

Woman in Local Political Contestation: Determinants of Women's Election in the 2019 Legislative Election in South Sumatra Province-Indonesia

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Abstract. In the current era of emancipation, women get the same political rights to be able to enter the political sphere. This article aims to analyze the determinants of women's electability as legislative members of the House of Regional Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPD RI) representing the Province of South Sumatra and the interdependence of the determinants of the electability of DPD RI members with the basis of vote acquisition in the 2019 elections. The 2019 election results show that the election of women representatives of South Sumatra Province in the DPD RI institution resulted in 4 women with a percentage of 100% women. The percentage of women's electability from South Sumatra has increased from the previous 2014 election which was only around 75% and in this 2019 election South Sumatra became the highest electoral district in Indonesia that had female representation. The elected women were candidates who were running for the first time and managed to defeat the incumbent candidates. This article uses descriptive qualitative research methods to describe the phenomenon of women's election in local political contestation by reducing data from four women elected as legislative members of DPD RI. The results of this study indicate that the determinants of the electability of female DPD members representing South Sumatra are influenced by determinants of political kinship and also political patrons. Of the four elected members of DPD RI, three of them were influenced by determinants of political kinship because they had family relationships with local elites, and one was influenced by determinants of political patrons as academics and former public officials. The factor of kinship with local elites influences the vote base of elected women. The bases of the elected women's votes show that they are located in areas that correlate with the areas of power of local elites. Meanwhile, the vote as a public official shows that the votes are evenly distributed throughout the region.

Keywords: *Determinants Elected; Female; Kinship Politics; Patron Politics.*

A. INTRODUCTION

The 2019 general election results showed encouraging results for women in Indonesia. This is at least shown by the increasing number of women elected in the legislative institution. Based on the results of the 2019 elections, out of 575 members of the House of Representatives, there were 118 elected female members of the House of Representatives, or a percentage of 20.5% [1]. When compared to the previous election, this number has increased whereas in 2014 the percentage was only 17, 32%. The DPD institution also experienced the same thing, In the results of the 2019 election out of 132 elected DPD members there were 42 elected female DPD RI members, or around 31.81%. This has also increased when compared to the election results in 2014 which were only 35 people or only 26.51%. [2] This is because since the reform era, various efforts have been made by the Government of Indonesia to increase women's participation in politics in Indonesia. These policies include affirmative action and zipper system policies. Affirmative action policy is a policy made so that election participants pay attention to women's representation of at least 30% in the composition of the list of legislative candidates when proposing female legislative candidates. [3] This was by the mandate of Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning election organizers, Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, and Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning the election of DPR, DPD, and DPRD.

The provisions contained in the two laws are still normative because there are no sanctions for political parties that violate them [1]. Affirmative policies continued to be refined in the next general election process in 2009. This is in accordance with what is contained in the legal rules governing the 2009 election process, namely Law No. 22 of 2007 concerning election organizers, Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties and Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning the election of DPR, DPD and DPRD. The affirmative policy in these rules regulates starting from the obligation to pay attention to women's representation of 30% in the electoral institution, the obligation of each political party in compiling management to contain 30% of women from the central to regional levels, the list of legislative candidates must contain 30% of female candidates starting from the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency / City DPRD levels [3].

In addition to the Affirmative Action policy in the 2009 elections, the government also made a zipper system policy. The zipper system is a policy that regulates the serial number of legislative candidates submitted by political parties. In this regulation, political parties are required to nominate at least one woman for every three legislative candidates [3]. In the next elections in 2014 and the 2019 elections, the policy was maintained in order to increase women's political participation. With these various policies, the trend of increasing the number of female legislative members in Indonesia has increased significantly from each post-reform election. The peak in the 2019 elections was the highest number of elected female legislative members in Indonesia, both in the DPR RI and DPD RI. The results of the 2019 election there were 118 elected female DPR RI members or as many as 20.52 percent and there were 42 elected female DPD members or as many as 30, 8% of all elected DPD members.

South Sumatra Province is one of the provinces in Indonesia with an increasing number of female representatives based on the 2019 election results. To see the comparison of the number of elected women from the 2014 and 2019 elections in South Sumatra, it can be seen from the following table:

Table 1. Comparison of Women's Election in Legislative Institutions from South Sumatra

Legislative Institution	2014				2019			
	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%
DPR RI	3	17,6	14	82,3	5	29,4	12	71
DPD	3	75	1	25	4	100	0	0

Source: Processed by researchers [4]

From the table above, it can be seen that the results of the 2014 elections, the number of elected members of the DPR RI representing South Sumatra was 3 people with a percentage of 17, 6%. Based on the results of the 2019 election, the number of elected women has increased to 5 people with a presentation close to 30%, which is 29.4%. The increase also occurred in the DPD institution. In 2014 the number of elected females DPD members representing South Sumatra province amounted to 3 people with a percentage of 75%. In 2019 the number of DPD members representing South Sumatra Province has increased to 4 people with a percentage of 100% and is the highest in Indonesia.

Based on these data it appears that women dominate as elected DPD members from South Sumatra DAPIL. The South Sumatra Electoral District (DAPIL) is a province that has the highest number of female DPD members in Indonesia compared to other provinces in Indonesia that do not even have female representation as DPD RI members, such as Aceh Province, Bangka Belitung Islands, Riau Islands, Bali, South Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, and West Papua. The 2019 election results also showed that 4 elected DPD RI members were female DPD members who defeated incumbent DPD members who had previously occupied DPD RI seats in the previous period. In addition, one of the 4 elected

female DPD candidates was the youngest DPD member in Indonesia who was still 22 years old at the time of inauguration. This is then the focus of this paper where this paper aims to analyze the determinants of women's election as DPD RI members in the 2019 legislative elections.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Affirmative action for women in politics is a policy designed to increase opportunities and access for women in politics. This policy aims to achieve equality and justice for women in politics, who so far still do not have sufficient representation. Those who are able to articulate women's interests are women themselves because they are considered not relatively capable of representing women's interests. As a result, with this thought and departing from the need for a female figure who can occupy the government bench to be able to make policies that can accommodate the interests of women through this affirmative action.

According to Dahlerup [10], Affirmative Action is "Positive Discrimination" within a certain period of time by increasing the representation of women in politics. Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections formulates the law regarding a positive form of subordinate quota for women in the Indonesian political sphere. Affirmative Action or also claimed affirmative action is a policy that is taken so that exclusive groups or groups get an equal place with other groups or groups. In addition, Affirmative Action can also be interpreted as giving special treatment to certain groups, especially women. Dahlerup added that an effective Affirmative Action policy will have consequences for the active political parties in recruiting women to fulfill the quota. In addition, in turn, women's representation using the minimum number (critical mass) can influence norms and political culture. Empowering women in political parties is the earliest step to encourage that equality and justice can be achieved between and women, in the global public in the not too distant future. This step is needed so that the number of women in the legislative forum can be balanced.

C. METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods which are field research. This research is also included in the type of descriptive research, which aims to describe or explain systematically, factually, and accurately about the facts that describe in detail the phenomena that occur in the electability of women in the legislature. This research focuses on the determinants of women's electability in the 2019 legislative elections in South Sumatra Province. This research involves data collection and data sources as a way to obtain appropriate and relevant information both directly and collecting information through various relevant documents. This data was then collected using observation, interview and documentation collection techniques which were then analyzed using data reduction analysis techniques, data presentation and data verification so as to obtain significant data analysis so as to produce an analysis of the determinants of women's electability in the 2019 legislative elections in South Sumatra Province.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women's representation in the political sphere is one of the important benchmarks to examine and assess the enforcement of democratic principles in Indonesia [5]. Democracy provides fair space, access, control and benefits to the entire community to participate actively and critically in all political and government governance at both local and national levels. According to Robert A. Dahl, democracy requires a representative system that can create a situation where every group and social class in society can be fairly represented in the political sphere in parliament, with the aim that in the making and making of public policies there are no groups, social classes of society whose needs and interests are ignored. However, empirical

facts prove that since the discourse of democracy was implemented, the existence of legislative institutions has not been representative. This is the reason why legislative bodies always produce political decisions that do not favor marginalized groups and social classes in society [6].

Women's political participation in electoral political contestation is important to discuss, given the low percentage of women's representation in political institutions (legislative and executive) as determinants of public policy. Reality clearly shows that there are a number of factors that cause the low political representation of women in the political sphere [7]. *First*, the problem of patriarchal culture where traditionally women are always underestimated and not involved in important decision-making processes. The process of marginalizing women in the formal political sphere occurs because of the unequal distribution of women's social roles and functions in both the public and private sectors. This cultural problem causes women to be forced to accept their traditional roles and functions so that it also becomes an obstacle and a challenge to participate in politics. *Second*, institutional problems where there are various forms of regulations and socio-political institutions that always discriminate against women by curbing their socio-political activities. Based on these reasons, it is important to create better political inclusiveness by encouraging and increasing women's political representation in the formal political sphere. The voice of the importance of women's political representation is evidenced by the presence and emergence of various actions, socio-political movements based on women's identity from various countries that demand the elimination of various forms of male hegemony and domination over women in the political sphere. Based on these demands, governments in various countries have produced quota policies or *reservation seats* in encouraging women to actively participate in electoral political contestation [8].

The lack of women's representation in parliament was addressed by introducing *affirmative action* policies to be applied in the structure of political party boards and in the list of legislative candidates. The affirmation concept was then outlined in the post-reform public policy package, namely: Law No. 31 of 2002 and Law No. 12 of 2003 for the 2004 elections; Law No. 2 of 2008 and Law No. 10 of 2008 for the 2009 elections; Law No. 2 of 2011 and Law No. 8 of 2012, for the 2014 elections, and Law No. 2 of 2011 and Law No. 7 of 2017 for the 2019 elections. In the context of the 2019 elections, the affirmative policy is contained in the policy of Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties which emphasizes that the management of political parties must pay attention to the value of gender equality and justice. This is also stated in Law No.7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which includes at least 30 percent of women's representation in the management of political parties at the central level [7].

Determinants of Election of Women DPD Members Representative of South Sumatera Province

Over the past few decades, Indonesia has begun to show changes regarding the increase in the percentage of women's political representation in public sectors such as the bureaucracy, cabinet, legislature and other institutions. KPU data on the 2019 legislative elections noted that there was an increasing trend towards female legislative candidates in both the DPR RI and DPD Institutions compared to the 2014 election results. In 2014 the number of elected females DPR RI members was 17, 32% and increased to 20, 5% based on the election results in 2029. The same thing also happened in the DPD Institution, the election results in 2014 the number of elected females DPD members was 26, 51% and the election results in 2019 increased to 31.81%. The percentage of women elected in the DPD institution is something to be proud of, because it is a figure that is considered representative and in accordance with what is expected by affirmative policies and in accordance with the minimum critical mass standards agreed

upon by countries in the world in the *Beijing Platform for Action*, which is at least 30%. (Firmansyah & Faradhila, 2022)

South Sumatera Province is a province with an increasing number of women representatives in DPD Institution and is the province with the highest number of female DPD members. In 2014 the number of female DPD members representing South Sumatera Province was 3 out of 4 elected DPD members or as a percentage of 75%. The 2019 election results of the number of elected DPD members of the 4 available seats are all four women or 100% percentage and are the most in Indonesia. The four elected women are candidates who have never been elected or sat in the previous legislative institution and of the four elected women are candidates who managed to defeat incumbent candidates. The four elected women are Eva Susanti, Amaliah, Jialyka Maharani, Arniza Nilawati.

There are several factors that influence the selection of women in the political realm as legislative members of DPD RI, both internal and external factors. In internal factors, motivation, education, and political awareness of women to actively participate in the world. Not only that, there are also external factors that influence women's electability in politics, such as kinship, popularity, capital, and political factors. To see the most determinant factor in the electability of DPD Women representatives of South Sumatera, the following is the profile of elected DPD Women Representatives of South Sumatera for the 2019-2024 period.

Table 2. Profile of DPD Members of South Sumatera Province Representatives elected for the period 2019-2024

No	Name	Number of Votes	Relationship in Politics
1	Eva Susanti	344.143	Wife of Wahyu Sanjaya (Member of the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 and 2019-2024 Periods from Dapil II South Sumatra) Daughter-in-law of Kahar Muzakir (Member of the House of Representatives 2004-2009, 2009-2014, 2014-2019 and 2019-2024)
2	Amaliah	342,098	Daughter of former Regional Secretary of Ogan Ilir Regency Sobli Rozali Wife of Handry Pratama, Chairman of KNPI Palembang City Niece of the Deputy Governor of South Sumatra for the 2018-2023 period and Former Regent of Ogan Ilir for the 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 periods.
3	Jialyka Maharani	337,954	Daughter of Ogan Ilir Regent Ilyas Panji Alam 2017-2021 Period
4	Arniza Nilawati	298.189	Academician of Muhammadiyah Palembang University Regional Coordinator of the Family Hope Program (PKH) of South Sumatera Province 2011-2018

Source: Processed by Researchers

Based on the table above, it can be seen that of the four elected female DPD members representing South Sumatera, 3 of them have a family relationship with local political elites. Eva Susanti with the most votes with 344,143 votes is the wife of Wahyu Sanjaya and also the daughter-in-law of Kahar Muzakir. Wahyu Sanjaya was a member of the House of Representatives from South Sumatra electoral district II for the 2014-2019 period, and ran again in the 2019-2024 period from the same electoral district and was re-elected. Kahar Muzakir is a senior Golkar Party politician who was a member of the House of Representatives

for the 2004-2009, 2009-2014, 2014-2019 periods and was re-elected in the 2019-2024 period from the South Sumatera electoral district. The elected female DPD member with the second highest number of votes is Amaliah with 342,098 votes. Amelia is the daughter of former Regional Secretary of Ogan Ilir Regency Sobli Rozali, wife of Handry Pratama, Chairman of KNPI Palembang City and is the niece of the Deputy Governor of South Sumatera for the 2018-2023 period and former Regent of Ogan Ilir for the 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 periods. Jialyka Maharani is an elected female DPD member representing South Sumatera with the third highest number of votes with 337,954 votes. She is the daughter of Ogan Ilir Regent Ilyas Panji Alam for the 2017-2021 period. Arniza Nilawati is a female DPD member elected to represent South Sumatera with the fourth highest number of votes with 298,189 votes. Arniza Nilawati is an elected female DPD member who has a different profile from the three other elected female DPD members. Arniza Nilawati is a woman who has a profession as an academic at the University of Muhammadiyah Palembang and also as the Regional Office of the Family Hope Program of South Sumatera Province in 2011-2018.

The determinant factor that most influences the election of Eva Susanti, Amaliah and Jialyka Maharani is the kinship between elected female DPD members and local political elites. The kinship factor is characterized by the presence of a brother either from father, mother, father-in-law, brother or sister who is a politician and has a very strong influence then facilitates politicians from women to build up to achieve and have a role in political leadership (Richter, 1990). Family relationships with local elites can be used as a material base in the process of seeking power, making it easier for children, wives and nephews to gain power. This is because local political elites already have past political investments that are manifested in the form of good government performance while in power and power networks, both formal and non-formal, have been controlled. (Firmansyah & Faradhila, 2022)

The determinant factor that most influences Arniza Nilawati's electability is her position as Regional Coordinator of the Family Hope Program of South Sumatera Province in 2011-2018. This can be seen from the statement submitted related to the reasons for deciding to advance in the election of DPD members. The position as Provincial PKH Regional Coordinator makes her often meet with Social Service people in the Regency Cities in South Sumatera Province so that she gets encouragement and support. (Tribunsumsel.com, 2019). As a PKH coordinator in charge of distributing social assistance for the poor, it can increase market share for legislative candidates, this is because PKH assistance can increase household satisfaction with government administrative services. (Tobias et al., 2017).

Determinant Relationship with the Distribution of Vote Acquisition

Overall, the number of DPD RI seats available is 132 seats. The process of calculating the number of representative seats for each province in Indonesia is calculated equally where each province has 4 seats. The process of electing DPD members as provincial representatives is carried out in all provinces. Determination of elected DPD members is determined by 4 candidates with the most votes.

Table 3. Number of Votes of Elected Female DPD RI Members from South Sumatera

Elected DPD Members	Electoral District														Total			
	Ogan Komering Ulu	Ogan Komering Ilir	Muara Enim	Lahat	Ogan Komering Ulu Timur	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan	Ogan Ilir	Empat Lawang	Pagar Alam	Prabumulih	Pali	Palembang	Lubuk Linggau	Musi Rawas		Musi Banyuasin	Banyuasin	Musi Rawas Utara
Eva Susanti	22.935	13.047	51.611	31.013	38.469	19.368	4.485	10.173	4.440	7.369	5.938	34.662	13.245	25.148	20.333	32.759	9.188	329.017
Amaliah	13.168	38.065	26.844	14.771	30.842	12.180	28.700	8.096	4.857	9.362	9.632	61.251	7.488	15.613	21.513	21.513	4.576	327.888
Jialyka Maharani	5.985	59.922	13.394	11.503	31.622	12.412	86.622	4.291	3.979	3.902	8.255	41.399	3.719	9.594	18.864	17.521	11.503	324.729
Arniza Nilawati	9.908	33.120	17.940	19.102	54.036	14.512	7.028	7.059	5.138	4.061	7.477	32.148	4.638	18.153	23.731	35.064	4.784	285.928

Source: Processed by researchers [4]

Eva Susanti is a DPD member representing South Sumatera Province with the highest number of seats which is 329,017 seats. From the table above, it can be seen that Eva Susanti's most votes were spread in Muara Enim Regency with 51,611 votes, East OKU Regency with 38,459 votes Palembang 34,662 votes, Musi Rawas with 25,148 votes and Banyuasin Regency 32,759 votes. Eva Susanti also managed to get the most votes in 9 city districts in South Sumatra, namely OKU Regency, Muara Enim, Lahat, East OKU, South OKU Four Lawang, Lubuklinggau, Musi Rawas and Musi Banyuasin Regency. The vote acquisition is based on Eva Susanti's birth from Tanah Abang Musi Banyuasin and has a large family in Musi Banyuasin, Muara Enim, Lahat, Pagaralam, and Empat Lawang. Not only that, based on the results of Eva Susanti's votes, it turns out that Eva Susanti's voting base has similarities with the voting base of her husband, Wahyu Sanjaya, who was elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period from South Sumatra DAPIL II. Wahyu Sanjaya won in Muara Enim Regency with 36,641 votes and East OKU Regency with 12,741 (sumsel.kpu.go.id, 2019b). Furthermore, Eva Susanti's vote base also has similarities with her father-in-law, Kahar Muzakir, who was elected as a member of the DPR RI with a mass base in Musi Rawas 14,045 votes and banyuasin 43,114 votes Palembang city 37,410 votes. This shows that Eva Susanti's election as a member of DPD RI for the 2019-2024 period also has interdependence with her political kinship, namely the relationship with her husband and father-in-law who made this a determinant of her election as an elected DPD RI member.

The DPD RI member who got the second highest number of votes was Amaliah who received 327,888 votes. Based on the table above, it can be seen that Amaliah's biggest votes are located in Palembang City with 61,251 votes, OKI Regency with 38,065 votes, East OKU Regency with 30,842 votes and OI Regency with 28,700 votes. Amaliah also managed to get the most votes compared to other candidates in 3 districts in South Sumatra Province, namely Palembang City, Prabumulih City and Pali Regency. Amaliah's vote base was influenced by the presence of her family as local elites. This can be seen from Palembang City as the largest contributor of votes for Amaliah has a relationship where Amelia's husband, Handry Pratama Putra, holds positions as Chairman of the DPC of the Democratic Party and Chairman of DPD KNPI Palembang City. Amaliah's next mass base is in Ogan Ilir Regency where her father, Sobli Rozali, once served as Regional Secretary and also her uncle, Mawardi Yahya, also held the position of former OI Regent for two periods and even at the time of the election her uncle held the position of Deputy Governor of South Sumatra for the 2018-2023 period. Amaliah's next vote base is in Ogan Komering Ilir Regency. As a contested area for prospective DPD RI members, Amaliah managed to get the most votes. This is because OKI is a neighboring regency with OI Regency which was previously a fragment of OKI Regency so that it has

cultural and social structure similarities. It appears that Amaliah's election also has interdependence of kinship with political elites, such as husband, father, and uncle who helped influence Amaliah's mass base so that Amaliah was elected to DPD RI.

Furthermore, the other elected female DPD member with the most votes is Jialyka Maharani. The table shows that Jialyka Maharani's vote base is in Ogan Ilir Regency, Ogan Komering Ilir and Palembang City. Jialyka Maharani's largest mass base is in OI District with the highest number of votes of 86,622 thousand votes. This is because Jialyka Maharani has a political kinship in the OI area because Jialyka is the daughter of the Regent of Ogan Ilir Regency, so Jialyka has the largest mass base in Ogan Ilir. Apart from OI, Jialyka Maharani's voting base is also in OKI Regency and Palembang City. Geographically, Palembang City and OKI Regency are areas directly adjacent to OI Regency and OI Regency is a link between Palembang City and OKI Regency so that Jialyka Maharani also has popularity as the daughter of the OI Regent and this has also become political capital for Jialyka to be elected as a DPD RI member.

The last elected DPD RI member is Arniza Nilawati who has the fourth highest number of votes with 298,189 votes. From the table it can be seen that the votes obtained by Arniza Nilawati are quite evenly distributed in each regency in South Sumatera Province. The even distribution of votes in each district is influenced by her career track record, apart from being an academic, Arniza has also served as the coordinator of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in South Sumatera. As a PKH coordinator and lecturer, Arniza has the opportunity to meet many people and make visits to areas in South Sumatera Province. Although Arniza does not have a family relationship in politics, Arniza has a political network or patron because Arniza once held the position of PKH Coordinator in the South Sumatera region. The existence of PKH beneficiaries and the existence of student alumni spread throughout the province is utilized by Arniza as a political strategy in gaining votes so that she can be elected as a DPD RI member.

The determinant factor that most influence the election of Eva Susanti, Amaliah, and Jialyka Maharani is the existence of kinship between elected female DPD members and local political elites. The kinship factor is characterized by the presence of a brother either from a father, mother, father-in-law, brother, or sister who is a politician and has a very strong influence then facilitates politicians from women to build up to achieve and have a role in political leadership. [7] Family relationships with local elites can be used as a material base in the process of seeking power, making it easier for children, wives, and nephews to gain power. This is because local political elites already have past political investments that are manifested in the form of good government performance while power and power networks, both formal and non-formal, have been controlled. [8]

The determinant factor that most influenced Erniza Nilawati's election was her position as Regional Coordinator of the Family Hope Program of South Sumatera Province from 2011-2018. This can be seen from the statement delivered related to the reason for deciding to advance in the election of DPD members. The position as the Provincial PKH Regional Coordinator makes her often meet with Social Service people in the Regency Cities in South Sumatera Province so that she gets encouragement and support. As a PKH coordinator in charge of distributing social assistance for the poor, it can increase market share for legislative candidates, this is because PKH assistance can increase household satisfaction with government administrative services. [9]

E. CONCLUSION

The election of female DPD members representing South Sumatera in the 2019 election results was influenced by the determinants of political kinship and political patrons. Of the four elected DPD RI members, three of them were influenced by determinants of political

kinship because they had family relationships with local elites either as husbands, children, sons-in-law, or nephews. One other elected woman was influenced by political patron determinants as the former PKH Regional Coordinator of South Sumatera Province and as a Lecturer. The factor of family relations with local elites influenced the elected women's vote base. The bases of the elected women's votes show that they are located in areas that correlate with the areas of power of local elites. Meanwhile, the vote acquisition as PKH coordinator indicates that it is evenly distributed throughout the region.

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