

## **FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN SELECTION IN 2019 ELECTION IN BANTUL REGENCY**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This study aims to determine how the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency and analyze what are the factors that influence the choice of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency. This type of research is qualitative, with data collection techniques in the form of documentation and interviews. The analysis technique used is data reduction, data presentation, and data verification. Bantul Regency in the representation of women has fulfilled the quota of 30% or more and is precisely inversely proportional to the choice of women who did not reach the 30% quota. Therefore, researchers are interested in making Bantul Regency a case study in this research. The results of this study show that firstly, there was a gap in the number and percentage between women's representation totaling 204 people or equivalent to 46% with the electability of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency only amounting to 4 people or 8.9%. Second, there are additional factors that can be categorized into supporting factors, namely political party support, cadre motivation, family factors, track record, and a lot of basis of mass and inhibiting factors namely incumbent who is re-nominating and money politics.*

**Keywords:** *Factors, influencing, women's electability*

## INTRODUCTION

17 April 2019 Indonesia held simultaneous elections to elect the President, Vice President, DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/ City DPRD. Women can already sit or fulfill positions in all aspects, especially politics and government. In-Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning General Elections Article 65 paragraph 1 and KPU Regulation No. 2 of 2018 Article 6 regulates the provisions to contain women's representation of at least 30% reported from (K, 2018). The existence of these rules can open opportunities for women to be able to fight in politics. In Indonesia itself, in terms of representing the representation of women, especially in the DPR, the percentage has decreased as much as can be said to have increased from 2009 to 2019 by 3.2%, from 17.32% to 20.52%. So it can be said that this regulation has a big influence to increase the role of women in politics or government.

Special Region of Yogyakarta consists of four districts namely Bantul Regency, Sleman Regency, Gunung Kidul Regency, Kulon Progo Regency, and one city, Yogyakarta City. Bantul Regency, which was participated by 16 political parties participating in each election, has included 30% female representation and when totaled, the number of female candidates in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency was 204 female candidates or equal to 46%, with the following table:

**Table 1. 1 Comparison of the Number and Percentage of Legislative Candidates for Women and Men in the 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

No	Political Parties	Women		Men		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1	Partai Amanah Nasional (PAN)	15	44	19	56	<b>34</b>
2	Partai Berkarya	10	50	10	50	<b>20</b>
3	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	11	55	9	45	<b>20</b>
4	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	21	47	24	53	<b>45</b>
5	Partai Demokrat	22	52	20	48	<b>42</b>
6	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (GERINDRA)	19	43	25	57	<b>44</b>
7	Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia (GARUDA)	5	50	5	50	<b>10</b>
8	Partai Golongan Karya (GOLKAR)	20	45	24	55	<b>44</b>
9	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (HANURA)	5	50	5	50	<b>10</b>
10	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	19	42	26	58	<b>45</b>
11	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	15	43	20	57	<b>35</b>
12	Partai NASDEM	18	45	22	55	<b>40</b>
13	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	9	43	12	57	<b>21</b>
14	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	6	50	6	50	<b>12</b>
15	Partai Persatuan Indonesia (PERINDO)	8	53	7	47	<b>15</b>
16	Partai Keadilan Dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI)	1	50%	1	50	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>204</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>439</b>

**Source: Processed from the Website of the General Election Commission (KPU)**

From the table above it can be seen that the PDIP, Democratic, and Golkar parties have the highest number of female legislative candidates, ranging from 20 to 22 people or ranging from 45% -52% and all political parties have a 30% quota representation. Based on SK-KPU No. 269 About Elected Candidates Members of the House of Representatives of the District of Bantul in the 2019 General Elections established on 22 July 2019 there were about 45 lists of candidates elected to hold positions in parliament, according to the number of seat allocations determined by the Bantul KPU. Of the 45 seat allocations, only 4 people or 8.9% of women legislative candidates were elected to the Bantul Regency DPRD. This is precisely inversely proportional to the choice of women candidates, the percentage does not reach 30%, namely only 4 elected women candidates coming from major political parties in Indonesia, namely the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Golkar Party, Gerindra Party, and PAN, with the following table:

**Table 1. 2 Percentage of Number of Legislative Candidates for Women and Men Elected in the 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

No	Political Parties	Women		Men		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1	PKB	0	0	6	100	<b>6</b>
2	GERINDRA	1	12,5	7	87,5	<b>8</b>
3	PDIP	1	9,1	10	90,9	<b>11</b>
4	GOLKAR	1	20	4	80	<b>5</b>
5	PKS	0	0	4	100	<b>4</b>
6	PAN	1	20	4	80	<b>5</b>
7	DEMOKRAT	0	0	2	100	<b>2</b>
8	PBB	0	0	1	100	<b>1</b>
9	PPP	0	0	2	100	<b>2</b>
10	NASDEM	0	0	1	100	<b>1</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>8,9</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>91,1</b>	<b>45</b>

**Source: Processed from the Official Website of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Bantul Regency**

The data table above when compared with the previous year, namely in the 2014-2019 period the number of women legislative candidates who managed to qualify amounted to 3 people or 6.6%, percent reported from (Sidik, 2014). But it can be said that the representation of women in the Bantul Regency DPRD increased by 2.3%, even though it did not meet the 30% quota that had been set. Therefore, researchers are interested in making Bantul Regency a case study in this research. Whereas the four parties are subject to be investigated because of these four political parties the elected female candidates come from. The formulation of the problem in this study is First, what is the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency? And second, what are the factors that influence the choice of women in the 2019 elections in

Bantul Regency? The purpose of this study is to find out how the representation of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency and analyze what are the factors that influence the choice of women in Bantul Regency. The benefits of this research can contribute knowledge related to the factors that influence the choice of women in elections and provide information to political parties for a commitment to include women's representation of at least 30%.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### a. Women's Representation in Elections

The representation of women is the people represented by women, chosen through certain mechanisms to accommodate the aspirations of the women they represent. The book on Questioning Data on Women's Representation in Five Areas by (Margret, Panjaitan, Novitasari, & Iksarana, 2018) said that affirmative policies that apply in Indonesia are stipulated in the Political Party Law and the Election Law. From this affirmative policy, which came into force since the 2004 elections and until now, there has been a representation of women in politics, which talks about the representation of women candidates in elections with a 30% quota availability and also the choice of women legislative candidates. Two factors influence women's electability in politics, namely the supporting factors and inhibiting factors as well as the description:

#### a) Supporting Factors

The supporting factors for women's representation in politics (Margret et al., 2018) include:

- 1) Support of political parties, namely as democratic engines of political parties that do not discriminate in recruiting gender members and also nominating a significant number of female candidates.
- 2) Motivation, which is the encouragement of oneself to enter the political sphere to be able to play an active role and be able to produce tangible results by making regulations/policies for the benefit of society, especially women (fighting for women's rights).

#### b) Obstacle Factors

The inhibiting factors of women's representation in politics according to Matland in (Elizabeth, 2018) include:

- 1) A patriarchal culture, that is a culture in which only men can lead so that women cannot participate in politics and government.
- 2) The selection process in political parties, namely the selection conducted by leaders of political parties that are dominated by men which then also affects the leadership structure of political parties that are dominated by men and women cannot participate in the management of political parties.

- 3) Family factors, this factor can be a barrier because it is related to permission from the family or husband (for women who are already married).
- 4) The multi-party system, the number of political parties competing for seats in parliament so that it affects the representation of women in parliament.

#### **b. Gender Analysis**

Gender can be interpreted as "differences in roles, functions, status, and responsibilities of men and women as a result of socio-cultural construction that is embedded through the process of socialization from one generation to the next" (Puspitawati, 2013). In terminology, gender is cultural expectations of men and women (Rokhmansyah, 2016). According to Mansour Fakhri in (Nurfilani, 2016) gender is a socially and structurally constructed trait attached to men and women. For example, women are portrayed as someone who has a gentle, weak, emotional, and motherly nature. Whereas men have strong, masculine, and rational qualities. So, gender analysis is gender is the difference between men and women in terms of roles, status, functions, and positions in social life.

#### **c. Elections**

Indonesia as democracy runs elections to elect state leaders and candidates for representatives who will sit in government. According to Ali Mertopo in (Mulyana, 2016) elections are:

“Elections are a means available to the people to carry out their sovereignty by the principles contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. The election itself is a democratic institution that elects members of the people's representatives in the MPR, DPR, DPRD, which in turn tasked with being together with the government, setting politics and running the government of the country”.

Meanwhile, according to Morissan, the election is:

“Ways or means to find out the wishes of the people regarding the future direction and policy of the country. There are at least several types of general election objectives, namely: there may be a safe and orderly transfer of government and to exercise popular sovereignty in the context of exercising the rights of citizens ”(<http://seputarpengetahuan.co.id>).

According to Suryo Untoro, the election was defined as:

“General Election (hereinafter abbreviated as General Election) is an election conducted by Indonesian citizens who have the right to vote, to elect their representatives who sit in the House of Representatives, namely the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional House of

Representatives Level I and Level II (DPRD I and DPRD II) "(Chacha, 2018).

So it can be concluded that the General Election (Election) is a means provided for the public to be able to elect representatives to occupy the seat of government per the wishes of the community and also based on the principles of elections, namely (LUBER JURDIL) or Direct, General, Free, Confidential, Honest, and Fair.

#### **d. Political Parties**

The definition of political parties according to experts includes: Robert Michels said that political parties "as a political entity, as a mechanism, do not automatically identify themselves with the interests of their members as well as the social class they represent" (Suantra & Nurmawati, 2016). Whereas political parties, according to H. Soltou, are a group of people who are organized and politically based and use their power to elect, control the government, and carry out general policies (<http://sosiologis.com/partai-politik>). A different definition put forward by Carl J. Friedrich, according to him political parties are:

"A group of people who are stably organized to seize or maintain control of government for the leadership of their party and based on this mastery gives their party members the benefits that are idiotic and material "(Budiardjo, 2008).

From the definitions of political parties conveyed by several experts, it can be concluded that a political party is an organized, stable, and politically based group that has the objective to gain and maintain power in government.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research uses qualitative research. Qualitative research is "research whose data are expressed in verbal form and analyzed without using statistical techniques" (Alfianka, 2018). Data collection techniques used in this study were documentation and interviews. Data analysis techniques used are data reduction, data presentation, and data verification.

## **RESULT**

### **a. Representation of Women in the 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

#### **a) Representation of Women Legislative Candidates in Elections**

At present, the representation of women in politics or government has been regulated in the Law to include 30 percent representation of women. The total number of Women Legislative Candidates in the Bantul Regency was 204 people in the 2019 Election, both for the total electoral districts and political

parties. If a comparison of the overall female candidates' data and the selected women's candidates will look like this:

**Table 1.3 Comparison of the Number and Percentage of Women and Men Candidates in the 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

No	Political Parties	Women		Men		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1	PAN	15	44	19	56	<b>34</b>
2	Partai Berkarya	10	50	10	50	<b>20</b>
3	PBB	11	55	9	45	<b>20</b>
4	PDIP	21	47	24	53	<b>45</b>
5	Demokrat	22	52	20	48	<b>42</b>
6	GERINDRA	19	43	25	57	<b>44</b>
7	Partai GARUDA	5	50	5	50	<b>10</b>
8	GOLKAR	20	45	24	55	<b>44</b>
9	HANURA	5	50	5	50	<b>10</b>
10	PKS	19	42	26	58	<b>45</b>
11	PKB	15	43	20	57	<b>35</b>
12	NASDEM	18	45	22	55	<b>40</b>
13	PPP	9	43	12	57	<b>21</b>
14	PSI	6	50	6	50	<b>12</b>
15	PERINDO	8	53	7	47	<b>15</b>
16	PKPI	1	50	1	50	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>204</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>439</b>

**Source: Processed from the Website of the General Election Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia**

From the table, there are four new parties in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency, among others, the Working Party, the Indonesian Change Movement Party (GARUDA), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), and the Indonesian Unity Party (PERINDO). This is because the political party has only been verified factually by the Bantul KPU about checking the management data, women's representation, and checking the address of political party office buildings as reported from jogja.tribunnews.com. The percentage of overall female legislative candidates in the Bantul Regency increased by 2% from the election in the previous year which only reached 44% to 46% in the 2019 election. In elections and it is increasingly clear how the movements are carried out by women in Indonesia, especially in Bantul Regency itself, with many female legislative candidates advancing in the election to become members of the Bantul Regency Regional Representative Council (DPRD).

#### **b) Election of Women Legislative Candidates in Elections**

The Bantul Regency Election Commission (KPU) has appointed 45 seats in the Bantul Regency DPRD for the 2019-2024 period, which is also the same as the previous

period. But of the 45 seats contested in the Bantul Regency DPRD, only four women candidates were elected, with the following table:

**Table 1.4 Comparison of the Number of Women Candidates Selected in the 2014 and 2019 Elections**

No	Political Parties	Women		Men		Total
		Σ	%	Σ	%	
1	PKB	0	0	6	100	<b>6</b>
2	GERINDRA	1	12,5	7	87,5	<b>8</b>
3	PDIP	1	9,1	10	90,9	<b>11</b>
4	GOLKAR	1	20	4	80	<b>5</b>
5	PKS	0	0	4	100	<b>4</b>
6	PAN	1	20	4	80	<b>5</b>
7	DEMOKRAT	0	0	2	100	<b>2</b>
8	PBB	0	0	1	100	<b>1</b>
9	PPP	0	0	2	100	<b>2</b>
10	NASDEM	0	0	1	100	<b>1</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>8,9</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>91,1</b>	<b>45</b>

**Source: Processed from the Official Website of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Bantul Regency**

From the table above there are four elected female candidates namely two female incumbent candidates namely Arni Tyas Palupi, ST from the Golkar Party, and Suratun, SH from PAN. Then two new female candidates elected newcomers Novi Sarhati from the Gerindra Party and Nur Yuni Astuti, S. Sos., SH from PDI Perjuangan and it can also be concluded that the electability of female candidates in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency was only 4 female candidates elected or 8.9 % or it can be said that it is not proportional to the representation of all political parties participating in the election which includes female candidates and if totaled to be 204 female candidates or 46%. So it can be concluded that the Bantul Regency for women's representation in parliament does not or has not met the 30% quota as specified.

## **b. Factors Affecting Women in the 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

### **a) Political Party Support**

From interviews with all informants in this study, from the Golkar Party, PDIP, Gerindra Party, and PAN said that they gave support to all women candidates in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency. Strengthened by the results of the interview with the Chairman of the Golkar Party DPC Bantul Paidi Regency, S. IP supports by giving opportunities to women candidates to advance. Then Arni Tyas Palupi female incumbent candidate elected from the Golkar Party said the party strongly supports 44 candidates who came forward by giving the widest opportunity to actively participate in the community.



This means that by making regulations that must include women's representation by 30%, indirectly making political parties must include women's representation in the abolition and provide more support and motivation to women candidates to advance. Considering the interviewees were from political parties that could be said to be large parties, with a large mass base so that they could open up the opportunity for women candidates to be elected in the Bantul Regency. Forms of support provided by political parties such as providing motivation and providing provisions to candidates especially women. After the results came out, political parties still supported the women candidates who were not elected by including them in the agenda or events held by political parties.

#### **b) Cadre Motivation**

Golkar, Gerindra, and PDIP parties have increased for female candidates in terms of numbers and percentages, except for PAN which tends to be stable. The increase is also due to the motivation of the female cadres themselves to move forward with reasons other than meeting women's representation, for development and infrastructure, some are just trying to know how the fight is in, there is one other reason, namely to fight for women's rights. This was strengthened by the results of an interview with Arni Tyas Palupi, ST female incumbent candidate elected from the Golkar Party, he advanced because of self-motivation because he already had an interest in plunging into politics and having a family with a political background. Then Nur Yuni Astuti, S. Sos., SH, a female legislative candidate selected as a newcomer from PDIP, also advanced in scoring because she felt it would be useful if it could help the community in the development process, both infrastructure and non-infrastructure development.

Cadre motivation can also influence the choice of a female candidate in the election. The motivation that comes from the female cadres themselves will work even more when they compete in the elections. So it can be concluded that the support of political parties and the motivation of cadres to be factors that can influence the choice of women and other factors also found in the field are a lot of time base and also the track record of a candidate can affect the choice of women candidates in elections.

#### **c) Patriarchal Culture**

Patriarchal culture can be an obstacle for women candidates to advance into politics or government. But the researchers found the facts when conducting interviews with all sources that the current patriarchal culture does not become a thick culture in the community. This is because of the mindset of people who have begun to shift with the existence of gender equality in all aspects, one of which is politics or government. This was strengthened by the

results of interviews with female candidates who were not elected from PAN Padmini. He said that the patriarchal culture had begun to diminish in the community because it was sensitive to gender equality. People who previously thought that leadership should be on the shoulders of men began to be displaced by the idea that women can also lead, even with the dual roles they have. What is clear is if a woman has become a leader or legislative member, she must be able to prioritize her duties as a mother and wife with her duties in government or politics.

**d) Selection Process in Political Parties**

All informants said that the selection process in political parties has nothing to do with the factors that influence the choice of women in elections, this is because the choice of women in the election returns to women candidates who fight in the election, what strategies are used to get the masses, get the trust of community when conducting socialization and campaigns in the community. This is reinforced by the answer Arni Tyas Palupi female incumbent candidates elected from Golkar do not affect, but back again how women candidates who fight.

**e) Family Factors**

Family factors can be a barrier for female candidates to be elected as legislative members. This is because the dual role of a female legislative candidate herself, on the one hand, must take care of home affairs but on the one hand, also must focus on conducting campaigns and outreach to the community. The results of interviews with women candidates elected and not elected said that family factors that theoretically prevented women from being elected in the election instead became the main supporting factor.

From several interviewees also came from families who do have a political background, so that it can be the main capital of a female candidate to get a lot of masses and votes. But that does not mean that families who are already in politics will create political dynasties. This is reinforced by the results of interviews with female incumbent candidates elected from PAN, Suratun, he received great support from families, especially her husband and children by providing motivation and enthusiasm, even his friends also supported him to go to parliament. Then, Novi Sarhati, a female candidate who had just been elected from Gerindra, received support from her family, especially her husband, who always gave her great motivation and support.

**f) Multi-party System**

The multi-party system does not become an obstacle for women candidates because from this with so many political parties participating in the election, especially women candidates who come forward to support one another, do not consider other female candidates as competitors. As said by

female candidates who were not elected from PAN, Padmini said that many of these parties instead made women candidates to each other. Researchers instead found other inhibiting factors faced by women candidates not being elected, including the incumbent who was running again and money politics. A case that was said by Sri Wardani, a new female migrant candidate not being elected by the Gerindra Party, that is the incumbent who came forward to be a hindrance because according to him they were already active in the community and also envelopes that were scattered at the dawn attack. A similar sentiment was also said by Sri Lestari, a female migrant candidate who was not elected by PDI-P, because of an incumbent who had advanced so that she had the initial capital to earn time.

The following is a table of the categorization of factors affecting the election of women in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency:

**Table 1. 5 Categorization of Factors Affecting Women's Election in 2019 Elections in Bantul Regency**

No.	Factors	PDIP	GOLKAR	PAN	GERINDRA
1	Political Party Support	supporting	supporting	supporting	supporting
2	Cadre Motivation	supporting	supporting	supporting	supporting
3	Family Factors	supporting	supporting	supporting	supporting
4	Track Record	supporting	supporting	supporting	supporting
5	The Basis Of Mass	supporting	supporting	supporting	supporting
6	<i>The Incumbent Is Running Again</i>	obstacle	obstacle	obstacle	obstacle
7	<i>Money Politic</i>	obstacle	obstacle	obstacle	obstacle

**Source: Processed from Interview Results**

From the table above, after categorizing, there are 5 supporting factors, namely political party support, cadre motivation, family factors, track record, and a large mass base. Furthermore, 2 factors are included in the inhibiting factors, namely the incumbent who is nominating again and money politics. Then the selection process in political parties is not included in the categorization of factors that influence the choice of women because it goes back to the female candidates how they fight in elections.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, the researcher can conclude several things, including:

- a. Factors that influence the choice of women in the 2019 elections in the Regency can be categorized as supporting factors and inhibiting factors. Supporting factors include political party support, cadre motivation, family factors, track record, and a large mass base. The inhibiting factors include the Incumbent who is running again and money politics.
- b. Women's representation in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency can be seen from the representation of women candidates and the selection of women candidates, as follows:
  - a) The representation of female legislative candidates in Bantul Regency has increased in percentage from 44% to 46%. This shows that the regulation that must contain women's representation of 30 percent is running well, even though it only increased by 2% in the 2019 elections. The existing regulations make and require political parties to fulfill a 30% quota because if the political parties do not fulfill the quota cannot register his party to be an eligible participant. Of the 16 political parties participating in the election, all of them have carried or loaded women's representation by 30% or more.
  - b) The choice of female legislative candidates in the 2019 elections in Bantul Regency also increased by 2.3% in the 2019 elections, from 6.6% or 3 female candidates to 8.9% or equivalent to 4 female candidates elected from 45 seats elected fought over and sat in the Bantul Regency DPRD namely Arni Tyas Palupi, ST (Golkar), Suratun, SH (PAN), Novi Sarhati (Gerindra Party) and Nur Yuni Astuti, S. Sos., SH (PDIP). So we can see that the electability with the representation of women candidates is inversely proportional, this is because the electability of women who sit in parliament does not reach a 30 percent quota.

## SUGGESTION

Based on the conclusions and results of the study, the researcher gave several suggestions regarding the factors influencing the choice of women in the 2019 elections given to women candidates not elected, political parties, and the General Election Commission (KPU). First, female candidates are not elected to further improve their quality, such as preparing themselves well in the future so that they can face incumbents who re-nominate, establish good relations with the community at large, establish relationships or relationships with big figures and influential people who can raise the name of the female candidates.

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