

POLITICAL CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT OF NASDEM PARTY WOMEN LEGISLATOR CANDIDATES IN THE 2019 LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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Received 10 Sep 2021 • Revised 21 Oct 2021 • Accepted 20 Nov 2021

Abstract

This study aims to find out how to develop the capacity of female legislative candidates in the 2019 legislative elections in Makassar City. This study seeks to find out how the capacity building is carried out by political parties for female legislative candidates and see what are the obstacles faced by both political parties and legislative candidates in facing the 2019 legislative elections. This study uses a qualitative descriptive analysis research method. The data used in this study is primary data, data collected or obtained directly through direct observation in the field or the form of direct interviews. Secondary data is data obtained or collected by people researching existing sources. This data is usually from the library or previous research reports. The results of this study indicate that there is capacity building for women candidates carried out by political parties by sending cadres to attend training/workshops/training or discussions about political developments which are usually carried out by both political parties and parties outside the party, in this case, NGOs who are concerned in the field of transformation. political parties as called IRI (International Republic Institute). In addition, there are also briefings conducted by the DPP, these briefings are carried out regularly and periodically. Meanwhile, party officials stated that the debriefing carried out by the DPP for female cadres was based on quotas (usually 2 people were sent). Constraints in the implementation of political education for women cadres of the Nasdem Party in South Sulawesi came from the internal side of women cadres such as the low self-confidence of women in practical politics, family permits, financing of political activities, and the problem of dividing time between party activities and taking care of the family, limited party funds. politics in carrying out political education; a bad image (stereotype) of a less permissive society towards women who are active in parties and; laws and regulations that do not explicitly regulate sanctions for parties that are not serious in carrying out political education for female cadres.

Keywords: Capacity Building, Women Candidates, Nasdem Party

INTRODUCTION

Women and men have the same position, which is guaranteed and protected by the State. For this reason, the urgency of women's involvement in the administration of a democratic government is that as human beings, women and men have equal rights and basic obligations and the government is the spearhead in formulating policies regarding women. [1] Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning human rights in its explanation, article 46 can be seen in the representation of women. This means that women's representation is the provision of equal opportunities and positions for women to carry out their roles in the executive, judicial, legislative, party, and general elections towards justice and gender equality. [2] thus the need for policies that include women in general elections.

Efforts to increase the political representation of women in Indonesia are an urgent need. Increasing women's political representation means increasing their effectiveness in influencing political decisions that can guarantee the economic rights of women's groups and the wider community, and allocate various resources needed to improve the quality of human life. In addition, the need to increase women's representation is also based on the fact that women's representation in legislative institutions in Indonesia, both at the national and local levels, is still very low.

The low representation of women in politics in Indonesia is an important issue. Fulfilling the 30 percent quota for women in parliament is not easy. The reasons are various, not only the structural barriers of oligarchic and patriarchal politics but also the interest and interest of women in politics. With the still minimal representation of women in the Regional People's Representative Council, of course, it cannot be separated from the obstacles that are the inhibiting factors.

The inhibiting factors are divided into external factors and internal factors. The external factor is that the patriarchal paradigm is still deeply rooted in most Indonesian people, the patriarchal mindset tends to place women under the power of men. Women are imaged as well as positioned as parties who do not have autonomy and independence in all fields, including politics. Second, political institutions, in general, do not have a full commitment to women's empowerment. At the level of member recruitment and regeneration, women are still the second choice for political parties. For example, in the case of nominations for women legislative candidates by political parties, which are often only carried out to fulfill eligibility requirements. So far, almost no significant steps have been taken to demonstrate the political parties' commitment to women's political empowerment. [3]

In general, political parties are still not convinced that women can become vote-getters and increase the electability of political parties. This assumption is certainly related to the limitations of women in the capital, both financial and social. In addition, there are internal factors from within women themselves in the form of lack of interest and awareness in politics, not having a practical political education background, lack of support from family, not having good communication skills, and lacking organizational experience. [4]

One of the efforts to increase the role of women has been carried out by issuing laws and regulations that can guarantee an increase in women's representation in DPR seats. This is reinforced by the affirmative policy, namely the 30% quota for women's representation which is regulated in Law (UU) Number 10/2008 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council (legislative elections) as well as Law Number 2/2008 on Political Parties. [5]

An affirmative action is a form of positive discrimination that is generally applied to open up opportunities and opportunities. Affirmation policy is a policy taken with the aim that certain groups or groups (gender) have equal opportunities with other groups or groups in the same field. This is the fruit of the idea of gender equality in the political field. The struggle for gender equality is one of the efforts to realize democratization because with the existence of gender equality, the whole community, both men and women, has access to carry out the democratization process itself.

Referring to the 2019 Election data, it was noted that the representation of women in the Indonesian House of Representatives was around 20.5 percent, out of a total of 575 seats with 118 women occupying DPR seats. [6] The percentage of women in parliament is still very small. Not only at the central level, the Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) and regency/city DPRD also experience the same problem. The reality is the area shows mixed results. Some regions have fulfilled 30 percent representation for women, and some have not. as in Makassar City.

Makassar City is one of the regions in Indonesia which also has female legislators. In the 2019 legislative elections in Makassar City, many women took part in the political constellation. The Institute for Public Policy Studies (LSKP) in Makassar reported that the percentage of women's representation from the 2004, 2009 elections to the 2014 elections in the DPRD of South Sulawesi

Province was 7 percent in a row in the 2004 election to 16 percent in the 2009 election and the 2014 election increased to 17.6 percent. Then in the 2019 election, it was at 28.23%.

Table 1.1 Percentage of Women's Representation in the DPRD of South Sulawesi Province

Election 2004	Election 2009	Election 2014	Election 2019
7% (5 of 45)	16% (8 of 50)	17,6% (15 of 85)	28,23 % (24 of 85)

Source: Institute for Public Policy Studies (LSKP). [7]

For the last 2019 election, 24 female legislative members were elected as members of the South Sulawesi Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), this number increased by 9 people compared to the 2014 election which previously amounted to 15 people. From 2014 data, the DCT quota has fulfilled 30 percent of female candidates, but their electability rate is still low. The number of women voters is more than men, but not all women are willing to choose women who come forward as candidates for leaders. This is of course triggered by many factors and one of them is the quality and readiness of women themselves to advance as potential leaders. The low number of women's representation in the political space cannot be separated from the influence of the political party platform itself. Where before the election, almost all political parties try to apply a gender perspective. However, these efforts are not effective enough if there is still an assumption that political parties only aim to maintain their existence under the requirements of the law.

Several things indicate a decline in women's electability, firstly political parties do not seriously assist women legislative candidates in finding votes, usually, the number of women registered in DCT only fulfills the administrative requirements set by the KPU of 30 percent. This means that the party only half-heartedly recruits women to fight in elections. Second, the lack of electability of women in legislative elections because voters or the public consider men to be superior to women. Voters judge that men are still superior to women. Third, the capacity of women is not sufficient and decides to run as a candidate from a certain party. [8] So that the election for legislative candidates in 2019 only belongs to the incumbents, because they have a fixed mass base and political networks to the lowest level. Incumbent female candidates will be re-elected because they already have permanent voters in their respective bases. [9]

To increase the number of women in parliament, the first view emphasizes improving the quality of female legislative candidates so that they can compete in free elections. In this case, political education and political training for women are crucial. In other words, the key to the politics of equality is the empowerment of women. While the second view emphasizes the creation of electoral systems and mechanisms that make it easier for women to enter parliament. Therefore, special policies are needed for female legislative candidates so that they have a greater chance of being elected in the election mechanism. [10]

To increase 30% of women's representation in the legislative sector, it is necessary to develop the political capacity of women's legislative candidates. This aims to improve the quality and enthusiasm of women to participate actively in national development, especially in the political field. UU no. 2 of 2008, states that political parties have a function as a means of political education for the community and its members. In the 2019 legislative elections in Makassar City, Gerindra, PKS, and Nasdem were in the position of placing the most female cadres in the Provincial DPRD. Gerindra as many as 5 people, PKS 5 people and followed by Nasdem 4 people.

In this study, the author will focus on discussing the capacity building carried out by political parties in this case the author chooses the Nasdem party. The Nasdem Party institutionally has an attractive political power, because in the South Sulawesi Nasdem Party institutionally it is ideal. The institution of the Nasdem party in South Sulawesi, structurally and functionally, is considered very proactive in carrying out the process of the role and function of the party, one of which is intensively conducting political recruitment. Therefore, it is important to know how political capacity development is carried out by political parties for female legislator candidates to fulfill their functions, obligations, and responsibilities under the laws and regulations that have been stipulated. The process taken is how to make women have political independence, be confident, and have an identity. Fulfillment of the 30 percent quota for women in political parties must of course also be accompanied by self-improvement. So, for this reason, the author is interested in researching "Developing Political Capacity for Women Legislator Candidates for the Nasdem Party in the 2019 Legislative Election in South Sulawesi"

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive research method. The data used in this study is primary data, data collected or obtained directly through direct observation in the field or the form of direct interviews. Secondary data is data obtained or collected by people researching existing sources. This data is usually from the library or previous research reports. Sources of data used as secondary data in this study are books, journals, websites, newspapers, and news related to women's representation in the legislature, political parties, gender equality, as well as archives and other supporting documents.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The low representation of women in the public sphere cannot be separated from several factors that hinder women in achieving strategic positions in politics. In general, there are three obstacles to efforts to increase women's representation, namely regulatory barriers, culture, and women's capacity. Regulations governing affirmations are still ineffective. This can be seen from the results that did not significantly push the number of women closer to the critical 30% figure. The affirmation in the Election Law for legislative candidacy since it was first regulated in the Election Law No. 12/2003, the provisions are still very weak in encouraging parties to nominate 30% of women on the candidate list because it is only an appeal and there are no sanctions if it is not fulfilled. As a result, even in the nomination stage, some parties failed to nominate women according to the number mandated in the law. The affirmation rule in the Election Law No. 10/2008 was later strengthened by the addition of a rule regarding the placement of one female legislative candidate in three names on the party candidate list. However, the list of candidates shows that there are still parties that do not achieve the nomination of 30% women. [\[11\]](#)

The second barrier for women is related to culture. The experience of interacting with female politicians, female legislative candidates, as well as potential women election organizers shows that there are still strong cultural constraints and certain perspectives on women who are active in the political sphere, which limit their participation. The views that politics is "dirty" so it is not an ideal place for women. It is not good for women to be too busy in work to neglect household tasks, and women have to get permission from their husbands or parents to work in politics, which are some of the cultural barriers that prevent women from being active in politics. It is this obstacle that then raises the next obstacle, namely a matter of capacity and experience.

Some conditions such as the difficulty of women in achieving strategic positions in political parties, as well as in legislative elections because they are considered not to have the capacity and experience needed as a condition to obtain these positions. Capacity and experience can go hand in hand because in many conditions capacity will be formed as experience increases. This is especially true in the world of politics. The ability to negotiate, build networks, and handle sensitive situations is crucial to becoming a competent and trusted politician to occupy important positions, both in parties and in nominations. In many cases, this skill is formed after a long time the person in question has had experience holding a certain position or taking care of certain tasks in the party. From the start, men were relatively free from obstacles to be active in various political activities compared to women, so that women's opportunities to hone their skills and build their capacities were minimal. The low number of women who register to become legislative candidates because they feel they lack the capacity and experience.

The adoption of affirmations in rules and regulations, as well as the push to improve gender equality in government planning, demonstrates the initiative of the state to improve the poor representation of women in the public sphere. However, in real terms, the number of women in politics is still very low. There are still many challenges that must be faced to be able to substantively improve the condition of women because the current representation has not been able to fix problems related to women's interests, such as the low access of women to reproductive health services, high maternal and child mortality rates, violence against women in the household, poverty, and so on. This also reflects that for many parties in the field, women's issues have not become an important issue to be discussed and fought for.

Below are several factors that cause the low number of female legislators:

1. Political parties find it difficult to find potential female candidates
2. Obstructed by culture, religion, and social
3. Lack of political training
4. Lack of social capital and campaign funds
5. Women prioritize family over a political career
6. The assumption that politics is male domination
7. The assumption that politics is a dirty and corrupt world so that women are shunned.

The success of the implementation of affirmation policies is highly dependent on the roles and initiatives of political parties. Political parties are agents that have the responsibility to carry out political education. Political parties play a vital role because parties have the authority to recruit and nominate female cadres, carry out the function of political education, and institutionally have a structure to carry out political work, namely formulating strategies and planning in policy processes. In this case, political parties must be able to act as agents of change to break down barriers for women in politics. [12]

However, not all political parties carry out the function of political education intensely, especially small parties or new political parties. Most political parties carry out political education (briefing) for elected candidates, both male, and female, together.

The recruitment process carried out by political parties is more of an administrative process which is far from ideal in its implementation. Women who are then recruited in the political process are indicated to lack political knowledge so that the quality of what is present in the public sphere is not as expected. The stigma that is still attached to women who enter politics is "weird" which is one of the keys to why many women are less enthusiastic in the political recruitment process that exists in political life, both in political parties and other fields that are closely related to political parties.

During the regeneration process, several legislator candidates met by the researcher said that the stages of regeneration within their party include at least: first, through community groups. This kind of regeneration process involves a lot of party sympathizers. Second, through party activities involving the party's Branch Leadership Council (DPC). Loyalty because they are often involved in party activities is a point for the party in carrying these cadres in a contest. Third, Free and Proper Test. Where the party conducts administrative selection and interviews. Administration includes personal data documents such as diplomas, CVs, etc. While the interviews put forward the integrity and loyalty of cadres in the party later. In this regard, regeneration is related to the preparation of political capabilities or capacities. Cadreization is also related to the career system or political level that will be formed by political parties.

Fourth, through party wing organizations. For example in the Nasdem party called Garda Wanita (Garnita). Garnita Nasdem's role as the women's wing has a very significant role, namely the task of attracting women to participate in politics as well as improving the quality of women legislative candidates and elected women legislators promoted by the NasDem party.

Fifth, regeneration is related to how political parties carry out political education for their cadres. Regeneration is related to the subject, namely individuals or groups of people who are prepared for the continuity of the party, prepared to carry on the vision and mission of the organization. Cadreization is the responsibility and role of the entire organizational structure of the party, both party organizations at the national level and the lowest level (the branches).

The regeneration process that occurred at the 2019 simultaneous general election in South Sulawesi was challenged by the presence of a 30% quota from PKPU which required political parties to include women candidates. Indirectly, political parties are required to prepare for the regeneration and recruitment process, especially for female candidates so that they can participate in contests in the 2019 simultaneous elections. However, PKPU No. 20 of 2018 is not a perfect rule, although many female legislators in South Sulawesi have benefited greatly from this regulation.

Institutionally, both the system and party rules, as acknowledged by the political party leaders interviewed, always stated that there was already a cadre within the party which was carried out in stages. Cadre is generally carried out for both male and female cadres, there is no difference. The same thing was also expressed by most groups of male legislators and groups of female legislators, that in general there is a cadre in parties that is carried out in stages. [13]

The current form of empowerment for women in the party body has not led to a form of gender awareness and capacity building as a leader who represents women's voices. The form of involvement of women cadres is more likely to lead to assisting party activities, informing party activities, or placing women in certain sections of party management. Non-political parties see the involvement of women in political parties as only a complement and political parties are seen as less trusting in women.

Within the Nasdem Party itself, there is political capacity development carried out both formally and informally. This internal political education aims to create qualified party cadres so that they can internalize the party values contained in the vision and mission as well as the party's political line. Formal education includes providing material on party ideology, legislative schools with restoration ideology, politics, women's empowerment material, gender, communication, and leadership development material, building constituents and building campaign issues, FGD (focus group discussion). Meanwhile, Informal activities include social, community, humanitarian activities (Blood Donor Activities, Nasdem care), and Cooperation with IRI institutions twice a year.

In empowering the community, Garnita as the party's wing also holds various kinds of training that are not limited to the political context. But it also covers social issues such as the field of entrepreneurship. Capacity building for women candidates is also carried out by sending cadres to attend training/workshops/training or discussions on political developments which are usually carried out by parties outside the party, in this case, NGOs concerned with the transformation of political parties, such as the IRI (International Republic Institute). In addition, there is also a briefing conducted by the DPP. This briefing is carried out regularly and periodically. Meanwhile, other party administrators stated that the debriefing carried out by the DPP for female cadres was based on quotas (usually 2 people were sent).

The next step taken by the NasDem party is to often hold coordination meetings to evaluate the tasks and performance of female legislative candidates and legislators from the 2019 election contestation. This scheduled coordination meeting is to see how far the women cadres have achieved. Have been able to achieve the target or vice versa. Then it is also attempted that this coordination meeting can find obstacles faced by female politicians, both those who were not elected and those who were elected as legislators. From this coordination meeting, various party decisions were obtained. This decision can be a common reference for maintaining, fostering or promoting women politicians from the NasDem Party for the next general election. Even though the female politician has succeeded in becoming a legislator, it does not guarantee that she can be re-entered in the next electoral contest.

From this coordination meeting, if there is a tendency to weaken the quality of female cadres, it will be immediately covered by various training and political schools, including; First, holding various discussion group forums (FGD) for women politicians. The aim is to provide knowledge and discourse around strategic issues in the dynamics of Indonesian politics. This FGD was also accompanied by experts and a team of experts who had been prepared in advance. There is also a regular internal discussion forum inviting various sources from outside such as the Institute of Research Empowerment (IRE). Second, the party's internal discussion forum is intended for all NasDem Party politicians, especially Garnita activists. In this discussion, party cadres are sought to be able to ask various questions about the problems they are facing.

The hope is that party cadres can understand more about the existing problems. This forum is also used to oversee and facilitate elected women legislators in their constituencies, so that in the future these women legislators can continue to improve their capabilities in understanding the problems that exist in society, including alternative solutions. Third, organize various forums that are open and incidental by inviting the general public. Socialization forums and hearings are intended to shorten the distance between parties and the people. This socialization forum is also attempted to encourage female cadres to be known by the public in their constituencies. As a result, this forum can become a means of learning and political education for the general public which was launched by the NasDem party.

Fourth, there is an effort to bring women cadres closer to the public through writing movements in local mass media. This call is intended so that female politicians can produce bright and creative ideas to overcome various problems of life. The writing movement in collaboration with the mass media is expected to further introduce the track record of the NasDem party and female politicians in terms of capability, the competence of ideas, and integrity. Fifth, to guard women legislators, the NasDem party launched the "Indonesia Calls" program. This program uses a strict selection through a fit and proper test which is applied to new board candidates. It is hoped that these cadres will be prepared in the future to fill legislative and executive positions. The Indonesia Calling Program aims to revitalize the quality of cadres and recruit quality cadres based on capability, competence, and integrity. So far, female cadres who have joined the NasDem party have only been on a volunteer basis. This is due to the difficulty of finding quality cadres, especially female politicians. As a result, at first, the NasDem Party only recruited cadres based on networks or relationships, both friends and family. However, this does not mean that the recruited cadres cannot work optimally. Several female cadres of the NasDem party are also able to draw mass knots which can automatically improve the party's image.

Political parties as the main agents make efforts to overcome various obstacles to the implementation of political education for female cadres which aims to increase the political participation of female party cadres. The efforts made include: first, the party takes an internal/personal approach. The party puts forward persuasive methods to attract the hearts and sympathy of women cadres to actively participate in political movements. An internal approach is carried out to tap the awareness of female cadres to realize their role as citizens who have political rights, obligations, and responsibilities

The form of political participation of women cadres in political parties has a broader context, namely participating in initiating party programs/activities, being actively involved in party programs/activities, participating in debates to determine party policies/attitudes; active in party management, participating in the success of party programs in the social environment of the community, running for legislative elections/elections of regional heads and/or deputy regional heads as well as presidential and/or vice-presidential elections, providing political enlightenment and socialization to the public as an extension of the party's arm to carry out the functions of political parties.

Second, the development of a model of political education for women cadres in a programmed, structured, and sustainable manner. The law on political parties does not provide a clear benchmark regarding the mechanism of party formation so that it depends on the political will and political action of each political party. The cadre plays an important role in imparting knowledge, understanding, and political skills. Cadreization is the process of preparing human resources so that later they become leaders who can build better organizational roles and functions. Meanwhile, political recruitment is a way to screen, select and place cadres in political positions both within the party and in the government. To become qualified and selected cadres in filling public positions, female party cadres must receive clear, comprehensive political education with strategies, materials, and methods that are per the needs of women themselves.

Third, in efforts to overcome time constraints, the solution is to hold meetings at times where it is possible to be attended by female cadres and at times that are not too busy with household needs. In addition, efforts were also made to confirm those female cadres would be assigned to party activities which they felt would take a long time and would likely leave their families behind.

Fourth, within the Nasdem Party, there is a concept of no political dowry for cadres who run in the general election. This is part of political education to provide political intelligence and change the public perception that politics is an expensive activity. The policy of no political dowry is the embodiment of the spirit of the Indonesian Restoration promoted by the Nasdem Party.

These four obstacles affect the process of achieving the goals of political education for women cadres, so a win-win solution must be found that can be accepted and implemented by women cadres, the community, political parties and for consideration to change legal regulations related to the function of political education for party cadres.

CONCLUSION

Capacity building for women candidates is carried out by sending cadres to attend training/workshops/training or discussions about political developments which are usually carried out by parties outside the party, in this case, NGOs concerned with the transformation of political parties, such as the IRI (International Republic Institute). In addition, there are also briefings conducted by the DPP, these briefings are carried out regularly and periodically. Meanwhile, other party administrators stated that the debriefing carried out by the DPP for female cadres was based on quotas (usually 2 people were sent).

Constraints in the implementation of political education for women cadres of the Nasdem Party in South Sulawesi came from the internal side of women cadres such as the low self-confidence of women in practical politics, family permits, financing of political activities, and the problem of dividing time between party activities and taking care of the family, limited party funds. politics in carrying out political education; a bad image (stereotype) of a less permissive society towards women who are active in parties and; laws and regulations that do not explicitly regulate sanctions for parties that are not serious in carrying out political education for female cadres. These four obstacles affect the process of achieving the goals of political education for women cadres, so a win-win solution must be found that can be accepted and implemented by women cadres, the community, political parties and for consideration to change legal regulations related to the function of political education for party cadres. There are several efforts to overcome these obstacles, including internal approaches, to tap women's political awareness; a programmed, structured, and sustainable cadre system for women cadres; the timing of party activities that accommodate the interests of women; and a guarantee policy of no political dowry, in which the party does not charge for the support provided by the party during the process of nominating cadres in elections.

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