

INVOLVEMENT OF THE INCUMBENT'S WIVES IN THE 2020 REGIONAL HEAD ELECTION DURING THE CORONA PANDEMIC

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of writing this article is to examine how the incumbent wives are involved in the 2020 Regional Head Election amid a pandemic as part of launching their political dynasty. Even if you look at the current Coronavirus, it is feared that the moment of the 2020 Regional Head Election could increase the spread and transmission of the Coronavirus. However, on the other hand, if the 2020 Regional Head Election is continuously postponed, many regions will not have a legitimate leader. The approach of this research is descriptive qualitative, while to obtain data, the author uses secondary data from journals, news, and other relevant sources. Meanwhile, to dissect this case, the writer uses Anne Philips' theory of women's political representation, Schumpeter's concept of procedural democracy, and political dynasties. The analysis process begins with data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The result shows that the implementation of the 2020 Regional head Election during the Corona period, which was attended by prospective leaders of the incumbent's wives, became a moment to increase the role of women in politics and part of the political dynasty.

Keywords: political dynasty, regional head election, women, pandemic

INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic has hit the world since this virus first spread in the Wuhan area, the People's Republic of China. Millions of lives have been lost due to contracting the Coronavirus. All countries also feel the impact of the virus emergence that spreads through droplets and the air. Directly the existence of the Coronavirus has revolutionized the existing order of life. The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends implementing a lockdown policy to reduce physical contact in the community. Indonesia itself is one of the countries that is currently overwhelmed by the spread of the virus outbreak (Mas'udi, 2020). Data shows that positive cases of Corona in Indonesia as of December 10, 2020, were 598933 (Covid19.go.id, 2020). Every day the confirmed cases of Covid-19 continue to increase. There are at least 32 areas with a red zone, including DKI Jakarta, West Java, East Java (Rizal, 2020). Areas whose status is a red zone mean they have a curve for the spread of the Coronavirus.

The number is increasing day by day. Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) is one of the efforts made by the government during the pandemic to suppress the massive spread of the virus.

The impact resulting from the Coronavirus can weaken a country in various fields. For example, many employees are affected by Termination of Employment, the tourism sector becomes sluggish, investment declines, the implementation of the Regional Head Election is postponed, and various other risks. WHO then gave another recipe in dealing with this challenging situation, namely implementing the New Normal. According to Sigit Pamungkas, this term is a process of changing behavior in society when carrying out everyday activities but equipped with health protocols to reduce the risk of contracting the Coronavirus (Habibi, 2020). WHO recommends implementing the New Normal for countries capable of controlling only positive Coronavirus cases (Mas'udi, 2020). However, the Indonesian government also does not want to be left behind in adopting this method. So it can be said that Indonesia is still too premature to follow the WHO directives. However, there are several reasons why the government of this country continues to implement the New Normal when the curve has not improved. Among them are restoring the country's economy and revitalizing the wheel of life.

One of the impacts of the Coronavirus on the political field is the postponement of the simultaneous regional head elections in 270 regions in Indonesia. The Pilkada initially planned for September 2020 had to be changed and postponed to December. Although at the beginning of the discussion between General Election Commissions and the government and House of Representatives, they gave three options for the postponement, namely in December 2020, March 2021, and September 2021 (Farisa, 2020). However, President Jokowi finally decided that the political contestation performance would be held on December 9, 2020, and stated in Presidential Decree No. 22 of 2020. The policy immediately drew much criticism, even some who rejected it. Some groups have asked the government to hold power to postpone the regional head election, considering that currently, in various regions, the spread of the Coronavirus has not recovered but tends to increase. The implementation of the regional head election during this pandemic is like two opposite sides. The government is trying its best to carry out the constitution's mandate through its policy, namely Regulation in place of Law Number 02 of 2020. However, on the other hand, public awareness is still too low in applying health protocols.

A week after the regional head elections took place, Coronavirus cases had formed new clusters in several regions in Indonesia. Some of the areas in question include Banten, Purbalingga, Jakarta. According to the Covid-19 Task Force spokesperson, Ati Pramudji Hastuti, spreading the Coronavirus occurs during voting and other processes ranging from declarations and registrations to campaigns that

cause crowds. When referring to the results of the investigation conducted by the Indonesian Ombudsman in 207 polling stations spread across the territory of Indonesia, especially those holding regional head elections, almost 99% of personal protective equipment was well distributed before the regional head elections began (BBC, 2020). In addition, the health protocol has been implemented according to procedures ranging from limiting the number of voters, arranging voter attendance schedules, providing handwashing facilities, and others.

In addition to the news of the spread of Corona, which increased during the regional head election, there was an exciting phenomenon; namely, 29 incumbent wives will participate as regional head candidates. It is a form of progress, considering that the participation rate of women in the 2018 regional head election was only 8.85% and increased to 10.6% in the 2020 regional head election (Medistiara, 2020). Although there is an increase, this number is still far from ideal because the reference to women's representation in the regional head election is 30%. Of the 29 incumbent wives who came forward in the regional head election, they came from various backgrounds, bureaucrats, parliament members, business people, and other fields.

The participation of the incumbent's wife in this regional head election is like two opposing sides. First, this can be momentum for women who want to fight for a sense of equality and justice for all women, people with disabilities, the elderly, and other marginal groups in Indonesia. Verbal or physical harassment that often targets women is one proof that women are often treated as second-class citizens. It happened during the 2020 regional head election campaign, in which a tweet from one politician was directed at one of the candidates for deputy mayor of South Tangerang, namely Rahayu Saraswati (Retaduari, 2020). So it takes the responsibility of many parties, especially women, in creating gender justice. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the participation of the incumbent's wives in the 5-year agenda is one way to launch a political dynasty in an area. It is undeniable that controlling power in the regions encourages family or relatives to continue to enliven the political stage.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Based on the background above, the formulation of the problem in this article is as follows:

1. How are the dynamics of the participation of the incumbent's wives in the 2020 regional head elections viewed from the theory of women's political representation?
2. How is the participation's analysis of the incumbents' wives in the head election forming a political dynasty?

THEORY

Theory of Women's Representation

The existence of women in the political arena can indeed be understood as a phenomenal social reality. It is not easy to achieve between women and politics, especially in developing countries like Indonesia, which adheres to a patriarchal culture (Sutinah, 2006). So that male voices still dominate in various political decision-making processes. This recognition can occur considering that men are considered parties who can take responsibility, lead and even protect a group from the minor level, namely the family, to the highest level, namely the state. This recognition makes the wife and children (in the family sphere) represent their political aspirations through their fathers or husbands.

Over time, the role of women in politics cannot be underestimated. It is known from research conducted by Stanley (1990) in the United States. The study results indicate that there has been a relatively large wave of change in which many women have entered politics. The book entitled *The Politics of Presence* by Anne Phillips (1995) explains the theory of women's representation in the world of politics, the presence in the political arena is an excellent supporting tool in fighting for the interests of their people. This theory states that there is a reasonably strong relationship between substantive representations and descriptive representations. It means that when the number of women's representation in parliamentary seats is high, women's interests will tend to be prioritized. The existence of differences between women and men is the basis of this theory. Some of these differences include educational background, parenting patterns, type of work, the possibility of violence against women, and sexual crimes that women may experience.

Anne Phillips (1995) describes two types of political representation: politics of idea and politics of presence. The concept of idea politics is a condition in which political representatives bring various ideas from the people or groups they represent. In contrast, the notion of presence politics is the demand for a balanced representation between women and men, the demand for the same thing among the different ethnic groups that make up society so that the concept of the politics of ideas is related to politics presence.

Political Dynasty

Political dynasties can be interpreted as a form of control of power in government, especially at the local level. Based on the traditional political meaning, the concept of political dynasties is a strategy carried out by the authorities in placing family, relatives, and relatives in strategic positions to perpetuate power and control to remain in their sphere of life. The eternal power and control will directly make it easier for them to control various things, especially those concerning the interests they want to achieve. Indonesia, which adheres to a decentralized system, makes political elites

mobilize votes when fighting on the political stage. The opening of space in the direct election of regional heads throughout Indonesia gave rise to petty kings or what can also be referred to as a form of local Cendana family. This term refers to the Cendananisasi family, which has ruled Indonesia for approximately 32 years (Efendi, 2018).

There are three types of political dynasties in Indonesian politics: the regeneration model, the cross-chamber dynasty model, and the cross-regional dynasty model. All three have different concepts. First, the regeneration dynasty model is a political dynasty built in one area by carrying out candidates with family ties to the incumbent. For example, in region A, it is led by someone for two terms, then to continue the domination of his power, the incumbent brings his wife or child or sister to run in the regional head election. Second, the cross-room dynasty model is a dynasty formed because of the spread of relatives in a family and becomes an official either in an office or becomes a member in the legislative and executive institutions. The spread of relatives in several positions will complicate the function of checks and balances, considering that they will try to use their power to suppress control from the community. The last model is the cross-regional model. This type of political dynasty is built by a group of people who want to spread their influence and power elsewhere by placing one of their families there (Paisal & Eko, 2019).

The side effect of political dynasties is to distort the dignity of democracy. It is because of feudalism and the tradition of monarchy that continues to take root and even become a culture in Indonesia. Moreover, political dynasties also strengthen the practice of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. The spread of political dynasties in Indonesia cannot be separated from the absence of a solid legal framework so that political dynasties continue to develop, become trends, and are difficult to blame. In the end, political dynasties only provide space for politicians and bureaucrats to put the interests of individuals or groups above the interests of their people. At least three factors make political dynasties increase in Indonesia: network strength, capital, and position in the party (Karyudi, 2013). If an incumbent owns the three things above, his efforts to maintain power will be easy.

Schumpeter's concept of democracy

Schumpeter is the founder of the theoretical understanding of democracy, which is limited to a procedural process to choose political leaders. Procedural democracy, according to Joseph Schumpeter, emerged as a sharp critique of several democratic theorists in the previous era. The definition of democracy by Plato, Aristotle, Dahl, and several other classical political scientists who refer to the concept of the common good and the will of people can be interpreted that the public interest is the engine driving the implementation of democracy. Schumpeter denied this understanding because, in reality, the election of people's representatives in the general

election only prioritizes the political interests of the people elected to occupy public positions and will ignore what the community expects. The political reality in the field is very far from the ideal expectations formulated together (Schumpeter, 2017). Even if the people's will is fulfilled, it is not fully implemented, or it can be said that only a small portion is implemented.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a type of qualitative - descriptive research that describes a process of how events or phenomena can occur and what characteristics exist in a phenomenon (Nassaji, 2015). The author is conducting this research must first collect the required data in a complex manner, considering that the data is essential in the analysis process to produce in-depth research results. The ability of researchers to analyze and observe the object of research is vital in this type of research so that the final results presented are different from previous research and obtain their uniqueness (Rahmat, 2019).

The approach used in this research is a library approach (research library). Relevant data were obtained from various sources, including books, journals, and other scientific works relevant to the research topic. The data collection process is carried out systematically so that the analyzed data can provide answers to the problem formulation and produce conclusions. When using this approach, the series of processes is to collect library data and then read and record it by the author and process it until the final result is obtained (Supriyadi, 2017). Using these secondary sources is also intended to support and facilitate the author in understanding and interpreting the phenomenological nature that occurred in the past (Rahmat, 2019).

Process in research Qualitative carried out in four stages, starting with data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions (Dull & Reinhardt, 2014). The data collection stage is done by looking for data from various library sources. The data reduction stage is a process in which summarizing, selecting, and focusing on the main and important things. The reduced data will provide a clearer picture and refer to the research topic raised. Then the third stage is to display data or present related data, which allows concluding. Then the last stage is drawing conclusions which are the results of research that answer the research focus based on the results of data analysis (Rijali, 2019).

THE WOMEN CANDIDATES OF REGIONAL HEADS ELECTION

The simultaneous regional head elections that were held several months ago did raise pros and cons. The implementation of the five-year democratic party this time is carried out with strict health protocols to prevent new clusters of Coronavirus. First,

what must be understood is the concept of regional head elections, which has an understanding as a new institutional framework implemented to realize the democratization process in a region (Hanafi, 2014). The first regional head election was held in June 2005. The spirit that emerged from the regional head election restored the people's political rights by the Regional People's Representative Assembly. In addition, the existence of this political contestation performance is also an effort to improve the life of Indonesian democracy after the New Order regime, which tends to be authoritarian towards the Reformation era. People can also choose a candidate for leader according to their wishes. So it can be said that implementing direct regional head elections creates a process of strengthening and deepening democracy and efforts to realize good and effective governance.

Interestingly, the 2020 regional head election increases women's involvement as candidates of regional heads in various regions. There are 157 or 10.6 percent female candidates; five women advanced in the governor election, 127 women in the regent head election, and 25 in the mayoral election (Kemenpppa, 2020). A total of 29 of them are wives of the incumbent. This number is an improvement considering that the participation rate of women in regional head elections is only 8.85%, and in the political arena in 2020, it will be 10.6%. The participation of the incumbent's wife in political contestation supports Anne Phillips's theory in which the relationship between the politics of ideas and the politics of presence will support the interests of the represented group. The inclusion of the wives of incumbents in this five-yearly event is a form of attendance politics. These representatives will represent women's groups and other marginalized groups to fight for their interests. It will be a form of progress considering the patriarchal culture that is deeply rooted in Indonesia and makes the situation or group more dominated by men. In addition, the amount of political capital that must be owned by every candidate who goes forward in the regional head election will indirectly make anyone who goes forward (predominantly female candidates) his guts shrink.

Some of the candidates running on the political stage in 2020 and the incumbent's wife are Ipuh Fiestiandani (wife of Banyuwangi regent Abdullah Azwar Anas who has served two terms since 2010). Ipuh ran with Sugira and was promoted by several parties, including PDIP, NasDem, PPP, Hanura, and Gerindra. The General Election Commission's real count results showed that Ipuh and her partner beat their rivals with 51.2% votes. Another candidate named Etik Suryani ran as a candidate for regent of Sukoharjo along with Agus Santoso. Etik Suryani is the wife of the incumbent Wardoyo Wijaya. The pair won with 52.7% of the vote. This success cannot be separated from social capital, owned capital, and support from 4 big parties: PDIP, Golkar, and Demokrat. The wife of the incumbent who ran for regional head elections was also carried out by Kustini Sri Purnomo, who was none other than the wife of the Sleman Regent, Sri Purnomo. Kustini succeeded in continuing the throne of power

that her husband had held. Although only supported by two parties, it did not prevent her from winning. General Election Commission declared Sri won with 38.9% of the votes (Kumparan 2020). Many more incumbent wives have advanced in this five-year event, but the author will focus on only one candidate, namely Kustini Sri Purnomo.

The discussion on candidate Kustini is indeed related to exciting points in the regional head election in Sleman. Kustini is the wife of the incumbent regent, Sri Purnomo, who came forward with Danang Maharsa. There are two pairs that they have to fight, namely pair number 01 Danang Wicaksana Sulisty and Raden Agus Choliq, while other rivals that Kustini must face are Sri Muslimatun, who is the incumbent deputy regent, and Amin Purnama. Among the three pairs running as candidates for female regents are Kustini and Sri Muslimatun. Rivalry occurs between the two considering that each candidate wants to win even though they know each other well. The advancement of Kustini and Sri Muslimatun shows that women are no longer a barrier for anyone to come forward and be elected by the people in an area. The result of the real count shown by the Sleman General Election Commission was a victory in favor of the Kustini and Danang Maharsa.

The Human Development Index (HDI) of Indonesian women has indeed made progress. It was recorded that 0.80% occurred in 2018, and in 2019 it became 69.18%. However, this figure is still far from the planned target. To achieve a better HDI, four aspects become indicators: education, health, political and economic empowerment. Based on the findings from The Indonesian Institute of the four indicators above, if examined more deeply, actually there has been no significant change. In education, literacy rates and the ratio of women's primary education participation are still low compared to men, namely 94% for women and 97% for men. Second, the Indonesian economy is dominated by women, but women's participation in the labor market is low, reaching 54%. Then in the political field, there was a decrease in the number of Ministers in the Jokowi era cabinet, where there were only five female ministers out of the total 34 (Wahyuni, 2019). Pro-women and children policies may be put forward with the advancement of these incumbent wives. It is done by the Regent Kustini, who continues to strive to improve the quality of life and the role of women and the welfare of children through development programs that are friendly to gender equality in their regions. Implementing the Gender Mainstreaming program in all agencies in the Sleman district is a concrete step in reducing policy inequality that has been happening so far (Fakhruddin, 2021).

If it is correlated with the concept of political dynasties and Schumpeter's concept of procedural democracy, the increased participation of incumbent wives can also be a bridge in continuing power in their family sphere. Indonesia is a country that adheres to the principle of regional decentralization so that local governments have the authority to regulate their households in related fields. Unfortunately, with the granting

of such authority, the implementation of decentralization often deviates from the dignity of democracy itself. The implementation of this decentralized system only gave birth to political dynasties, which led to the opening of space for politicians and bureaucrats to put the interests of individuals or groups above the interests of the people. In addition, it does not rule out the possibility of disintegration and growing feelings of excessive autonomy. It is not surprising that several areas are not in line with the policies issued by the central government during this pandemic.

If you pay attention, the political dynasty that the incumbents are trying to build is included in the model of a regeneration political dynasty. The wives of incumbents are carried in their territories to become leaders and continue the steps and milestones of leadership from their previous husbands' relationships. It supports Schumpeter's concept about democracy, which is limited to procedural and respects the common good. This phenomenon has been happening for a long time in Indonesia. Such political practice manifests that the government elites want the control of resources and authority to remain in their hands through their wives and do not want to be obtained by others. Direct regional head elections are negative access to decentralization policies that make democracy hijacked by people's interests and specific goals. The existence of this political dynasty will be a strategy for politicians to accommodate personal closeness and ignore the candidate's capabilities. It is not impossible that later the wives of these incumbents will make their children as candidates for regional heads when their leadership period is over.

Seeing the case of the Sleman Kustini regent and her husband's background, Sri Purnomo, it can be said that her position is relatively high. In terms of capital, Kustini has total assets of up to Rp 12.9 billion (Hanafi, 2020). Kustini's large capital is not difficult to carry out a campaign that can cost hundreds of millions. Of course, the purpose of the campaign is to increase his branding so that the people of Sleman are more familiar with it. Rationally think of economic capital. The bigger the economic capital, the easier it will be to win the existing political battle. Even political rivals who have low political capital are even closer to victory. It is based on thinking that the greater the economic capital in political contestation, the easier and lighter it will be to mobilize resources, whether mobilizing the masses, the media, or others who support the victory of the candidate concerned.

Second, in terms of the network owned, an established social network will accumulate voter votes. Kustini is the wife of the incumbent; it is common knowledge that the people of Sleman already know her. Her status as the wife of the incumbent will elevate Kustini's social status. Kustini has earned a place in the community in terms of position. No wonder, from the quick count, Kustini won.

On the other hand, Kustini has absolutely no experience as a political party cadre. However, her position as the wife of the incumbent regent has become a stepping stone, thus making Kustini popular. So Kustini's network of strengths and modalities makes it seem like she has got a red carpet in winning voters' votes in regional head elections.

CONCLUSION

The elected regional heads will be clamped with political interests that could threaten the sustainability of the reform ideals for democratization and the decentralization policy. The existence of money politics practices carried out by prospective candidates to get votes from their constituents will undoubtedly ask for reciprocity when those nominated wins through corruption, collusion, and nepotism practices to return the funds they spent during the campaign. So that transactional politics like this injures democracy and makes people distrust the regional heads and political parties that oversee them. In the end, the people become victims because what they should get is neglected. Welfare is the last choice for regional heads to pay attention to. The concept of the common good and the will people in procedural democracy is only a sweet promise made during the campaign, so that it is under Schumpeter's view that the reality is far from the ideal expectations of society. So from the analysis above, it can be concluded that the increasing number of women advancing in political contestation, especially from the incumbent's wife, has become a new spirit in making more equitable policies for women and children. However, it cannot be denied that their presence is part of establishing political dynasties in various regions in Indonesia.

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