

## **DYNAMICS OF THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS FOR WOMEN LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES (A STUDY OF THE NASDEM PARTY IN THE 2024 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS)**

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### **Abstract**

The problem of this research lies in the recruitment process carried out by the West Java Province NasDem Party for women legislative candidate candidates in the 2024 General Election which tends to be closed and only provides opportunities to women with certain backgrounds. The aim of this research is to find out about the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election and what factors influence it. This research uses a qualitative approach with data collection techniques that include observation and literature study. The data analysis techniques used include data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions. The results of this research show that; that; 1) In the process of recruiting female legislative candidate candidates for the 2024 elections, the West Java Province NasDem Party tends to be exclusive and closed in terms of deciding which female legislative candidate candidates will run. Data shows that the NasDem Party's female legislative candidates who are contesting in the XI electoral district in West Java are mostly dominated by businessmen, and are followed by party administrators. 2) several factors influence the recruitment of women legislative candidate candidates by the West Java NasDem Party which include; Political parties are still neglectful in making decisions regarding women's aspirations, parties do not have a program to empower women cadres, patriarchal stigma makes support from the family or from the community still weak, limited access to capital to support women's activities In the political environment, and the inability to balance Maximum time for political activities in parliament.

**Keywords:** Recruitment Process, NasDem Party, Women's Representatives, Legislative, 2024 Election.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Studies regarding women's political representation have so far emphasized the importance of quota policies as the most effective mechanism for increasing women's representation, especially in parliament and political parties (Hurriyah et al., 2022). In reality, up to now, Affirmative Action, which is a hope for women to get at least the minimum requirement of 30 percent participation in every public and political activity, appears to have not been able to be fulfilled (Rasyidinn & Aruni, 2016).

Efforts to strengthen women's political participation in Indonesia must be placed in the context of the transition that the Indonesian nation is experiencing towards a more democratic political system (Hardjaloka, 2012). Women's political participation in electoral political contestation is important to discuss, considering the minimal percentage of women's representation in political institutions (legislative and executive) as determinants of public policy (Niron & Seda, 2020).

The increase in women's political representation in parliaments around the world has reached an average of 25.5% (2021). In 2019, the International Parliamentary Union noted that 50 countries in the world had reached critical mass for women's political representation of 30% in national parliaments (Nurdin, 2021). Indonesian women's participation in Parliament is still very low. According to data from the World Bank (2019), Indonesia is ranked 7th in Southeast Asia for women's representation in parliament (Antari, 2023).

Table 1. Women's Voices in Post-Reform Parliament (1999-2019)

No	Election Year	Number of Women Representatives	Total Seats	Percentage of Female Representatives
1	1999	46	500	9%
2	2004	65	500	11,6%
3	2009	110	563	18%
4	2014	97	560	17,3%
5	2019	118	575	20,5%

Source: (Umagapi, 2020)

The table above shows that the minimal representation of women in Parliament in Indonesia can be seen after the 1998 Reformation. Based on the results of the 2004 election, it shows that only 11.8% of women members of Parliament were members of Parliament and 18% in the 2009 Election. Meanwhile, the results of the 2014 election were only 14% of women parliamentarians. This means that women, both in determining political policies (political ideas) and their presence in politics (political presence) have not been represented significantly (Nuraeni, 2019).

Since the enactment of Law Number 12 of 2003 until Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, it can be said that the struggle of women to obtain special rights in the political field that are temporary in nature (affirmative action) has been achieved (Asmara & Cahyowati, 2023). Basically, political parties have fulfilled the quota of 30% of women legislative candidates who can compete in elections but still have not fulfilled the total quota of 30% in parliament. Of the 575 legislative members

for the 2019-2024 period, only around 20.5% of women qualified for parliament (Umagapi, 2020).

Even though international pressure on elections can open up great opportunities for anyone who meets the election requirements, even though the open candidate list system which has been introduced since 2009, still provides greater opportunities for the political elite. For them, especially competent women, it will be difficult to find a supporting party if they do not have standard capital and pre-village relations (Fauziah et al., 2023). The NasDem Party is a party that was born from a national social democratic organization led by Surya Paloh. The birth of the NasDem party cannot be separated from the main vision and mission of the national democratic organization, namely to mobilize the Indonesian Restorative Change movement (Laila et al., 2022). The Restoration Movement carried out by the NasDem Party sets goals and ideals by making Pancasila as a spiritual weapon, and the Indonesian people as its material weapon (Putra et al., 2022).

The National Democratic Party is the only new party, as well as a non-parliamentary party established by the General Election Commission, on January 7 2013, which has the right to participate in the 2014 elections (Leonarda Johannes R.S., 2013). At least to this day, the NasDem Party is one of the ones that has contributed a lot to women's representation in Parliament. A total of 19 people from the Nasdem Party were elected as members of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia for 2019-2024 or 32% of the total 59 Nasdem cadres who were elected. Compared to the results in 2014, there are only four (4) women representatives out of a total of 35 representatives of the Nasdem Party in the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (Siti Zaetun & Mar'iyah, 2020).

Despite this, when viewed from a process perspective, the NasDem Party still tends to be closed and uses more proximity factors, including in recruiting cadres or women candidates. There are two systems used in political recruitment for this party. The first system is an open political recruitment system which is used in accepting party cadres, and a closed one which is used in determining people who will occupy positions both within the party and government positions (Anindita et al., 2022).

The West Java NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council is one of the party structures at the provincial level that has existed since the party was founded. The West Java NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council, in accordance with the party's articles of association/bylaws, carries out open recruitment for party cadres and closed for filling important positions in the party structure and to become candidates to be put forward in the elections, both legislative and executive positions. This closed process is the main factor in the representation of women from the NasDem Party, especially from the West Java Electoral District.

The NasDem Party, especially in West Java, has so far tended to nominate women legislative candidates based on proximity factors and not based on capacity. Most of the legislative candidates nominated are those from political backgrounds, families of officials and artists. This is of course a deviation from political parties in carrying out their duties and functions and is a form of discrimination in the recruitment process for women legislative candidates. At least since the 2014 election until now (2024), the West Java NasDem has not been able to send its female legislative candidate to Senayan.

Table 2. Number and Composition of DPR RI Members Elected by the NasDem Party

in West Java Electoral District 2014-2024

No	Election Year	Number of Elected Members	Man	Woman
1	2014	1	1	-
2	2019	5	5	-
3	2024	6	6	-

Source: General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the table above, it can be analyzed that although NasDem since 2014 has been in the top five positions for winning seats in Parliament and West Java as the province with the highest number of seats, it has not been able to make more contributions, including in terms of fulfilling 30% women's representation. If analyzed further, the open recruitment pattern carried out by the NasDem Party in the West Java Region is only for the purposes of expanding the base/cadre recruitment. However, filling structural positions and recruiting prospective legislative and executive members is closed in the decision-making process.

Not only at the Central Level, the West Java Regional Leadership NasDem Party also tends to be closed. Several indicators that show this can first be seen from the management structure of the West Java NasDem Regional Leadership Council which is filled by the upper middle class, namely politicians and businessmen/entrepreneurs. Second, the recruitment process carried out for women legislative candidates for the 2024 elections is dominated by those with business backgrounds and/or family members who are administrators of the Regional Leadership Council or Regional Leadership Council in 27 districts/cities in West Java.

Based on this description, in general the focus of the problem in this research lies in the recruitment process carried out by the West Java Province NasDem Party for women legislative candidate candidates in the 2024 General Election. The election of the West Java Province NasDem Party was based on the minimum representation of women in the legislature from the West Java electoral district since the 2014-2024 General Election. On the other hand, West Java Province, as a national voting barn with the largest number of permanent voter lists in Indonesia, certainly has different political dynamics from other regions in Indonesia.

## 1.2 Research Question

Based on the description of the problem above, this research will specifically answer several questions, including:

- 1) What is the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council in the 2024 Election?
- 2) What factors influence the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council in the 2024 Election?

## 2. Literature Review

In research regarding the dynamics of the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java Province NasDem Party in the 2024 Election, there are at least two reference theories used as a basis, namely; Political recruitment, and Women's representation.

### Political Recruitment

Political recruitment is one of the functions of political parties as a concrete manifestation of creating political culture and encouraging the development of good democratic values in society. Political recruitment as expressed by Afan Gaffar (Sahroni et al., 2019). According to Almond and Powell, political recruitment is a process in which community candidates are selected to occupy important positions in political roles, including bureaucratic and administrative positions (Putra et al., 2022).

In the view of Syamsuddin Haris (Giawa & Daya Rini, 2017) recruitment of legislative members by political parties generally includes three important stages, namely:

- i. Candidate selection, which at this stage includes interactions between party elites at the village/sub-district level or party branches and party elites at the upper level or sub-branches.
- ii. Screening and selection of selected candidates. This stage includes interactions between sub-branch level elites and district/city or branch/region level elites.
- iii. Determination of candidates following their serial numbers. This stage involves elites at branch/regional level, especially daily branch/regional party administrators with small teams that are formed and given the authority to determine legislative candidates.

### Affirmative Action

In his book entitled "Heterogeneity, Leveling the Playing Field, and Affirmative Action in Contests", Chowdhury argues that affirmative action is a series of policies motivated by ethics that have the objective of providing special opportunities to various groups that have historically been consistently marginalized (Tias et al., 2023). Affirmative action is nothing new, awareness of women's rights continues to be built in politics. Apart from this, there are things that must be developed and improved, such as women's representation rights in political party management, women's representation in parliamentary seats, increased political participation, and increased women's leadership in making policies (Sidiq, 2022).

Anugrah revealed that the birth of affirmative policies in the realm of women's politics began in the 2004 elections. Each political party participating in the election nominates legislative candidates for each electoral district with attention to women's representation of at least 30% (Hayat, 2020). However, the process of recruiting women to join a political party is in fact still secondary because there are concerns about the possibility of cadres not being selected in the general election process. Finally, Affirmative Action is only used by political parties to meet requirements. This is proven by the general election of members of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia not yet reaching 30% of women's representation. Of the 575 seats for members of the Indonesian People's Representative Council elected in 2019, only 20.57% are women (Listiani et al., 2021).

The manifestation of political participation carried out by women to accommodate their interests is projected in the formulation of policies in the Draft Law on the Crime of Sexual Violence. The ratification of this law has vital urgency, considering the need for a legal umbrella that protects women from acts of sexual violence, on the basis that sexual violence is still rampant against women (Tias et al., 2023).

Referring to the results of research conducted by Aulya et al., it is known that

the affirmation policy emphasized in the party system in Indonesia has not been fully implemented by internal political parties. This is evident in several political parties, including Golkar, PKS, PAN, Democrat and Nasdem, whose Articles of Association and Bylaws have not yet contained an article regulating a 30% quota for women's representation. So it can be confirmed that the Articles of Association and Bylaws are flawed and if the Articles of Association and Bylaws are tested in the context of the Political Party Law, it can be confirmed that the party has violated them. Affirmative action has been regulated in national provisions. Political Party Law and General Election Law. However, at a practical level, this policy does not yet provide certainty, benefit and justice (Aulya et al., 2022).

### **3. Research Methods**

This research uses a qualitative approach with the aim of exploring and analyzing the problem of the recruitment process for women legislative candidate candidates by the West Java Province NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election. The selection approach in this research is in line with that proposed by Creswell. Qualitative research is a means of exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups give to social or humanitarian problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This selection method is based on the consideration that the problem of the recruitment process for Women Legislative Candidates by the NasDem Party of West Java Province in the 2024 Legislative Election will be explained more precisely in a qualitative descriptive manner (Moen & Middelthon, 2015).

The location in this research is West Java Province with XI Electoral Districts where the NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council activities are active in recruiting women legislative candidates for the 2024 elections. The data collection techniques in this research are through observation and literature study using several sources related to the dynamics of recruitment of women legislative candidates in general and specifically related to the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java Province NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election (Hammarberg et al., 2016). After the required data has been collected, the next step will continue with the data analysis process.

The data analysis techniques used in this research are data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions. This is in line with what was expressed by King, Kohen and Verba (King et al., 1995) that the data analysis process is carried out simultaneously with data collection, meaning that researchers in collecting data also analyze data obtained in the field. In connection with this research, data analysis techniques start from data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions/verification which aims to answer problems related to the dynamics of the recruitment process for women legislative candidate candidates by the West Java Province NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election.

### **4. Results and Discussions**

#### **4.1 Recruitment Process for Women Legislative Candidates by the West Java NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election**

The recruitment process in political parties is related to the party's efforts to organize itself, which Norris (Anindita et al., 2022) later identified into four things,

namely; who can be nominated (candidacy), who selects (selectorate), where candidates are selected, and how candidates are decided. Overall, these four points can be said to constitute a series of party processes before nominating a candidate. So these four things become a series that cannot be separated as a form of producing quality candidates. The quality of candidates is determined by the good and bad of the recruitment process.

The NasDem Party basically has a different political recruitment pattern from other parties in that its recruitment aims to cadre party members with the aim of getting votes in the 2024 elections, as well as widening the number of members with a recruitment mechanism that can be used as a mass basis for votes in facing the 2024 elections. Implementation of recruitment politics includes recruitment of members, recruitment of administrators, recruitment of legislative candidates, regional head candidates and deputy regional heads (Setianto Wahyono & Taufiq Furqon Nurhakim, 2023).

In the process of recruiting women legislative candidates for the 2024 elections, the West Java Province NasDem Party tends to be exclusive and closed in terms of deciding which female legislative candidates will run. Conditions on the ground show that women legislative candidates who are given tickets to run for the 2024 legislative elections are dominated by those with business backgrounds and party administrators at both the provincial and central levels.

Table 3. List of Names of Candidates for Women Legislative Members for the West Java Electoral District in the 2024 Election

No	Name of legislative candidate	Electoral District	No. Sort	Background
1	Estiana Fithriana Dewi	I	3	Businessman
2	Joice Triatman	I	6	Artist
3	Tiara Putri Julizar	II	3	Businessman
4	Toti Risna	II	6	Party Manager
5	Nati Sakinah	II	9	Businessman
6	Indira Chunda Tita	III	2	Politicians/SYL Children
7	Munifah Syanwani	III	4	Artist/Religious Figure
8	Vivi Roviana	III	8	Businessman
9	Tetty Sufiaty Zafat	IV	2	Academics
10	Ety Supartini	IV	6	Former Bureaucratic Elite
11	Jora Nilam Judge	V	2	Presenters/ Businessman
12	Zawiah Ramlie	V	6	Retired TNI officer
13	Usnidawati	V	9	Disability & Human Rights Issues Activist
14	Anne Kania Dewi	VI	3	Businessman
15	Ayu Alwiyah Al Jufri	VI	5	Women/Religious Figures
16	Tuti Nurcholifah Yasin	VII	2	Doctor
17	Ai Komariah	VII	6	Businessman
18	Devi Citra Utami	VII	7	Lawyer

19	Nining Indra Shaleh	VIII	2	Party Manager/ Ex. Secretary General of the DPR RI
20	Samira Achmad	VIII	6	Businessman
21	Suyatmi Alwita	VII	7	Party Manager
22	Imas Susilawati	IX	6	Businessman
23	Farahdibha Tenrilemba	X	1	Central Management
24	Komsah	X	6	Nurse
25	Lola Nelria Oktavia	XI	3	Businessman
26	Raden Fithri Yunikasari	XI	5	Artist
27	Wiwin Suwindaryati	XI	6	Provincial Administrator/ Businessman
28	Devi Yuniarti	XI	8	Businessman

Source: Author's results in 2024

Based on the table of women legislative candidates from the NasDem Party who are competing in the 2024 elections above, it can be analyzed that most of them are dominated by entrepreneurs, and are followed by NasDem Party administrators (internal). The results of determining the 28 candidates for women legislative members above are of course based on the recruitment process carried out by the NasDem Party, especially in district/city areas. Of the 28 names proposed to represent women in their respective electoral districts (I-XI), there were very few women representatives from the lower middle class or who came from the women's movement that fought for women's issues or rights.

Although technically all people with different backgrounds, especially women, have the opportunity to register as legislative candidates, the determination will be made behind closed doors by internal party officials. As mentioned by Putra et al., in their research, a closed system is used in determining the people who will occupy positions both in internal party and government positions (Giawa & Daya Rini, 2017). Thus, it is not surprising that the 28 women legislative candidates nominated for the 2024 Legislative Election are those with a strong economic background. On the other hand, the closed process in decision making has an impact on the small opportunities for women from lower middle class backgrounds to have the opportunity to run as legislative candidates for the NasDem Party in the 2024 Legislative Election.

The recruitment process in political parties is related to the party's efforts to organize itself, which was later explained by Norris in Katz and Crotty (Giawa & Daya Rini, 2017) identified into four things, namely: who the candidates can be nominated, who selects them, where the candidates are selected, and how the candidates are decided. In connection with the recruitment process carried out by the West Java Province NasDem Party, the women candidates who dominate the 2024 Legislative Election have business backgrounds, followed by party officials and artists. Next, the women legislative candidate candidates who register are selected by the internal management of the West Java NasDem Party and then (closed process) are proposed to the Central Leadership Council with consideration given to then be determined as legislative candidate candidates who will run from the NasDem party in accordance with the registered



electoral district.

With a closed process in making this determination, of course the decisions taken are more likely to be subjective and not based on objective considerations by taking into account the track record and capacity of prospective legislative members. This closed process produces women legislative candidates who do not have the capacity and are unable to compete for the 30% women's quota from their respective electoral districts. This can be seen from the results of the 2024 Legislative Election where none of the 28 women legislative candidates nominated from XI electoral districts spread across West Java managed to qualify for Senayan.

#### **4.2 Factors Influencing the Recruitment Process for Women Legislative Candidates by Perati NasDem West Java in the 2024 Legislative Election**

Previous research related to women's representation has been widely studied, for example political scientists have tried to combine various factors that influence women's activeness and representation in politics, such as electoral rules and party systems (Lindberg, 2004), cultural factors and beliefs (Tripp & Kang, 2008), educational factors (Inglehart & Norris, 2003), and economic factors (Kenworthy & Malami, 1999). Apart from that, there are also those who research the role of women's quotas in politics (Dahlerup 2013).

Currently, women's representation is still minimal, although it is increasing every year. According to Sarah Nuraini Siregar (Fauziah et al., 2023), this is due to several factors, including the following; 1) Political parties are still neglectful in making decisions regarding women's aspirations, 2) Parties do not have a program to empower women cadres, 3) Patriarchal stigma makes support from the family or from the community still weak, 4) Limited access to capital to support activities women in the political environment, and 5) Inability to balance maximum time for political activities in parliament.

Referring to these five points, in the context of recruiting women legislative candidates for the 2024 General Election in West Java, the NasDem Party tends to still exclude women with the various aspirations they bring. It is almost rare to find a dialogue process carried out by the West Java NasDem Party with communities or organizations that are concerned with fighting for women's issues or rights. The second point, even though the NasDem Party, especially the West Java Region, has a Women's party wing, namely Garnita, so far it has not been able to function for women's empowerment. The impact of these two things is a pragmatic step from the West Java NasDem Party to recruit women legislative candidate candidates with business and artist backgrounds to fight in the 2024 elections.

The third point is that the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party cannot be separated from the culture and perspective of society which still adheres to patriarchal culture and places women below men. It is clear that the focus of recruitment carried out by the West Java NasDem Party is only on male legislative candidate members, of which some of them are favored so that women legislative candidate candidates only complement the 30% prerequisite for registering with the General Election Commission. Based on the results of the General Election Commission's determination of the Election of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the XI Electoral District in West Java, the

NasDem Party succeeded in winning 6 seats or an increase of 1 seat from the previous 5. The six seats won were filled by the General Election Commission with male, and none of the 28 female legislative candidates passed.

In terms of capital, NasDem is one of the parties known for its slogan "Politics without dowry" so it has no direct influence on the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party. However, if you look at the background of the women legislative candidates competing in the 2024 Legislative Election in West Java, almost all of whom come from the upper middle economic group (businessmen & politicians), then the capital aspect is certainly taken into account. On the other hand, Surya Paloh's background as General Chair, who is a businessman, certainly influences the party organizing process, including the recruitment process for women legislative candidate candidates. Such conditions also close the opportunity for women with lower-middle economic backgrounds to run as legislative candidates for the NasDem Party in the 2024 elections in West Java.

The final factor influencing the recruitment process for women legislative candidates by the West Java NasDem Party is the inability to balance time for political activities. Despite the double burden of being a housewife, entrepreneur and politician, this has not hampered the enthusiasm of the 28 women legislative candidates to fight in the 2024 Legislative Election in West Java. This condition then became a consideration for almost all parties, including NasDem in the West Java region, not to prioritize women legislative candidate candidates who were deemed to be unable to be given political tasks and work from the party when sitting in Parliament.

Apart from that, the party system in Indonesia is still far from optimal in empowering women. Women's cadre formation in the party is only a formality for the obligations of affirmative action, without being accompanied by the provision of programs to involve or attract women as party members (Fauziah dkk., 2023). This formal approach to the need to fulfill the requirement of 30% representation of women in elections is what then causes the West Java NasDem Party to tend to be pragmatic in determining women legislative candidate members. So that considerations are no longer based on the quality of the woman to be chosen, but rather on closeness and popularity aspects.

Thus, it is not surprising that women legislative candidates from the NasDem Party in the West Java Region are not competitive enough in the 2024 election process. The impact of the lack of competitiveness of women legislative candidates from the NasDem Party in the West Java Region is that none of the 28 women legislative candidates who was carried and managed to pass to Senayan. This needs to be a serious concern for the West Java NasDem Party. In the future, the recruitment process must place more emphasis on rational considerations such as capacity and track record, so that the proposed female legislative candidate can fight competitively in the upcoming elections.

## 5. Conclusions

Based on the discussion above, in general it can be concluded that; 1) In the recruitment process for women legislative candidates in the 2024 elections, the West Java Province NasDem Party tends to be exclusive and closed in terms of deciding which women legislative candidates will run. Data shows that the women legislative candidates for the

NasDem Party who are contesting in the XI electoral districts in West Java are mostly dominated by businessmen, and are followed by party administrators. 2) There are several factors that influence the recruitment of women legislative candidate candidates by the West Java NasDem Party which include; Political parties are still neglectful in making decisions regarding women's aspirations, parties do not have a program to empower women cadres, patriarchal stigma makes support from the family or from the community still weak, limited access to capital to support women's activities in the political environment, and the inability to balance Maximum time for political activities in parliament.

There are several points that are recommendations from this research, namely; 1) The West Java Province NasDem Party in the future must be more open and transparent in recruiting women legislative candidates. Openness in this case means providing opportunities to all women without discriminating against economic, social and cultural aspects. 2) The West Java Province NasDem Party must be more sensitive to women's issues and policies that accommodate women's interests. In this way, in the next Legislative Election, the NasDem Party can be seen as a party that is open to women, so that it can attract voters' sympathy to give opportunities to women legislative candidates from the West Java Province NasDem Party.

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