



Women's Representation in Political Parties in Langsa City during the 2024 General Election: A Fiqh Siyasah Analysis

Anjas Affandi¹, Alkaf³, Noviandi³

IAIN Langsa, Aceh, Indonesia

anjas.afandi@gmail.com

alkaf@iainlangsa.ac.id

noviandy@iainlangsa.ac.id

Abstract

Women's political representation should ideally not only fulfill affirmative action quotas but also produce substantive representation in the policymaking process. However, in the 2024 local legislative election in Langsa City, women's representation in the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRK) remained below the 30% affirmative target and continued to face structural and cultural barriers. This study aims to analyze women's political representation based on Hanna Pitkin's four dimensions of political representation and to examine it from the perspective of fiqh siyasah. The research employs a qualitative case study approach using interviews, observations, and document analysis. The findings reveal that women have gained political access through the quota policy; however, descriptive and procedural representation have not been accompanied by optimal substantive representation due to patriarchal culture, weak party cadre development, limited resources, and insufficient political support. From the perspective of fiqh siyasah, women's political participation is consistent with the principles of al-'adl (justice), al-musawah (equality), asy-shura (consultation), and maslahah 'ammah (public interest), although their implementation remains suboptimal. This study contributes by demonstrating that the effectiveness of affirmative policies should be evaluated based on the quality of substantive representation rather than merely the fulfillment of administrative quotas.

Keywords: Women's, Political Parties, Fiqh Siyasah.

Abstrak

Keterwakilan perempuan dalam politik idealnya tidak hanya memenuhi kuota afirmatif, tetapi juga mampu menghasilkan representasi yang substantif dalam proses pengambilan kebijakan. Namun, pada Pemilu 2024 di Kota Langsa, keterwakilan perempuan di DPRK masih berada di bawah target afirmasi 30% dan menghadapi berbagai hambatan struktural maupun kultural. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis keterwakilan perempuan berdasarkan empat dimensi representasi politik Hanna Pitkin serta meninjaunya dalam perspektif *fiqh siyasah*. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan telah memperoleh akses politik melalui kebijakan kuota, tetapi representasi deskriptif dan prosedural belum diikuti oleh representasi substantif yang optimal akibat budaya patriarki, lemahnya kaderisasi partai, keterbatasan sumber daya, dan minimnya dukungan politik. Dalam perspektif *fiqh siyasah*, partisipasi perempuan sejalan dengan prinsip *al-'adl*, *al-musawah*, *asy-syura*, dan *maslahah 'ammah*, meskipun implementasinya belum sepenuhnya terwujud. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dengan menunjukkan bahwa efektivitas kebijakan afirmatif harus diukur melalui kualitas representasi substantif, bukan semata-mata pemenuhan kuota administratif.

Kata Kunci: Perempuan, Partai Politik, Fiqh Siyasah.

INTRODUCTION

Women's representation in legislative institutions is widely recognized as a crucial indicator of inclusive, participatory, and gender-equitable democratic development. The presence of women in political processes not only reflects the principle of equal citizenship rights but also serves as a mechanism for ensuring that women's interests, experiences, and specific needs are incorporated into public policymaking. In many democratic countries, increasing women's political participation is regarded as an essential strategy for strengthening governance quality and broadening the representation of historically underrepresented groups. Consequently, various affirmative action policies have been introduced to enhance women's access to formal political institutions. In Indonesia, this commitment is reflected in the requirement of a minimum 30 percent quota for women's representation in political party management structures and legislative candidacies, as stipulated in Law Number 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections. This affirmative policy is intended to expand opportunities for women to participate in political decision-making processes while encouraging the formulation of policies that are more responsive to diverse social issues (Anwar et al., 2025).

Despite these efforts, the increase in the number of female legislative candidates has not necessarily translated into a proportional increase in the

number of women elected to parliamentary seats. Numerous studies have demonstrated that women's representation at both national and local levels continues to face complex and multidimensional challenges. These challenges extend beyond the numerical presence of women candidates and encompass issues related to the quality of participation, electoral competitiveness, and women's capacity to perform representative functions effectively. Within local political contexts, these dynamics become particularly significant because they are shaped by distinctive social, cultural, and institutional characteristics. Therefore, the study of women's political representation should not be limited to descriptive indicators, such as the number of seats obtained, but should also examine substantive, symbolic, and procedural dimensions of representation exercised by women legislators.

This phenomenon is also evident in Langsa City, one of the regions that has implemented affirmative action policies in the legislative candidate nomination process. During the 2024 General Election, political parties formally complied with the mandated quota for female candidates in their final candidate lists. However, the number of women successfully elected to the Langsa City Regional People's Representative Council (DPRK) did not increase significantly compared to the number of female candidates nominated. Moreover, women's involvement in local politics continues to encounter challenges related to party recruitment patterns, political support mechanisms, cadre development, and societal perceptions of female leadership. These conditions indicate that the success of affirmative action policies cannot be assessed solely by the fulfillment of candidate quotas but must also be evaluated in terms of whether women are provided with equal opportunities to compete successfully in electoral contests and to perform representative functions effectively once elected (Putri et al., 2025).

Ideally, the 30 percent affirmative action quota should enhance women's political participation, strengthen their position within legislative institutions, and contribute to the formulation of public policies that are more responsive to the needs of women and other vulnerable groups. Women's presence in parliament is expected to move beyond symbolic representation and evolve into substantive representation through the active articulation and advocacy of women's interests across various development sectors. However, the reality in Langsa City reveals a significant gap between the objectives of affirmative action policies and their actual outcomes. Although the quota requirement for female candidates has been formally fulfilled, women's electoral success remains relatively low, and their contribution to public policymaking processes remains limited. This discrepancy between formal and substantive representation constitutes the central issue addressed in this study. Consequently, it is essential to examine the forms of women's representation that have emerged in local politics, the factors influencing their representation, and the implications of such representation for gender-responsive public policymaking (Damayanti et al., 2024).

Based on these issues, this study aims to analyze the forms of women's representation in Langsa City, encompassing descriptive, substantive, symbolic, and procedural dimensions; identify the factors that facilitate and hinder women's political representation at the local level; and examine the implications of women's representation for gender-responsive public policies. Through this analysis, the study seeks to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of women's political representation in local governance. This study offers both theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, it enriches the scholarship on women's political representation by integrating descriptive, substantive, symbolic, and procedural perspectives within the context of local politics. Practically, the findings are expected to provide valuable insights for political parties, local governments, and other stakeholders in designing strategies to strengthen women's political participation, improve women's political cadre development, and promote the formulation of public policies that are more responsive to the needs and interests of women in Langsa City.

Several previous studies have examined women's representation in politics and legislative institutions from various perspectives. A study by Nokia (2025), entitled *Women in Politics: The Struggle of Female Politicians to Become Members of the Regional Legislative Council of Kerinci Regency, 2004–2024*, found that the low level of women's representation was influenced by limited support from political parties, inadequate economic resources, and the placement of female candidates in non-strategic ballot positions. The study provides valuable insights into the individual struggles of women politicians in gaining access to legislative institutions. However, its primary focus remains on the experiences of female political actors and does not comprehensively explain how political party structures shape patterns of women's representation within the political process.

Similarly, Damayanti et al. (2024), in their study on the implementation of the 30 percent quota policy for women's representation, found that patriarchal culture and weak commitment from political parties were the dominant factors hindering the achievement of meaningful women's representation. Their findings suggest that quota compliance often remains limited to administrative fulfillment without being accompanied by adequate political support. Nevertheless, the study adopts a macro-level national perspective and therefore does not sufficiently capture the dynamics of women's representation within local political contexts characterized by distinct social and cultural conditions.

Comparable findings were reported by Agustyati et al. (2025) in *Patriarchy within Political Parties: Voters, Parties, and the Electoral Fate of Women in Indonesia's 2024 Legislative Election*. Their research demonstrates that political parties occupy a strategic position in determining women's electoral prospects through candidate recruitment mechanisms and ballot placement. The study argues that voter gender bias can be mitigated when political parties provide strong institutional support for female candidates. However, its primary emphasis lies on electoral behavior and election outcomes at the national level, leaving

unexplored the relationship between women's representation and its implications for public policy outcomes.

Meanwhile, Husna (2025), in her study of women's representation in the Aceh Tamiang Regional House of Representatives (DPRK), identified a significant decline in the number of female legislators elected in the 2024 election. The study attributes this decline to patriarchal cultural norms, weak party recruitment mechanisms, and limited social and economic capital among women candidates. While providing important insights into women's political participation in Aceh, the research remains focused on electoral outcomes and does not investigate the quality of representation generated once women gain access to legislative institutions.

Theoretically, this study is grounded in Hanna Pitkin's theory of political representation. Pitkin conceptualizes representation as a multidimensional phenomenon that cannot be assessed solely through the numerical presence of women in legislative bodies. Descriptive representation refers to the extent to which women are numerically present within political institutions. However, numerical presence does not automatically translate into substantive representation, namely the ability of female representatives to advocate for the interests of the groups they represent. Symbolic representation concerns the psychological significance and social legitimacy generated by women's presence in politics, while procedural representation emphasizes the institutional mechanisms and political processes that enable women to gain equitable access to political office. Consequently, Pitkin's framework enables a more comprehensive assessment of women's representation by examining both its quantitative and qualitative dimensions.

To explain why women's representation remains suboptimal, this study integrates patriarchy theory and political recruitment theory. Patriarchy is understood as a system of social relations that places men in dominant positions within structures of power and authority, thereby shaping societal perceptions of female leadership. In local political contexts, patriarchal culture not only influences voter preferences but also affects the behavior of political parties in recruiting, selecting, and promoting female legislative candidates. As such, patriarchy functions as a cultural determinant that influences women's representation throughout the entire political process, from recruitment to electoral success.

Political recruitment theory, meanwhile, explains how political parties function as primary gatekeepers in determining access to political office. Recruitment processes are shaped by the distribution of political resources, internal party regulations, power networks, and electoral strategies. In many instances, women encounter barriers not because of insufficient competence but because recruitment mechanisms fail to provide equal opportunities. Therefore, patriarchy theory and political recruitment theory complement one another in explaining the structural and cultural roots of women's underrepresentation in politics.

This study further links women's political representation to the theory of gender-responsive public policy. This theoretical perspective assumes that women's presence in political institutions should contribute to the formulation of policies capable of reducing gender inequalities and addressing women's specific needs. Accordingly, the relationship among the three theoretical perspectives employed in this study is causal and sequential: patriarchal culture and political recruitment patterns influence the quality of women's representation; the quality of representation subsequently determines the extent to which women are able to promote gender-responsive public policies. This integrated framework enables the study not only to explain why women's representation occurs or fails to occur but also to assess its broader implications for local governance and development processes.

Although numerous studies have examined women's political representation, most have focused primarily on compliance with the 30 percent quota, levels of women's electoral success, or isolated barriers to women's political participation. Previous scholarship has not comprehensively examined the interconnected relationship between patriarchal culture, political party recruitment mechanisms, the quality of women's representation, and their implications for gender-responsive public policymaking within a unified analytical framework. Furthermore, studies conducted in the local political context of Aceh, particularly in Langsa City, remain limited and tend to emphasize quantitative dimensions of representation. Therefore, the novelty of this study lies in its integration of Pitkin's theory of political representation, patriarchy theory, political recruitment theory, and gender-responsive public policy theory to analyze women's representation from four interrelated dimensions—descriptive, substantive, symbolic, and procedural—while simultaneously examining how the quality of such representation influences the formulation of public policies that address women's interests and needs within the context of local governance.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach with a case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of women's representation within political parties in Langsa City. A qualitative case study was selected because it enables a contextual exploration of political recruitment processes, the forms of women's political representation, and the factors shaping women's participation in local politics. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with political party officials, female legislative candidates, and other relevant stakeholders. These data were complemented by documentary analysis of party documents, election records, and relevant legal and regulatory frameworks. The analysis focused on four dimensions of political representation—descriptive, substantive, symbolic, and procedural representation—and examined their implications for gender-responsive public policy.

Data were analyzed using an interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification conducted iteratively until data saturation was achieved. The interpretation process linked empirical findings to theories of political representation, patriarchy, political recruitment, and gender-responsive public policy. To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, the study applied source and method triangulation by comparing interview results, documentary evidence, and information obtained from multiple informants. The credibility of the findings was further strengthened through member checking, allowing participants to verify the accuracy of the researcher's interpretations and ensuring a high level of validity and reliability in the research outcomes.

DISCUSSION

Descriptive Representation of Women in Political Parties in Langsa City during the 2024 General Election

Descriptive representation refers to the extent to which the composition of a legislative body reflects the demographic characteristics of the population it represents. In the context of Langsa City, women constitute approximately half of the population; however, this demographic reality is not proportionally reflected in the local legislature. Data from the Langsa Independent Election Commission (KIP) indicate that in the 2024 General Election, only 3 out of 25 seats in the Regional People's Representative Council of Langsa (DPRK Langsa) were occupied by women. This figure represents merely 12 percent of the total seats, far below the 30 percent affirmative action target. Although this proportion increased from 8 percent in 2019, it remains lower than the 18 percent achieved in 2014. These findings demonstrate that women's descriptive representation in Langsa remains limited and that affirmative action policies have not fundamentally transformed the structure of political representation. Consequently, women's representation in the DPRK Langsa remains relatively low and insufficiently inclusive (Rusmini & Wahyuningsi, 2025).

The limited level of descriptive representation is closely associated with the recruitment practices adopted by political parties in Langsa. Interviews with party officials revealed that most parties formally complied with the statutory requirement of allocating at least 30 percent of candidacies to women (Rahmawati, 2025). However, compliance was often administrative rather than substantive, with female candidates frequently placed in lower ballot positions that offered little realistic chance of electoral success. As a result, although women were numerically included in candidate lists, their opportunities for election remained highly restricted. This situation is further exacerbated by the absence of stringent sanctions against parties that fail to meaningfully implement gender quotas. Consequently, political parties have limited incentives to actively promote the electoral success of female candidates. The disparity between the number of women nominated and those ultimately elected illustrates the weak

implementation of affirmative action policies. Formal compliance without substantive commitment has become a major obstacle to achieving meaningful descriptive representation.

The trajectory of women's descriptive representation in Langsa across the last three electoral cycles reveals a pattern of instability. In the 2014 election, women secured 4 of the 25 DPRK seats, accounting for 18 percent of the legislature. This figure declined sharply to only 2 seats, or 8 percent, in the 2019 election. Although representation increased again in 2024 to 3 seats (12 percent), the improvement remains modest and insufficient to indicate a sustained upward trend. These fluctuations suggest that women's electoral success remains heavily dependent on temporary factors, including party strategies, electoral circumstances, and the personal popularity of candidates. Unlike some regions that have experienced gradual improvements in women's representation over time, Langsa demonstrates a pattern of inconsistency that reflects the fragile commitment of political parties to gender inclusion. Consequently, women's descriptive representation in the city remains vulnerable and subject to considerable variation across electoral periods.

From the perspective of political representation theory, descriptive representation constitutes the most basic dimension of representation because it measures the extent to which political institutions mirror the social composition of society (Saputri et al., 2023). Hanna Pitkin argues that the physical presence of historically marginalized groups within political institutions contributes to legitimacy and public trust. Findings from this study indicate that many women in Langsa perceive themselves as insufficiently represented due to the limited number of female legislators in the DPRK. Several informants emphasized that issues predominantly affecting women, including domestic violence, reproductive health services, and women's economic empowerment, receive inadequate attention within legislative discussions. These perceptions suggest that low descriptive representation may contribute to the marginalization of women's interests within policymaking processes. Increasing the number of women in legislative institutions therefore remains a fundamental prerequisite for achieving more equitable and inclusive political representation.

Patriarchal cultural norms constitute one of the most significant barriers to increasing women's descriptive representation in Langsa. Acehnese society continues to be influenced by traditional perceptions that regard politics as a predominantly male domain (Faisal et al., 2024). Women are frequently perceived as less suitable for public leadership due to assumptions regarding their decision-making capacity and political competence. Such perceptions are not confined to the broader community but are also evident among male-dominated party elites who control candidate selection processes. Consequently, male candidates are often prioritized for strategic ballot positions, while women are recruited primarily to satisfy regulatory requirements. The persistence of patriarchal attitudes within political institutions significantly limits opportunities for women to compete on equal terms. Without broader cultural transformation, the

achievement of the 30 percent representation target is likely to remain elusive in Langsa.

In addition to cultural constraints, structural barriers embedded within party recruitment mechanisms also hinder women's representation. Most political parties in Langsa continue to employ closed and elite-driven recruitment procedures rather than transparent and participatory selection systems (Rahmatunnisa, 2016). Candidate selection is frequently determined through limited internal deliberations among party leaders at the local level. Within these closed processes, male candidates who possess familial ties, personal relationships, or established networks with party elites tend to receive preferential treatment. Women lacking access to such networks face greater challenges in securing nomination and support. Furthermore, political parties generally provide limited leadership training and capacity-building programs specifically designed for female cadres. The absence of systematic cadre development reduces women's preparedness for electoral competition and reinforces existing gender disparities in political participation.

Economic barriers represent another important factor contributing to the low level of women's descriptive representation in Langsa. Female legislative candidates often possess fewer financial resources than their male counterparts, limiting their ability to conduct effective electoral campaigns. Many female candidates reported difficulties in financing campaign activities, building political networks, and maintaining visibility throughout the electoral process. Political parties rarely provide adequate financial assistance, particularly to candidates who lack personal wealth or influential family connections. Consequently, women's campaign outreach tends to be more restricted, both geographically and digitally (Saputri et al., 2023). By contrast, financially advantaged male candidates can invest heavily in campaign materials, media exposure, and mobilization efforts. These disparities create unequal electoral opportunities and significantly reduce the competitiveness of female candidates.

Overall, women's descriptive representation in Langsa during the 2024 General Election remained relatively low at only 12 percent. The findings reveal that this condition is shaped by the interaction of three primary factors: entrenched patriarchal culture, oligarchic and exclusionary party recruitment mechanisms, and unequal access to economic resources. Although political parties formally complied with the 30 percent quota requirement, substantive efforts to ensure women's electoral success remained limited. As a result, the composition of the DPRK Langsa does not adequately reflect the demographic realities of the community, particularly with regard to gender balance. Strengthening women's descriptive representation therefore requires comprehensive reforms, including more transparent recruitment processes, stronger enforcement of affirmative action regulations, and sustained political and economic empowerment initiatives for women. Without such measures, achieving inclusive and gender-equitable representation in Langsa will remain a significant challenge.

Substantive Representation of Women in Political Parties in Langsa City

Substantive representation constitutes a crucial indicator for assessing the extent to which the presence of women in legislative institutions is translated into policies that address the interests and needs of women and other vulnerable groups. The findings of this study reveal that women's representation in the Langsa City Regional House of Representatives (DPRK) for the 2024–2029 period remains relatively limited, with only four women occupying 25 legislative seats, representing approximately 16% of the total membership. Although this figure falls short of the 30% affirmative action target, empirical evidence indicates that female legislators have actively articulated various community concerns, particularly those related to women and child protection, family economic empowerment, maternal and child health, and women's access to education. These findings suggest that women's representation in Langsa has moved beyond purely descriptive representation and has gradually developed into a form of substantive representation characterized by advocacy for community interests.

Interviews with informant MS (2025) revealed that female legislators have actively advocated for strengthening women and child protection services through support for the Regional Technical Implementation Unit for Women and Child Protection (UPTD PPA) and the Child-Friendly City (Kota Layak Anak/KLA) program implemented by the Langsa City Government. According to the informant, "Cases of violence against women and children remain a serious concern. Therefore, we continuously encourage the strengthening of assistance services, public education, and victim protection programs within local government initiatives." This statement demonstrates that female legislators have sought to incorporate gender perspectives into local development agendas, particularly in relation to the protection of vulnerable groups.

Beyond women and child protection issues, substantive representation is also evident in initiatives aimed at women's economic empowerment. Documentation and interview findings indicate that several female DPRK members have supported entrepreneurship training programs for women, the development of home-based microenterprises, fish-processing training for women in coastal communities, and capacity-building programs for women-owned micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs). These initiatives have been implemented through the Department of Industry, Trade, Cooperatives and SMEs as well as the Department of Community and Village Empowerment of Langsa City. Informant SKN (2025) stated that "Many women possess entrepreneurial potential, but they continue to face limitations in terms of capital and skills. Therefore, business training and mentoring programs remain among the key aspirations we consistently advocate." These findings indicate that women's representation has contributed to expanding women's access to economic resources and productive livelihood opportunities.

In the health sector, the study found that female legislators have also demonstrated a strong commitment to improving maternal and child health services through support for stunting reduction programs, the enhancement of

community health posts (posyandu), prenatal healthcare services, and reproductive health awareness campaigns. Based on regional development planning documents and interview data, family health issues emerged as one of the most frequently raised concerns during constituency outreach activities conducted by female DPRK members. This finding suggests that women legislators tend to be particularly responsive to social welfare issues that directly affect family well-being and community quality of life.

Despite these contributions, the study found that female legislators continue to face significant limitations in influencing strategic decision-making processes. The relatively small proportion of women in the legislature—only 16%—reduces their bargaining power compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, several informants acknowledged that women remain underrepresented in strategic positions within both legislative committees and political party structures. Informant RA (2025) explained that “Women are often involved in party activities and policy discussions, but final decisions are still largely determined by party elites, who are predominantly male.” This finding indicates that the presence of women in parliament has not yet been accompanied by an equitable distribution of political power within decision-making institutions.

The findings reinforce the argument that substantive representation is determined not merely by the number of seats occupied by women but also by their capacity to shape public policy outcomes. Consistent with the findings of Evandio and Hidayat (2025), women's presence in legislative institutions can generate meaningful policy impacts when supported by adequate political capacity, institutional support, and opportunities for participation in legislative, budgeting, and oversight processes. In the context of Langsa City, female legislators have contributed to strengthening programs related to women and child protection, women's economic empowerment, and family health services. Nevertheless, the advancement of substantive representation requires not only an increase in the number of women elected to legislative institutions but also stronger political cadre development and a greater commitment from political parties to provide women with meaningful access to strategic decision-making positions. Only through such measures can women's representation move beyond administrative quota compliance and evolve into a substantive force capable of producing gender-responsive public policies with tangible societal impacts.

Effectiveness of the 30% Gender Quota Policy in Political Parties in Langsa City

The findings indicate that all political parties participating in the 2024 General Election in Langsa City formally complied with the statutory requirement of allocating at least 30% of legislative candidacies to women in the candidate lists submitted to the Independent Election Commission (KIP) of Langsa. However, compliance with the quota has not necessarily reflected a substantive

commitment to enhancing women's political representation. Interviews with party officials and female legislative candidates revealed that many parties recruited women primarily during the candidate registration period to fulfill administrative requirements. Informant RA (2025) noted that "women are usually recruited when candidate lists are being prepared, but the level of support provided afterward is not always equal to that given to male candidates." This finding suggests that the quota policy has succeeded in expanding women's access to candidacy, yet it has not guaranteed equal opportunities for electoral success.

The limited effectiveness of the quota policy is evident in the outcome of the 2024 election in Langsa. Although all political parties met the formal requirement for women's candidacy, only four women succeeded in winning seats in the DPRK, accounting for approximately 16% of the 25 available seats. This figure remains substantially below the 30% affirmative action target envisioned by the policy. The findings reveal a clear gap between descriptive representation at the nomination stage and actual representation at the electoral outcome stage. This condition supports the argument advanced by Ningsih et al. (2024) that compliance with candidate quotas does not automatically translate into increased parliamentary representation unless accompanied by meaningful political support and institutional commitment.

The study further identified ballot placement as a critical factor influencing women's electoral prospects. Analysis of the final candidate lists showed that most female candidates were positioned in middle or lower ballot ranks, whereas strategic positions were predominantly occupied by male candidates with stronger political standing within their parties. Informant MS (2025) explained that "the first and second ballot positions are generally assigned to candidates considered to have stronger political capital and greater chances of winning, who in most cases are still men." This finding corroborates the study by Lukman et al. (2022), which demonstrated that women's chances of election increase significantly when they are placed within the top three ballot positions. Therefore, the effectiveness of the quota policy depends not only on the number of women nominated but also on the strategic opportunities afforded to them within party electoral structures.

Beyond ballot placement, weak political cadre development emerged as a major obstacle across almost all political parties examined in this study. Most informants acknowledged that systematic and sustainable programs for developing female political cadres remain largely absent. Political training, leadership development, and electoral education are typically conducted only in the period leading up to elections and tend to be temporary rather than continuous. Informant SKN (2025) stated that "female cadres possess considerable potential, but the available training and mentoring remain limited, leaving many of them insufficiently prepared for political competition." As a result, many women enter electoral contests without adequate organizational

experience, leadership skills, or political networks, thereby reducing their competitiveness in the electoral arena.

From a socio-cultural perspective, patriarchal norms continue to constitute a significant barrier to women's political representation in Langsa. Several informants reported that politics is still widely perceived as a male domain, leading women who pursue political careers to encounter skepticism and resistance from their social environment. Informant AN (2025) explained that "there is still a prevailing belief that women should prioritize family responsibilities, causing political engagement to be viewed negatively." These findings suggest that obstacles to women's representation stem not only from party structures but also from broader social constructions that restrict women's participation in public and political life. This observation is consistent with Roviana's (2021) argument that patriarchal culture remains one of the principal factors limiting women's political participation in Aceh.

Despite these challenges, the study also identified several enabling factors that contribute to the increasing participation of women in politics in Langsa. First, the existence of the 30% affirmative action policy has compelled political parties to provide greater opportunities for female candidates. Second, family support—particularly from spouses and close relatives—serves as an important form of social capital that encourages women's involvement in political activities. Third, women's organizations, civil society groups, and political education programs organized by KIP Langsa, the Regional National Unity and Political Affairs Agency (Kesbangpol), and various community organizations have played a significant role in enhancing women's confidence and political capacity. Informant NL (2025) emphasized that "leadership training and political education programs help women understand political processes and increase their confidence to run as legislative candidates."

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the implementation of the 30% gender quota policy in Langsa remains largely administrative rather than substantive. While the policy has increased the number of women included in legislative candidate lists, it has not substantially improved women's electoral success. The limited effectiveness of the quota is shaped by a combination of internal and external factors, including inadequate cadre development, non-strategic ballot placement, unequal access to political resources, entrenched patriarchal norms, and women's restricted access to economic capital. Therefore, enhancing women's political representation requires more than quota regulations alone. It necessitates comprehensive internal party reforms, sustained investment in women's political leadership development, equitable candidate placement strategies, and broader cultural transformation toward a more inclusive political environment that recognizes and supports women's leadership.

Analysis of Female Representation in Political Parties in Langsa City

Women's representation in political parties and legislative institutions can be examined through the lens of *fiqh siyasah* as part of the broader effort to realize just governance and public welfare. Within *fiqh siyasah*, politics is not merely a contest for power but a mechanism for managing public affairs in accordance with the principles of justice, accountability, and collective benefit (*maslahah 'ammah*). Political participation, therefore, is assessed based on its contribution to the realization of the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāsid al-sharī'ah*), particularly the protection of human dignity, social welfare, and public interests. From this perspective, women's involvement in political institutions is not solely a democratic imperative but also a means of ensuring that governance reflects the diverse needs of society and advances the common good (Al-Mawardi, 1996; Auda, 2008).

A fundamental principle of *fiqh siyasah* is justice (*al-'adl*), which requires equal opportunities for citizens to participate in public affairs and access positions of authority based on competence and integrity. The findings of this study indicate that political parties in Langsa City formally complied with the statutory requirement of a minimum 30% female quota in legislative nominations during the 2024 election. Nevertheless, this procedural compliance was not consistently accompanied by equitable access to strategic candidate positions, political resources, or electoral support. Female candidates were frequently placed in less competitive ballot positions and received limited institutional backing. Such conditions suggest that procedural justice has been achieved to some extent, whereas substantive justice remains constrained by structural inequalities. In the perspective of *fiqh siyasah*, political participation should not be reduced to symbolic inclusion but should ensure meaningful opportunities for all qualified individuals to contribute to public decision-making (Kamali, 1998).

The principle of equality (*al-musāwah*) further reinforces the legitimacy of women's political participation. Equality in Islamic political thought does not imply identical roles but rather equal rights and opportunities in accessing public responsibilities. The findings reveal that many political parties continued to treat female candidacies primarily as a mechanism for fulfilling administrative requirements rather than as a strategic effort to strengthen women's political influence. Several informants reported that women were often recruited shortly before candidate registration deadlines, indicating a limited commitment to long-term political empowerment. Such practices contradict the spirit of *al-musāwah*, which emphasizes that political appointments and leadership opportunities should be determined by capability, trustworthiness, and public benefit rather than gender-based considerations (Ibn Taymiyyah, 2004).

Another central concept in *fiqh siyasah* is *shūrā* (consultation), which advocates inclusive participation in public deliberation and policy formulation. The inclusion of women in political institutions enriches the consultative process by incorporating perspectives and experiences that might otherwise remain underrepresented. The findings demonstrate that female legislators in Langsa

actively advocated issues related to women's and children's protection, family economic empowerment, women-owned microenterprises, maternal health, and educational access. Their involvement illustrates how women's political participation broadens the scope of public deliberation and contributes to more inclusive and representative policymaking. In this regard, women's representation aligns with the principle of *shūrā* by strengthening participatory governance and ensuring that diverse societal interests are reflected in public policies.

The study also reveals that women's representation in Langsa has begun to move beyond descriptive representation toward substantive representation, although significant limitations remain. Female legislators have supported programs related to entrepreneurship training, microfinance assistance, household industry development, and social protection initiatives targeting women and children. These contributions reflect the *fiqh siyasah* principle of *jalb al-maṣāliḥ wa dar' al-mafāsīd*—promoting public benefits and preventing social harm (Auda, 2008). Accordingly, the effectiveness of women's representation should not be measured solely by the number of seats occupied but also by the extent to which female representatives contribute to policies that improve social welfare and address community needs.

Despite these positive developments, patriarchal cultural norms continue to pose significant challenges to women's political advancement in Langsa. Many community members still perceive politics as a predominantly male domain, while women are often expected to prioritize domestic responsibilities. Such perceptions limit women's political opportunities, reduce social support for female candidates, and contribute to skepticism regarding women's leadership capacities. From a *fiqh siyasah* perspective, these cultural barriers require critical reassessment because they may hinder the realization of justice and public welfare. Contemporary Islamic scholars increasingly argue that women's participation in public affairs is permissible and desirable when it serves societal interests and adheres to ethical principles rooted in Islamic teachings (Kamali, 2013).

The research further identifies inadequate political cadre development as a major obstacle to strengthening women's representation. Most political parties in Langsa have yet to establish systematic and sustainable programs for leadership development, political education, and policy advocacy training for women. As a result, many female candidates enter electoral competition with limited organizational experience and insufficient political networks. In *fiqh siyasah*, this condition reflects a failure to uphold the principle of *al-quwwah wa al-amānah* (competence and trustworthiness), which emphasizes the responsibility of political institutions to cultivate capable leaders who can effectively serve public interests. Strengthening women's political capacity is therefore not merely an organizational necessity but also an ethical obligation within Islamic political thought (Al-Mawardi, 1996).

CONCLUSION

This study finds that women's representation in local politics in Langsa City remains predominantly descriptive and has not yet developed optimally into substantive representation. Although political parties have formally complied with the 30% quota requirement for female legislative candidates, women secured only 4 out of 25 seats in the Langsa Regional House of Representatives (DPRK) in the 2024 election, accounting for 16% of the total seats. From a procedural perspective, women continue to face significant barriers, including weak political cadre development, the dominance of party elites, limited political resources, and the allocation of less strategic ballot positions.

In terms of symbolic representation, the presence of women has expanded opportunities for women's political participation; however, it has not substantially transformed the patriarchal norms that continue to shape political attitudes within society. Regarding substantive representation, female legislators have contributed to advancing issues related to women's and children's protection, women's economic empowerment, and family health services. From the perspective of *fiqh siyasah*, these findings indicate that the principles of justice (*al-'adl*), equality of opportunity (*al-musawah*), and consultation (*al-shura*) have begun to be realized, although they have not yet fully generated optimal public welfare (*maslahah 'ammah*) due to the limited influence of women in strategic decision-making processes.

REFERENSI

- Agustyati, K., Pratama, H., Birnir, J. K., Overos, H., Okthariza, N., Kholidin, I., Ramadhanil, F., & Savirani, A. (2025). Indonesia Election Archive: Institutions, Candidates And Results. *Scientific Data*, 12(1), 1397. <https://doi.org/10.1038/S41597-025-05746-7>
- Al-Ma'arij, H., Kiram, T., & Putri, I. A. (2023). Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Partisipasi Perempuan Calon Anggota Legislatif Pada Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2019 Di Kota Sungai Penuh. 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.31869/Jsp.V2i2.4830>
- Anwar, K., Udjiwati, L., & Aslamiah, W. (2025). Analisis Kebijakan Partai Politik Memenuhi Ketentuan 30% Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Pencalonan Anggota Legislatif (Studi Pada Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024 Di Kabupaten Ngawi). *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik*, 10(2), 306–323. <https://doi.org/10.36982/Jpp.V10i2.5256>
- Ardiansa, D. (2016). Menghadirkan Kepentingan Perempuan Dalam Representasi Politik Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politik*, 2(1), 71–99. <https://doi.org/10.7454/Jp.V2i1>
- Ayu, V. D. (2025). Peranan Politik Perempuan Dalam Pembangunan: Studi Tentang Keterwakilan Perempuan Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Kebijakan Publik. *Al-Zayn : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial & Hukum*, 3(5), 6375–6382. <https://doi.org/10.61104/Alz.V3i5.2262>

- Banjarnahor, D. N. (2020). Analisis Faktor Penghambat Terpenuhinya Kuota Representasi Perempuan Di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Provinsi Sumatera Selatan. *Jurnal Ekonomi, Sosial & Humaniora*, 1(06), 79–87. <https://www.jurnalintelektiva.com/index.php/jurnal/article/view/106>
- Burlian Senjaya, Pahrudin Hm, & Samia Elviria. (2026). (Pdf) Representasi Perempuan Sebagai Penyelenggaraan Pemilu Di Provinsi Jambi: Tantangan Dan Strategi Penguatan. *Researchgate*. <https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v7i1.323>
- Childs, S., & Krook, M. L. (2009). Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors. *Government and Opposition*, 44(2), 125–145. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2009.01279.x>
- Celis, K., Childs, S., Kantola, J., & Krook, M. L. (2008). Rethinking Women's Substantive Representation. *Representation*, 44(2), 99–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344890802079573>
- Dahlerup, D., & Freidenvall, L. (2005). Quotas as a Fast Track to Equal Representation for Women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1), 26–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000324673>
- Damayanti, K., Anisti, C. N., Rizanul, R. C., & Ummah, A. (2024). Analisis Kebijakan Kuota 30% Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Politik Indonesia. *Jurnal Iso: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik Dan Humaniora*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.53697/iso.v4i2.2026>
- Damayanti, K., Anisti, C. N., Rizanul, R. C., & Ummah, A. (2024). Analisis Kebijakan Kuota 30% Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Politik Indonesia. *Jurnal Iso: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik Dan Humaniora*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.53697/iso.v4i2.2026>
- Evandio, R., & Hidayat, C. (2025). Kepemimpinan Legislatif Perempuan Dan Representasi Substantif Dalam Ratifikasi Undang-Undang TPKS. *Jurnal Dialektika: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 23(3), 918–926. <https://doi.org/10.63309/dialektika.v23i3.853>
- Faisal, M., Fachyuzar, M. Z., Lumbangaol, P., & Sihombing, A. (2024). 2 Dekade Affirmative Action Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Politik Indonesia: (Hambatan Perempuan Dalam Budaya Patriarki). *Rechtsnormen Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Informasi Hukum*, 3(1), 55–60. <https://doi.org/10.56211/rechtsnormen.v3i1.628>
- Fatharani, A., Hakim, L., & Putri, L. D. M. (2025). Analisis Representasi Kandidat Perempuan Di Pemilu Legislatif Kabupaten Karawang Periode 2024-2029. *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research*, 5(4), 7795–7804. <https://doi.org/10.31004/innovative.v5i4.19640>
- Haquri, D. D., & Sahab, A. (2023). Perempuan Dalam Politik: Rekrutmen Anggota Legislatif Perempuan Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI) Jawa Timur Di Pileg 2019. *Jurnal Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Journal Of Politics)*, 9(1), 69–80. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpi.v9i1.45342>

- Husna, U. (2025). *Analisis Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kabupaten (Dprk) Aceh Tamiang (Studi Kasus Pada Pemilu Legislatif 2024 Penurunan Kursi Perempuan)*. [S1, Universitas Malikussaleh]. <https://rama.unimal.ac.id/ld/eprint/11539/>
- Insan, I., Simatupang, F. G., & Ylleanor, S. G. (2025). Perempuan: Keterwakilan Dalam Partai Politik Dan Badan Legislatif. *Jurnal Konstitusi & Demokrasi*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.7454/jkd.v5i1.1502>
- Iqbal, M. M., & Kurniawan, A. S. (2020). Mekanisme Rekrutmen Calon Legislatif Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Legislatif Tahun 2019 (Studi Di Dpc Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Kabupaten Malang). *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.36982/jpg.v5i2.1030>
- Lukman, A., Abdullah, T., Saputra, T., & Sahrasad, H. (2022). Study On The Urgency Of Women's Legislative Representations Local Parties, Langsa City, Aceh Province. *Budapest International Research And Critics Institute-Journal (Birci-Journal)*, 5(4), 31213–31222. <https://doi.org/10.33258/birci.v5i4.7308>
- Malandy's, A. P., Amelia, R., & Indriyani, I. A. (2026). Tokenisme Perempuan Dalam Politik Elektoral: (Studi Representasi Perempuan Di Dprd Kota Cilegon). *Presidensial: Jurnal Hukum, Administrasi Negara, Dan Kebijakan Publik*, 3(1), 55–70. <https://doi.org/10.62383/presidensial.v3i1.1566>
- Muzayyin, A. (2024). Implikasi Ketiadaan Sanksi Terhadap Ketentuan Keterwakilan 30% Perempuan Dalam Daftar Calon Legislatif Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Hukum Lex Generalis*, 5(8). <https://doi.org/10.56370/jhlg.v5i8.1429>
- Ningsih, F., Melayu, H. A., & Eriyanti, N. (2024). Kesetaraan Gender Dan Representasi Politik: Perjuangan Partisipasi Perempuan Dalam Politik Di Kabupaten Nagan Raya, Aceh. *Politica: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara Dan Politik Islam*, 11(2), 168–182. <https://doi.org/10.32505/politica.v11i2.10602>
- Nirmala Eka Rahmawati. (2025). (Pdf) Analisis Keterwakilan 30 Persen Perempuan Pada Pemilu 2024 Ditinjau Dalam Persepektif Hukum Keluarga Islam. *Researchgate*. <https://doi.org/10.28944/reflektika.v19i2.1952>
- Nokia, E. (2025). *Perempuan Dalam Dunia Politik: Perjuangan Politisi Perempuan Menjadi Anggota Lembaga Legislatif Daerah Kabupaten Kerinci 2004-2024* [3magister, Universitas Andalas]. <http://scholar.unand.ac.id/492067/>
- Putri, S., Sari, E., & Amrizal, A. (2025). Optimalisasi Affirmative Action Dalam Keterwakilan Perempuan Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum Di Dprd Kabupaten Langkat. *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum Universitas Malikussaleh*, 8(3). <https://doi.org/10.29103/jimfh.v8i3.22418>
- Rahmadani, N., Hasniati, & Najib, M. (2025). Dari Kuota Ke Kuasa: Keterwakilan Perempuan Di Dpr-Dprd Dalam Mewujudkan Keadilan Gender Dalam Legislasi. *Qaimuddin: Journal Of Constitutional Law Review*, 5(2), 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.31332/qjclr.v5i2.12280>

- Rahmatunnisa, M. (2016). Affirmative Action Dan Penguatan Partisipasi Politik Kaum Perempuan. *Jwp (Jurnal Wacana Politik)*, 1(2).
<https://doi.org/10.24198/Jwp.V1i2.11049>
- Rijali, A. (2018). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 17(33), 81–95. <https://doi.org/10.18592/Alhadharah.V17i33.2374>
- Roviana, S. (2021). Syariat Islam Dan Produksi Pengetahuan Perempuan Aceh. *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam*, 20(2), 109–126.
<https://doi.org/10.14421/Musawa.2021.202.109-126>
- Rusmini, & Wahyuningsi. (2025). Penerapan Prinsip Affirmative Action Terhadap Keterwakilan Perempuan Pada Pemilu Legislatif DPRD Kota Palembang. *Nova Juris: Jurnal Hukum*, 3(1), 21–30.
<https://doi.org/10.35449/Novajuris.V3i1.1038>
- Saputri, R. A., Sukmajati, M., & Asriani, D. D. (2023). Perwakilan Perempuan Di Parlemen : A Literature Review And Future Research Opportunities. *Jwp (Jurnal Wacana Politik)*, 8(2), 213–222.
<https://doi.org/10.24198/Jwp.V8i2.46956>
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2009). Making Quotas Work: The Effect of Gender Quota Laws on the Election of Women. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34(1), 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.3162/036298009787500330>
- Syahri, M. S. R. U., Alqadri, B., & Hadi, M. S. (2025). Rendahnya Representasi Perempuan Dalam Pencalonan Anggota Legislatif Di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat. *Empiricism Journal*, 6(2), 770–786.
<https://doi.org/10.36312/Ej.V6i2.2803>
- Widiyaningrum, W. Y. (2020). Partisipasi Politik Kader Perempuan Dalam Bidang Politik: Sebuah Kajian Teoritis. *Jisipol | Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 4(2), 126–142.
<https://ejournal.unibba.ac.id/index.php/jisipol/article/view/296>
- Wiyanda Vera Nurfaejriani, M. W. I., Arivan Mahendra, Rusdy Abdullah Sirodj, M. Win Afgani. (2024). Triangulasi Data Dalam Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 10(17), 826–833.
<https://doi.org/10.5281/Zenodo.13929272>