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Affirmative Action and Women's Political Representation in Jeneponto Legislative Elections: A Siyasah Syar'iyyah Perspective

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji penerapan kebijakan afirmasi terhadap keterwakilan politik perempuan dalam pemilu legislatif Kabupaten Jeneponto dan menilainya melalui perspektif siyasah syar'iyyah. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif sosiolegal dan normatif Islam, dengan wawancara pemangku kepentingan serta telaah peraturan. Menurut data yang dikutip dalam naskah, keterwakilan perempuan meningkat dari 8 dari 40 kursi pada 2019–2024 menjadi 11 dari 40 kursi pada 2024–2029. Temuan wawancara menunjukkan bahwa kepatuhan formal terhadap kuota pencalonan belum selalu disertai dukungan partai dan kesempatan politik yang setara. Kajian ini menempatkan al-'adalah, al-musawah, al-syura, al-maslahah, dan amanah sebagai dasar evaluasi kebijakan, bukan ukuran otomatis bahwa hasil pemilu telah mewujudkan keadilan substantif.

Kata Kunci: tindakan afirmatif; keterwakilan politik perempuan; pemilu legislatif; siyasah syar'iyyah; Jeneponto.

Abstract

This article examines the implementation of affirmative action in women's political representation in Jeneponto's legislative elections and evaluates it through the principles of siyasah shar'iyyah. Combining socio-legal interviews with a normative analysis of Indonesian election law and Islamic political jurisprudence, it distinguishes formal nomination compliance from effective electoral opportunity and substantive participation. The research manuscript reports an increase in women members of the Jeneponto regional legislature from eight of forty seats (20 per cent) in 2019–2024 to eleven of forty seats (27.5 per cent) in 2024–2029. Interviews suggest continuing constraints arising from political kinship networks, candidate recruitment, uneven constituency-level results, and the limited support that some women receive after nomination. Justice, equality, consultation, public welfare, competence and trust provide a framework for evaluating those constraints. These findings are context-specific; the numerical data and interview claims require confirmation against original institutional records before final publication.

Keywords: *affirmative action; women's political representation; legislative elections; siyasah shar'iyyah; Jeneponto.*

Introduction

Women's representation in legislative institutions is a central question of democratic equality, but elected office is not the only meaningful measure of political participation. Opportunities to be nominated, compete, influence

deliberation and oversee public spending are equally relevant. In Indonesia, women have historically faced unequal access to party networks, campaign resources and political leadership, making formal legal equality insufficient to explain actual electoral opportunities.

Affirmative action addresses those structural barriers by creating temporary or targeted measures intended to improve political access. Indonesia's party and election laws provide for women's inclusion in party management and for a minimum proportion of women on candidate lists. These requirements regulate the electoral gateway; they do not predetermine which candidates voters will elect or guarantee influence after election.

This distinction reflects the difference between descriptive representation, measured by seats occupied by women, and substantive representation, evaluated through legislative action and accountability. As Pitkin's account of representation suggests, physical presence can be a precondition for voice without being conclusive evidence that particular interests have been advanced. A meaningful evaluation must therefore investigate the connection between formal compliance and political opportunity.

Jeneponto Regency, South Sulawesi, provides a context in which party organisations, local political networks and expectations about gender interact with the legal quota. Social practices and family connections can support electoral entry while also limiting the opportunities of women who lack established networks. These conditions must be documented rather than treated as uniform characteristics of all residents or all political parties.

According to the figures reported in the research materials, eight of forty Jeneponto DPRD members (20 per cent) were women during the 2019–2024 term, increasing to eleven of forty (27.5 per cent) during 2024–2029. The reported difference is three seats, or 7.5 percentage points. The figures should be cross-checked against KPU election results and DPRD membership records; they are not a measure of women's representation throughout Indonesia.

Islamic political jurisprudence also offers evaluative principles for public participation. The ethical standing of women and men, justice in administering collective affairs, consultation, public welfare and integrity in office are relevant to assessing political institutions. These principles are used here as an analytical framework, not as a claim that a numerical nomination target has a uniquely prescribed religious percentage.

Previous Indonesian studies have analysed women's nomination quotas, local electoral barriers and political participation under Islamic legal principles. The literature offers evidence that increasing candidate-list representation does not automatically overcome patronage, limited political training or inequitable financial resources. Yet few of those discussions combine a concrete study of Jeneponto with a legal assessment of the quota and a sustained account of siyasah shar'iyyah.

The scholarly gap therefore concerns the interaction between legal rules, their administration by electoral institutions and the social setting in which parties recruit and support candidates. This study separates a legal requirement imposed on political parties from its possible consequences for electoral success and from the distinct question of elected representatives' conduct in office.

Three questions organise the argument: what does the affirmative-action framework require; how was it reportedly implemented in Jeneponto's legislative election; and how should its achievements and limits be evaluated through the principles of siyasah shar'iyyah? The article answers these questions through a documentary account of the law, selected research interviews and cautious interpretation of the stated local outcomes.

Research Method

This qualitative case study combines an empirical legal (socio-legal) approach with normative Islamic legal analysis. The empirical component examines the implementation of women's nomination requirements in Jeneponto; the doctrinal component identifies legal obligations under the Constitution, political-party legislation and election legislation. The Islamic normative component applies the principles of justice, equality, consultation and welfare as evaluative concepts rather than as substitutes for binding electoral rules.

The primary material described in the supplied study consists of observation and semi-structured interviews involving Jeneponto election commissioners, eight DPRD members (six men and two women), and local religious figures. Secondary material comprises statutes, public documents and academic literature. Interviewees' statements are treated as situated accounts rather than independently established proof of each party's conduct. The original interview transcripts, consent records and complete electoral dataset were not supplied for independent verification in this editorial revision.

The reported analytical process involved editing, coding, classifying and verifying interview material, followed by thematic reduction, presentation and interpretation. The study states that source and method triangulation and member checking were undertaken. To make these procedures reproducible, the authors should retain a coding framework, dated interview inventory, anonymisation decisions and the original confirmation records. Inferences in this article are distinguished from the underlying official data and the perceptions attributed to interview participants.

Results and Discussion

1. The Legal Design of Affirmative Action and Women's Political Rights

Affirmative action is a corrective policy designed to reduce unequal access to political opportunities for groups that have experienced structural barriers. For legislative representation, it seeks to affect more than the number of names on a candidate list: meaningful opportunities include recruitment, campaign support, voter engagement and participation in governing institutions.

The underlying concept is substantive equality. Uniform treatment can perpetuate inequality where political networks, social expectations and resources are distributed unevenly.[1] Rawls's difference principle provides one philosophical justification for institutions concerned with improving the position of disadvantaged groups, although it does not independently establish the validity of any particular Indonesian election procedure.

[1] John Rawls, Teori Keadilan: Dasar-Dasar Filsafat Politik, terj. Uzair Fauzan dan Heru Prasetyo (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), 67–68

Article 28H(2) of the 1945 Constitution recognises access to facilitation and special treatment for the achievement of equality and justice. Indonesia ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women through Law No. 7 of 1984; Article 4 of the Convention permits appropriate temporary special measures to accelerate de facto equality.[2] These instruments provide a normative setting in which affirmative action can be assessed rather than a guarantee of any given electoral outcome.

Political-party legislation, including Law No. 2 of 2008 as amended by Law No. 2 of 2011, addresses women's participation in party organisation. Article 245 of Law No. 7 of 2017 establishes the requirement that women's participation in lists of prospective legislative candidates reach at least 30 per cent, while Article 246 addresses the placement of women on such lists. The precise version and implementing rules applicable to the 2024 election must be checked against the official regulations in force at the nomination stage.

The 30 per cent rule is a requirement of candidate nomination, not a legal guarantee that women will win 30 per cent of legislative seats. Candidates remain subject to electoral competition, party organisation, access to finance, constituency characteristics and voter preferences. Outcome evaluation therefore requires separate consideration of nomination compliance and electoral success.

Descriptive representation can be expressed in counts and proportions of women elected, whereas substantive representation concerns actions taken through legislation, budget scrutiny, oversight and public deliberation. Neither dimension should be treated as an adequate proxy for the other.[3] Increased seat numbers warrant further inquiry into institutional participation and policy outputs.

Prior studies of Indonesia's affirmative-action policy identify recurrent difficulties involving party recruitment, patriarchal attitudes, uneven political development and tokenistic fulfilment of candidacy requirements.[4] Those findings support a hypothesis about the possible limits of administrative compliance in Jeneponto, but the extent of each difficulty locally must be assessed from Jeneponto-specific evidence.

Accordingly, affirmative action should not be reduced to a numerical filing requirement. The policy's corrective function depends on whether candidates from different backgrounds can gain access to nomination, obtain genuine support and compete on relatively fair terms. This requires examining political-party decisions as well as election-administration procedures.

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[2] United Nations, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 18 Desember 1979, Pasal 4; Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 1984 tentang Pengesahan Konvensi mengenai Penghapusan Segala Bentuk Diskriminasi terhadap Wanita.

[3] Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[4] Rahma Ning Tias, Awalia Dhia Nisrina, Nabil Destriputra, Ferdian Ahya Al Putra, dan Septyanto Galan Prakoso, "Tantangan Kebijakan Affirmative Action sebagai Upaya Penguatan Keterwakilan Perempuan di Legislatif," Jurnal Politica: Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri dan Hubungan Internasional 14, no. 2 (2023): 169–184, https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v14i2.4151.

2. Implementation of Affirmative Action in Jeneponto Regency

a. Women's Nomination Quotas and Administrative Verification

The research materials report that parties contesting the 2024 Jeneponto legislative election placed women on candidate lists at proportions ranging from approximately 33 to 72 per cent. If confirmed from official party-by-party lists, this would demonstrate compliance with the minimum nomination percentage in the parties examined. It would not by itself establish the fairness of nomination ranking or campaign support.

Interview accounts attribute an important role to the Jeneponto General Elections Commission (KPU) in checking nomination documents against applicable electoral requirements. Administrative verification can encourage compliance because parties face established consequences for defective submissions.[5] The scope of this claim is electoral administration: the KPU does not determine how parties subsequently distribute campaigning resources among their candidates.

Edwards III's implementation framework identifies communication, resources, implementation dispositions and bureaucratic structure as relevant variables. The KPU's verification function illustrates how a clear administrative process can convey and reinforce legal obligations.[6] The same framework warns that formal rules cannot independently supply the resources or political commitment required for substantive implementation.

Some interviewees described parties that included women to satisfy the quota without developing comparable electoral strategies for them.[7] These statements are important qualitative evidence of a perceived problem, but they should not be described as documented practices of every party without nomination files, budgets or other corroboration.

The case thus suggests a gap between rule compliance and policy purpose. A party may submit a numerically compliant list while providing unequal preparation and practical support to individual candidates. Evaluation should therefore combine documentary verification of the lists with inquiry into candidate training, campaign arrangements and equitable access to party networks.

The interpretation is consistent with research describing tokenism as a challenge to women's electoral participation, though consistency with prior research is not direct proof of identical conduct in Jeneponto.[8] Local circumstances and the status of the interviews remain decisive in assessing the strength of the inference.

b. Political-Party Recruitment of Women Legislative Candidates

Interviews in this study suggest two broad recruitment patterns: candidate selection based partly on political kinship networks, and selection guided by

[5] Sapriadi Saleh, wawancara dengan Komisioner KPU Kabupaten Jeneponto, 29 Juni 2026; Arfandi, wawancara dengan Komisioner KPU Kabupaten Jeneponto, 29 Juni 2026.

[6] George C. Edwards III, Implementing Public Policy (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980).

[7] Arfandi, wawancara dengan Komisioner KPU Kabupaten Jeneponto, 29 Juni 2026.Tias dkk., "Tantangan Kebijakan Affirmative Action," 169–184.

[8] Tias dkk., "Tantangan Kebijakan Affirmative Action," 169–184.

anticipated electoral competitiveness. These are analytically useful tendencies, not an exhaustive classification of every party's recruitment process.

An interviewed woman legislator explained that family connections and local political networks can provide access to established constituencies and electoral support. In some reported cases, women entered politics with assistance from spouses or relatives who had previously occupied political office.[9] The interview indicates a mechanism of political entry, not evidence that all such candidates are unqualified.

Kinship can operate as a form of social capital that helps overcome barriers to entry. At the same time, dependence on prominent political families may exclude women without comparable networks. The concern is therefore equitable access and transparent selection, rather than a categorical rejection of family relationships in political life.

Grindle's implementation approach directs attention to the political and institutional context in which a policy is carried out. In Jeneponto, interviewees described patronage, kinship and local power relations as conditions that influence recruitment.[10] A formally identical 30 per cent quota may consequently produce uneven opportunities when implementation takes place within unequal networks.

The second tendency identified in interviews is an increasing interest in candidates thought capable of securing electoral support.[11] Quota enforcement may encourage parties to identify and recruit women more actively, although interview statements alone cannot establish the size or durability of this change.

Recruitment difficulties remain where women receive little sustained organisational preparation or are approached only when nomination documents must be completed. Political education, mentoring and long-term party development are therefore more plausible strategies for improving opportunity than short-lived recruitment drives during the election period.

Studies of local politics elsewhere in Indonesia have similarly identified patriarchal expectations, political-family influence and weak party cadre formation.[12] These comparisons offer explanatory context, but each locality's candidate and electoral records must be assessed separately.

Recruitment quality should be assessed by opportunity, competence, experience, integrity and transparent treatment of prospective candidates. A nominal percentage does not demonstrate these qualities. Nor is a family connection, by itself, an adequate measure of a candidate's personal competence or representational performance.

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[9] Kasmiati, wawancara dengan anggota DPRD perempuan yang menjabat Wakil Ketua Komisi I, Kantor DPRD Kabupaten Jeneponto, 23 Juli 2026.

[10] Merilee S. Grindle, Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 14–17.

[11] Agus TS, wawancara dengan anggota DPRD Kabupaten Jeneponto, 30 Juni 2026.

Siti Nimrah dan Sakaria, "Perempuan dan Budaya Patriarki dalam Politik: Studi Kasus Kegagalan Caleg Perempuan dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014," The Politics: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin 1, no. 2 (2015): 74–76.

[12] Siti Nimrah dan Sakaria, "Perempuan dan Budaya Patriarki dalam Politik: Studi Kasus Kegagalan Caleg Perempuan dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014," The Politics: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin 1, no. 2 (2015): 74–76.

c. **Changes in Women's Representation in the Jeneponto DPRD**

The supplied research materials state that the number of women in Jeneponto's forty-seat DPRD increased from eight for 2019–2024 to eleven for 2024–2029. The change is descriptively significant within the local institutional setting and should be presented as a documentary finding subject to official KPU and DPRD reconciliation.

Table 1. Reported Women's Representation in the Jeneponto DPRD

Periode	Total Kursi	Perempuan Terpilih	Persentase
2019–2024	40	8 orang	20%
2024–2029	40	11 orang	27,5%
Perubahan	–	+3 orang	+7,5 poin persentase

Source: Figures reproduced from the authors' research materials; official membership and election-result verification remains necessary.

These reported counts correspond to an increase from 20 per cent to 27.5 per cent, or 7.5 percentage points. The distinction between a nomination quota and the proportion of seats won remains important: a 27.5 per cent seat share cannot be characterised as legal non-compliance with a candidate-list quota simply because it is below 30 per cent.

Interviews also indicate substantial variation between electoral districts.[13] One participant reported that women secured six of eight seats in electoral district 3 (Bangkala and Bangkala Barat), while another stated that district 2 (Tamalatea and Bontoramba) returned no women members.[14] Those unusually contrasting district-level claims require confirmation against the official constituency results before being treated as established figures.

Uneven distribution suggests that district-level political networks, candidates, campaign strategies and voter preferences may matter as much as the district-wide nominal nomination percentage. The reported aggregate increase cannot establish that political opportunities were equally distributed across Jeneponto.

Earlier research on women candidates in South Sulawesi similarly distinguishes compliance with quota rules from successful election.[15] This is consistent with the present study's conceptual distinction, although the specific numerical results from Jeneponto still require independent documentation.

The preliminary interpretation is therefore one of improvement in descriptive representation accompanied by possible geographic disparities. Future reporting should include the full constituency-by-constituency tables and authenticated

[13] Wawancara dengan anggota DPRD perempuan Kabupaten Jeneponto, sebagaimana tercantum dalam Bab IV tesis, bagian dinamika keterwakilan perempuan antardaerah pemilihan. Identitas informan dan tanggal wawancara perlu dicocokkan dengan catatan kaki asli tesis sebelum digunakan.

[14] Alex Nursaina, wawancara dengan anggota DPRD Kabupaten Jeneponto, 23 Juni 2026.

[15] Windarsiharly, "Penerapan Ketentuan Kuota Keterwakilan Perempuan pada Penetapan Calon Legislatif Usulan Partai Politik di DPRD Sulawesi Selatan" (tesis, Universitas Hasanuddin, 2023), 107–110.

official sources before drawing stronger conclusions about the causes of electoral outcomes.

d. **Structural and Institutional Barriers**

The challenges identified by the interview material can be grouped into socio-cultural constraints, institutional limitations, and uneven electoral-district opportunities. These dimensions often interact and should not be understood as mutually exclusive causal explanations.

Respondents described cultural expectations that may discourage women from appearing in public political activities or campaigning at certain times. Such accounts raise questions about gender stereotypes and practical campaign restrictions; they do not justify assuming that every community or household in Jeneponto holds the same view.

Comparative studies of women's local political participation discuss patriarchal norms, the relative priority afforded to male candidates by parties, unequal campaign finance and weak organisational support.[16] These studies offer mechanisms worth investigating rather than proof of their prevalence in the specific constituencies examined.

Institutionally, the KPU's authority concentrates on compliance with the law of nomination. Candidate mentoring, campaign strategy and political development are primarily matters for party organisations and candidates. Disparities in these later stages therefore cannot be cured by administrative verification alone.

Constituency-level variation forms a further challenge. Differences in local networks, social expectations and candidate visibility may affect results, but the relative importance of these factors cannot be quantified from a small set of interviews. A stronger explanation would require official electoral data and systematic comparison of campaign conditions.

Edwards III and Grindle together highlight why legal requirements must be examined alongside implementation capacity and local context. Effective reform would involve predictable party recruitment, sustained candidate development and locally informed support.[17] These measures are recommendations derived from qualitative analysis rather than effects demonstrated by an intervention.

e. **Women's Substantive Participation in the DPRD**

The research manuscript reports that women members have held positions including the first deputy chair of the DPRD, deputy chair and secretary of Commission I, and membership of the Honorary Council. These descriptions should be checked against official DPRD membership and leadership records for the relevant terms.

Interviewed legislators considered such appointments an indication that women are participating in institutional decision-making. Some respondents also

[16] Nimrah dan Sakaria, "Perempuan dan Budaya Patriarki dalam Politik," 89–92. Veronika Ina Assan Boro dan Alexander Efraim Tade Kale, "Keterwakilan Perempuan di Ranah Lokal: Studi Kasus di Kecamatan Boawae, Nusa Tenggara Timur dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014," Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik 11, no. 1 (2020): 115–130, https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.11.1.2020.115-130.

[17] Edwards, Implementing Public Policy; Grindle, Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World.

described women who retained seats after an earlier term.[18] These accounts support an inquiry into political continuity and opportunity, but the article does not infer substantive policy outcomes solely from the positions listed.

Pitkin's theory of representation distinguishes the fact of occupying an office from acting on behalf of constituents.[19] Appointment to a leadership position may facilitate influence, but it does not automatically prove that women legislators have secured particular public-policy reforms or that every woman legislator represents a single shared agenda.

Substantive representation should instead be examined through participation in drafting local regulations, budget debates, oversight and the recorded reasons for legislative decisions. This requires minutes, proposed amendments, adopted instruments and other records that were not systematically audited in the supplied qualitative study.

The available evidence supports a cautious conclusion: formal representation and some reported institutional participation have increased, while the effectiveness of that participation requires a more direct assessment of legislative practice. The distinction allows the study to identify progress without exaggerating its demonstrable impact.

3. Affirmative Action from the Perspective of Siyasah Shar'iyyah

The principles of al-'adalah (justice), al-musawah (equality), al-shura (consultation), al-maslahah (public welfare), al-ahliyyah (competence) and amanah (trust) provide the article's Islamic normative framework. Their relevance lies in evaluating political opportunity and public accountability, not in prescribing a particular modern percentage as an explicit classical rule.

Justice and Fair Political Opportunity

Justice is a foundational concept in Islamic political jurisprudence. Djazuli's account of fiqh siyasah treats public authority as a responsibility to distribute rights and opportunities fairly and to serve legitimate collective interests.[20] This approach helps assess whether nominal inclusion in candidate lists amounts to fair participation.

Targeted electoral measures may be justified as a response to persistent structural barriers. Such justification depends on fair implementation and a connection to genuine opportunity, rather than on a mere claim that one class of candidates should receive privileges without examining underlying disadvantages.

Reported kinship-based recruitment and uneven representation between electoral districts suggest that formal compliance can coexist with inequitable practical opportunities. These are relevant indicators for assessing al-'adalah, subject to corroboration of the specific local claims.

An approach grounded in justice therefore calls for more transparent recruitment, fair support and access for women from different social backgrounds.

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[18] Andi Safri Kr Daming, wawancara dengan anggota DPRD Kabupaten Jeneponto, 23 Juni 2026; Kasmiati, wawancara, 23 Juli 2026.

[19] Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[20] A. Djazuli, Fiqh Siyasah: Implementasi Kemaslahatan Umat dalam Rambu-Rambu Syariah, edisi revisi (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), 72–78.

The object is neither to exclude qualified men nor to privilege only women from influential families, but to address documented barriers to participation.

Equality and Women's Political Rights

Al-musawah emphasises equality of moral worth and the entitlement to exercise lawful public rights. In modern constitutional politics, this principle can support an interpretation of political participation that does not exclude women merely because of gender.[21] Relevant Islamic scholarship likewise approaches the issue in the context of citizenship and public responsibility.

A local religious figure interviewed in the study stated that women possess the political rights to vote and to stand for election.[22] This attributed view illustrates one contemporary interpretation; the interview does not resolve all theological disagreements and is not presented as a statement binding every Islamic scholar.

The convergence between constitutional political equality and the principle of al-musawah offers a normative basis for removing discriminatory barriers. The strength of affirmative action depends on whether its procedures actually extend the ability to participate, rather than simply recognising the right in abstract terms.

Consultation and Collective Decision-Making

Al-shura identifies consultation as a principle of public decision-making. Its practical significance in a legislative institution lies in the opportunity of representatives to present reasons, scrutinise proposals and contribute to collective deliberation.

The Jeneponto DPRD performs legislative, budgetary and supervisory functions. Women legislators' participation can therefore contribute to consultation in public affairs. The quality of that contribution should be evaluated in the institution's deliberative records, not inferred merely from attendance or seat count.

A religious figure interviewed in the study understood the DPRD as a collective deliberative institution rather than the personal authority of one ruler. On that basis, the participant considered women's legislative participation compatible with responsibility and competence.[23] This remains an interviewee's interpretation, reported here as qualitative evidence.

On this reading, al-shura favours meaningful opportunity to speak, debate and influence collective decisions. Participation should not be evaluated by physical inclusion alone: the institution's procedures and party discipline may also determine whose contributions are heard and reflected in decisions.

Public Welfare and Legislative Priorities

Al-maslahah al-mursalah directs attention to legitimate public benefit consistent with Islamic legal principles. This requires careful assessment of a

[21] Benni Erick dan Masyitah, "Keterwakilan Perempuan dalam Partai Politik Perspektif Siyasah Syar'iyyah," Jurnal Sosial Humaniora Sigli 3, no. 2 (2020): 200–212, https://doi.org/10.47647/jsh.v3i2.312.

[22] Baharuddin, wawancara dengan tokoh agama/MUI Kabupaten Jeneponto, Kantor Kementerian Agama Kabupaten Jeneponto, 23 Juli 2026.

[23] Baharuddin, wawancara, 23 Juli 2026.

measure's real purpose and effects.[24] The existence of an electoral quota cannot alone demonstrate that the policy has improved the material welfare of citizens.

An interviewed local religious figure considered women's legislative participation potentially valuable for matters such as child protection, education, family welfare and women's legal rights.[25] The statement describes the participant's expectations, not proven legislative results from specific women officeholders in Jeneponto.

Affirmative action may consequently be defended as a way to diversify public deliberation and improve opportunities to address neglected interests. Whether those benefits are realised must be investigated through actual legislative decisions, constituent engagement and the allocation of public resources.

Competence, Trust and the Problem of Tokenism

Al-ahliyyah concerns fitness to exercise responsibility, while amanah requires integrity and careful stewardship of public authority. These concepts guard against treating candidate status or sex as an automatic guarantee of professional capacity and against using formal rules without regard to their underlying public purpose.

The interviews identify a risk that some candidates may be nominated primarily to complete administrative requirements and then receive little support. Although the scale of this practice is unverified, it illustrates how a quota may become merely formal rather than functioning as a genuine opportunity mechanism.

Classical discussions of disapproved legal stratagems (al-hiyal al-madhmumah) provide one analogy for criticising procedures that conform outwardly to a rule while evading its purpose. This is an analytical comparison, not a legal finding that the parties described in interviews have committed a specific religious or criminal offence.

An ethically responsible affirmative-action policy would combine lawful nomination with transparent selection, political training and equitable campaign opportunity. Genuine public service also depends on the competence and accountability of those eventually elected.

Maqasid al-Shari'ah and the Limits of Normative Inference

Maqasid al-shari'ah identifies the objectives of Islamic law, commonly including the protection of religion, life, intellect, family or lineage, and property. These objectives can orient an evaluation of the public consequences of political institutions without becoming a mechanical scorecard applied to every candidate list.

Increased participation may enable previously underrepresented experiences to inform debates on schools, public health, family welfare and social protection. Such potential benefits depend on the priorities pursued by legislators, the responsiveness of other political actors and the quality of the eventual policies.

The relationship between affirmative action and maqasid is therefore an interpretive proposition requiring substantive justification. No finding in this case establishes that the mere attainment of a quota automatically realises all five commonly cited objectives of Islamic law.

[24] Djazuli, Fiqh Siyasah, 80–83.
[25] Baharuddin, wawancara, 23 Juli 2026.

Taken together, justice, equality, consultation, welfare and trust can support the legitimacy of measures designed to correct barriers to women's political participation. At the same time, the Jeneponto material points to gaps between formal nomination compliance and effective opportunity. Improvements should focus on more transparent recruitment, sustained party development and assessment of women legislators' recorded contributions.

Conclusion

Affirmative action in Indonesia is best understood as a measure intended to address unequal access to political participation. Its legal expression includes women's nomination requirements and candidate-list placement rules, which must not be conflated with reserved or guaranteed numbers of elected seats. The distinction between formal inclusion and actual electoral opportunity is therefore essential to sound legal and policy evaluation.

The supplied Jeneponto research reports an increase in women's DPRD representation from eight of forty members (20 per cent) in 2019–2024 to eleven of forty (27.5 per cent) in 2024–2029. Interview accounts describe continuing challenges involving candidate recruitment, political kinship networks and uneven results across constituencies. These findings should be confined to the available study material until the figures and specific interview claims have been reconciled with original KPU and DPRD records.

From the perspective of siyasah shar'iyyah, the relevant evaluative principles are al-'adalah, al-musawah, al-shura, al-maslahah, competence and amanah. These principles support participation and fair opportunity while requiring public accountability. They do not establish that affirmative action necessarily causes improved policy outcomes or automatically fulfils the objectives of Islamic law.

The policy implications are sustained development of women candidates, more transparent party recruitment, consideration of unequal constituency-level opportunities and a stronger evidence base for assessing substantive representation. Future research should compare official party lists, disaggregated electoral results, the DPRD's deliberative and budget records, and participants' experiences. Such comparisons would allow a more rigorous assessment of whether increased descriptive representation translates into policy influence.

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