

# FROM QUOTAS TO SUBSTANCE: IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL REGULATION NO. 9 ON GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN DPRD BOJONEGORO

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## ABSTRACT

This study is motivated by persistent gender disparities showing that increased women's numerical representation in local legislatures has not ensured the substantive integration of gender perspectives. It examines the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming in the Bojonegoro District Parliament. The research addresses the gap between the formal adoption of gender mainstreaming policy and its limited operationalization within the legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions of the DPRD. This study is grounded in substantive representation theory and the gender mainstreaming framework to analyze institutional dynamics of gender-responsive policy implementation. The research employs a qualitative case study approach using in-depth interviews, observation, and document analysis, with data analyzed through the Miles-Huberman interactive model supported by NVivo coding to identify patterns of PUG implementation within the DPRD. The findings show that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 remains largely normative due to the absence of technocratic instruments translating the PUG mandate into concrete legislative procedures. Moreover, the uneven distribution of women in strategic positions limits the DPRD's institutional capacity to consistently integrate gender perspectives. Although female legislators demonstrate substantive contributions, these remain individual rather than institutionalized due to weak organizational support and limited inter-institutional coordination.

## INTRODUCTION

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, commonly known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), is an extension of the global MDGs framework that aims to improve international collaborations while addressing other issues like equality, urbanization, and environmental sustainability. The initial eight MDG targets are expanded into seventeen goals by the SDGs (Bates-Earner et al., 2012). The foundation for this

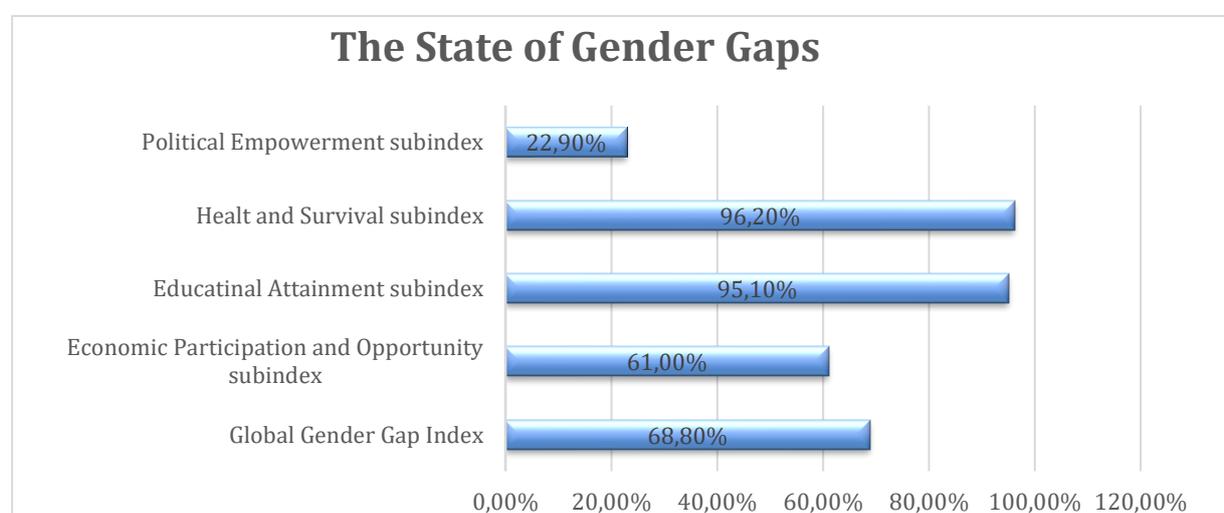


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sustainable development agenda was previously established by a number of international agreements, such as the MDGs, which made gender equality one of the main development goals, the Beijing Platform for Action, which set twelve priority areas for women's empowerment, and CEDAW, which safeguards women's rights and advances gender equality. Gender mainstreaming within the SDG framework is based on these three agreements (Dwi Purnowo, 2022).

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index is used to monitor gender equality globally in the context of accomplishing the SDGs. Only over 68.8% of the gender gap has been closed globally, according to the 2024 report. Health (96.2%) and education (95.1%) have the highest levels of equality, but there are still significant disparities in the economic sector (61%) and particularly in political involvement (22.9%). These findings show that structural obstacles still prevent women from obtaining strategic roles and equal economic prospects, even in the face of several international commitments (UN Women, 2023; World Economic Forum, 2025).



**Figure 1 The State of Gender Gap**  
Source : World Economic Forum, 2025

According to Yuslin (2021), the Indonesian government is among those dedicated to achieving gender-responsive and equitable development. The Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development (Inpres Nomor 9, 2000) is a manifestation of this dedication. The more possibilities given for women to participate in development, the greater the impact on the prosperity and advancement of Indonesian society, since women have the same capacity as men (Muzayyanah, 2020)

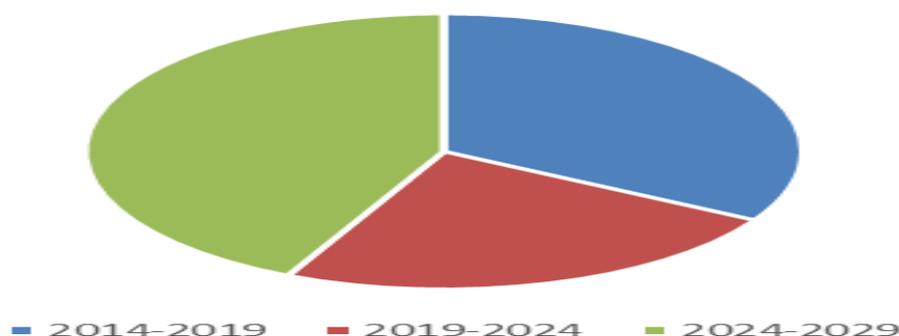


**Table 1. The Indonesian Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) and Its Elements, 2020-2024**

Year	Women's Parliamentary Participation (%)	Women in Professional Employment (%)	Women's Income Contribution (%)	Gender Empowerment Index (IDG) (%)
2020	21,09 %	48,76%	37,26%	75,57%
2021	21,89%	49,99%	37,22%	76,26%
2022	21,74 %	48,65%	37,17%	76,59%
2023	22,14 %	49,53 %	37,09 %	76,90 %
2024	22,46 %	50,13 %	37,31 %	77,62%

Source : Sistem Informasi Gender dan Anak (SIGA) (KemenPPPA, 2024)

Throughout its history, prejudice based on gender stereotypes has continued to exist, especially in the domains of politics and government. There is still an imbalance in the roles that men and women play in legislative bodies, as evidenced by the fact that women's presence in these bodies has not yet met the required quota (Fajrin Nasta & Aditya, 2022). When women participate equally with men in a variety of fields, including politics, gender empowerment can be attained. Although it is anticipated that political equality will lessen gender-biased policies, men still predominate in Indonesia's political sphere (Yuslin, 2021). The average female participation rate between 2010 and 2020 was only about 18.12 percent, which is still well below the 30 percent threshold for women's representation in parliament, as Table 1.1 illustrates.



**Figure 2 Women's Representation**

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2025

The low participation of women in legislative bodies at the regional level is another indication of obstacles to gender equality. The percentage of female members in district/city DPRD is still, on average, less than 25%, according to the 2024 East Java KPU data (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2025). In local contexts, especially in Bojonegoro Regency, this situation is similarly apparent. Women's representation in the Bojonegoro DPRD varied from 14% between 2014 and 2019 to 10% between 2019 and 2024 before increasing once more to 18% between 2024 and 2029. These numbers are still well below the 30% threshold, highlighting the necessity of affirmative action laws, increased training for female political leaders, and changes in political culture to guarantee long-term female representation in parliament (Lia Nurhasanah, 2023). In response to this circumstance, the Bojonegoro Regency Government implemented Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG), a strategic tool for incorporating gender perspectives into





procedures and systems to make them more gender-sensitive (EIGE, 2019; OECD, 2023). However, the dynamics of gender mainstreaming implementation at the regional level have not been covered by these research, which often concentrate on national parliaments. Furthermore, studies on women's participation in parliament typically focus on institutional changes and the general effects of gender quotas without evaluating how these changes relate to the district-level execution of gender legislation (Ahrens & Palmieri, 2024).

According to international publications on local governance, structural disparities continue to be a significant obstacle to women's involvement and significant influence in local institutions (CGE, 2024; UNDP, 2025). However, there is currently a dearth of empirical research, especially in the Indonesian setting, on how local legislative bodies carry out regional gender-mainstreaming strategies. In order to close this gap, this study examines how the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) is implementing Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming.

This study contributes theoretically by linking substantive representation theory and the gender mainstreaming framework to explain why increased women's numerical representation in local legislatures does not automatically result in gender-responsive policy outcomes. Unlike previous studies that focus on national parliaments or quota compliance, this research highlights the role of institutional mechanisms and technocratic instruments in shaping the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming at the local legislative level.

This study provides a new empirical contribution by examining how the numerical representation of women in DPRD is related to the implementation of PUG in the functions of legislation, penganggaran, and pengawasan. In addition, this study enhances theoretical discourse by connecting gender mainstreaming and substantive representation to explain the dynamics of gender policy in local legislative bodies. As a result, this study offers new insights that have not yet been included into literature, as well as important contextual perspectives that are pertinent to the advancement of gender equality.

The results of this mapping are consistent with the research by Noka Bilqista & Setijaningrum (2025) which indicates that there is still a disconnect between the substantive elements of participation and decision-making and quantitative metrics like representation quotas in Indonesian gender policy. Based on this, the current study examines how Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming is being implemented in the Bojonegoro DPRD in order to determine how well quota-based policies can support women's roles in local political and governance processes.

## METHOD

This study examines the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) using a qualitative case study approach, as this method enables an in-depth understanding of policy implementation processes and actor interactions. The researcher can investigate social phenomena in-depth and contextually by using a qualitative technique (Creswell, 2018). The claim that a case study design allows for the examination of policy phenomena in intricate real-life contexts is the basis for its use (Yin, 2017). As the PUG Regulation was enacted in Bojonegoro Regency in 2025 and remains at an early stage of implementation, local gender dynamics continue to be shaped by structural and cultural factors, making the regional context analytically relevant.

This study is located in Bojonegoro Regency, East Java, which continues to experience gender gaps in development indicators such as the GDI and GEI, as well as



women’s underrepresentation in the DPRD that has not yet reflected gender-justice principles. The research was conducted between October and November 2025, focusing on how the DPRD, Bappeda, and DP3AKB interpret and operationalize the PUG regulation during its early stage of implementation. A qualitative approach is appropriate to capture local socio-political contexts and actor dynamics that cannot be reduced to quantitative analysis (Ford & Goger, 2021).

Purposive sampling, which involves identifying participants based on particular criteria to guarantee that the data collected came from people with pertinent expertise, experience, or strategic positions related to the implementation of PUG, was used to pick informants (Memon et al., 2025). This method was chosen since not all actors are familiar with the specifics of the PUG Regulation, necessitating the researcher's selection of those who were directly involved in the policy's development, discussion, execution, or supervision. The criteria for informants include: 1) having an understanding of and involvement in the drafting or discussion of the PUG Regulation; playing a role in the implementation, coordination, or oversight of PUG policy; representing elements of the legislature, development planners, technical government agencies, and civil society.

Based on these criteria, the research informants consist of four groups representing the core actors involved in the implementation of PUG, as shown in the following table.

**Tabel 2. Profile of Informants**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Informants</b>
DPRD Kabupaten Bojonegoro	The Regional Regulation on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) is being implemented in terms of budgeting, oversight, and legislation.	Commission C (responsible for development and public welfare affairs)
Bappeda Bojonegoro	Responsible for development planning and the integration of gender into the RPJMD, RKPD, and Renja.	Head of the Planning Division and Sub-Coordinator for Gender Budgeting.
DP3AKB	Technical government agency serving as the regional coordinator for gender mainstreaming (PUG).	Head of the Women’s Protection Division (PPA); PUG Focal Point Staff
Women’s Organization	Advocacy group and monitoring body for gender-equality issues.	Representatives of Fatayat NU / Aisyiyah / the Bojonegoro Women’s Forum.

This study used primary and secondary data collected through in-depth interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis involving key actors in the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming, including the DPRD, Bappeda, DP3AKB, and women’s organizations, with secondary sources drawn from the regulation, regional planning documents, OPD reports, and BPS statistics (Neuman, 2020). Data analysis employed the interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and verification (Miles et al., 2018). The coding process was conducted using NVivo 14 to organize interview transcripts, group themes, and systematically map relational patterns



among actors. Data validity was ensured through source and method triangulation by comparing interviews, observations, and documents, in accordance with established principles of data validity (Sugiyono, 2019).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Implementation of the Gender Mainstreaming Policy in the Bojonegoro District Regional House of Representatives

This discussion looks at how the Bojonegoro District Parliament (DPRD) implements Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) and how women's substantive and descriptive representation influences the budgetary, oversight, and legislative processes. The Van Meter and Van Horn implementation model, which highlights the significance of policy standards, institutional capability, coordination, implementer disposition, and sociopolitical situations, is the basis for this analysis. Each of these indicators is used as an analytical lens to explain the gap between the formal adoption of PUG and its limited operationalization within the DPRD. Field research reveals that while Bojonegoro's PUG policy framework is sufficient, its implementation has not yet functioned at its best because of a lack of institutional backing, a lack of technical capacity, and the existence of both structural and cultural hurdles within local politics. Despite their modest numerical presence, female legislators demonstrate substantive contributions to gender-related issues; however, these contributions tend to remain individual rather than institutionalized. This discrepancy becomes the central analytical problem explored in this sub-bab through each indicator of the Van Meter and Van Horn model.

Regarding policy standards and objectives, Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 provides a clear direction for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Article 4 affirms the regional government's goal of "to make planning more gender-sensitive by taking into account the experiences, aspirations, needs, and problems of both men and women." This perspective demonstrates that the DPRD sees PUG less as an analytical tool that should direct policy discussions and more as a value-oriented ideal. Instead of interpreting PUG technocratically, local government actors typically do so normatively and socially (Hadi, 2024; Nurdin, 2022). The lack of GAP-GBS utilization during program and budget discussions in Bojonegoro is a clear indication that the progressive policy standards have not yet been completely embraced as legislative working rules.

However, interviews indicate that these policy standards have not been technically translated by the DPRD. According to Ahmad Supriyanto, PUG is regarded as "a payung hukum (legal umbrella) so that development is not only technical, but also addresses social issues." This perspective demonstrates that the DPRD sees PUG less as an analytical tool that should direct policy discussions and more as a value-oriented ideal. Instead of interpreting PUG technocratically, local government actors typically do so normatively and socially (Hadi, 2024; Nurdin, 2022). The lack of GAP-GBS utilization during program and budget discussions in Bojonegoro is a clear indication that the progressive policy standards have not yet been completely embraced as legislative working rules.





**Figure 4. Word Cloud**  
Source: Nvivo 12, 2025

This can be seen in Figure 3, which shows that the DPRD's orientation toward PUG remains centered on an administrative logic, preventing gender equality goals from fully emerging as a substantive policy framework. Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 itself has clearly set the direction through Article 4, which mandates gender-responsive planning by integrating the experiences, aspirations, and needs of both women and men. This direction aligns with Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000, which requires all regions to incorporate gender perspectives throughout the development process. In practice, however, these policy standards have not been operationalized by the DPRD, as reflected in the absence of technical instruments such as GAP-GBS in program and budget discussions. This situation illustrates a disconnect between progressive normative provisions and the internalization of policy objectives at the legislative level, leading PUG to be understood more as a general principle than as an analytical mechanism guiding decision-making. Weaknesses in these policy standards are also tied to the lack of adequate institutional support.

Policy implementation depends heavily on technical capacity and institutional support. In the 2025–2029 RPJMD, the Bojonegoro Regency Government includes “Gender mainstreaming, fulfillment of children’s rights, and improvement of family quality” as a priority program. However, this priority has not been translated into technical instruments within the DPRD, such as gender-responsive legislative SOPs, gender-based budget review guidelines, or a legislative PUG forum.

The absence of institutional instruments is clearly reflected in the interviews. Ahmad Supriyanto acknowledged that “the understanding varies” and that female members tend to be more attuned to gender issues because they frequently handle community complaints. Bappeda added that DPRD monitoring “lit focuses more on budget absorption and has not yet reached the stage of assessing whether programs have different impacts on men and women” Legislative performance on gender issues therefore relies heavily on individuals rather than institutional structures (Prihatini, 2022; Rajab, 2018). As a result, the technical capacity of the Bojonegoro DPRD does not yet support the mandate of the PUG Regulation, causing the effectiveness of PUG to depend largely on specific actors, particularly women.









**Figure 7. Word Cloud**

Source: Nvivo 12, 2025

The word cloud in Figure 7 shows that implementers' dispositions in carrying out PUG are largely determined by the level of individual commitment among DPRD members. The dominance of terms related to commitment underscores that responsiveness to women's and children's issues does not emerge from an established institutional mechanism but rather from the personal willingness of legislators to engage actively. This finding aligns with interview results that reveal a stark contrast between female and male members: female legislators respond more quickly to community reports, proactively contact technical OPDs, and consistently take ownership of gender issues, whereas most male members maintain only a normative stance without deeper involvement.

This pattern indicates that PUG implementation in Bojonegoro still operates within a framework heavily influenced by individual preferences and commitments, making policy success dependent on who the actors are rather than on institutional structures that should ensure consistent execution of the PUG mandate. This high dependence on individual commitment cannot be separated from the broader social and cultural context shaping how political actors interpret gender issues, making Bojonegoro's structural and cultural conditions the next critical factor for understanding the overall implementation process of PUG.

Social and cultural factors in Bojonegoro continue to hinder women's participation in politics. Ahmad Supriyanto described that women face both "structural and cultural," including political party support that is "sometimes merely a formality" as well as persistent perceptions that women are less assertive and therefore unfit for leadership. The structural obstacles stem from limited political party support, while the cultural barriers arise from patriarchal social norms.

DP3AKB added that men still do not view gender issues as a development priority. This condition obstructs the implementation of the PUG Regulation because political perceptions and practices are not aligned with the equality principles outlined in Article 2. The quota for women's representation is often fulfilled only administratively, without adequate political support; meeting the quota does not automatically translate into substantive commitment from political actors (Sucitra et al., 2024).





**Tabel 3. Members of the Bojonegoro District DPRD by Sex Distribution**

Jenis Kelamin	Jumlah Anggota	Persentase (%)
Laki-laki	44	88%
Perempuan	6	12%
Total	50	100%

Source. Secretariat of the Bojonegoro District DPRD

This can be seen in Table 4, which shows that the composition of the Bojonegoro DPRD remains dominated by men with 44 members (88%), while women make up only 6 members (12%) out of a total of 50. Descriptively, these figures illustrate that the DPRD has not reached the ideal standard of gender representation, particularly when measured against the 30% quota promoted in national affirmative action policies. With such an imbalanced proportion, women occupy a structural minority position, making it numerically difficult to build sufficient political influence.

From the perspective of descriptive representation, this imbalance indicates that the legislative body does not reflect the social diversity of the community it represents. Women's representation far below the quota often results in limited opportunities for them to influence the legislative process in a meaningful way (Rahmadani & Najib, 2025). Krook explains that when women do not reach a critical mass, their capacity to intervene in political agendas becomes highly constrained because male actors continue to dominate policy deliberation (M. L. Krook, 2020).

The condition of the Bojonegoro DPRD reflects the same pattern: structural inequality in representation creates barriers from the earliest stage of the political representation cycle. With only six women, the space for advancing gender issues risks being overshadowed by majority dynamics. In the context of PUG implementation, this becomes an initial challenge because an unequal representational foundation can weaken the likelihood that gender perspectives will be integrated into legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. Low descriptive representation often leads to weak substantive representation for women, unless supported by strong institutional mechanisms (Celis & Childs, 2011).



**Tabel 4. Distribution of Women in the Leadership Structure of the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives**

Position Type	Position Title	Total	Women	Names of Women
Leadership of the Regional House of Representatives	Chairperson, Vice Chair I, Vice Chair II, Vice Chair III	4	1	Hj. Mitroatin, S.Pd., M.M
Commission Chairs	Commission A, B, C, D	4	1	Sally Atyasasmi, S.Km, M.Km.
Deputy Commission Chairs	Deputy Chair of Commission A, B, C, D	4	0	
Faction Chairs	Factions 1-4	4	1	Sally Atyasasmi, S.Km, M.Km.
Members of All Commissions	-	36	5	All Female Members

Source: Secretariat of the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives

Women's representation within the leadership structure of the Bojonegoro DPRD shows that their involvement in strategic positions remains limited. The table indicates that out of four leadership seats, only one is held by a woman, Hj. Mitroatin. While the presence of a woman in a top leadership role carries symbolic significance, structurally she remains in a minority position. The literature notes that women in senior posts often face a dual burden: fulfilling formal responsibilities while also carrying expectations to articulate women's interests (M. Krook & Mackay, 2011). This dynamic appears relevant in this context, as women's representation in top leadership is not supported by adequate proportions in other strategic positions.

At the commission-chair level, only one woman occupies a leadership role out of four positions, namely Sally Atyasasmi. This indicates that women are not evenly distributed across commission structures, which serve as key arenas where policy issues are deliberated. Commission rooms are critical sites where sectoral concerns are translated into political agendas (Balirante, 2021; Sujarwati et al., 2025). The limited presence of women in commission leadership positions may restrict the incorporation of gender perspectives into commission deliberations.

Meanwhile, no women occupy the position of deputy commission chair, revealing another layer of representational inequality at the mid-level leadership tier. The absence of women in these roles reinforces the finding that women's access to strategic positions remains constrained by masculine political structures and cultures. The higher the strategic position, the stronger the internal selection mechanisms that tend to favor men (Sucitra et al., 2024).

At the faction-chair level, again only one woman holds a leadership role out of four positions. This recurring pattern demonstrates that women continue to be exceptions within the legislative leadership structure. Although Sally Atyasasmi holds two strategic positions (commission chair and faction chair), this concentration of roles in a single individual indicates that women's representation is not systemic but instead dependent on a politically stronger figure.





“social,” and “violence” underscores that their substantive contributions arise when legislative agendas intersect with the needs of vulnerable groups, rather than through formal mechanisms that institutionalize gender perspectives. This pattern indicates that women’s substantive roles are shaped more by personal initiative and field experience than by systemic support within the legislative institution, resulting in uneven substantive engagement across DPRD members.

Ahmad Supriyanto’s statement clearly reveals that the substantive obstacles faced by women in the Bojonegoro DPRD are not only structural but also culturally layered. He explicitly stated that:

“Oh, very much. Many people still think that women are less assertive and less suitable to lead. This makes many women lack confidence to enter politics. That is the patriarchal culture. Then there is the structure of political parties, which is still dominated by men. There are also capacity issues—not all women have political experience. Society sometimes does not trust women or sees them as unfit to lead. These are real obstacles.”  
(Ahmad Supriyanto, 2025)

This quotation illustrates that substantive representation cannot be separated from a social context that consistently undermines women’s capabilities. Patriarchal culture positions women as unfit for leadership, while male dominance within party structures means that recruitment and cadre-building processes do not provide equal opportunities for women to develop. Moreover, Ahmad pointed out that women’s political capacity is often questioned not due to their lack of ability, but because they are not given equal opportunities to gain political experience. Public perceptions that cast doubt on women’s legitimacy further narrow their space to exert influence in policymaking. Under such conditions, strengthening inter-agency coordination becomes crucial because the DPRD cannot overcome these substantive barriers without structured support in the form of data, networks, and collaborative mechanisms.

### **Integrative Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) Implementation in the Bojonegoro Regional House of Representatives (DPRD)**

This integrative analysis shows that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro DPRD operates in a pattern that is not fully aligned between policy design and institutional practice. The regulation sets progressive goals for integrating gender perspectives, yet these goals have not developed into technocratic mechanisms that can guide legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. The disconnect between normative aspirations and operational execution forms a central characteristic of PUG implementation in this regional legislative institution.

Viewed comprehensively, the implementation variables in Van Meter and Van Horn’s model, namely policy standards, resources, inter-agency coordination, and implementer disposition, display weaknesses that are interconnected. Policy standards are provided through the regulation, but the absence of practical instruments such as GAP-GBS prevents these standards from being translated into operational procedures. Technical capacity and institutional support are also insufficient. There are no gender-based budget review SOPs, no guidelines for gender-responsive legislative work, and no PUG forum within the DPRD. Coordination takes place in administrative settings rather than through analytical mechanisms, resulting in gender issues not being treated as structural agendas.



At the same time, implementer disposition carries significant weight because gender sensitivity is concentrated among female legislators, while the institution as a whole does not share the same technocratic commitment.

Walby's framework on substantive representation reinforces these findings. The presence of women produces substantive contributions, but these contributions rely on personal initiative rather than institutional structures. When gender-oriented arguments emerge only when female legislators raise them, the resulting gender substance within policy discussions becomes sporadic and lacks continuity. Substantive representation does not emerge from institutionalized PUG mechanisms but from individual experience and sensitivity. This pattern indicates that descriptive representation has not produced substantive transformation in the absence of institutional support.

From a broader policy ecosystem perspective, PUG implementation in Bojonegoro still lacks an integrated coordination structure. Interaction between the DPRD, Bappeda, DP3AKB, and other agencies occurs through routine administrative forums rather than a formal PUG mechanism. The absence of gender-disaggregated data channels, joint monitoring platforms, and systematic involvement of women's organizations prevents policy substance from being grounded in comprehensive information. As a result, gender issues move according to specific actors and individual moments instead of flowing as institutional agendas.

Overall, the character of PUG implementation in the Bojonegoro DPRD can be described as normative, actor centric, and not yet institutionalized. It is normative because formal regulations and commitments exist without accompanying technocratic instruments. It is actor centric because progress depends heavily on the sensitivity and initiative of female legislators. It is not institutionalized because gender issues still lack SOPs, forums, and guidelines that would embed them structurally into legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions. Without institutional reforms that translate the Regulation's mandate into technical procedures, PUG implementation will continue to depend on individual actors and remain inconsistent.

This analysis highlights the need to strengthen technocratic capacity, institutionalize analytical tools such as GAP-GBS, and establish a cross agency PUG coordination forum. These steps are essential to ensure that gender issues emerge not as personal responses but as operational frameworks within the DPRD's decision-making processes.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the implementation of Regional Regulation No. 9 of 2025 on Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) in the Bojonegoro District Parliament has not yet functioned substantively. Although the regulation formally mandates the integration of gender perspectives into legislative, budgeting, and oversight functions, its implementation remains largely normative. The DPRD has not translated the regulation into concrete legislative procedures or institutional working mechanisms, causing PUG to operate more as a symbolic commitment than as an operational policy framework.

In relation to the research questions, the findings show that the limited implementation of PUG is shaped by weak institutional support, the absence of specific internal mechanisms within the DPRD, and fragmented coordination with executive agencies. Gender issues are raised primarily through individual initiatives, especially by female legislators, rather than through institutionalized processes. As a result, women's



substantive representation exists but remains inconsistent and dependent on personal commitment, while the institution as a whole does not systematically integrate gender perspectives into its core functions.

Based on these findings, the study recommends strengthening institutional mechanisms within the DPRD to ensure that PUG is embedded in legislative, budgeting, and oversight practices. This includes developing internal guidelines for gender-responsive legislative work, improving structured coordination between the DPRD and relevant government agencies, and expanding understanding of gender mainstreaming among all legislators, not only women. Without such institutional reinforcement, PUG implementation will continue to rely on individual actors and remain vulnerable to political turnover.

This study is limited by its focus on a single regional legislature and the early stage of PUG implementation following the enactment of the regulation. As a qualitative case study, the research prioritizes institutional dynamics and actor perspectives rather than measurable policy outcomes. Consequently, the findings cannot be generalized statistically, and future studies are needed to examine PUG implementation across multiple regions and over a longer period to assess its sustainability and impact.

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