

## **POLITICAL STRATEGY OF WOMEN'S LEGISLATIVE MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA FROM NATIONAL MANDATE PARTY (PAN) AND NATIONAL AWAKENING PARTY (PKB) IN THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

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**ABSTRACT.** Women have an important role in politics, where their representation becomes a role model for other women. PAN and PKB are the two parties that won quite a large number of votes in the 2019 elections. However, the percentage of elected women legislators from these two parties does not represent the fulfillment of the 30% quota. This paper analyzes the strategy for selecting women members of PAN and PKB in the 2019 elections, using qualitative research methods. Through interviews and literature searches in the form of books and journals as well as other supporting references, this research yielded several important results. The results of this study indicate that there is a use of resources and funding by women legislators as part of the campaign. As for the differences in the strategy for electing women legislators between the two parties, that PAN women are more on the use of personal social networks and not through 'Aisyiyah and PUAN. This is different from the PKB, in which elected women legislators use social and political capital from their involvement in Fatayat NU and women of the nation. The supporting factors for the election of both were due to the socio-political capital possessed and the figure of a female legislature member. While the inhibiting factors come from the patriarchal perspective of society as well as competition with male and female legislative candidates, both from the same party and not.

**Key words:** Political Strategy; PAN and PKB; Political Social Capital; Political Representation of Women

**ABSTRAK.** Perempuan memiliki peran penting dalam perpolitikan, dimana representasi mereka menjadi *role model* bagi perempuan lain. PAN dan PKB adalah dua partai yang memperoleh suara cukup besar dalam pemilu 2019. Meski demikian, persentase anggota legislatif perempuan terpilih dari kedua partai ini belum merepresentasikan pemenuhan kuota 30%. Tulisan ini menganalisa strategi keterpilihan anggota perempuan PAN dan PKB dalam pemilu 2019, dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif. Melalui wawancara dan penelusuran literatur berupa buku dan jurnal serta referensi pendukung lain, penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa hal penting. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat penggunaan sumber daya dan pendanaan yang dilakukan oleh anggota legislatif perempuan sebagai bagian dari kampanye. Adapun perbedaan strategi keterpilihan anggota legislatif perempuan diantara kedua partai, bahwa perempuan PAN lebih pada penggunaan jaringan sosial pribadi dan tidak melalui 'Aisyiyah dan PUAN. Hal ini berbeda dengan PKB, bahwa anggota legislatif perempuan yang terpilih menggunakan modal sosial politik dari keterlibatan mereka dalam Fatayat NU dan perempuan bangsa. Faktor pendukung keterpilihan keduanya adalah karena modal sosial politik yang dimiliki serta sosok anggota legislatif perempuan. Sedangkan faktor penghambat datang dari perspektif patriarkhal masyarakat serta kompetisi dengan calon anggota legislatif laki-laki dan perempuan, baik dari partai yang sama dan tidak.

**Kata Kunci:** Strategi Politik; PAN dan PKB; Modal Sosial Politik; Representasi Politik Perempuan

### **INTRODUCTION**

Democracy provides a great opportunity for women to contribute practically in the world of politics. This is not only to accommodate women's political interests in policy making, but also the need for political parties to be able to fulfill the 30% quota known as the affirmative action policy for women in candidacy for general elections. This policy is stated in Law no. 10 of 2008 concerning General Elections for Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD, Article 8 Point 1 letter d (UU No.10 Tahun 2008 Tentang Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, 2008).

In fact, masculinity in the face of politics in Indonesia is still very visible. The practical political area is still dominated by men. This can be seen in the 2014-2019 DPR RI period, that out of a total of 560

seats in the DPR, women only got 17.32% (97 seats). In the 2019-2024 period, membership for women is only 21% (118 seats) of the 572 seats contested. Although there was an increase of 21 people, this figure did not meet expectations. Another fact is that of the 16 political parties participating in the 2019 national election, 14 political parties were led by men and only 2 political parties (PDIP and PSI) were led by women. Based on the total of 16 political parties, PSI is the only party that has a female representation rate in its central management which exceeds 50% (KPU, 2018).

To comply with rules and regulations, each political party participating in the election tries to meet the quota of 30% female legislative candidates. However, this condition is not directly proportional to the number of female candidates elected in elections who then become members of the legislature. It has been recorded that up to five general elections, the

electability rate for female candidates is still below 30%. As illustrated in the following table:

**Tabel 1. Presentation of Women’s Representation in DPR RI**

No	Period	Percentage	Chairs Amount
1	1999 - 2004	8,80%	44
2	2004 - 2009	11,82 %	65
3	2009 - 2014	17,86 %	101
4	2014 - 2019	17,32 %	97
5	2019 - 2024	20,5%	118

Source: [www.bps.go.id](http://www.bps.go.id) <https://www.kpu.go.id/> <https://www.alinea.id>

Based on the data above, fluctuations can be seen in the number of elected candidates for the DPR RI, the highest figure was in the 2019 election with a gain of 20.5% with a total of 118 seats obtained out of 560 elected members. Even though it has increased, it still has not shown significant progress, especially since the average political party fulfills more than 30% of the number of legislative candidates from their party.

In the 2019 elections, the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the National Mandate Party (PAN) were political parties that received quite a large number of votes. PKB is in fourth place with 13,570,097 votes (9.69%) with 11 female members from the 58 legislative seats obtained (20.6%). Meanwhile, PAN is in eighth place with 9,572,623 votes (6.80%) with 6 elected female members from 43 seats in the legislature. The gain is still very small when compared by the number of women nominated to take part in the contest, PKB proposed 220 women to become legislative candidates from 575 people nominated, and PAN proposed 219 women from 575 who became legislative candidates (Puskapol, 2013).

PAN and PKB are two political parties that always rank in the top 10 in five elections during the reform period. Morally-historically, there is a closeness between PAN and Muhammadiyah. This can be seen since the establishment of PAN on August 23, 1998 by Amien Rais and 49 other national figures who are members of the Majelis Mandate of the People (MARA) (DPP PAN, 2021).

Institutionally, PAN does not limit support only from Muhammadiyah circles. One of the reasons behind the establishment of PAN is the mandate from the Muhammadiyah Tanwir Assembly to carry out political *ijtihad* to achieve the benefit of the nation and the nation. This is interpreted by PAN elites as a form of Muhammadiyah’s visibility with PAN. The reflection of this form is to encourage Amien Rais as a representative of Muhammadiyah in the political process (Sholikin, 2020).

PKB and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) are two inseparable components. Formally, NU’s involvement in politics began when NU became one of the organizational elements in the Islamic political party,

Masyumi. This involvement did not last long, and after NU decided to leave Masyumi, it turned into its own political party (NU Party). The presence of PKB during the reformation period was inseparable from the formation of Team Five from the results of the PBNU Syuriah and Tanfidziyah meetings. The team of five was assigned to fulfill the aspirations of NU members, and in the end the PKB was declared in July 1998 at Gus Dur’s house. On various occasions, Gus Dur’s statement that PKB was the only party founded by PBNU, showed the relationship between the two as one unit (Arifin, 2008).

As a party that has never been separated from the top 10 rankings, ideally both PAN and PKB should have the ability to facilitate female candidates who are promoted to be able to win electoral competitions. In the 2019 elections, 11 female members of the PKB sat in the legislative seats out of the 58 seats obtained (20.6%). Meanwhile for PAN, there were 6 female members who sat in the legislative seats out of the 43 seats obtained (11.90%). Even though the vote acquisition was still small when compared to the number of women proposed (220 candidates from PKB and 219 female candidates from PAN), women’s success in entering the legislature needs to be appreciated (Puskapol, 2013).

The interesting thing about the two political parties above is that both of them already have affirmative policies in the party’s bylaws. This condition is different when compared to other large political parties such as PDIP, Golkar, Democrats and PKS (Puskapol, 2013).

Affirmative policies are not a guarantee of an increase in the number of women’s representation in politics. Political commitment from party leaders, election management institutions and even male and female candidate members determines the implementation of this policy. However, when a political party has an affirmative policy, the realization of internal party democratization can be realized. Members of political parties, especially women, can place their trust in political parties because they open the door to democratization in candidacy.

The closeness of PKB to NU and PAN to Muhammadiyah makes the cadres in political parties also have interactions, including female cadres who are part of women’s organizations, such as Fatayat and Muslimat within NU and Aisyiyah within Muhammadiyah related to one another, including the women’s party cadres who are also connected to women’s organizations that are part of mass organizations (Fatayat and Muslimat within NU and Aisyiyah within Muhammadiyah).

This can be seen from one of Abror’s research results on the Political Representation of

Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Figures in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Bandar Lampung City. The results of his research show that the role of political representation of the two figures, Muhammadiyah and NU in the 2019 elections in Bandar Lampung City can be seen from the aspect of political representation; symbolic representation with cultural representation, Muhammadiyah figures with PAN and NU figures with PKB. In addition, there is a descriptive representation as evidenced by the level of similarity, which includes the similarity of community and gender. Muhammadiyah was represented by Aisyiyah and NU was represented by Fatayat and Muslimat NU (Abror, 2020). This interaction can be a strategy for the process of electing female candidates to become female candidates for PAN and PKB.

The theoretical basis built in this study is based on Stephen Stockwell's theory (2005) which is used to look at the political strategy carried out by women legislators of the Republic of Indonesia and deepened through Robert Putnam's theory of social capital (1993) which defines social capital as "part of social organization", such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action.

Quoting Putnam, Haridison explained that "social capital is a collection of horizontal associations among people who have an influence on the productivity of the local community. The associations in question include networks of civic engagement and social norms. The assumptions underlying Putnam's concept are: (1) networks and norms that are empirically interrelated; and (2) these networks and norms have important economic consequences. Therefore, the key feature of social capital as defined by Putnam is that social capital facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (reciprocal) of the members of an association (Putnam, 1993).

The use of the concept of social capital is sharpened by the explanation of Kimberly L. Casey (2008) who talks about political capital. Casey explains that political capital is an important concept for understanding political exchanges and relationships in the political arena. Casey further explained that political capital can be analyzed through seven types of capital, namely: (1) institutional capital; as a pattern of relationships between members of an organization that bind each other, equipped with social behavior to work together and achieve the same goals. (2), social capital; interpreted as the relationship between networks used by someone to take a position in a social group. (3) human capital: a resource that is in the possession of political actors. (4) economic capital: the financial capacity of political actors. (5)

Symbolic capital: as a symbol of identity owned by political actors to identify themselves in front of the public. (6) cultural capital; part of symbolic capital which is an important factor that can affect the level of one's knowledge, ideas and ideas. (7) moral capital; in the form of attractiveness possessed by political actors that must be shown in public (Casey, 2008). The arena of circulation of political capital by Casey is formulated into several forms of political activity, one of which is elections. He considers elections as the basic instrument for electing leaders in a democratic system.

The use of the concepts of social capital and political capital is used to analyze how the components of capital are used in campaigns, not only looking at the ownership of financial capital but also on the role and utilization of both organizational and individual networks owned by elected female alegs from PKB and PAN in the 2016 General Election of 2019.

There have been several previous studies regarding women's electoral strategies in politics. Muzadi&Fitriyah explained in their research that the re-election of a female candidate is based on the constituency-representative relationship which is maintained through the function of political representation. That function is the advantage of candidates for re-election, and the success team has an important role in maintaining representative-constituent relations (Muzadi & Fitriyah, 2020).

Ramadhona and Parapat explained that there were four strategies carried out by the elected female alegs, namely; promotion by utilizing mass media and print media, showing products (value systems) by interacting directly with the community, understanding the place by participating directly in community activities, giving prizes by relying on the role of the success team in the campaign. The second study also explained that the weakness of implementing the strategies carried out was that political parties did not have a specific way to increase women's representation (Ramadhona & Parapat, 2020).

Dewi et al explained that individual capital (financial, social skills, family background) and social capital are a strong basis for female politicians to become candidates. In addition, their research explains that a female politician with great individual and social capital, but does not have the ability to enter and "strategize" into the network of actors, will not be able to penetrate the candidacy (Dewi et al., 2018).

What makes this article different from previous research is that the author raises the election strategy carried out by elected female legislators from PAN and PKB in the 2019 election. This paper examines

more deeply the social capital and political capital used by female legislators in the campaign them, whether seen in mass organizations or political party wings as an election strategy. In addition, trying to raise the inhibiting and supporting factors in their election

This research is interesting because it analyzes more deeply and compares the two political parties with two questions: 1) What is the election strategy used by female candidates, from PAN and PKB in facing competition in the 2019 election? 2) What are the supporting and inhibiting factors for the election of female candidates from PAN and from PKB in the 2019 election?

## METHOD

This research is a qualitative research, in which Creswell explained that the tendency of a qualitative approach is constructivist/transformational knowledge claims and can use methods in the form of open questions, emerging approaches or textual data and image data (Creswell, 2016). The research method used in this study is the comparative method. Qualitative comparative research can be distinguished from quantitative comparative research by its 'holism' (Ragun 1987), where holism is interpreted as something that cannot be understood without referring to the whole. This study uses primary and secondary data types. Primary data collection was carried out by interviewing informants who were women legislators from PAN and PKB. Taking into account the conditions of the Covid 19 pandemic, the interview was conducted via online zoom according to the request and willingness of the interviewees

The determination of informants/resources uses purposive sampling, where the technique is a sampling technique for data sources with certain considerations (Sugiyono, 2015). In this case, they are people who know firsthand what happened because they are elected women legislators who represent each political party. Sources from PAN are Intan Fauzi and Farah Putri Nabila, while sources from PKB are Siti Mukaromah, Arzetti Bilbina and Nihayatul Wafiroh. While collecting secondary data is by accessing a number of literature studies, including references to books, journals, reports, party AD/ART, internet websites and other supporting references related to research.

Validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether the findings obtained are accurate from the point of view of researchers, participants or readers (Creswell, 2016). This study uses one of the validity strategies outlined in Creswell's book, which is to create a rich

and concise description of the research results. We try to describe the political strategy of female alegs from PAN and PKB in their victory in the 2019 elections, discuss direct experiences by interviewing representatives from both political parties and those with organizational experience, as well as those moving from professionals.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PAN and PKB in Indonesia's Political Life

PAN has the principle of "religious-based political morality that brings mercy to all of nature". The politics of gender equality is a matter of sufficient attention in the AD/ART of PAN. This is stated in article 67 point 3 that "in terms of filling the positions of daily administrators must pay attention to 30% female cadres at the central and regional levels, while at the regional level and the structure of the party leadership council below them is adjusted to local conditions" (DPP Partai Amanat Nasional, 2015).

PAN has a close relationship with Muhammadiyah, and this cannot be separated from the figure of Amien Rais when he served as chairman of Muhammadiyah and as the initiator in the establishment of PAN. Within Muhammadiyah there is a women's organization called 'Aisiyiyah which is an autonomous Muhammadiyah organization founded in 1917 (Aisiyiyah, n.d.). Politically, there is no direct link between 'Aisiyiyah as a women's organization and PAN as a political party participating in the election. However, seeing the background of PAN with Muhammadiyah and 'Aisiyiyah as an autonomous organization of Muhammadiyah, it cannot be ignored.

In the election campaign process, female legislative candidates from PAN involve 'Aisiyiyah and make 'Aisiyiyah members one of the campaign objects that are expected to contribute votes. Meanwhile, the National Mandate Women (PUAN) is a wing of PAN. However, the relationship between the two is an informal relationship, as explained in the results of Hurriyah and Wildianti's research (Hurriyah & Wildianti, 2019). Based on their research findings, the party's women's wing organizations actually functioned more as vote getters, bringing the party closer to voters, especially women's groups as one of the strategic bases (Hurriyah & Wildianti, 2019).

As a party that was born from Nahdlatul Ulama, PKB has close ties with Islamic women's organizations which are autonomous bodies of NU and has a program to increase PKB's women's political participation which was realized with the

establishment of the National Woman as a wing of the political party. In the beginning, the establishment of PKB could not be separated from the many suggestions and suggestions from the Nahdliyyin to the NU General Board (PBNU) to form a political party. After the formation of political parties, a declaration was held in Jakarta in July 1998, where the declaration advocated for the establishment of a political party that was fighting, national, open and democratic in nature which was named the National Awakening Party (PKB) (PKB, 2018).

Since returning to khittah in 1926 and leaving the political scene in 1984, NU has practically not been politically active on the political stage. However, during the reign of Gus Dur, NU became its own unique and effective political force. However, NU and PKB are not without internal conflicts. There were communication barriers between the two, and the relationship also had its ups and downs (Sari, 2010). Within NU there are autonomous bodies, women's social organizations (ormas) which also contribute to the existence of PKB, especially PKB women, namely Fatayat and Muslimat NU.

Fatayat was founded in Surabaya on April 24, 1950 and ratified as an autonomous body organization in 1952 at the NU Congress in Palembang (Fatayat, 2020).

Apart from Fatayat, there is also a Muslimat NU, where NU was originally founded, only for men. However, along with the movement, women are also involved in the struggle for problems experienced by women. At the 16th NU Congress in Purwokerto in 1946, the new Muslimat became an official part of NU under the name Nahdlatul Ulama Muslimat (NUM) which then had its own management structure. The birthday of Muslimat NU is on March 26, 1946 and in the 1950 congress it was stated that the specific task of Muslimat was "to intensify the eradication of illiteracy among Indonesian women" (NUonline, 2015).

In addition to the two NU women's organizations, PKB also has a women's wing of a political party called the National Woman. This wing of the party has a program to strengthen the roles and functions of women's regeneration effectively and efficiently (Sumarwoto, 2021). Women of the Nation forms a management with regional coordinators who will try to find and develop potential cadres, as well as increase the capacity of women cadres in the regions

### **Political Strategy of PAN and PKB's Women Legislative Members**

Several things can be seen in the context of the political strategy of female legislators from PAN and PKB with the theory of social capital and political capital;

#### **a. Effective Network of Women's Organizations in Winning**

The word strategy refers to three elements as explained by Uchjana, namely objectives, suggestions and methods. Strategy is planning and management to achieve a goal. It not only functions as a map, but also as an operational tactic. Civic engagement described by Putnam (1993) as associations or networks among people is an important thing to rely on in political contestation, the size of the network built makes a major contribution to female candidates in winning efforts. This is confirmed by the 7 political capitals as stated by Casey (2008) that institutional capital (institutions), social capital (networks), human capital (personal capabilities), economic capital (financial capabilities), symbolic capital (personal identification), capital the cultural and moral capital possessed by contestants in the election are things that are interrelated with one another. This was emphasized by Siti Mukaromah or Erma as she is usually called, a female member of the DPR RI for the PKB faction, who explained that indeed financial capital is important, but she sees that networks are no less important and have an extraordinary role in the campaign.

"That means, if we are in a condition of financial constraints, when we want to maximize the network, I'm sure there will be sides that we can cover with the presence of the network. The most important thing is to communicate ourselves with the network" (S. M. Wawancara, 2021).

Erma explained that her network of women's organizations started when she was involved in the NU Girls Association (IPPNU) when she was in junior high school, up to the IPPNU Central Leadership level. After that Erma was actively involved in Fatayat NU as chair of the legal advocacy and political network. Apart from being at Fatayat NU, she is also active in the leadership of the Muslimat NU Branch as an expert council. The network that he entered made a major contribution and connectedness of communication with friends from the same organization became part of the political message.

Erma's explanation shows that social capital in the form of acquaintances and networks greatly contributed to winning the 2019 election. Resources in the form of people in networks are important, and it is part of what Stockwell explained, that resource management plays a role in campaigns. Erma has the concept that hospitality is part of what she does when campaigning for the second time as a female candidate for legislative member (S. M. Wawancara, 2021).

In the interview she stated that the composition of her campaign team is 50:50. The teams she has in 51 sub-districts show that in each sub-district there are 51 people and those who are running and committed are teams from Fatayat and Muslimat NU. There are 51 Fatayats and 51 Muslimats, but usually the team that has more members is from general elements, because it is filled by gentlemen whose number is more than 51 people. This is done to capture people who are outside the elements of Fatayat and Muslimat.

As quoted by Agusyanto, Georg Simmel is a figure who pioneered research on dyadic and triadic relationships (relationship pairs consisting of three people) as a large and complex building of social life, which is referred to as a configuration of social relations that binds social organizations in society. The organization is a network of relationships that are built through human interaction and social relations with one another (Agusyanto, 2011). This can be seen from the women's organization in which there are members who interact with each other and have the same goal of trying to win Erma as a member of the legislature.

Not only Erma, Arzetti as a member of the PKB women's legislature also explained that initially she was not a member of the NU women's organization. However, as she was elected in the early period, she joined Fatayat NU. The use of 7 categories of political capital from Casey (2008) owned by Arzetti has a very important role in her election process in the legislative election. The support of political parties, their involvement in mass organizations, their financial capabilities coupled with their identity as a public figure are inseparable components.

As a cadre who comes from a professional background, Arzetti explained that she took part in the legislative election contest because she was asked by the general chairman of the party to take part in the election contest. Regarding the serial number, she also submitted it to political parties. The formation of the Arzetti campaign team also did not consist of involving mass organizations because it was more professional. However, she explained that the support of NU women's mass organizations in the second candidacy period was really important and played a role. Jhon Field quotes Putnam (1993) defines that social capital as "part of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, which can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action (A. B. Wawancara, 2021).

Apart from Arzetti, one of the elected legislative members from PKB is Nihayatul Wafiroh who is familiarly called Ninik. She explained that her candidacy in the legislative election contestation was because it was requested directly by the chairman of a political party.

"My team is also a lot of community volunteers, yes, and without me asking they have the initiative in campaigning for me. There are also many volunteers who are active in PKB, and therefore the composition cannot be sorted. Many are active in mass organizations, also active in political parties" (N. W. Wawancara, 2021).

Ninik explained that the contribution of Fatayat members and NU Muslimat women was very large in their campaigns, they were militant people and were almost always there in every campaign. Her position as an administrator for PP Fatayat NU in the field of advocacy provides enormous convenience for her in every campaign process. Her personal influence on the Majelis Taklim Network managed by Fatayat and the solidity of the organization under the NU banner are two things that complement each other.

Hurriyah and Wildianti in their writing see that there is an informal pattern of organizational connectivity between women's wing organizations and political parties in Indonesia, where wing organizations only function as organizations that have an important role in mobilizing the support of women voters in electoral politics (Hurriyah & Wildianti, 2019). Besides being active in Fatayat and Muslimat NU, Siti Mukarromah, Arzetti Bilbina, and Nihayatul Wafiroh are part of the nation's women. In fact, Erma currently serves as Chair of the National Women's DPP.

Ninik comes from a family of santri, an academic and an activist for a community organization and the PKB political party. Her involvement in the organization and party wings as well as support from her family environment and Ninik's achievements are the things that have the potential to make Ninik pass in the 2019 legislative election contest. Ninik also explained that when she served as party administrator, she held the Deputy Secretary General which is an important position for the party. In addition to the use of institutional capital and human capital as suggested by Casey (2008), Ninik's use of symbolic capital explains personal identification that gives her flexibility in campaigning.

Shvedova in her book also explains that indeed, the increase in women in the legislature in democratic life today is due to the influence of women's organizations, both inside and outside political parties. Women's organizations work with government and political institutions to secure electoral changes, to facilitate the election of women. This resulted in an increase in the number of women in the legislature (Shvedova, 1999).

Meanwhile, in the use of electoral winning machines and organizational networks as a strategy for the selection of women legislators from PAN, it

can be seen from the campaigns carried out by women members of the PAN legislature. Components The campaign strategy technique proposed by Stockwell requires female candidates to build a stronger campaign team than male candidates, because the competitors in the election are not only female candidates, but also male candidates who come from parties that the same or different parties. This was stated by Intan Fauzi.

“Involvement in the organization is important to support the effectiveness of the campaign” (I. F. Wawancara, 2021).

Utilizing organizations, both political parties and organizations outside political parties, requires the building of effective communication, as stated by Stockwell when explaining how the ideal use of resource management in his campaign: “vertical and horizontal communication, where people receive comprehensive training and then have the opportunity to clarify tasks and negotiate resources up and down the chain of command within the group” (Stockwell, 2005). With the format of the campaign team having changed slightly from the campaign leading up to the 2014 election, Intan expanded its reach by being directly involved in activities at ‘Aisyiyah. Intan is currently trusted to be the Chairperson of PUAN and is actively involved in several MSME institutions. Non-party organizations are considered to be one of the most effective political assets in campaigns.

Apart from Intan, another female member of the legislature from PAN, namely Farah Putri Nahlia is one of the youngest DPR RI members in the 2019-2024 period. Even though she is the daughter of one of the National Police officials, she explained that her age and status as a woman were actually a separate obstacle, especially since she is a newcomer to the world of politics. He had no previous mass organization background (Farah, 2021). Farah carried out a campaign strategy by taking a direct approach to the constituency by coming frequently and mingling with the community. According to her, this is very important to do because the electoral district chosen by the party for her is an area that is still foreign and she has limited understanding of Sundanese, where her electoral district is West Java IX (Farah Putri Nahlia, n.d.).

Another figure is Dessy Ratnasari who started her career as an artist and then entered politics. Dessy also does not have a political family background and is also not involved in any mass organizations in the socio-religious field. In the second periodization of her election, Dessy used a family network and a campaign team from the family environment called Team Nine which was coordinated by her own uncle (Suhendi, 2014). The winning strategy that she uses is unique because it only exploits local potential and

simple networks. She implemented two strategies, the first is called the Mapai Baraya concept which is implemented by visiting families or residents in the electoral area and the second concept is the Fundraising concept where everyone who becomes a successful campaign team must be able to invite at least eight other people to support Dessy in the election (Suhendi, 2014).

The above strategy was not only used by Dessy in the 2014 election but was also effectively reused in the 2019 election by developing a more effective strategy and taking advantage of Dessy’s position as the incumbent, making it easier to win. In contrast to most other PAN cadres, who had previously joined Muhammadiyah or Aisyiyah as an autonomous women’s organization under the Muhammadiyah flag, Intan Fauzi, Farah and Dessy actually had no connection with Muhammadiyah at all. Dessy explained that neither she nor her parents belonged to any religious organization:

“I also don’t identify with myself that I am Muhammadiyah or NU. In fact, I chose PAN, it has absolutely nothing to do with earlier, the matter is that the line is pro-Muhammadiyah or this is more NU, so I prefer that leadership in PAN is legalitarian and PAN embraces the youth more. They are given more space to move in politics and express opinions. So that made me feel comfortable joining PAN” (D. R. Wawancara, 2019).

The situation above made them more creative, where the three of them made use of personal networks that Bourdeu categorized as part of a social network that acts as a relation contained in a system of exchange, both in material and symbolic form, to form a particular social formation. The meaning of Bourdieu’s social capital which is interpreted as the accumulation of work in a tangible or realized form, on an exclusive personal basis, collectively, or by agents or groups of agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) can be drawn in political activity. This is because social capital is also the basis of domination which also has the nature of being exchangeable through an activity (Bourdieu, 1992). Social activities in the form of winning campaigns become social actions that are transformed into political actions because they are used to carry out political activities.

In the 2019 election, Intan utilized ‘Aisyiyah as a network of women’s organization Muhammadiyah to become one of the campaign mediators to the constituents of women, although Intan also used NU Muslimat in the same position (I. F. Wawancara, 2021). Even though she doesn’t sit as a member let alone an administrator at ‘Aisyiyah, Intan is able to take advantage of the implications of the relationship

built between PAN and Muhammadiyah, in many 'Aisyiyah activities, especially in the constituency constituencies. The incumbent position is also an advantage for Dessy Ratnasari in the 2019 Election. The hard work of Team 9 owned by Dessy in the 2014 winning campaign was reused and became an important reference in the winning strategy in 2019. Strategy development was carried out massively, including by utilizing 'Aisyiyah as part of a political network by being involved in the activities of the Muhammadiyah women's organization, which she did not do in the 2014 election.

#### b. Utilization of Personal Figures

A non-governmental organization (NGO) that focuses on issues of democracy and elections, Perludem (Association for Elections and Democracy) sees that increasing the number of women's representation in the legislature is a good thing. The increase in the number was accompanied by the majority of women being elected who occupy the first and second place on the ballot list. In serial number one, there were 57 women who were selected from a total of 235 final candidate lists (DCT). Whereas in serial number two, there were 29 people selected from the 372 list of permanent female candidates. However, Perludem sees that since the 1999 election until the 2019 election, women legislators have never achieved 30 percent representation in the DPR RI (Gerintya, 2019).

The PAN women's seat gain in the 2019 election was 7 seats (11.90%) and this indicated a decrease in the percentage from the 2014 period, which was 18.37%. Intan Fauzi's involvement as an active cadre of the National Mandate Party began in 2014 sitting as Deputy Secretary General of PAN and later becoming one of the heads of the PAN DPP, now she is entrusted with becoming the Chairperson of the National Mandate Women (PUAN) after previously sitting as the General Treasurer of PUAN. Apart from being actively involved in the political party structure, Intan Fauzi is also active in several MSME institutions. She is involved in the management of professional organizations, namely at the Central Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in the Trade Sector and Indonesian Real Estate (REI) administrators. She is also an administrator for various social organizations including the Secretary General of Indonesian Weaving Cita (CTI), the Secretary General of Mutumanikam Nusantara and the administrator of the National Crafts Council (DEKRANAS), (Fauzi, n.d.).

Meanwhile, Farah Puteri Nahlia is a young female member of the legislature from PAN. He had only joined PAN one year before his candidacy in the 2019 elections, and was elected from the electoral

district of West Java IX. After completing her Masters degree at Royal Holloway, University of London, Surrey, United Kingdom, majoring in Politics & International Relations in 2017 dedicated himself as a volunteer in several non-profit organizations (NGOs) working in the humanitarian field. It was this interest in social matters that convinced her to enter politics and decide to join PAN in 2018. Currently Farah sits on Commission I of the DPR RI and is a member of the 2019-2024 DPR RI Budget Agency. In the PAN structure, Farah serves as Deputy Secretary General of the National Mandate Party DPP (*Farah Putri Nahlia, n.d.*).

Dessy Ratnasari sat as a member of the DPR RI for the National Mandate Party for two terms. In the 2014-2019 period, Dessy sat on commission IX and was elected from the West Java IV constituency which includes the Sukabumi Regency and Sukabumi City areas. In the second period of 2019-2024, the former film star was re-elected from the same constituency. Dessy is currently the Chairperson of the DPW PAN of West Java. In 2013 Dessy decided to join PAN and became an active PAN cadre (D. R. Wawancara, 2019).

With a total of 58 seats in parliament, PKB has women's representation in parliament as many as 12 seats. The increasing portion of women's electability in politics, especially in parliamentary life, was explained by Anne Philips as very important. Women who are elected and then sit in parliament can be a model or example for other women. Not only that, but also when women are present on the legislative political stage, it shows how the principle of justice between sexes/genders (male and female) occurs

Anne Philips also explained that only women can identify the needs of other women. Thus, when women sit as members of the legislature, they are expected to fulfill and voice the interests and needs of women. Democratic life is also said to increase if there is involvement of women in the world of government politics, including in the legislature (Philips, 1995).

Siti Mukaromah (Erma) currently holds the position of General Chairperson of the Women's National DPP for the 2019-2024 period. She has been active in legislative life since 2009, where she served as expert staff for the PKB faction of the DPR RI. As a member of Commission VI, Erma is in charge of cooperatives, SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises), BUMN (State Owned Enterprises) and Trade. Erma became the spokesperson for the PKB faction when PKB became one of the parties that approved the draft law on accountability for the implementation of the state revenue and expenditure budget for the 2020 fiscal year (RUU P2 APBN FY 2020).

The figure of Ninik is also attached to the community. She is a female member of the legislature who comes from the PKB faction in the electoral district of East Java III. Continuing her master's program at the Asean Studies study program at the University of Hawaii, United States of America and her doctoral program at cultural studies ICRS, Gadjah Mada University (UGM) in 2009. As a person who has also been entrusted with sitting in the legislature since 2014, Ninik is also active as a consultant final women view report Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in 2021 (RI, 2016).

Ninik said that during the recommendation process there was no competition between male and female legislative candidates.

“Indeed, in mass organizations there is a recommendation process for candidacy. They first called me, and did a series of interviews and did a kind of fit and proper test on me. There were more questions to make sure that I truly had a commitment and conveyed the aspirations of the people of Banyuwangi, Situbondo and Bondowoso. In short, they are testing my capacity and confirming my commitment if elected. For the serial number, I leave it to the party because the party asked me to nominate myself” (N. W. Wawancara, 2021).

Meanwhile, Arzetti is unique because she comes from an artistic and professional background. He is a Director of PT Zema Indonesia and Arzetti Bilbina Collection. In organizing, the woman who is usually called Arzetti has been the deputy treasurer of the PKB DPP since 2014 until now and the deputy chairman of the National Woman in the PKB DPP. In addition, she has been the economic coordinator of PP Fatayat NU since 2015 and is also deputy chairman of PP Lesbumi NU (Indonesian Muslim Cultural Artist Institute Nahdlatul Ulama). She is also deputy chairman of the National Women's Representative Council from 2015 to the present. Within the Indonesian Parliament, Arzetti is also involved as a member of the Indonesian Parliamentary Women's Caucus (KPPRI) (Tribunnews, 2021).

Quoting the writings of Suwardi et al, Lili Romli (2008) said that the figure factor is very significant in direct elections. The figure factor becomes the center of attention, so that individuals who consider themselves popular or known by the public run as candidates in elections. Romli was also of the opinion that the victory of the incumbents did not come as a surprise to many circles, because it was something that could be predicted beforehand. The incumbent's victory was due to factors of popularity and mastery of public opinion (Suwardi et al., 2016).

### **Differences in Women's Political Strategies from PAN and PKB in the 2019 Election**

PAN and PKB are two political parties in Indonesia which are moderate based. This can be seen from the mapping of the political survey which is a collaboration between the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) and the Australian National University (ANU) Australia. In the results of a survey written by Edward Aspinall, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, Diego Fossati and Eve Warburton, the two parties both occupy a scale of 4.67 for PAN and 4.68 for PKB where the number 1 indicates Pancasila and the number 10 Islam. Meanwhile, with regard to support for the role of Islam in politics, there are four parties that occupy high numbers measured from a scale of 1-10, namely 7.21 for PKB, 7.85 for PAN, 8.15 for PKS and 8.30 for PPP (Aspinall et al., 2018).

In terms of the party's role in trying to win, PKB cannot be separated from NU. Within NU there are many autonomous bodies, including the NU women's mass organization which has an affiliation with PKB. This can be seen from the answers and activities of the informants from the women's legislature members of PKB where they are part of Fatayat and Muslimat NU, and hold structural positions in PKB and the women's wing of PKB, namely women of the nation.

The women legislators from PKB had already joined women's organizations (Fatayat and Muslimat NU) and the party's women's wing organizations before being elected as members of the legislature. The role of PKB in the effort to win, as explained by Erma in the interview, can be seen when ahead of the election and wanted to determine serial numbers. At that time there was a fit and proper test scheme as part of the Health Toolkit to measure the extent of commitment and stability as well as the readiness of a candidate to become a legislator and fight in the election (S. M. Wawancara, 2021).

The party also has an assessment in seeing the candidate, whether he really started from scratch or who already has achievements or achievements in the world of politics. These criteria also determine the contestation. Regarding financial assistance from PKB, one PKB informant explained that there was no funding from the party, and one other answered that there was funding assistance while the last one did not answer explicitly regarding campaign funding from the party.

One of the things that reflects the role of political parties in efforts to win PKB female legislative candidates can be seen from Ninik's answers in the interview. He explained that PKB included its campaign agenda in party activities. Indeed, there is no special agenda for the campaign for candidates from PKB cadres, because the campaign schedule

is in accordance with the agenda set by the KPU. However, by including the candidate's campaign agenda in party activities, it is a reflection of the party's role in winning. The involvement of party networks was also explained by Ninik.

In terms of maximizing the use of political networks in campaigns, Quoting Marijan, that in the election of legislative members, the use of social capital is related to what the contestants have, how communication is built and the relationships and trust that the candidates have with the people who choose them.

One of the main works of the distribution of political capital is to try to convince voters that electoral political contestants have the competence to become representatives of the people and work consistently to channel people's aspirations, and of course they must have good integrity (Marijan, 2010). Efforts to convince voters were carried out by PKB female candidates through women's organizations, in this case Fatayat and Muslimat NU. Voters from women (mothers, teenagers, girls) are also active in NU agendas and activities, including Fatayat and Muslimat NU, even IPPNU (NU Female Student Association).

A trust will not just grow without being preceded by communication that is guarded and maintained by the candidate. However, fame or popularity alone is still meaningless without being followed up by integrity (Marijan, 2010). This can be seen from Arzeti's figure, that if her election is only due to popularity, of course it is not guaranteed, even though there will be an increase in electability. However, because Arzeti is actively involved in the Fatayat organization and also the wing of the political party, namely Women of the Nation, she maximizes what she participates in to support her candidacy.

Maximizing the use of political networks owned by Erma, because she started her organizational life from the lowest level, IPPNU, then Fatayat NU and Muslimat NU, this political capital made her have many networks. Experience in assisting the strengthening and development of MSMEs in Banyumas and Cilacap for five years contributed to Erma's socio-political capital. She also developed a network of street vendors and the cultured natural tourism sector (S. M. Wawancara, 2021).

In terms of PAN's political strategy, women legislators do not come from women's mass organizations affiliated with political parties. This is different from PKB's women legislators in that they come from women's organizations affiliated with political parties, namely Fatayat and Muslimat NU and the party's wing, Perempuan Bangsa. PAN female legislative members joined women's organizations such as 'Aisyiyah and the party's wing

organization, namely PUAN, after being elected as members of the legislature.

In the PKB, there was only one source, namely Arzeti, who was a professional, and she used the women's mass organization network (Fatayat NU) in his second election election. She was also asked directly by PKB to become a candidate. PAN women legislative members do not get legal support for candidacy from women's organizations because they are not involved in existing mass organizations.

Meanwhile, members of the PKB legislature received legal support from the NU women's mass organization, and even became the success team of the existing campaign. PAN female legislative members are also more dominant in using personal resources in the form of social and political capital in their campaigns. In this case, PKB legislators use personal and organizational resources in their campaigns. So, there is a merger of social capital and personal and organizational political capital.

### **Supporting and Hindering Factors of the Election of Women in PAN and PKB in the 2019 Election**

In interviewing all PKB female legislators in this study, all three had the same supporting factors, namely the network of women's organizations and political party wings in winning the 2019 election contestation. Women's organizations affiliated with NU such as the IPPNU, Fatayat and Muslimat NU networks were important factors. who helped support the third campaign as social and political capital, coupled with the wing organization of the PKB political party, Wanita Bangsa. Two informants even had the advantage of being asked directly by PKB to contest the legislative elections, namely Nihayatul Wafiroh and Arzeti Bilbina.

In addition, the source of funds in the campaign which was also assisted with funding by the party based on several explanations from the sources, apart from personal funds, contributed to strengthening the quality of the campaign and making PKB female legislators electable. Ninik's family background, which is an activist for the PKB party and an academic as well as a religious figure in the Islamic boarding school environment, is a supporting factor in the election of women legislators.

According to Siti Mukarromah (Erma), the inhibiting factor in the process of electing women PKB legislative members, that challenges in the field are frequent and the strongest are internal challenges, internal competition which is usually higher

"That is clear, for example PKB gets 1st seat, which means who can take it, usually that's the challenge. Then next, the more we have politically dominant values or involvement, then the side of us that is accepted in society, the challenge is

that maybe our position will be dangerous for other people who see it. The challenge becomes extraordinary if we are not mentally and spiritually prepared to handle it.” (S. M. Wawancara, 2021).

Meanwhile, the inhibiting factor for the election of women PAN legislative members is also the society’s perspective which is still patriarchal, as experienced by Farah when she first ran for herself, with her status as a woman and her young age profile. Competitors for male and female legislative candidates from the same or different parties also present their own obstacles. In the existing phenomenon, PAN is also less pro-active in contributing to the campaigns of its women candidates.

The supporting factors for the election of women PAN legislative members are the strength of social capital and political capital in the form of the economy and social networks, but not from Islamic organizations (‘Aisyiyah) and party wings (PUAN). This only happened when Intan Fauzi and Dessy ran for the second time, namely in the 2019 elections, that they also used the network of Islamic women’s organizations and their social networks from their activities so far.

## CONCLUSION

PAN and PKB have significant differences in the political strategies of their female legislators. Legislative members from both parties carry out campaigns as one of the fundamental things in political strategy. In the political strategy of electing PKB women legislative members, they own and make existing social and political capital an important capital in campaign implementation. PKB female legislators use Islamic women’s organizations such as Fatayat and Muslimat NU as well as the wings of the nation’s women’s political party. In contrast to PKB, ‘Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, which is not closely affiliated with PAN, makes the socio-political capital of PAN women legislators not come from these Islamic organizations. Even for the incumbent, who is running for the second time and already has affinity with ‘Aisyiyah or is part of the mass organization, they use the socio-political network as their election strategy. The perspective of society which is still socially and culturally patriarchal is still a significant obstacle for female candidates for legislative members in the 2019 elections.

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