The Electability of Women Candidates in The Election of Central Java DPRD in 2014

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Abstract

The study aims to analyze the factors supporting the electability of women candidates in Central Java DPRD election 2014. This type of research is descriptive. Techniques of data collection used the in-depth interviews with all women members of the Central Java DPRD election results 2014. Data processing techniques are data reduction, data display, concluding and verifying. The study found women candidate's electability factors because they master/control the political capital, social capital and economics capital. By political capital (party officials) so candidate nominated in small number candidacy and electoral district party base. Social capital (activists of social/professional organizations) support the loyalty and solidity candidate team and candidate voice, and economics capital to support the political cost. Some of them have kinship with the party elite /social elite so openly their access to social and politics capital. An open list proportional electoral system makes it difficult increasing women representation if not followed party policy affirmations committed. In order to reach the 30% the representation of women in the legislature should be intervention laws forcing the party implementing gender justice policies candidacy

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bermaksud menganalisa faktor-faktor pendukung keterpilihan caleg perempuan di DPRD Jawa Tengah dalam Pemilu 2014. Tipe penelitian ini deskriptif.Teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan wawancara mendalam terhadap seluruh perempuan anggota DPRD Jawa Tengah hasil Pemilu 2014. Teknik pengolahan data dalam penelitian ini adalah reduksi data, display data, penarikan kesimpulan dan verifikasi. Hasil Penelitian menemukan faktor-faktor keterpilihan caleg perempuan karena mereka menguasai modal politik (pengurus partai) sehingga dicalonkan dinomor urut kecil dan dapil basis partai, modal sosial (pengurus organisasi sosial/profesi) yang membantu kerja dan mendapat dukungan suara, dan modal ekonomi untuk biaya politik, dan kekerabatan dengan elit partai/sosial membuka akses untuk modal politik dan sosial. Sistem pemilu proprsional terbuka menyulitkan kebijakan afirmasi jika tidak diikuti komitmen partai. Untuk bisa mencapai keterwakilan 30% perempuan di lembaga perwakilan harus ada intervensi undang-undang yang memaksa partai melaksanakan kebijakan berkeadilan gender dalam pencalonan

Keywords: elections; women candidate selected; support factors

How to Cite: Fitriyah & Supratiwi. 2015. The Electability of Women Candidates in The Election of Central Java DPRD in 2014. *Jurnal Komunitas*, 7 (1): 158-165 doi: 10.15294/komunitas.v6i2.3306

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UNNES JOURNALS

INTRODUCTION

The opportunities for women to participate in determining their own destiny through participation in making public policy and in determining public officials (political participation) is limited. UN convention ratification on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women through Act No. 7 of 1984 on *the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination and Violence Against Women (CEDAW ratification)* does not guarantee the abolishment of discrimination against women. This is seen from the marginalization of women's access to public space, in the domain of social, economic, and political. One form of gender inequality is reflected in the low representation of women in the legislative institution. These conditions encourage women's movement made efforts to increase the amount it through structural interventions in the form of affirmative action (affirmative action) through the application of 30% quota of women candidates. Cetro studies indicate that 30% figure is a representation of the minimum number for a group so that a group can influence the policy process or create alliances between different groups (Kompas, 17-5-2002). Suciptaningsih has an explanation why she fixed 30% quota of women in parliament. According to her, the challenge of female politicians is more severe than male politicians struggle, as well as to provide greater opportunities for women to take part in politics (Suciptaningsih, 2010). Another consideration, with more representation of women in the legislature, is expected to be born policies that are more responsive to the gender (SIH and Fatmah G, 2012).

The 2004 election was the first election the enactment of affirmative action through the provision of a 30% quota for women to be nominated as members of Parliament and the Council (Article 65 paragraph 1 of Act No. 12 of 2003). The fulfillment of 30% quota in the practice is highly dependent on the commitment of political parties to put women candidates and place them in the serial number in the strategic electoral district. The process of nomination of candidates is one of the crucial role played by political parties (Matland, 2005: 93). In fact many women candidates were placed on the number of shoes so that the results of the 2004 election did not change the number of women legislators.

The efforts towards the new changes appear in the 2009 Election. Act No. 10 of 2008 is more in favor of women than of Act No. 12 of 2003. Alignments can be seen in Article 8 paragraph 1 (d), which regulates the electoral party include a minimum of 30% women representation in the central level management. Article 53 sets up a list of candidates containing at least 30 percent of female representation. Article 55, paragraph 2 set in the list of candidates for each of the three candidates there are at least one woman (zipper system or alternate). Article 214 sets the elected candidates for the DPR, Provincial DPRD and regency / city is determined based on the candidate who obtained the votes at least 30% of voters divisor (BPP), if there is no 30%, the elected candidate is determined based on the serial number.

Open conditional proportional electoral system (Article 214) which is combined with a zipper system or alternately (Article 55, paragraph 2) in the preparation of the list of candidates is the electoral system which is more friendly for women (Surbakti, Supriyanto, Asyari, 2011: 8). The research of the implementation of the electoral system and the percentage of women's representation in the countries all over the world find the majority of countries have female representation equal to or above 30% is a country with a system of proportional election list that collaborated with affirmative action, in particular the minimum quota rules and alternating system (WRI, 2009). Unfortunately, the open conditional formula proportional election was canceled by the Constitutional Court (Constitutional Court Decision No. 22-24 / PUU-IV / 2008), became the determination of the elected candidate is determined based on the acquisition of a majority vote. These changes led into affirmative action deemed of no value anymore because women have to compete openly with male candidates. This system was also applied in the 2014 election by Law No. 8 of 2012.

It was surprising the majority voting system is actually no increase in the representation of women in Central Java Provincial Parliament, in many areas and in the Parliament. The number of women legislators of Central Java province rose significantly from 15 percent (2004) to 21% (2009) and 24% (2014). However, an increasing number of women's representation is still far from the figure of 30% as the critical minority of women's quota.

In addition about the electoral system as described above, the study Women Research Institute (WRI, 2009) shows a number of barriers to women candidates in running the elections, namely (1) Women 'losing start "in the politics compared with men; (2) Expenses plated female-owned (private, public and community); (3) The economic factor is lower than men; (4) the women political education is lower compared with the men; (5) The label of patriarchal values through the culture and religion against women, and the women who were elected in the 2009 elections could overcome all these obstacles. The findings of the study as Suciptaningsih in Kendal, one of the districts in Central Java, that the low representation of women in legislative institution because many obstacles faced by women to advance into the realm of politics, such as socio-cultural constraints, politics, psychology and economics (Suciptaningsih, 2009).

These barriers also show that the election of the contestation of the election could not be separated from the ownership of capital. Marijan Kacung considers it is important mastery the economic capital in the elections, including region elections. According to him, the electoral needs large capital, not only for the campaign, but also to build the relationships with prospective voters to direct the voters during the campaign, and also for money politics (Marijan 2006: 93-95). However, the economic capital is not the only factor. Based on his studies in the region election, when the elected candidates pair is likely to have three major capital, political capital, social capital and economic capital. All of the three factors can stand on their own without any connec-

tion, but often linked to each other (Marijan 2006: 85). The importance of capital control in the legislative elections *(pileg)* become irrelevant appointed, with open proportional system, the *pileg* contestation similar to the election, the contestation among the candidates, not between the parties.

Based on the description above, the problem of this research is focused on identifying the driving factor in the election of women in Central Java Parliament in the 2014 election. It is also meant to create a model of the election of women in Central Java Parliament in the 2014 election.

METHODS

This type of qualitative descriptive study. Descriptive research aims to create a description, picture or painting in a systematic, factual and accurate information on the facts, as well as the nature of the relationship between the phenomenon investigated. This study therefore aims to create a description or picture of systematic, factual and accurate picture of the factors that encourage the election of women in Central Java Provincial Parliament in the 2014 election and his election models. The type of data in this study are primary data and secondary data. Data collection techniques are used according to the type of data that is desired, as follows: (1) Primary data was collected by using in-depth interviews with informants, namely 24 women legislators in Central Java Parliament the results of the 2014 election; and (2) Secondary Data collected by tracking techniques of documentation, mass media, research, books, journals, and statistical reports. Data processing techniques in this research is data reduction, data display, conclusion and verification.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Legislative election in 2014 has been implemented. KPU has announced the results. There was a change in the profile of political parties and candidates were entered in the Central Java Parliament. The number of political parties which are gained seats in Central Java Parliament from 10 political parties dropped to just 8 political parties.

PKNU (1 seat) did not qualify as a political party participating in the election, Hanura (4 seats) failed to get the seats again. As a replacement, Nasdem Party entered with four seats.

PDIP again won the most huge seats gaining, with 27% votes. PDI-P also increased the number of the seats as in *Pileg* 2009 was only 23% votes. PKB ranks second in the number of seats, followed by Gerindra Party. While the Demokrat Party, if in 2009 Pileg out second, its seats down much until he was in fifth place. Nasdem Party has the most small seats gaining, only 4%.

From the total 100 seats in the parliament of Central Java, 64% were new faces, so the incumbent is only 36%. PKS was a party which contains the majority of new faces. From the 10 seats which were obtained, 9 are new. PPP gained 8 seats in the Parliament of Central Java, four of them are new faces.

The number of seats for women rose from 21% of the seats (*Pileg 2009*) to 24% of the seats *(Pileg 2004)*. From the total of 13 (54%) women candidates elected were new. In terms of number, PDIP was the most capable party of sending women candidates who were elected majority in Central Java Parliament, as many as 10 people. Next Golkar Party with 4 people, and the PKB 3 people. So the third party provide approximately 70% representation of women in Central

Java Parliament. While the PKS and Nasdem Party failed to send.

The Elected Women Candidates Profile in Central Java Parliament 2014

The number of women candidates were nominated in Central Java Parliament as many as 392 candidates or 37.76% of the total candidates who reached 1,038 people. From the total 24 candidates or only 6% were selected. Some parties managed to increase the number of elected women candidates, namely PKB, PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra. PPP in 2009-2014 had no female representatives, now send two representatives. Demokrat and PAN down the number of female representatives. PKS still was not able to send female candidates in Central Java Parliament. Hanura in the 2009 election had 3 representatives of women failed to retain the seat in the Central Java Parliament. Nasdem, who first advanced in the election, won 4 seats, but no seats for female candidates. PBB and PKPI which were party *gurem* fail to gain seats in the Central Java Parliament.

The data in the table above shows the addition of seats in PDIP, PKB and Gerindra are followed by the addition of the elected women candidates. PDIP was able to maintain 6 incumbents.

Although there were additional of the elected women candidates, as we could see

Tabel 1. Parties profile, Seats, and Elected Women in the Central Java Parliament 2014-2019

No.	Political Parties	Votes	Percentage	Seats	Elected Women	Percentage
1.	Nasdem	763.074	4.48	4	0	0.0
2.	PKB	2.259.365	13.28	13	3	23.0
3.	PKS	1.147.546	6.4	10	0	0.0
4.	PDI Perjuangan	4.675.913	27.49	27	10	37.03
5.	Golkar	1.786.311	10.5	10	4	40.0
6.	Gerindra	1.962.641	11.54	11	2	18.18
7.	Demokrat	1.278.619	7.52	9	2	22.22
8.	PAN	1.166.885	6.86	8	1	12.5
9.	PPP	1.181.532	6.94	8	2	25.0
10.	Hanura	602.415	3.54	0	0	0.0
11.	PBB	112.263	0.66	0	0	0.0
12.	PKPI	70.187	0.41	0	0	0.0
	Total	17.006.750	100.0	100	24	24.0

Sources: Central Java KPU, 2014 (treated)

Table 2. The Acquisition of Women Candidates Votes in the Central Java Parliament in 2009 and 2014 Election

No.	Political Parties	Seats		Explanation
		2009	2014	
1.	Nasdem	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	-
2.	PKB	1 (4.76%)	3 (12.5%)	Increase (1 incumbent, 2 new)
3.	PKS	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	-
4.	PDIP	8 (38.09%)	10 (41.66%)	Increase(6 incumbent)
5.	Partai Golkar	3 (14.28%)	4 (16.66%)	Increase (1 incumbent, 3 new)
6.	Partai Gerindra	1 (4.76%)	2 (8.33%)	Increase (2 new)
7.	Partai Demokrat	3 (14.28%)	2 (8.33%)	Decrease (1 incumbent, 1 new)
8.	PAN	2 (9.52%)	1 (4.16%)	Decrease (incumbent)
9.	PPP	0 (0.0%)	2 (8.33%)	Increase (2 new)
10.	Partai Hanura	3 (14.28%)	0 (0.0%)	Decrease
11.	PBB	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	-
12.	PKPI	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	-
	Total	21 (100.0%)	24 (100.0%)	

Sources: Central Java KPU, 2014 (treated)

Table 3. The Election Opportunity of Women Candidates in Central Java Parliament 2014

	Candidates	Seats	The opportunity of election	Explanantion
Total Candidates	1.038	100	9.63	
Men Candidates	646	76	11.76	+ 2.13
Women Candidates	392	24	6.12	-3,51

Sources : Central Java KPU, 2014 (treated)

the election of women candidate opportunities in Central Java is still less than men candidates. It can be seen from the data sorting chances of election which indicates that the chances of the election of women candidates are lower than the men candidates.

The low chances for women election showed no intact women votes are given to women candidates, although in general the women voters who have always been the target group of women candidates. The number of women voters who achieved more than 50% are not comparable to the number of women candidates who were elected only 24%.

Imbalance between the population and representatives in the Parliament since the beginning, the constituency of women who are balance with the men constituency, reduced at the level of candidacy, and increasingly reduced in the parliament. Thus, the low representation of women in local legislative institution of Central Java showed the aspirations of women still represented by the dominant men members.

In mobilizing female candidates voters combine the winning strategy with modern approach or with conventional means and cultural. The modern approach is done by maximizing the use of properties, advertising on radio, sending messages via short message service (SMS), and create an area base mapping. Conventional and cultural way, performed, among others, by using the religion devotions as means to meet face to face with the constituents.

Make voters support mapping area is

Table 4. Citizens Data, Voters, Candidates and Central Java Elected Candidates (2014 Election)

Population		Voters		Candidates		Elected Candidates	
M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
50,58%	49,42%	49.72%	50.28%	62.24%	37.76%	66%	24%

Source : Central Java KPU, 2014 (treated)

Table 5. Women Candidates Winning Strategies

No.	Women Candidates	Area Mapping	Properties	Visitations
1.	Hj. Nur Sa'adah, S.Pd.I., MH	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Hj. Siti Rosidah	No	Yes	Yes
3.	Lailatul Arofah	-	-	-
4.	Dyah Kartika Permanasari, SE., MM	Yes	Yes	Yes
5.	Rr. Maria Tri Mangesti	No	Yes	Yes
6.	Ayuning Sekar Suci, Bbus., MIB/MA	Yes	Yes	Yes
7.	Ir. MG. Nuniek Sri Yuningsih Hariati, MS	No	Yes	Yes
8.	Hj. Kadarwati, SH., MH.	No	Yes	Yes
9.	Peni Dyah Perwitosari, S.Sos.	Yes	No	No
10.	Hj. Endrianingsih Yunita, SP.	No	Yes	Yes
11.	Hj. Sri Ruwiyati, SE., MM.	No	No	Yes
12.	dr. Messy Widiastuti, MARS	Yes	Yes	Yes
13.	Hj. Irna Setiawati, SE.	Yes	Yes	Yes
14.	Hj. Siti AmbarFatonah, S.Pd.I	-	-	-
15.	Hj. Farida Rahmah, S.Ag, MSi	Yes	Yes	Yes
16.	Hj. Sri Harini	No	Yes	Yes
17.	Hj.RA. Kusdilah, SH, M.Hum	No	Yes	Yes
18.	Hj. Sri Hartini, ST.	Yes	Yes	Yes
19.	Anisa Devy Ika Natalia, SS.	Yes	Yes	Yes
20.	Hj. Kartina Sukawati, SE	No	Yes	Yes
21.	Hj.Tety Indarti,SH	No	Yes	Yes
22.	Dra. Hj. Sri Marnyuni	No	Yes	Yes
23.	Hj. Hartinah, BA	Yes	Yes	Yes
24.	Hj. Nur Khasanah, SH	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes Answers	11 (50.0%)	20 (90.9%)	21 (95.45%)

Sources: Interviews, 2014 (treated)

a strategy which is selected by 50% of women candidates. This method begins with identifying the supporting base area. Focus on a limited area has the advantage to save money and more easily to control in order to the voters change their choices on the D-day. For example Peni Dyah Perwitosari only has 5 districts in the beginning she ran as a member of Central Java parliament. If the mapping strategy area support base has not been chosen by the majority of the candidates, the use of properties which are carried by almost all women candidates, the same thing on the activities of field visits to meet the voters directly. Two of these activities require huge funds, linked with the necessary properties procurement and distribution costs. A visitation to the field also requires a large fund, there must be a team that facilitates meetings (generally meet the specific community in a forum), providing snacks and souvenirs or cash.

The obstacle which is experienced by the female candidates is money politics were strengthened in the 2014 election (The Indonesian Institute, 2014). All women candidates said resist and avoid the money politics. Referring to the Act No. 8 of 2012, which is referred to the money politics is a concept that refers to the activity of buying and selling the votes between candidates / team and the voters in order to win the election. This concept can not touch any other form of money politics, namely cash, money transport, or the provision of needs which are all conducted in the election period and intended to win the election contestation. During a visit to the communities there is the provision of needs or cash, but it is not seen as a cheating.

Electability Supporting Factors

From the text above it can be concluded there is a general pattern of a number of the conditions that must be met by the female candidates to be elected, it could be in the form of the accumulation or partially fulfilled:

1. The serial number of the nomination has contributed to the election of women candidates, the number one has the greatest probability of being chosen. Our complex electoral system, plus the limited ability of the voters increasingly give good opportunity to win for number one.
2. Regional elections which became the basis of the party votes, the election of women candidates provide the opportunities. Political work is not individual work. Bearer party factor is also important.
3. To be able to get the small serial number and the constituent region which became the basis of the party votes, a female candidate should have political capital. The strategy, the female candidates should be entered as a board of political parties, especially the main organization. In general, the party has a mechanism of determining the sequence number based on the activities in the party. The constituent region placement can be more flexible to build the dialogue between the can-

didates and party officials compared the serial number which is the full power of party officials, usually domicile factors consideration.
4. Capital network has an important role for the election of women candidates, activites in social and professional organizations better ensure the candidates to form the winning team *(tim sukses)* which is loyal and solid. More friendships have strong ties. Social organizations / professions whose the members are numerous and geographically broad will be a vote target group for the candidates.
5. The economic capital or funds are also an important factor to drive the political machine. Money is very important in the elections. Political cost, based on the experience of women candidates ranges from 200 million to 1 billion. A number of appropriate strategies can reduce these costs. The strength of the network including those capable of charges pressing.
6. Kinship political / social, which is related by blood or marriage between female candidates by the elite party / religion could be a factor in determining the election of women candidates. Through kinship female candidates can use all the political access / religion.

Accumulation of the above factors which explain the election of 24 members of Central Java parliament.

After finding the factors that encourage the election of women in the 2014 election in Central Java Parliament could be described as follows in Picture 1.

Differentiate between the money politics (cost politics), or official expenses which is permitted by the act / regulation, such as printing the properties which are distributed to the voters and money politics, the provision of which is prohibited in the form of money / needs to be exchanged by the votes (votes buying). The act made money politics category of aspect goals / intentions, who gave it, and when it was given. On the field the two concepts are overlap, it is often difficult to distinguish candidates while the election authorities also had no similar understanding.
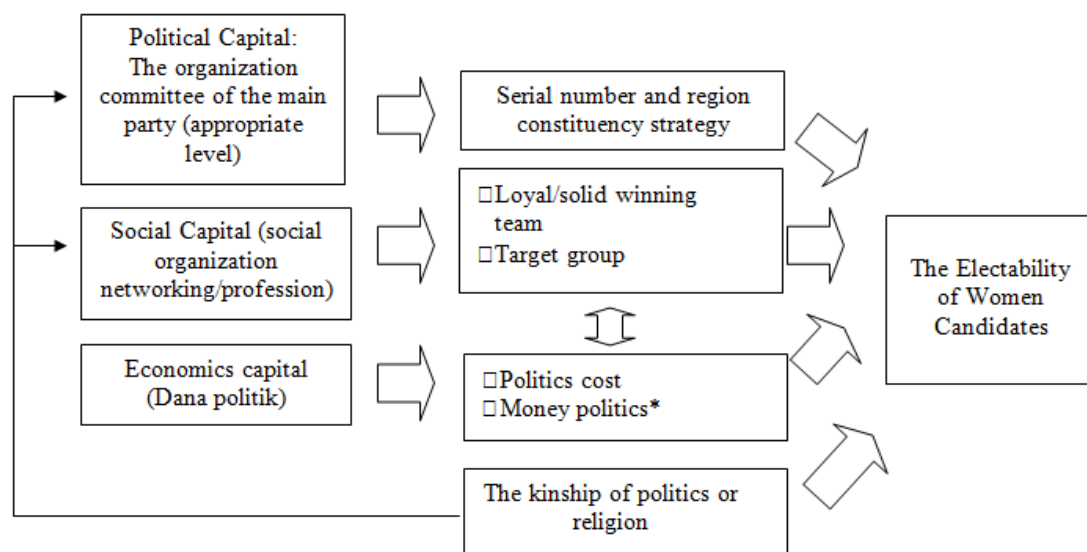
Picture 1. Women Candidates Electabilty Model in Central Java Parliament in 2014

CONCLUSION

The election on April 9, 2014 and had resulted in 24 women candidates elected or by 6.12% of the total 392 female candidates. Compared with the opportunity of the men candidates, the opportunity of the women candidates is smaller. From the total men candidates as much as 646 were elected 76 candidates (11.83%). Since the beginning of the nomination, there is existing injustice placement of women in the nomination. The number of women who were nominated as much as 37.76%, whereas the number of women voters 50.28%. From the total female candidates, the number 1 is only occupied by 16 (4.08%) female candidates and number 2 by 37 (9.43%). Strategic serial number is still dominant by men candidates which is the policy is fully in the power of political parties. This pattern explains the low commitment of political parties to nominate at least 30% female representation in the local legislative institution of Central Java. Affirmative policies is adhered to the function as a procedure rather than a commitment. It seems, mainly based on the results of a women candidates elected study, it is the factors that support it. It shows the chance of the elected women depends on the political capital strength, social and economic which she has. This process is not related to the affirmations, affirmation occurs because of kinship that discriminatory obtained because of marriage or blood relationship with the elite political/social becomes patron.

The study of the women candidates electability explain the factors which support the elected women in the Central Java Parliament in 2014 election, associated with: how the marketing strategy is; how about the fund; how about the women networking; how about the party role and how the system is, as follows:

First, from the aspect of marketing strategies, the research found women candidates have used the modern strategies. They use the research of the political mapping in the constituency despite not using the survey service, as the result, it can calculate the power of the votes. They are the focus of the party base area, the birthplace and domicile. This step is done by 50% of women candidates. Properties begin to be a selective choice of the type and number, name cards, properties are almost absolute owned by all female candidates. Political advertising is almost certainly not be used, except in a limited number of radio and SMS. Since this process, women candidates already preparing the cost and the effectiveness of the strategy. In addition to the modern way, the conventional and cultural way, friendship, visitation, which essentially con-

cerned candidates come to the voters in the cultural forum has been done by almost all the women candidates. All of these activities need substantial funds, some of the strategies that have been able to reduce costs but not eliminate the money as an interest in the election

Secondly, all women candidates showed their funds readiness. Private money is the main source, almost no fund from political parties, even women candidates bear witness costs together. Political costs incurred between Rp 200 million - 1 billion. The amount of the costs between the incumbent and the new candidates showed no difference. The charges more correlated with the number of obtained votes. The lowest costs incurred by the candidate with the lowest votes.

Third, almost all women candidates have backgrounds as an organization activist, whether political, social, and professional. Political networks contribute to the placement of the names in the list of candidates, in what sequence of the number and which area. Within certain limits the party became a political machine. Social networking / profession has a bigger role for the political machine, forming a winning team which has more loyal and solid quality and gain more voters target.

Fourth, political work is not an individual work, therefore, political party factor is very important in encouraging the election of women candidates. The election areas which become the party base is more favorable for women candidates to be elected, particularly the benefit received by the candidate sequence number 1. Intricate and complex open proportional electoral system voters are faced with a limited quality level of political education, explaining the tendency of voters who prefer candidate number 1 for the party which they support. The party factor can be seen clearly in the number of seats PDIP, PKB and Gerindra which was rising up, as well as the Democratic Party was go down.

Fifth, open proportional electoral system encourages open competition among all candidates. This research found a tendency of men candidates have more chances to be elected, because the requirements to be elected is associated with the mastery of a number of capital, political, social, economic, accumulation or dominant. Women candidates are generally have limited capital, this research shows all the women candidates were elected because they control the capitals. Besides the three factors which mention above, the factors of kinship with the elite party / public figures will more accumulate the capital of women candidates.

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