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# Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by Female Legislative Candidates for East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly in the 2019 General Elections

Audra Jovani<sup>1</sup>, Definitif Endrina Kartini Mendrofa<sup>2</sup>, Sidratahta Mukhtar<sup>3</sup>, Ervi S.B. Ketaren<sup>4</sup>,  
Vainels K.L. Lawolo<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Political Science, Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia. Email: audra.jovani@uki.ac.id

<sup>2</sup> Political Science, Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia. Email: definitif@uki.ac.id

<sup>3</sup> Political Science, Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia. Email: sidratahta.mukhtar@uki.ac.id

<sup>4,5</sup> Political Science, Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

Correspondence: Audra Jovani, Political Science, Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, 13630 Indonesia.  
E-mail: audra.jovani@uki.ac.id

## Abstract

This study is prompted by the election of female legislative candidates in East Java's 2019 General Elections. The notable presence of women in the East Java Regional Legislative Assembly serves as a cause for celebration, as it has observed a commendable quantitative surge from a previous count of seven individuals in the 2014 election to a noteworthy tally of 21 individuals in the 2019 election. The research aims to investigate how these four female legislative candidates utilized their social capital to secure their positions as elected members in the 2019 General Elections. The primary informants selected for the study met certain criteria, including being the incumbent legislative member of their electoral area, being the representative of their respective regions, and having a top or early sequence number in the election. This study is founded upon Robert Putnam's social capital theory and is bolstered by Claudia Derich's, Andrea Fleschenberg's, and Momoyo Hustebeck's moral capital theory. The methodology employed in this study is qualitative, employing a case study approach centered around in-depth interviews with four female legislative candidates who were successfully elected as legislative members. The primary findings of this study highlight several key factors that contributed to the election of these four female legislative candidates. These factors include significant support from their family members (spouses and parents) as well as endorsements from various colleagues representing religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni networks. Additionally, their success in the elections can be attributed to the moral capital they possess, which derived from their professional backgrounds as advocates, businesswomen, retired civil servants, and academicians. This moral capital directly resonated with the public and influenced their voting decisions.

**Keywords:** Social Capital, Moral Capital, Female, Representation, General Election

## 1. Introduction

The utilization of social capital, encompassing networks, norms, and trust, plays a pivotal role in the success of female legislative candidates in the general elections in Indonesia. Previous studies conducted in the country have consistently demonstrated that female candidates rely heavily on social capital as they actively engage in the electoral process and ultimately secure positions as legislative members. The success of female legislative candidates in the 2019 elections in West Java, West Sumatera, and East Nusa Tenggara can primarily be attributed to their moral capital, manifested through networks, norms, and the trust of constituents. Social capital, as exemplified in society, encompasses the capacity to coexist harmoniously with others, which is also reflected in the local culture upheld by the community. This culture is characterized by solidarity, cooperation, and the cultivation of social relationships within the society (Nurmalasari, 2011; Putri, 2019; and Sirait & Jovani, 2022). In West Sumatera, which follows the matrilineal system, the Bundo Kandung serves as a significant source of social capital through cultural and public figures. This social capital acts as a catalyst for collective action and cooperation among the community. Moreover, exchange of information and knowledge serves as the bedrock for establishing trust in female legislative candidates. This is contrary East Nusa Tenggara, a region adopting the patrilineal system, where entrenched patriarchy facilitates women's engagement in politics, resulting in their election as legislative members. Female candidates in these areas leverage social capital by virtue of the esteemed reputation of their husbands and fathers, who are prominent figures in the public, cultural, and political spheres.

Furthermore, moral capital is another valuable asset and strategy employed by female politicians to secure their election. Across Asia, numerous women, including Wan Azizah of Malaysia, Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar, Park Geun-Hye of South Korea, Tanaka Makiko of Japan, and Megawati Soekarnoputri of Indonesia, hail from political dynasties. These women skilfully utilized their moral capital to ascend to the highest echelons of politics (Derichs, Fleschenberg, & Hustebeck, 2006). Female politicians exhibit a profound sense of ethical responsibility when serving in positions that are particularly sensitive to gender issues. They are perceived as being more compassionate and dedicated to caregiving and service. This notion of care presents a potentially strategic avenue for female politicians to garner support. (Dewi, 2019). In East Nusa Tenggara, moral capital derived from professions such as teaching, advocacy, and activism assumes a significant role as these occupations are perceived as being intimately connected to society and are regarded as societal role models. (Sirait & Jovani, 2022).

In the 2019 provincial elections, six provinces achieved 100 percent female representation, namely South Sumatera, East Java, South Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, and West Papua. This article aims to shed light on the factors contributing to the success of these female legislative candidates in the mentioned elections. The primary focus of this article will be on East Java, specifically examining how four female legislative candidates strategically utilized their social and moral capital to secure their positions.

## 2. Method

This research adopts a qualitative approach and employs case studies to examine the utilization of social and moral capital by four selected informants from the East Java regional legislative assembly, spanning the period of 2014-2019. The informants include Hari Putri Lestari from the Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), Sri Hartatik from Golongan Karya Party (Golkar), Ratnadi Ismaoen from Demokrat Party, and Hikmah Bafaqih from Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB). These informants were selected based on considerations such as their political party affiliation, electoral area, and voting numbers. Primary data for this study were gathered through in-depth interviews with the four informants. The collected data predominantly focus on the social and moral capital of these female legislative candidates. A descriptive analysis method was employed to analyze the gathered data (Creswell, 2014).

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Female Political Representation

Discussions pertaining to female political representation in elections revolve around two crucial aspects: firstly, women's involvement as voters; and secondly, women's participation as legislative candidates seeking parliamentary positions. According to Subono (2013), There are at least three arguments highlighting the significance of women's presence in parliament. Firstly, the absence of equal participation between men and women undermines true democracy and genuine people's engagement in governance and development. Therefore, achieving democracy necessitates the representation of women. Secondly, the objectives of development cannot be fully accomplished without the active involvement of women. Women's participation is essential in defining the purpose and direction of development. Thirdly, the inclusion of women in decision-making bodies brings forth new priorities and perspectives that are more attuned to the needs of society, particularly women and children. A notable outcome anticipated from female representation is the realization of gender equality through parliamentary processes. (Subono, 2013).

In East Java, there was a noteworthy surge in female political representation in the parliament during the 2019 elections. A total of 21 women were successfully elected, marking a substantial increase compared to the six elected during the 2014 elections. The following list presents the names of the female candidates who secured seats in East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly during the 2019 elections.

Table 1: Table 1 Women Elected during the East Java's Regional Representative Body's 2019 Election

No	Electoral Area	Name	Party	Voting No
1	Jatim 1	Agatha Retnosari	PDIP	4
2	Jatim 1	Agustin Poliana	PDIP	5
3	Jatim 2	Anik Maslachah	PKB	1
4	Jatim 3	Aida Fitriati	PKB	1
5	Jatim 4	Ma'mulah Harun	PKB	1
6	Jatim 4	Zeiniye	PPP	8
7	Jatim 5	Umi Zahrok	PKB	1
8	Jatim 5	Lailatul Qodriyah	PKB	2
9	Jatim 5	Hari Putri Lestari	PDIP	1
10	Jatim 6	Hikmah Bafaqih	PKB	1
11	Jatim 6	Khofidah	PKB	2
12	Jatim 6	Sri Untari	PDIP	4
13	Jatim 6	Jajuk Rendra Kresna	Nasdem	9
14	Jatim 7	Erma Susanti	PDIP	4
15	Jatim 8	Wara Sundari Renny Pramana	PDIP	1
16	Jatim 9	Diana Amaliyah Verawatiningsih	PDIP	6
17	Jatim 9	Sri Subiati	Demokrat	1
18	Jatim 11	Aisyah Lilia Agustina	PKB	1
19	Jatim 12	Khozannah Hidayati	PKB	1
20	Jatim 13	Ufiq Zuroida	PKB	2
21	Jatim 14	Nur Fitriana	PKB	2

Source: Gathered from multiple sources

The elected women in East Java's Regional Legislative Assembly are primarily affiliated with the following political parties: 11 candidates from PKB, 7 candidates from PDIP, 1 candidate from the Demokrat Party, 1 candidate from the Nasdem Party, and 1 candidate from the PPP. Parties without female representation include the

Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PAN, PKS, Hanura, and PBB. Among the 21 elected women, 8 were incumbent members of the parliament who secured re-election in the 2019 elections. In terms of electoral areas (dapil), only one area out of the 14 in East Java lacks female representation. Regarding sequence numbers, most female candidates were placed in early or top sequence numbers, which played a crucial role in their successful election. This study takes on a case study of four female legislative candidates that were elected during the 2019 elections. First, Hari Putri Lestari, representing PDIP, secured the leading position with a sequence number of 1. She served as the manager for PDIP's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Second, Sri Hartatik who was affiliated with the Golkar Party, replaced a male legislator who passed away in 2021. Additionally, she held a managerial role in Golkar Party's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Third, Ratnadi Ismaoen, from the Demokrat Party, attained the fourth sequence number. She took over the position of a male legislator who passed away in 2021. Ratnadi Ismaoen also served as the manager of the Demokrat Party's regional representative body in the East Java Province. Fourth, Hikmah Bafaqih, from PKB, held a sequence number of 1. She was the vice leader of PKB's East Java branch and the manager of East Java's Nahdatul Ulama Organization.

Additionally, the electoral area is a significant factor to consider, given that East Java is the province with the second highest population in Indonesia. The elected candidates and their respective electoral areas are as follows: Hari Putri Lestari from Jatim 5, encompassing Jember Regency and Lumajang Regency; Sri Hartatik from Jatim 8, which includes Kediri City and Regency; Ratna Ismaoen from Jatim 9, which covers Ngawi, Ponorogo, Trenggalek, and Magetan Regency; and Hikmah Bafaqih from Jatim 6, which consist of Malang City, Malang Regency, and Batu City. Understanding the electoral areas is crucial in comprehending how culture and society perceive the involvement of women in politics. It provides insights into the societal perspectives and cultural dynamics surrounding women's participation in the political sphere.

### *3.2. Social Capital: Society's Support for Female Legislative Candidates*

Social capital is inherently intertwined with social relationships and is cultivated through a social network that encompasses several key elements. These elements include: 1) Trust or positive values that foster development and achievement; 2) social norms and obligations; 3) social networks that serve as a platform for social activities, especially in the form of voluntary associations (Putnam, 1993). Social capital is an invaluable resource for individual actors, gradually evolving into a collective asset. The social capital held by the four female legislative candidates in the form of networks, norms, and trust encompasses various aspects. Firstly, it includes interpersonal relations that they have cultivated within their social circles. Secondly, it encompasses the norms ingrained in East Java regarding the role of women in politics, reflecting the prevailing values and expectations within the region. Lastly, trust manifests through the relationships between these candidates and their respective networks, fostered through mutual symbiosis and shared aspirations. The social capital possessed by these legislative candidates is evident in their familial connections, as well as their affiliations with religious and social organizations.

These four female legislative candidates ventured into the realm of politics with the backing of various stakeholders. They garnered support from their husbands, parents (fathers), extended families, religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni, which played instrumental roles in their political journeys. Furthermore, the support of political parties greatly contributed to the success of these candidates, as they were granted the freedom to select their respective electoral areas. Furthermore, the support from the constituents stems from the extended families of the male figures in these candidates' lives, namely their husbands and fathers. This support is a form of social capital based on trust, as it emanates from the husbands, their extended families, and the extended families of their parents (fathers). These family networks consist of individuals who hold positions as public figures and politicians, further enhancing their influence and credibility. This sentiment is echoed in the statement made by Hari Putri Lestari from the PDIP party:

*“During the initial three months, I contemplated resigning from the party due to the pressures and my lack of understanding. I expressed to my husband my reluctance to remain affiliated with the party. In response, he urged me not to withdraw and advised me to persevere with noble intentions. I have cherished his words ever since, as they have served as a constant source of inspiration, propelling me towards my present position and enabling me to thrive as an activist.”* (Interview with Hari Putri Lestari, 30 March 2023)

Sri Hartatik from the Golkar Party also garnered significant support from the community, primarily comprising the extended family of her parents, who held prominent positions as politicians and public figures in Kediri City and Regency. Her involvement and active participation in the 1957 Kosgoro Entrepreneur Association further solidified her connection with society and garnered additional backing:

*"The determination to pursue my position as a legislative member was primarily driven by my longstanding involvement in various organizations since my school days. Through these organizations, a sense of camaraderie and mutual support flourished, fostering a cooperative spirit within me from an early stage. Encouragement from my family led me to join the 1957 Kosgoro Entrepreneur Association, under the leadership of Agung Laksono at that time. I assumed the role of treasurer within the association for the period of 2016-2021. Through this experience, I gained invaluable knowledge, and it is worth noting that Kosgoro played a pivotal role in the founding of the Golkar Party." (Interview with Sri Hartatik, 30 March 2023)*

The aforementioned circumstances also apply to Ratnadi Ismaoen from the Demokrat Party, who has a background as a retired civil servant from the East Java provincial government. Her capabilities and close relationship with the constituents were recognized by the leaders of the Demokrat Party, resulting in their unwavering support. Additionally, the backing of her alumni played a significant role in her electoral success:

*"During my previous election, I leveraged my extensive network that I had cultivated during my tenure as a civil servant in the People's Welfare Bureau, particularly in election area 9. Through my role, I actively supported the governor in providing assistance to that region. Furthermore, I utilized the support of my fellow alumni from Airlangga University, as well as established connections with acquaintances in election area 9 and colleagues, including alumni who held positions within the government due to my civil service background. Additionally, I enlisted the assistance of my family members who resided in the area." (Interview with Ratnadi Ismaoen, 10 April 2023)*

Hikmah Bafaqih, a scholar and dedicated social worker affiliated with PKB, has been actively involved in numerous advocacy efforts aimed at assisting vulnerable groups. Her affiliation with PKB and previous experience as a legislative member in Malang Regency's regional legislative assembly from 2004 to 2009 have endowed her with a substantial social capital. Furthermore, she has actively participated in social movements and maintained an active role in the NU Organization. In addition to these factors, the support of her extended family, who have a background in politics, has also played a significant role in her success:

*"I come from a family with a strong political background. My father had a long-standing political career, serving in various parties such as the NU Party and the Kahah Party for 3.5 terms. He held the position of an incumbent in Pasuruan Regency's regional legislative assembly, which was situated in an area deeply rooted in patriarchal traditions. Consequently, I chose not to remain in Pasuruan and instead settled in Malang. In Malang, the culture is more egalitarian, where one's social status or patronage holds less significance. What matters most in Malang is our work in the field rather than our genealogical background. In Pasuruan, one's family lineage becomes a significant factor, such as being the child of a prominent figure. This is contrary to Malang, where I am considered an unknown figure. I started from the bottom alongside my friends." (Interview with Hikmah Bafaqih, 18 April 2023)*

The social capital exhibited by these four female legislative candidates within society encompasses the norm of mutual symbiosis and cooperation through a network of relationships within social institutions. This article illustrates that the trust between the four candidates and their constituents is established through their husbands, parents (fathers), family members, friends (alumni), religious organizations, and social organizations. The trust bestowed upon them by the constituents is rooted in shared values or the commonalities of tribe, religious affiliations, social organizations, and alumni networks (universities). Trust, as a form of social capital, is established through the prominence of their husbands, parents (fathers), and their respective positions within organizations. Hari Putri Lestari's husband, a renowned professor in a university, and her role as an advocate and labor consultant contribute to her credibility. Sri Hartatik, an entrepreneur, and the daughter of a politician in Kediri City and Regency who has actively engaged in numerous economic empowerment initiatives within the community. Ratnadi Ismaoen, a retired civil servant, has established a network of alumni and has provided extensive assistance during her tenure in the civil service. Lastly, Hikmah Bafaqih's father, a politician, and her extensive support from her extended family, university students, as well as social and religious organizations, enhance her trustworthiness and standing.

### 3.3. Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by the Four Female Legislative Candidates

In addition to social capital, the individual capabilities of these four female legislative candidates as political actors play a pivotal role in their success. Through their respective professions as an advocate, entrepreneur, civil servant, and scholar, they have actively served the people. Consequently, their constituents have developed an emotional and social connection with them, leading to conscious support from the community.

Regarding the utilization of social capital, relationships and social networks serve as valuable resources that can influence one's positioning within their electoral area. These social organizations are often formed through formal or informal social interactions.

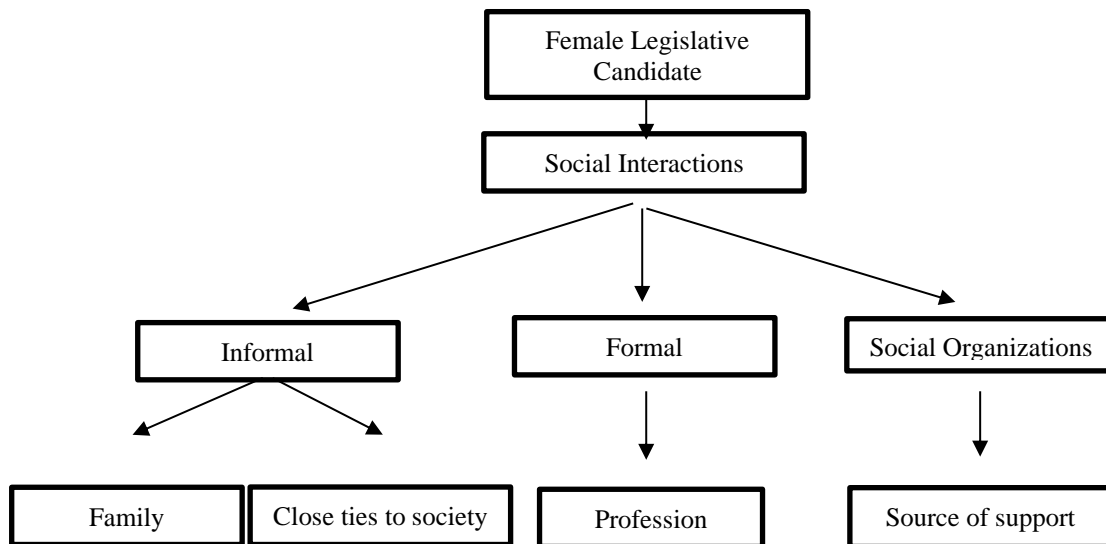


Figure 1: Social Capital of Four Female Legislative Candidates

Not all legislative candidates with strong social capital will be elected. However, the influence of social capital can significantly enhance and even determine the success of a legislative candidate. The findings from the field study demonstrate that the achievement of these female legislative candidates would have been challenging without the presence of social capital, which is influenced by three key factors:

1. The individual capabilities possessed by these four female legislative candidates are the main capital for them to enter into electoral politics, and encompasses: personality, public communication and leadership. The personality one possesses is reflected from their professions as advocates, entrepreneurs, retired civil servants, and scholars, which influences their public communication to their respective constituents. Furthermore, the key to their success also lies in the leadership skills that they have honed in other organizations before entering into politics.
2. Social values and humanism, where all four female legislative candidates accentuate policies that focus on issues relating to women and children, social welfare, health, education, labour, disability, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups that is highly associated with a “caring” nature of a woman or mother.
3. Family support, especially from their husbands, parents, extended family, religious organizations, social organizations, and their alumni.

The utilization of social and moral capital possessed by these four female legislative candidates can be seen from the following table:

Table 2: Utilization of Social and Moral Capital by Four Female Legislative Candidates in East Java’s Regional Representative Assembly during the 2019 Election

No	Name	Social Capital	Moral Capital
1	Hari Putri Lestari	- Husband (scholar) - Parents (mother)	- Consultant - Public advocacy

		- Labour union - Sapulidi Surabaya Group - Inter-religious networks	- GMNI
2	Sri Hartatik	- Extended family of parents (Politicians) - Religious organizations - Network of alumni	Entrepreneur
3	Ratnadi Ismaoen	- Close ties to locals - Network comprising of civil servants in East Java's regional government - Network of Unair alumni - Family	Retired civil servant from East Java's regional government
4	Hikmah Bafaqih	- Religious organization (NU) - Social organization - Extended family of parents (politicians)	Scholar

*Source: Primary Data Analysis*

There are several factors that contribute to the success of these female legislative candidates in East Java's regional legislative assembly, specifically in terms of their utilization of social capital. Social capital is characterized by one's close connections to society and their camaraderie with fellow members of organizations or groups. These female legislative candidates had established such relationships with various societal groups prior to their campaign period. As a result, it became easier for them to promote their candidacy and engage in social interactions during their campaign. This phenomenon is referred to as positive externalism, which stems from the social capital cultivated by these female legislative candidates.

Moreover, it is important to note that the social capital identified in this study takes a structural form, indicating that it is developed through the execution of their roles as members of organizations or societal groups. Another significant finding of this study is the presence of cognitive social capital, which is manifested through the trust and belief placed by women and public figures in these female legislative candidates. Therefore, it is evident that structural and cognitive social capital are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, rather than being separate entities.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, the analysis of social capital focuses on four female legislative candidates who originate from small social groups, namely family and public organizations. Additionally, their previous professions also played a role in garnering support. The social capital of these candidates is illustrated by their engagement with social organizations, where strong personal bonds based on camaraderie are formed. Furthermore, the social capital of these candidates is shaped by the egalitarian background of their society, allowing the public to directly witness their field performance and social work. This fosters a close connection with the public and engenders trust among constituents based on shared values, tribe, religion, and norms. The network developed by these four female legislative candidates prior to their entry into politics encompasses their extended family, religious organizations, social organizations, and alumni. The trust of their constituents is also derived from the credibility of their husbands, parents (fathers), their positions in religious and social organizations, as well as their active participation and connections with public and religious figures.

The success of these four female legislative candidates can also be attributed to the moral capital they possess, which stems from their professions as an advocate/consultant, entrepreneur, retired civil servant, and scholar. In East Java, these professions are highly respected and regarded as "role models" due to their close connection to the people and their perceived helpfulness. These candidates have demonstrated their commitment to society not only during their campaign but also prior to it, through their professional contributions and active engagement in religious and social organizations. Once elected, they have returned to their respective electoral areas to listen to the concerns of the public and provide assistance. This capital serves as a foundation for their future endeavors and positions them well for future elections.



Furthermore, this study has identified several theoretical implications regarding the utilization of social capital by the four female legislative candidates during the 2019 election in East Java. The study is grounded in Putnam's theory, which highlights the interconnectedness of network, norm, and trust in political processes. The process begins with the personal connections that the female candidates establish with the public, which are influenced by various norms and levels of trust derived from their extended family, public figures, and organizational affiliations. These social interactions, nurtured through family ties, interactions with public figures, and participation in organizations, ultimately translate into votes during the election.

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