	2,60	1,070
B2	I believe women can be good and trustworthy representatives of the people.	3,57	0,774	2,63	0,718
B3	Female leaders have confidence when facing political pressure.	3,33	0,844	2,60	0,855
B4	Women are able to show firmness in political leadership roles.	3,27	0,521	2,40	0,770
B5	Women should be more involved in public decision-making processes.	3,60	0,675	2,57	0,626
B6	Women's involvement in legislatures brings new perspectives to policy-making.	3,37	0,890	2,53	0,730

Item	Statement	Jakarta		Madura	
		Mean	Stdev	Mean	Stdev
B7	Women are capable of understanding the comprehensive needs of society.	3,57	0,898	2,73	0,868
B8	Women are better able to voice the aspirations of vulnerable groups.	3,67	0,802	2,57	0,898
B9	Women deserve to be party leaders or heads of local government.	3,90	0,759	2,30	0,651
B10	There is no valid reason to reject women as top political leaders.	3,73	0,785	2,53	0,973
Rata-Rata		3,54	0,77	2,55	0,82

Based on Table 4.10, there is a significant difference between respondents in Jakarta and Madura in terms of support for women's political representation. Respondents in Jakarta show an average score of 3.54 with a standard deviation of 0.77, reflecting a general agreement with the involvement of women in political positions and public leadership roles. In contrast, respondents from Madura report a lower average score of 2.55 with a standard deviation of 0.82, indicating lower support and greater variability in responses. This difference is most pronounced in Statement B9, which concerns the eligibility of women to become party leaders or regional heads, where the score is 3.90 in Jakarta and only 2.30 in Madura. These contrasting attitudes can be explained by the differing socio-cultural contexts of each region. Jakarta, as a metropolitan city, is more open to gender equality issues and women's roles in public spheres, whereas Madura remains influenced by patriarchal structures and traditional values that assign women a more dominant role in the domestic sphere.

4.3.3 Perceptions of Gender Quota Policy

This section focuses on respondents' perceptions of gender quota policy, including their level of agreement with the policy, its effectiveness in enhancing women's political participation, and its fairness as an affirmative action measure. Each statement item is analyzed using mean scores and standard deviations to assess the tendencies and variation in responses. The data is separated based on

region of residence Jakarta and Madura to understand how socio-cultural backgrounds influence perceptions of gender quota policy implementation in the context of Indonesian politics.

Table 4.11 Descriptive Statistics: Perceptions of Gender Quota Policy

Item	Statement	Jakarta		Madura	
		Mean	Stdev	Mean	Stdev
C1	I support the quota policy requiring at least 30% of legislative candidates to be women.	3,53	0,776	2,10	0,712
C2	A 30% quota for women is essential to create fairness in political representation.	3,43	0,935	2,27	0,828
C3	Gender quotas have proven to increase the number of women involved in politics.	3,30	0,702	2,23	0,817
C4	Without quotas, women's political participation tends to stagnate.	3,37	0,809	2,47	0,730
C5	Gender quotas are a corrective measure for structural inequality in politics.	3,73	0,740	2,27	0,785
C6	Affirmative policies provide equal opportunities for women in decision-making roles.	3,53	0,973	2,17	0,747
C7	Women's quotas accelerate the achievement of gender equality in political institutions.	3,57	0,935	2,47	0,937
C8	Without quotas, gender equality in politics is difficult to achieve.	3,43	1,006	2,17	0,791
C9	The implementation of quotas has increased the number of women in parliament.	3,43	0,774	2,50	0,861
C10	I believe the implementation of gender quotas in Indonesia has shown tangible results.	3,53	0,900	2,33	0,844
Rata-Rata		3,49	0,86	2,30	0,81

Based on Table 4.11, there is a striking difference between respondents in Jakarta and Madura regarding their perceptions of gender quota policy. The average score of respondents from Jakarta is 3.49 with a standard deviation of 0.86, indicating that the majority tend to agree with the implementation of affirmative policies such as the 30% quota for women in legislative candidacy. In contrast, respondents from Madura show a much lower average score of 2.30 with a standard deviation of 0.81, reflecting significantly less agreement with similar policies. The most notable difference appears in Statement C1, which addresses support for the quota policy—scoring 3.53 in Jakarta and only 2.10 in Madura. This disparity is likely influenced by factors such as higher political literacy, the presence of gender equality-oriented civil society organizations, and more egalitarian social norms in Jakarta. Conversely, conservative values and patriarchal social structures remain prevalent in Madura, making affirmative discourse such as gender quotas less positively received in the region.

4.4 Comparative Analysis between Jakarta and Madura

Comparative analysis was conducted to determine the extent to which differences in perception exist between respondents from two different regions—Jakarta and Madura—regarding the issue of women's political participation. The statistical test used was the Independent Samples t-Test, as the data were normally distributed and homogeneous. This section discusses three aspects: perceptions of women's political participation, support for women's political representation, and perceptions of gender quota policy.

4.4.1 Comparison of Perceptions of Women's Political Participation

Before conducting the comparison test between regions, a **normality test** was first carried out to determine whether the score distribution in each respondent group follows a normal distribution. This normality test was performed using Shapiro–Wilk with the help of SPSS version 29. Data are considered to follow a normal distribution if the significance value (Sig.) is greater than 0.05.

Table 4.12 Normality Test Results of Perceptions of Women's
Political Participation

Region	Shapiro-Wilk			Description
	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Jakarta	0,950	30	0,171	Normally distributed
Madura	0,909	30	0,014	Not normally distributed

Based on the results in Table 4.12, the data from respondents in the Jakarta region are normally distributed, as the significance value for the Shapiro–Wilk test is above 0.05. Meanwhile, the data from Madura are not normally distributed, since the significance value is less than 0.05. Therefore, for the next stage of comparative analysis, the non-parametric Mann–Whitney U test is used, as it is more appropriate for non-normally distributed data.

After the normality test indicated that one group's data are not normally distributed, a non-parametric Mann–Whitney U test was conducted to compare perceptions of women's political participation between respondents from Jakarta and Madura.

Table 4.13 Mann–Whitney U Test Results for Perceptions
of Women's Political Participation by Region

Region	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Jakarta	30	45,43	1363
Madura	30	15,57	467
Total	60		
Test Statistics		Value	
Mann–Whitney U		2,000	
Wilcoxon W		467,000	
Z		-6,651	
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		0,000	

Based on Table 4.13, the Mann–Whitney U test results show a statistically significant difference between respondents in Jakarta and Madura regarding their perceptions of women’s political participation. The mean rank of Jakarta respondents is 45.43, which is much higher than Madura’s 15.57. The significance value (Asymp. Sig. 2-tailed) is 0.000, indicating a statistically significant difference at the 95% confidence level ($p < 0.05$). This means that there is a meaningful difference in perception between the two regions, where respondents from Jakarta hold a more positive view of women's political participation compared to respondents from Madura. This difference may reflect the influence of varying social, cultural, and informational backgrounds between a metropolitan region like Jakarta and a more traditional region like Madura.

4.4.2 Comparison of Support for Women's Political Representation

A comparative analysis of support for women's political representation between respondents in Jakarta and Madura began with a normality test for each dataset. This test aims to determine the appropriate type of analysis—whether to use a parametric or non-parametric test. The normality test was conducted using Shapiro–Wilk tests at a significance level of 0.05.

Table 4.14 Normality Test Results for Support of Women’s Political Representation

Region	Shapiro-Wilk			Description
	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Jakarta	0,966	30	0,431	Normally distributed
Madura	0,957	30	0,252	Normally distributed

Based on the results in Table 4.14, the Shapiro–Wilk significance values for both groups (Jakarta and Madura) are greater than 0.05, specifically 0.431 and 0.252. This indicates that the data distribution for both regions is considered normal. Therefore, the comparative analysis for this variable can be conducted using the parametric Independent Samples t-Test.

Since the normality test results confirm that both data sets are normally distributed, the comparison of support for women's political representation between respondents in Jakarta and Madura was carried out using a parametric Independent Samples t-Test.

Table 4.15 Independent t-Test Results for Support of Women's Political Representation by Region

Region	N	Mean	Simpangan Baku	Standar Error Mean
Jakarta	30	35,43	2,661	0,486
Madura	30	25,47	2,933	0,535
Test Statistics	Value			
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances (Sig.)	0,763			
t (Equal variances assumed)	13,784			
df	58			
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000			
Perbedaan Rata-rata	9,967			
Std. Error Perbedaan	0,723			
95% CI (Batas Bawah – Atas)	8,519 – 11,414			

Based on Table 4.15, the significance value of Levene's Test is 0.763 (greater than 0.05), indicating that the variance between the two groups is considered homogeneous. Therefore, the assumption of equal variances is used in the Independent Samples t-Test. The test results show a significance value (Sig. 2-tailed) of 0.000 (less than 0.05), indicating a statistically significant difference in support for women's political representation between respondents in Jakarta and Madura. The average score in Jakarta (35.43) is higher than that in Madura (25.47), suggesting that support for women's political representation is generally stronger in Jakarta compared to Madura. This difference may reflect variations in social context and cultural values that influence public attitudes toward women's involvement in politics in each region.

4.4.3 Comparison of Views on Gender Quota Policy

A comparative analysis between Jakarta and Madura regarding views on gender quota policy began with a normality test on the data from each region. This test is essential to determine the appropriate analytical method—whether to use a parametric or non-parametric approach. The normality test was conducted using Shapiro–Wilk at a significance level of 0.05.

Table 4.16 Normality Test Results for Views on Gender Quota Policy

Region	Shapiro-Wilk			Description
	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Jakarta	0,891	30	0,005	Tidak berdistribusi normal
Madura	0,932	30	0,056	Berdistribusi normal

Based on the results in Table 4.16, the data from Jakarta respondents is not normally distributed, as the Shapiro–Wilk significance value is 0.005 (< 0.05). Meanwhile, the data from Madura is slightly above the significance threshold (0.056), but since the assumption of normality is not fully met across both groups, the comparative analysis of views on gender quota policy was conducted using the non-parametric Mann–Whitney U Test.

After confirming that the data distribution does not meet normality assumptions for one group, the comparison of views on the gender quota policy between respondents in Jakarta and Madura was analyzed using the non-parametric Mann–Whitney U Test.

Table 4.17 Mann–Whitney U Test Results for Views on Gender Quota Policy by Region

Region	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Jakarta	30	45,5	1365
Madura	30	15,5	465
Total	60		

Test Statistics	Value
Mann–Whitney U	0,000
Wilcoxon W	465,000
Z	-6,693
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000

Based on Table 4.17, the Mann–Whitney U test results show a significance value of 0.000 (< 0.05), indicating a statistically significant difference between respondents in Jakarta and Madura in terms of their views on the gender quota policy. The mean rank for respondents in Jakarta is 45.5, much higher than 15.5 in Madura. This suggests that perceptions of gender quota policy are generally more positive in Jakarta. These results may reflect differing levels of acceptance toward gender-based affirmative policies between urban communities and those with more conservative cultural values.

4.4.4 Interpretation of Regional Differences

The comparison of research results between Jakarta and Madura shows a clear difference in how communities perceive and respond to women's involvement in politics. Jakarta tends to exhibit a higher level of acceptance toward the idea of female involvement, whether in public leadership, elections, or representation in legislative institutions. This reflects a more open, dynamic social environment that is exposed to various modern discourses on equality and civic participation.

On the other hand, Madura still demonstrates a tendency toward more conservative social values. Public perception there regarding women in political spaces appears to be lower, both in terms of trust in their leadership capabilities and support for their presence in strategic public positions. This may be attributed to the strong influence of cultural structures and social norms that continue to shape perceptions of gender roles, where women are still largely expected to focus on domestic spheres.

In terms of support for women to hold public office, Jakarta exhibits a higher level of agreement. People in the capital city are more open to female legislative candidates, have greater trust in women's ability to withstand political pressure, and support their involvement in public decision-making processes. Meanwhile, in Madura, there remains resistance or skepticism toward the potential and role of women as political leaders.

This difference is also evident in attitudes toward affirmative action policies such as the gender quota. Jakarta residents tend to view such policies as reasonable steps to encourage fairer representation. In contrast, in Madura, most respondents still view quota policies with skepticism. Support for the idea that quotas can enhance women's roles in parliament and promote equality remains limited, indicating the need for approaches that more deeply engage with local cultural aspects.

The results of this comparison illustrate that social and cultural backgrounds strongly influence public attitudes toward the issue of women's involvement in political life. Jakarta, as a major urban center with broad social interaction, appears to be more receptive to inclusive participation ideas. In contrast, Madura presents its own set of challenges in changing perceptions, thus requiring more contextually grounded educational and participatory approaches in order to increase acceptance of women's roles in public spaces.

4.5 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis in this study aimed to complement the quantitative findings and provide a contextual understanding of the factors that shape women's political participation and representation in Jakarta and Madura. While the survey data revealed differences in public perceptions, the in-depth interviews with six key informants—comprising female politicians, civil society activists, and local opinion leaders—offered deeper insights into why these differences exist and how socio-cultural, religious, and institutional structures influence women's political agency.

Thematic analysis was conducted by transcribing the interviews, coding the data, and identifying recurring patterns that align with the study's objectives. The results revealed four dominant themes that illustrate the complex interaction between gender, culture, and politics in the two regions.

4.5.1 Socio-Cultural Barriers and Patriarchal Norms

The most dominant theme that emerged from the qualitative analysis is the pervasive influence of socio-cultural barriers and patriarchal norms on women's political participation and representation. Gender roles in both Jakarta and Madura are deeply ingrained in historical and cultural traditions, with politics traditionally regarded as a male domain. Women are widely expected to prioritize domestic responsibilities, family care, and community-based social roles, while political decision-making and leadership are viewed as male prerogatives. These traditional gender expectations have a direct impact on women's access to political opportunities, shaping both public perceptions and their practical ability to engage in political life.

In Madura, socio-cultural restrictions operate in a particularly rigid manner. Strong patriarchal traditions and conservative religious values combine to create a social environment where female political engagement is often discouraged or perceived as inappropriate. Women who aspire to participate in politics face multiple layers of informal gatekeeping, including expectations of family approval, community acceptance, and alignment with local religious norms. These social mechanisms limit women's capacity to enter party structures, secure campaign resources, and establish the legitimacy necessary for electoral success. As a result, the opportunities available to women in rural Madura remain highly constrained, and formal political participation is generally reserved for those who can navigate these rigid social hierarchies.

By contrast, Jakarta provides a more permissive socio-cultural environment for women to engage in politics. As an urban, pluralistic, and highly interconnected society, the capital city benefits from higher literacy rates, exposure to diverse

ideas, and the active presence of media and civil society organizations advocating for gender equality. Women in Jakarta are more likely to participate in political parties, run for local or regional office, and engage in public advocacy without the same level of familial or religious scrutiny experienced in rural regions. However, patriarchal norms have not disappeared entirely. Instead, they manifest in more subtle forms, such as skepticism toward women's leadership abilities, gendered divisions of labor within party organizations, and the persistence of stereotypes that position women in supportive rather than strategic political roles.

The comparison between these two regions highlights the varying intensity and manifestation of patriarchy in urban and rural settings. In Madura, patriarchal control is explicit and rigid, producing direct social and institutional barriers to women's political advancement. Women must rely heavily on traditional networks and informal social approval to secure even a limited presence in political life. In Jakarta, patriarchy is present in a more implicit form, functioning primarily through institutional practices and latent bias rather than open social exclusion. This distinction demonstrates that the structural barriers to female political participation are not uniform but are deeply intertwined with the cultural and social context of each region.

The implications of these socio-cultural dynamics are significant for the effectiveness of gender equality policies, such as the 30% gender quota in Indonesia. Legal frameworks alone are insufficient to produce substantive political representation if they are not supported by social environments that enable women to exercise political agency. In Madura, quota policies often remain symbolic, as entrenched patriarchal norms prevent women from fully benefiting from institutional opportunities. In Jakarta, the combination of more supportive social conditions and formal legal mechanisms allows the quota policy to translate into higher visibility and more meaningful political engagement for women. These findings reinforce the conclusion that sustainable progress in women's political representation requires not only legal and institutional reforms but also long-term strategies to transform socio-cultural attitudes toward gender and leadership.

4.5.2 Institutional and Political Party Dynamics

The second major theme identified in the qualitative analysis concerns the role of political institutions and party dynamics in shaping women's access to political participation and representation. In democratic systems, political parties function as the primary gatekeepers for candidate selection and electoral success. In the Indonesian context, despite the existence of a 30% gender quota, the effectiveness of these institutional mechanisms is highly dependent on the internal practices of political parties and their commitment to gender inclusion. The findings from Jakarta and Madura reveal that institutional support for women is uneven, reflecting the interaction between formal legal frameworks and informal political norms.

In Jakarta, political parties demonstrate a relatively higher level of compliance with gender quotas, and women benefit from structured access to party resources. This includes formal training programs, mentorship opportunities, and media exposure, which are instrumental in building the skills and visibility required for electoral competition. The capital city's political landscape also benefits from active civil society organizations and media scrutiny, which create external pressure on parties to uphold gender equality commitments. Consequently, female candidates in Jakarta are more likely to secure viable placements on party lists, receive campaign support, and convert formal representation into meaningful political influence.

In contrast, the institutional environment in Madura is characterized by symbolic compliance with gender quotas rather than substantive support. While female candidates are often listed to meet the legal requirement, they rarely receive equitable access to campaign financing, strategic party positions, or electoral mobilization efforts. Political competition in Madura remains dominated by patronage networks and family-based political structures, which favor male candidates and treat female participation as secondary. Women who enter politics often do so through kinship ties or by leveraging family political capital, reflecting a system where formal institutional mechanisms are undermined by entrenched

informal hierarchies. This dynamic illustrates that legal provisions alone are insufficient to ensure women's effective participation in rural political settings.

The qualitative findings also indicate that the interaction between party structures and local socio-cultural contexts amplifies the disparities between urban and rural regions. In Jakarta, the institutional environment is reinforced by urban pluralism, media visibility, and pressure from gender-focused organizations, all of which encourage parties to provide more substantive support to female candidates. Conversely, in Madura, the institutional dimension is constrained by traditional power brokers and informal decision-making processes, which limit women's roles to tokenistic positions or non-electable list placements. This contrast underscores the critical role of institutional incentives and party accountability mechanisms in translating legal quotas into real political participation.

These dynamics highlight a broader implication for the relationship between democracy, gender, and local political structures in Indonesia. While Jakarta demonstrates how formal institutional mechanisms can interact with urban political culture to enhance women's representation, the case of Madura reveals that institutional reforms are often neutralized by entrenched local practices and patriarchal patronage systems. For gender quotas to achieve their intended effect, political parties must move beyond formal compliance and adopt strategic measures to empower women, such as equitable resource allocation, transparent candidate selection processes, and ongoing capacity-building initiatives. Without these efforts, rural women will remain marginalized, and the promise of democratic inclusivity will remain unfulfilled in regions dominated by traditional political norms.

4.5.3 Adaptive Strategies and Emerging Women's Agency

The third major theme identified in the qualitative analysis concerns how women navigate structural and socio-cultural barriers through adaptive strategies, reflecting the emergence of women's political agency in both Jakarta and Madura. While formal institutions and socio-cultural norms often constrain women's

participation, female political actors are not passive recipients of exclusion. Instead, they develop context-specific strategies to gain legitimacy, access resources, and enhance their visibility within the political arena. These adaptive approaches vary across regions, reflecting the urban–rural divide in Indonesia’s political landscape.

In Madura, adaptive strategies are predominantly rooted in traditional and religious frameworks. Female political aspirants often rely on family lineage, kinship networks, and the endorsement of local religious authorities to establish their legitimacy. In a political environment where male approval and religious sanction carry significant weight, women leverage these relationships as gateways to political acceptance. For instance, women connected to established political families or married to influential community figures are more likely to secure nominations and mobilize support. Additionally, women in Madura frequently engage in community-based religious and social activities as a means to demonstrate social conformity, gradually gaining public trust that can be transformed into political capital. These strategies, while effective in navigating patriarchal structures, also highlight the dependency of female political agency on male-dominated networks in rural contexts.

In contrast, women in Jakarta employ modern, issue-driven, and media-oriented strategies to enhance their political visibility. Urban female politicians and activists take advantage of digital platforms, professional networks, and grassroots movements to reach broader constituencies and shape public discourse. Social media, in particular, has emerged as a critical tool for political campaigning, image-building, and direct voter engagement, allowing women to bypass some of the traditional barriers within party structures. Moreover, women in Jakarta often engage in policy advocacy, professional associations, and gender-focused civil society initiatives, positioning themselves as competent and policy-oriented leaders rather than relying solely on kinship ties. This approach reflects a more autonomous form of political agency, consistent with the pluralistic and competitive political environment of the capital.

The comparison between these two regions highlights the dual nature of women's adaptive strategies in Indonesia. Madura's strategies are predominantly defensive and legitimacy-based, relying on social conformity and male endorsement, while Jakarta's strategies are proactive and self-initiated, emphasizing personal competence, media engagement, and independent constituency-building. This divergence underscores the importance of contextual political opportunity structures, where urban environments provide more avenues for autonomous female leadership, and rural settings compel women to navigate existing patriarchal systems rather than directly challenge them.

These findings have important implications for gender and democratic development in Indonesia. The emergence of women's agency, even in highly restrictive environments, indicates that incremental pathways to political empowerment are possible, though they remain heavily context-dependent. In rural areas like Madura, long-term progress will require structural interventions that reduce women's dependency on male-mediated political access, such as capacity-building programs, local mentorship initiatives, and community education on gender equality. In urban areas like Jakarta, strategies should focus on scaling up women's independent political influence, enhancing institutional support within parties, and leveraging digital platforms for broader social impact. Together, these adaptive strategies demonstrate that female political agency in Indonesia is both constrained by tradition and dynamically evolving, reflecting the complex interplay between gender, culture, and democracy.

4.5.4 Intersection of Legal Frameworks and Local Realities

The fourth theme emerging from the qualitative analysis concerns the intersection between national legal frameworks and local sociopolitical realities, which directly shapes the effectiveness of gender equality policies in political representation. Indonesia has implemented a 30% gender quota to promote women's participation in legislative bodies, reflecting a formal commitment to gender-inclusive democracy. However, the study's findings demonstrate that the practical impact of this legal framework varies significantly between Jakarta and

Madura, as the quota's effectiveness is highly dependent on the local sociocultural environment and institutional enforcement mechanisms.

In Jakarta, the interaction between the gender quota and the urban political environment has produced tangible improvements in women's political visibility and participation. Political parties in the capital are generally compliant with quota regulations, and the presence of media oversight, civil society activism, and competitive urban politics contributes to better enforcement. Women in Jakarta are more likely to be placed in electable positions on party lists, and formal legal mandates are supported by informal sociopolitical acceptance of women in leadership roles. As a result, the intersection of legal and local factors in Jakarta has created a positive synergy, where the quota policy translates into meaningful opportunities for female candidates to secure seats and influence decision-making.

Conversely, in Madura, the implementation of gender quotas often remains symbolic rather than substantive. While parties formally include women on candidate lists to comply with legal requirements, the local sociopolitical environment is dominated by patriarchal structures, religious conservatism, and kinship-based politics, which limit the quota's impact. Women are frequently assigned to non-electable positions or are included solely for administrative compliance, with little effort to provide campaign resources or strategic support. The rural political context is heavily shaped by informal decision-making networks and traditional power brokers, where local realities override national legal aspirations, resulting in limited substantive female representation despite the existence of formal quotas.

This urban–rural disparity illustrates a critical implementation gap in Indonesia's gender representation policy. Legal frameworks such as the gender quota are necessary but insufficient to ensure equitable participation if they are not contextualized within local political realities. Jakarta's experience suggests that synergy between formal law and supportive sociocultural environments can produce substantive change, while Madura exemplifies how deeply entrenched traditions and informal political hierarchies can neutralize legal reforms. This gap

reflects a broader challenge in democratic governance: national policies often face structural resistance at the local level, particularly in regions with strong traditional authority and limited external accountability.

The policy implications of this intersection are significant. To bridge the gap between formal legal mandates and local realities, strategies must go beyond top-down legal frameworks and include context-sensitive interventions. These may involve strengthening party accountability mechanisms, enhancing local monitoring and enforcement, investing in women's political capacity-building, and engaging community leaders and religious authorities to foster a more supportive sociocultural environment. Without these complementary efforts, the transformative potential of gender quotas will remain uneven and regionally constrained, reinforcing the urban–rural divide in women's political participation.

4.5.5 Comparative Interpretation

The comparative interpretation of the qualitative findings provides a comprehensive understanding of the regional disparities in women's political participation and representation between Jakarta and Madura. The preceding thematic analyses—covering socio-cultural barriers, institutional and party dynamics, adaptive strategies, and the interaction between legal frameworks and local realities—reveal that urban and rural environments produce distinct political opportunity structures for women. These differences are not merely institutional but are deeply embedded in the social and cultural fabric of each region, shaping how women access, experience, and navigate political life.

The qualitative evidence confirms and enriches the quantitative survey results, which showed higher levels of public support for women's political participation in Jakarta compared to Madura. This pattern can be directly linked to the relative openness of Jakarta's urban environment, where higher education levels, diverse social networks, and active civil society movements contribute to more favorable attitudes toward female leadership. In contrast, Madura's survey responses reflect lower endorsement of women in politics, consistent with the

entrenched patriarchal and conservative norms identified in the interviews. The alignment of quantitative and qualitative findings demonstrates that public perception is a reliable indicator of the underlying structural barriers that women face in each region.

A key comparative insight is that legal and institutional mechanisms function differently depending on their socio-cultural context. In Jakarta, gender quotas, party structures, and digital media strategies work synergistically with a relatively inclusive urban environment, allowing women to translate formal representation into practical political influence. In Madura, however, formal compliance with national policies is undermined by informal power structures, including male-dominated patronage networks, family-based political hierarchies, and local religious authority. This duality highlights that formal democratic mechanisms cannot operate in isolation; their effectiveness is conditional on local social acceptance and institutional commitment.

The adaptive strategies of women in both regions further illustrate how agency is context-dependent and shaped by available opportunity structures. Jakarta women pursue autonomous, media-driven, and issue-based strategies, leveraging social networks and digital platforms to build independent political visibility. Madura women rely on legitimacy-based strategies, using kinship ties, religious endorsements, and community engagement to navigate patriarchal constraints. These adaptations reflect different modes of survival and advancement within their respective political ecosystems and reinforce the broader pattern that urban environments facilitate more independent female agency, while rural contexts reinforce dependency on male-dominated networks.

In synthesis, the comparative interpretation of the qualitative findings paints a multi-dimensional picture of gender and democracy in Indonesia. It demonstrates that regional disparities are not only a matter of resources or legal frameworks but are fundamentally shaped by the interaction of culture, institutions, and agency. For Jakarta, the challenge lies in consolidating gains and ensuring that women's political roles evolve from symbolic to substantive leadership. For Madura, the

priority is cultural transformation and local-level empowerment strategies to dismantle the persistent barriers of patriarchy and informal exclusion. This integrated understanding provides the foundation for evidence-based recommendations, emphasizing that policies for women's political empowerment must be tailored to regional realities to achieve meaningful and sustainable democratic inclusion.

4.6 Discussion

4.6.1 Perceptions of Women's Political Participation and Leadership in Jakarta and Madura

The findings of this study demonstrate a clear divergence in public perceptions regarding women's political participation and leadership between Jakarta and Madura. Survey results indicate that respondents in Jakarta generally hold positive and supportive attitudes toward women's involvement in political life, including both participation as voters and leadership as candidates or officeholders. The average perception score among Jakarta respondents falls within the "agree" category, suggesting that urban residents are relatively comfortable with female leadership in political institutions. By contrast, responses from Madura predominantly fall within the "neutral" or "somewhat disagree" categories, signaling ambivalence or subtle resistance toward women's political participation. This urban–rural divide reflects underlying sociocultural and structural differences that shape how communities perceive gender roles in the political sphere.

This divergence can be interpreted through the framework of political modernization theory, which argues that social and cultural change is closely linked to urbanization, economic development, and exposure to modern institutions. In line with the work of Inglehart and Norris (2003), societies with higher levels of modernization—such as Jakarta—tend to adopt more egalitarian gender norms, including acceptance of women in leadership positions. Jakarta, as Indonesia's political and economic hub, exhibits characteristics of an urbanized and

cosmopolitan society, including higher educational attainment, broader access to information, and exposure to cross-cultural and international ideas about gender equality. These factors collectively expand the social imagination of leadership, allowing the public to view women as legitimate and capable political actors.

In Madura, the situation is strikingly different due to the persistence of strong patriarchal norms and the dominance of traditional social structures. Women's roles remain closely associated with domestic responsibilities, and political leadership is still largely perceived as the domain of men. This is reinforced by religious conservatism and local customary practices, which prioritize male authority in both family and community life. As a result, public trust in female political leadership is significantly lower, and women seeking political office often face skepticism, social resistance, or informal exclusion. These perceptions mirror the qualitative findings from this study, which revealed that female candidates in Madura frequently rely on kinship or religious legitimacy to overcome community doubts about their capacity to lead.

The data also reveal that perceptions of competence and effectiveness are central to public acceptance of female political leadership. Indicators such as "women are capable of making strategic political decisions" and "female leadership brings positive change" received consistently higher agreement scores among Jakarta respondents than among their Madurese counterparts. This pattern illustrates that urban populations are more likely to attribute political competence to women, while rural populations remain cautious or doubtful. This discrepancy reflects what Norris and Lovenduski (1995) describe as the perceptual filter problem, where voters' confidence in female candidates is mediated by long-standing gender stereotypes and structural biases embedded in the political culture.

The contrast between the two regions highlights that public perception is not merely a reflection of personal opinion but a manifestation of deeper cultural and institutional dynamics. In Jakarta, the combination of urban diversity, media exposure, and the presence of active women in political roles contributes to the normalization of female leadership. Citizens are more likely to have direct

experiences or indirect exposure to capable women leaders in public office, which reinforces positive perceptions and breaks down residual biases. In Madura, however, limited visibility of female leaders and low frequency of direct political engagement by women reinforce a cycle of underrepresentation and public skepticism, where the absence of women in politics perpetuates the belief that women are less suitable for political roles.

This regional gap in perception also underscores the limitations of relying solely on formal gender quotas to achieve substantive political inclusion. While Indonesia's 30% quota policy ensures that women are nominally present on party lists, social attitudes remain a decisive factor in determining whether these women can achieve electoral success and meaningful participation. Without cultural acceptance and positive public perceptions, quotas risk producing symbolic representation rather than substantive influence. The findings of this study reinforce the notion that legal measures must be accompanied by social transformation, particularly in rural regions where traditional norms remain dominant.

To address these perceptual disparities, multi-dimensional interventions are required. In urban areas like Jakarta, strategies should focus on consolidating public support, expanding women's visibility in leadership positions, and showcasing successful female political figures to maintain and strengthen existing positive perceptions. In rural regions like Madura, interventions must begin with community-based gender education, political literacy programs, and the active involvement of respected local and religious leaders in promoting the legitimacy of female leadership. These bottom-up approaches are essential to gradually dismantle structural distrust and expand the social space for women's political engagement.

Ultimately, the analysis of public perceptions in Jakarta and Madura illustrates that women's political participation in Indonesia is not only a matter of law or policy but also of culture and collective belief systems. Public attitudes shape both the opportunities available to women and the strategies they must employ to enter the political arena. Recognizing and addressing these perceptual differences is critical for building a more inclusive democracy, where female representation

moves beyond symbolic participation to substantive influence in shaping political decision-making at both the local and national levels.

4.6.2 Differences in the Level of Support for Women's Political Representation between Jakarta and Madura

The findings of this study reveal a pronounced difference in the level of public support for women's political representation between Jakarta and Madura, as shown by both descriptive statistical analysis and comparative testing. Respondents in Jakarta expressed higher levels of agreement with statements supporting women's inclusion in legislative bodies and their eligibility for leadership roles within political parties. The average support score for Jakarta falls into the "agree" category, indicating clear public endorsement of female representation. In contrast, respondents from Madura predominantly occupy the "neutral" or "somewhat disagree" categories, reflecting ambivalence or latent resistance toward female leadership. This regional disparity highlights that public acceptance of women in political roles is strongly mediated by local social norms, cultural expectations, and community structures.

The urban–rural divide in support levels can be theoretically explained through Social Role Theory as articulated by Eagly (1987). This theory posits that public perceptions of competence and leadership suitability are shaped by traditional gender roles and the division of labor between men and women. In urban settings like Jakarta, social structures tend to be more flexible, inclusive, and merit-based, allowing for the redefinition of women's roles beyond the domestic sphere. This fluidity translates into greater public willingness to support female candidates for legislative and executive positions. Conversely, in rural and conservative regions like Madura, traditional gender role expectations remain rigid, and the political domain continues to be perceived as a male prerogative. As a result, public endorsement of women's political representation remains limited, regardless of the existence of formal gender equality policies.

The study's quantitative results align with previous research, which has consistently shown that urban populations with better access to education and mass

media are more supportive of female candidates. Budiati (2018) found that support for female legislative candidates is consistently higher in metropolitan regions because citizens are more exposed to diverse political discourses and examples of successful women leaders. The same dynamic appears in Jakarta, where respondents express confidence in women's ability to fulfill legislative duties, influence policymaking, and lead political institutions. By contrast, in Madura, exposure to female leadership is limited, reinforcing the persistence of skepticism and the perception that women in politics violate prevailing social norms.

The disaggregated indicators of public support provide additional insight into this regional divide. Statements such as "women deserve to hold party leadership positions" or "there is no valid reason to reject women as top political leaders" receive high levels of agreement in Jakarta but very low support in Madura. This disparity reflects not only differences in formal education and media exposure but also deep-seated cultural and psychological barriers that shape the collective mindset regarding gender roles. In Madura, political leadership is symbolically linked to masculinity and public authority, making it difficult for female aspirants to be perceived as legitimate leaders, regardless of their qualifications or competence.

The interaction between institutional structures and public perception further complicates this issue. While Indonesia's 30% gender quota provides a formal pathway for women to enter political institutions, the effectiveness of this policy is undermined in regions where public support is weak. Without broad social acceptance, female candidates often face symbolic inclusion without substantive backing, leading to tokenistic representation rather than meaningful participation. In Jakarta, the combination of legal frameworks, party compliance, and public support has created a more favorable environment for women to translate formal opportunities into political influence. In Madura, however, the disconnect between legal mandates and cultural attitudes limits the impact of quota policies, resulting in persistent underrepresentation.

This regional difference also illustrates that support for women's political representation is multidimensional, encompassing cultural, structural, and psychological factors. The urban advantage is not solely a function of higher education or media access; it also reflects greater exposure to female role models, active civil society engagement, and political party practices that are more inclusive. Meanwhile, rural disadvantage stems from a convergence of factors, including entrenched patriarchal traditions, reliance on kinship-based politics, and minimal exposure to successful female leaders. Without interventions targeting these multiple dimensions, rural regions are likely to remain resistant to female political leadership, even under formal democratic and legal frameworks.

Addressing these regional disparities requires context-sensitive strategies. In Jakarta and other urban centers, policy efforts should focus on strengthening institutional pathways for women, such as mentorship programs, political training initiatives, and visibility campaigns that showcase the achievements of female leaders. In Madura and other rural regions, the priority should be community-based engagement and social norm transformation, including gender-sensitive political education, collaboration with local religious leaders, and grassroots campaigns that normalize female leadership. These tailored approaches are critical for breaking the cycle of symbolic participation and moving toward substantive representation.

In conclusion, the difference in support for women's political representation between Jakarta and Madura is not merely a geographic distinction but a reflection of complex socio-cultural ecosystems. Urban environments create opportunities for women to gain public trust and convert legal quotas into meaningful representation, while rural environments reinforce social and institutional barriers that perpetuate underrepresentation. Bridging this divide will require integrated strategies that combine legal reform, party accountability, public education, and cultural engagement, ensuring that gender equality in politics becomes both a legal reality and a social norm across Indonesia.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study set out to explore and compare public perceptions and support for women's political participation and representation in two Indonesian regions with contrasting socio-cultural characteristics: Jakarta and Madura. The analysis focused on three key aspects: public views on women's political competence, levels of support for female representation in legislative institutions, and attitudes toward gender quota policies as a mechanism to promote gender equality in politics. Data were collected through an exploratory survey of 60 respondents, evenly divided between the two regions, and analyzed using descriptive statistics, comparative tests, and thematic interpretation. Complementary qualitative insights from in-depth interviews with key informants further enriched the findings by uncovering the social and cultural factors underlying public attitudes in each regional context.

The findings clearly demonstrate that Jakarta residents exhibit significantly higher support for women's political participation than their counterparts in Madura. Respondents in Jakarta generally agree that women are capable political leaders, should be represented in legislative bodies, and that gender quotas are a legitimate tool to enhance women's inclusion in politics. In contrast, respondents in Madura displayed more cautious and ambivalent attitudes, with many neutral or somewhat disagreeing with the idea of women holding top political positions or benefiting from affirmative action policies. This urban–rural disparity reflects not only differences in geography and modernization but also the depth of cultural and social conditioning that continues to influence how female political leadership is perceived.

These regional contrasts highlight the central role of socio-cultural and structural factors in shaping women's political opportunities in Indonesia. Jakarta, as an urban, pluralistic, and information-rich environment, demonstrates how exposure to education, media, and diverse social networks can foster greater public

acceptance of gender equality in politics. Conversely, Madura's conservative and patriarchal social order limits women's political agency, reinforcing the perception that leadership is a male domain. This study thus confirms that formal legal instruments, such as Indonesia's 30% gender quota, are necessary but insufficient to ensure substantive female representation if they are not accompanied by cultural transformation and local-level empowerment initiatives.

Overall, this research concludes that meaningful progress in women's political participation requires a dual approach that combines structural reforms with socio-cultural interventions. Legal and institutional measures must be supported by public education, community engagement, and the normalization of female leadership in local political culture. In urban areas like Jakarta, efforts should focus on consolidating existing support, enhancing institutional pathways, and promoting successful female leaders as role models. In rural areas like Madura, the priority lies in shifting cultural attitudes, engaging local and religious authorities, and building grassroots awareness to create an environment where women can move from symbolic to substantive participation. By recognizing and addressing these regional disparities, Indonesia can strengthen its democratic inclusivity and advance toward genuine gender equality in political representation.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are addressed to relevant stakeholders:

1. For the Government and Policymakers

Both central and regional governments are encouraged to strengthen affirmative policies that promote women's participation in politics. The implementation of gender quotas should be closely monitored to ensure they are not merely administrative in nature, but truly foster substantive representation. Additionally, inclusive political training and empowerment

programs should be provided for women in various regions, particularly in areas where cultural resistance to female leadership remains strong.

2. For Political Parties

Political parties are expected to provide greater opportunities for women to run as legislative candidates and assume party leadership roles. Parties should offer mentoring, training, and adequate resource support to ensure that female candidates are equally prepared as their male counterparts. Furthermore, parties need to actively build progressive narratives regarding women's capabilities and contributions in political decision-making.

3. For Educational Institutions and Civil Society Organizations

Educational institutions and civil society organizations should strengthen gender-sensitive political education through curricula, seminars, and public campaigns. Civic education that emphasizes equality can help foster positive perceptions among younger generations regarding women's leadership. Community-based activities are also important to reach grassroots communities still influenced by patriarchal norms.

4. For Future Researchers

This study can serve as a preliminary reference for further research with broader geographical or methodological scope. Future researchers may adopt qualitative approaches to explore the deeper meanings behind public perceptions, or apply longitudinal methods to observe how public attitudes toward women's political representation evolve over time.

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APPENDICES

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Title: *Public Perception and Support for Women's Political Participation in Jakarta and Madura*

Instructions:

Please place a check mark (✓) in the column that best represents your opinion for each statement below.

Scale:

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

Are you currently residing in one of the following areas?

☐ Yes, I reside in DKI Jakarta

☐ Yes, I reside on Madura Island

☐ No — I do not reside in either Jakarta or Madura

Note:

Only respondents who reside in Jakarta or Madura may proceed with completing this questionnaire.

Section 1: Sociodemographic Data

1. Gender

☐ Male

☐ Female

2. Age

☐ 17–25 years

☐ 26–35 years

☐ 36–45 years

☐ 46–55 years

☐ > 55 years

3. Highest Level of Education

☐ Elementary School or Equivalent

☐ Junior High School

☐ Senior High School/Vocational High School

☐ Associate/Bachelor's Degree (D3/S1)

☐ Master's/Doctoral Degree (S2/S3)

4. Occupation

☐ Student

☐ Housewife

☐ Civil Servant/Government Employee

☐ Private Sector Employee

☐ Entrepreneur

☐ Farmer/Fisherman

☐ Unemployed

☐ Other: _____

Section 2: Questionnaire Statements

A. Perception of Women's Political Participation

No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
1	Women have equal capacity as men in leading political positions.					
2	Women's leadership in politics can bring positive change to society.					
3	Decisions made by women in politics generally take public interest into account.					
4	Women are capable of making complex strategic decisions in the political sphere.					
5	Women's involvement broadens democratic perspectives in public policy.					
6	Democracy becomes more inclusive when women are involved in decision-making processes.					
7	Women play an important role in determining political leadership through elections.					
8	Women's votes in elections significantly impact public policy outcomes.					
9	Women should be more active in running for legislative office.					
10	Society should support women's candidacies as a form of equal participation.					

B. Support for Women's Political Representation

No	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
11	I am willing to vote for female legislative candidates in elections.					
12	I believe women can be good and trustworthy representatives of the people.					
13	Female leaders have confidence when facing political pressure.					
14	Women are able to show firmness in political leadership roles.					
15	Women should be more involved in public decision-making processes.					

No	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
16	Women's involvement in legislatures brings new perspectives to policy-making.					
17	Women are capable of understanding the comprehensive needs of society.					
18	Women are better able to voice the aspirations of vulnerable groups.					
19	Women deserve to be party leaders or heads of local government.					
20	There is no valid reason to reject women as top political leaders.					

C. Perceptions of Gender Quota Policy

No	Statements	1	2	3	4	5
21	I support the quota policy requiring at least 30% of legislative candidates to be women.					
22	A 30% quota for women is essential to create fairness in political representation.					
23	Gender quotas have proven to increase the number of women involved in politics.					
24	Without quotas, women's political participation tends to stagnate.					
25	Gender quotas are a corrective measure for structural inequality in politics.					
26	Affirmative policies provide equal opportunities for women in decision-making roles.					
27	Women's quotas accelerate the achievement of gender equality in political institutions.					
28	Without quotas, gender equality in politics is difficult to achieve.					
29	The implementation of quotas has increased the number of women in parliament.					
30	I believe the implementation of gender quotas in Indonesia has shown tangible results.					

ANALYSIS OUTPUT

Validity and Reliability Test

Perceptions of Women's Political Participation

		Correlations										
		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A
A1	Pearson Correlation	1	.289*	.488**	.220	.306*	.219	.359**	.424**	.385**	.375**	.700**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.025	.000	.091	.017	.092	.005	.001	.002	.003	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A2	Pearson Correlation	.289*	1	.304*	.418**	.359**	.403**	.103	.309*	.394**	.216	.651**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025		.018	.001	.005	.001	.434	.016	.002	.098	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A3	Pearson Correlation	.488**	.304*	1	.271*	.148	.342**	.312*	.180	.267*	.226	.615**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.018		.036	.259	.008	.015	.169	.039	.083	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A4	Pearson Correlation	.220	.418**	.271*	1	.085	.213	.268*	.119	.284*	.447**	.578**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.091	.001	.036		.520	.102	.038	.366	.028	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A5	Pearson Correlation	.306*	.359**	.148	.085	1	.257*	.045	.251	.206	.219	.484**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.005	.259	.520		.047	.733	.053	.114	.093	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A6	Pearson Correlation	.219	.403**	.342**	.213	.257*	1	.151	.172	.436**	.251	.585**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	.001	.008	.102	.047		.249	.188	.001	.053	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A7	Pearson Correlation	.359**	.103	.312*	.268*	.045	.151	1	.144	.013	.182	.442**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.434	.015	.038	.733	.249		.271	.924	.163	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A8	Pearson Correlation	.424**	.309*	.180	.119	.251	.172	.144	1	.460**	.312*	.565**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.016	.169	.366	.053	.188	.271		.000	.015	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A9	Pearson Correlation	.385**	.394**	.267*	.284*	.206	.436**	.013	.460**	1	.295*	.634**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.002	.039	.028	.114	.001	.924	.000		.022	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A10	Pearson Correlation	.375**	.216	.226	.447**	.219	.251	.182	.312*	.295*	1	.598**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.098	.083	.000	.093	.053	.163	.015	.022		.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
A	Pearson Correlation	.700**	.651**	.615**	.578**	.484**	.585**	.442**	.565**	.634**	.598**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.788	10

Support for Women's Political Representation

		Correlations										
		B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B
B1	Pearson Correlation	1	.245	.146	.301*	.240	.239	.169	.246	.420**	.280*	.553**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.059	.267	.019	.065	.066	.197	.058	.001	.030	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B2	Pearson Correlation	.245	1	.235	.419**	.384**	.219	.320*	.427**	.369**	.330**	.640**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059		.070	.001	.002	.093	.013	.001	.004	.010	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B3	Pearson Correlation	.146	.235	1	.227	.270*	.221	.157	.241	.314*	.039	.462**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.267	.070		.081	.037	.090	.230	.063	.015	.766	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B4	Pearson Correlation	.301*	.419**	.227	1	.334**	.083	.322*	.346**	.344**	.331**	.592**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.019	.001	.081		.009	.528	.012	.007	.007	.010	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B5	Pearson Correlation	.240	.384**	.270*	.334**	1	.410**	.405**	.211	.430**	.333**	.647**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.065	.002	.037	.009		.001	.001	.106	.001	.009	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B6	Pearson Correlation	.239	.219	.221	.083	.410**	1	.220	.154	.354**	.252	.517**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.066	.093	.090	.528	.001		.092	.240	.006	.052	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B7	Pearson Correlation	.169	.320*	.157	.322*	.405**	.220	1	.379**	.377**	.324*	.608**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.197	.013	.230	.012	.001	.092		.003	.003	.011	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B8	Pearson Correlation	.246	.427**	.241	.346**	.211	.154	.379**	1	.444**	.537**	.672**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.058	.001	.063	.007	.106	.240	.003		.000	.000	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B9	Pearson Correlation	.420**	.369**	.314*	.344**	.430**	.354**	.377**	.444**	1	.301*	.730**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.004	.015	.007	.001	.006	.003	.000		.020	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B10	Pearson Correlation	.280*	.330**	.039	.331**	.333**	.252	.324*	.537**	.301*	1	.630**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.030	.010	.766	.010	.009	.052	.011	.000	.020		.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
B	Pearson Correlation	.553**	.640**	.462**	.592**	.647**	.517**	.608**	.672**	.730**	.630**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.807	10

Perception of Gender Quota Policy

		Correlations										
		C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C
C1	Pearson Correlation	1	.425**	.308*	.463**	.481**	.422**	.306*	.414**	.378**	.424**	.740**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001	.017	.000	.000	.001	.017	.001	.003	.001	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C2	Pearson Correlation	.425**	1	.449**	.185	.304*	.345**	.225	.280*	.183	.189	.577**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001		.000	.156	.018	.007	.084	.030	.161	.149	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C3	Pearson Correlation	.308*	.449**	1	.285*	.432**	.297*	.325*	.352**	.166	.244	.610**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.000		.028	.001	.021	.011	.006	.204	.061	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C4	Pearson Correlation	.463**	.185	.285*	1	.361**	.385**	.107	.468**	.261*	.301*	.597**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.156	.028		.005	.002	.414	.000	.044	.019	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C5	Pearson Correlation	.481**	.304*	.432**	.361**	1	.480**	.311*	.495**	.376**	.425**	.750**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.018	.001	.005		.000	.016	.000	.003	.001	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C6	Pearson Correlation	.422**	.345**	.297*	.385**	.480**	1	.301*	.324*	.274*	.385**	.682**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.007	.021	.002	.000		.020	.012	.034	.002	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C7	Pearson Correlation	.306*	.225	.325*	.107	.311*	.301*	1	.074	.134	.224	.489**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.084	.011	.414	.016	.020		.574	.307	.086	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C8	Pearson Correlation	.414**	.280*	.352**	.468**	.495**	.324*	.074	1	.403**	.222	.646**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.030	.006	.000	.000	.012	.574		.001	.089	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C9	Pearson Correlation	.378**	.183	.166	.261*	.376**	.274*	.134	.403**	1	.323*	.552**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.161	.204	.044	.003	.034	.307	.001		.012	.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C10	Pearson Correlation	.424**	.189	.244	.301*	.425**	.385**	.224	.222	.323*	1	.601**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.149	.061	.019	.001	.002	.086	.089	.012		.000
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
C	Pearson Correlation	.740**	.577**	.610**	.597**	.750**	.682**	.489**	.646**	.552**	.601**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.807	10

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics Jakarta

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
A1	30	2	5	3.80	.805
A2	30	2	5	3.83	.913
A3	30	2	5	3.97	.890
A4	30	2	5	3.77	.817
A5	30	2	5	3.50	.820
A6	30	2	5	3.67	.711
A7	30	2	5	3.70	.702
A8	30	2	5	3.67	.758
A9	30	2	5	3.63	.718
A10	30	2	5	3.77	.774
B1	30	2	5	3.43	.774
B2	30	2	5	3.57	.774
B3	30	2	5	3.33	.844
B4	30	2	4	3.27	.521
B5	30	2	5	3.60	.675
B6	30	2	5	3.37	.890
B7	30	2	5	3.57	.898
B8	30	2	5	3.67	.802
B9	30	2	5	3.90	.759
B10	30	2	5	3.73	.785
C1	30	2	5	3.53	.776
C2	30	2	5	3.43	.935
C3	30	2	5	3.30	.702
C4	30	2	5	3.37	.809
C5	30	2	5	3.73	.740
C6	30	2	5	3.53	.973
C7	30	2	5	3.57	.935
C8	30	2	5	3.43	1.006
C9	30	2	5	3.43	.774
C10	30	2	5	3.53	.900
Valid N (listwise)	30				

Descriptive Statistics Madura

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
A1	30	1	4	2.33	.758
A2	30	1	5	2.77	.858
A3	30	1	4	2.63	.765
A4	30	1	5	2.77	1.073
A5	30	1	5	2.73	.944
A6	30	1	4	2.57	.898
A7	30	1	5	2.73	.980
A8	30	1	5	2.83	.913
A9	30	1	4	2.57	.898
A10	30	1	4	2.83	.913
B1	30	1	5	2.60	1.070
B2	30	1	4	2.63	.718
B3	30	1	5	2.60	.855
B4	30	1	4	2.40	.770
B5	30	1	4	2.57	.626
B6	30	2	4	2.53	.730
B7	30	1	4	2.73	.868
B8	30	1	4	2.57	.898
B9	30	1	4	2.30	.651
B10	30	1	4	2.53	.973
C1	30	1	3	2.10	.712
C2	30	1	4	2.27	.828
C3	30	1	4	2.23	.817
C4	30	1	4	2.47	.730
C5	30	1	4	2.27	.785
C6	30	1	3	2.17	.747
C7	30	1	4	2.47	.937
C8	30	1	4	2.17	.791
C9	30	1	4	2.50	.861
C10	30	1	4	2.33	.844
Valid N (listwise)	30				

Normality Test

Tests of Normality							
	Region	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Persepsi terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan	Jakarta	.159	30	.051	.950	30	.171
	Madura	.165	30	.036	.909	30	.014
Dukungan terhadap Representasi Politik Perempuan	Jakarta	.131	30	.198	.966	30	.431
	Madura	.163	30	.040	.957	30	.252
Persepsi terhadap Kebijakan Kuota Gender	Jakarta	.191	30	.007	.891	30	.005
	Madura	.172	30	.024	.932	30	.056

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Comparative Analysis

Perceptions of Women's Political Participation

Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks				
	Region	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Persepsi terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan	Jakarta	30	45.43	1363.00
	Madura	30	15.57	467.00
	Total	60		

Test Statistics^a

	Persepsi terhadap Partisipasi Politik Perempuan
Mann-Whitney U	2.000
Wilcoxon W	467.000
Z	-6.651
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

a. Grouping Variable: Region

Support for Women's Political Representation

T-Test

Group Statistics					
	Region	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Dukungan terhadap Representasi Politik Perempuan	Jakarta	30	35.43	2.661	.486
	Madura	30	25.47	2.933	.535

Independent Samples Test										
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances						t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Dukungan terhadap Representasi Politik Perempuan	Equal variances assumed	.091	.763	13.784	58	.000	9.967	.723	8.519	11.414
	Equal variances not assumed			13.784	57.460	.000	9.967	.723	8.519	11.414

Perception of Gender Quota Policy

Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks				
	Region	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Persepsi terhadap Kebijakan Kuota Gender	Jakarta	30	45.50	1365.00
	Madura	30	15.50	465.00
	Total	60		

Test Statistics^a

	Persepsi terhadap Kebijakan Kuota Gender
Mann-Whitney U	.000
Wilcoxon W	465.000
Z	-6.693
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

a. Grouping Variable: Region