



Gender perceptions in political speech: women and political style

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ABSTRACT

The patriarchal culture in Indonesia has given women the image that they are only suitable for the domestic area, and men are the main actors in the household, as a head of household. This makes women less likely to have a career in life, especially in politics. So far, the affirmative policy on the 30% quota for women to participate in politics has brought women to continue to develop and move to play a role in the public space. The problem that will be discussed in this research is the stigma in society and the limitations of women's roles in the political arena that have been attached to patriarchy. In this research, it aims to bring women to a more open stigma, that women can have a role in the public space just like men. The method used in this research is the ethnomedia method with a descriptive qualitative approach. The ethnomedia method is used as a reference for researchers in collecting data in the mass media, which can provide references that can provide various long angles. From this research, it can be concluded that despite the inherent patriarchal culture in Indonesia, women today can have brilliant careers in the public sector. Some Indonesian women politicians have proven that women can also be role models, provide the right policies, have charisma in leading and be a good example for the society.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Women in Indonesia are deeply embedded in patriarchal culture. Women are considered to only have domestic roles, such as caring for children, moral guardians, and the role of educators in the family. Meanwhile, men as decision makers and breadwinners, have the main role as head of the family. The existence of patriarchy has formed an understanding that men are superior, and this discrimination has occurred for a long time, such as forms of marginalization, stereotypes, subordination or inferiority, to violence against women (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2021). The development of the times, especially in meeting the needs decent life makes women take part. Economic demands especially for the lower classes, demanding women to work. Work that was previously only done by women in the household environment now also shifted as the backbone of the family economy. Tribal development Women in the era of globalization have brought changes in development development is no longer just as a wife or mother alone, but has been focused on quality of human existence (Mardiah et al., 2019). For this reason, when entering the world of politics, women are still considered as someone who is not competent in making decisions. The inherent and hereditary patriarchal culture still stigmatizes that women are not as good as men if they enter political events, which in fact the political arena is full of making identical policies carried

out by men. As stated by Kathleen B. Jones (1998: 11-12) that the concept of separation between the public as the domain of men in carrying out 'political action' and the role of women in the private sphere which is identical to the local sphere, is the main cause of women not being included in the thinking and analysis of traditional political science in the western world (Zahra, 2020). Thus, biased perceptions in society regarding the limitations of women's roles in the political, social and economic participation spheres are a barrier for women to become politicians (Salfa, 2023).

The feminist movement was born in England in 1550-1700 in the face of patriarchal traditions. Feminism is a movement that rejects the injustice of rights between men and women, in the sense that it wants equality in all fields of expertise. Because this movement arises from the assumption that women are discriminated against and need a struggle to fight against it (Pertiwi et al., 2019). In Indonesia, the feminism movement has also developed progressively, one of which is in the country's political scene. The government has provided a portion of 30% for women's participation in politics. It is stated in Law No. 12 Year 2003 Article 65 paragraph (1), concerning Elections for DPR, DPD and DPRD which reads "Each Political Party participating in the Election can propose candidates for Members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/ City DPRD for each electoral district by taking into account women's representation of at least 30%" (Irfandi et al., n.d.). This is a form of affirmative policy that can encourage the role of women in the public to grow. So, women now have the space to become politicians, and make public policies that will provide solutions to the needs of the people. As Bengtson said, affirmative action is a justice that requires us to eliminate discrimination (Bengtson, 2022). The female figure is actually not inferior to being a leader like the male figure – man. However, because there is still a stigma regarding the characteristics of women who are gentle, it makes them a woman becomes less confident. Over time, with the number of women in the increasing world of politics can open up opportunities for women to occupy positions leader in world politics. The increasing number of women with good educational backgrounds, makes women are not inferior to men in the eyes of society (Iftinan & Putra, 2021).

Perception is a process that begins through sensing, the senses in this case function to receive stimuli from outside the individual. This is a process carried out by the brain to interpret sensory information, turning it into a meaningful picture of the outside world, in which a thought process occurs so that an understanding is formed, this understanding is called perception (Taufik et al., 2022). Women have their own perceptions in expressing a political view in public, as well as men. Perception is where someone gives an impression, opinion, judgment, feels and interprets something based on what has been displayed by the source that has been perceived (Monita et al., 2019). According to Deddy Mulyana, perception can affect our behavior, because it is an internal process that allows us to interpret stimuli from outside our environment, select, and organize them (Deddy, 2012). In the participation of women in politics, the public still has a stigma that women are not really empowered by political parties, women are still considered as complements and sweeteners. Also, there is still a societal construction that women are suitable at home to be housewives (Sutri Destemi Elsi et al., 2022). Perception can be interpreted in a form of communication, so that the symbols that want to be presented will be defined verbally and nonverbally which will provide certain messages to the recipient of the message. This also affects the mindset of women in expressing their goals and intentions when in politics. Women must choose certain diction as an expression and style that suits their character.

In politics there are many certain expressions as a form of political communication, persuasive expressions that are strong in meaning are what is needed to be able to give messages and change the behavior of political targets. In this case, women are superior to men, namely having the ability to persuade or influence. In addition, women are more able to accept forms of criticism as a benchmark for learning from a mistake. And the most prominent from the female side is the ability to multitask, which can complete several activities at the same time (Iftinan & Putra, 2021). The stereotype of women as weaker than men turns out to have potential in leadership and plunge into the rigors of politics. Perceptions that become generalized labeling of certain groups, namely women, become trapping stereotypes. The construction built by society as people who do not deserve a career in politics, limits women themselves to advance. In addition, Indonesia's patriarchal culture, which is quite ingrained, is one of the factors for women themselves not having

a strong desire to be equal to men in the public sphere. Sometimes, it is women themselves who undermine their abilities, who put themselves in positions that are more appropriate for them, and only dare to compete with fellow women themselves, and accept that men are more appropriate. This perception does not only come from the wider community, but has also been absorbed by women themselves. So that women are only filling substitute roles, not being the main role (Setyoningrum, 2021).

There have been many studies on women in politics, including by Theresia Parwati and Kuspuji Istiningdiah who discussed "Participation and Political Communication of Women in the Legislature According to the Glasses of Women Politicians in Indonesia". The study discusses the role of women who are still considered incapable of holding political positions due to the strong view of subordination to women. The problems found include; women's representation in the public sphere is still minimal, political parties that are not yet gender sensitive, gender bias and bias patriarchal values, and the low interest of women to become politicians in a society that is still seen as a world full of "violence" (Parwati & Istiningdiah, 2021). Another study mentioned that female politicians have their own strategies in reinforcing existing stereotypes, by communicating by positioning themselves as "mothers", using both verbal and nonverbal tenderness. In addition, the study explained that women's participation today tends to only fulfill quotas (Susilo & Nisa, 2019). Fajar Rahmanto, et al, in the research "Women's Representation through Political Parties in Parliament Period of General Election 2019-2024" explained that the affirmative policy that has existed since 2004, regarding the 30% quota for women's participation in a parliament is still considered challenging to realize, and men still dominate the composition of parliament. The lack of women's roles does not affect policy-making related to gender interests, because women are considered to have low quality which will affect social policies, especially women's welfare (Rahmanto et al., 2021).

For this reason, this research wants to emphasize the perception of a woman when she becomes a politician. How a woman can view politics and policy making with her point of view, which of course has been exposed to a patriarchal culture and an environment that limits space in the public sphere. Women want to prove with their style and courage in expressing a communication, decision-making, policy-making, and as a community leader can have access and a place in the public sphere fairly. So that all forms of symbols, expressions, and perspectives in carrying out the role of politicians can provide public trust. With this research, it is hoped that it will make political science commonplace, especially in the eyes of women. The stigma about the harshness of the political world is decreasing and making this scientific field is no longer a frightening specter. So that with the number of women involved, it will make the political field develop and be even more advanced.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with ethnomedia methods. This qualitative approach in a descriptive way will be able to better explain how women have their own character in politics so that they can clearly compete and be equal to men. Qualitative is a method whose research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization (Nurdin & Hartati, 2019). Research with a qualitative approach is the result of the construction of a thought as well as interpretation because it is based on an interpretative paradigm, so qualitative is considered as a dynamic towards an intact object (Fitrianti & Laksana, 2022).

The ethnomedia method itself is used by researchers because the steps in collecting data on data sources are obtained by researchers through mass media (Virgiana, 2018). Both internet / virtual media and other mass media that provide information about several women in Indonesia and even abroad can participate in politics and are accepted by the community with different characters. The ethnomedia method in this qualitative is appropriate because this research examines information in the mass media which is inseparable from performance, ideology, media politics, and mass media culture as a whole. So that with this method, researchers get as much information as possible from a more detailed and in-depth phenomenon. Today's mass media is not only a material cultural artifact, but has become many objects and subjects of ethnographic and anthropological studies. For this reason, there are several reasons mass media is used as a study

with the ethnomedia method: 1). Mass media is the dominant thing in getting an image of social reality. 2). Media becomes a place of cultural development. 3). The media can connect other institutions with society because the media is a social institution. 4). Mass media becomes a means of control to community innovation as a substitute for other resources. 5). Media as a complex organization. 6). The media is a forum that has a role in showing life events. 7). The media is a growing industry and as a promotional medium it can revive other industries (Virgiana, 2018).

In collecting data, the author used observation techniques and collected documentation from the mass media. Because the data sources obtained are from literature and mass media documentation. The author analyzes the data that has been collected, by collecting supporting data from various mass media about women politicians who have been determined in the boundaries of this research. The data analyzed is information related to several women when they became politicians in a certain period. In addition, the literature analyzed is taken from credible sources such as scientific journals in the last 5 years, so that the data obtained is still relevant to this research. After that, several research sources are analyzed in a conical manner about the style of women in policy making or political decision makers, the data is described in a descriptive narrative so that this research can be a reference and recommendation for other sources, especially in the fields of politics and gender.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Gender equality is a movement voiced to fight for the fate of women. Initially this concept arose because of injustice and discrimination which saw gender as a measure of role in society, the placement of women in the social system did not necessarily eliminate the role of women in society. Conditions like that are an opportunity for women to emancipate and stop perpetuating the patriarchal system that has been run by society so far, with the emancipation movement, women progressively change the social and cultural system without eliminating the dignity and worth of a man (Taufik et al., 2022). According to McGee & Warms: 2008, gender issues relate to social relations, class, power, modes of production, and center on the social construction of gender that appears as an expression in the roles of kinship, motherhood, and marriage (Prihantoro et al., 2018). Gender itself is a sociocultural construction (masculinity and femininity) that is reflected in behavior. Gender differences are not a problem if they do not give birth to gender injustice. In fact, these differences have created many injustices such as marginalization and subordination of women. This marginalization and subordination are what inhibits women from becoming politicians equal to men. Marginalization of women occurs from the family environment that provides workloads in the family and the right to demand education. Meanwhile, subordination can be seen when women are placed in an unimportant position due to cultural stereotypes in society that consider women emotional and irrational, who are more suitable to play a role in the kitchen than to have a high career. the gender phenomenon gives women a dual role because the division of labor is a necessity, the idea of a dual role for women basically comes from the same world view, to be more specific the qualifications between home space and public space, the idea of dual work which was originally expected to enable women, educate children and take care of households in the domestic sphere while in the public sphere women have played various roles in various sectors, namely agriculture, education to government. The division of domestic tasks that occur in the family evenly is one of the implications of creating gender equality in the family.

The existence of the role of women as leaders is now beginning to be appreciated and equalized. In line with the emancipation movement and the gender equality movement which basically seeks to demand equal rights for women in various fields' life, then step by step there has been a shift in perception about the female figure. They are no longer seen as the weak figure they always are on the back line, but they can appear on the front line as successful leaders in various sectors of life, which so far dominated by men. Women have the same ability to be in top position in the career (Hilmianti et al., 2022). The ideology of ibuisism that has influenced women's thinking that women are identical to be treated harshly, and if they enter the realm of politics, they will potentially become blunt women's politics. Indonesian politics, which is closely related to the world of men, has become an influence on whether or not women dare to advance in political events. However, this perception eventually became a struggle for women to get their rights in the eyes of

the law and in society to have equal rights in politics (Samsa, 2020). The affirmative policy on the 30% quota for women's participation in parliament is a breath of fresh air for feminism activists. Women are encouraged to enter the political arena more. In Indonesia itself, more and more women are advancing in the political arena, both local and national. In fact, Megawati herself was once the first female president in Indonesia. In this study, researchers will highlight several female politicians in Indonesia who have influence in society so that they can break the perception of patriarchal culture. Among them are Iti Jayabaya, Airin, Risma, Khofifah, Susi Pujiastuti, Puan Maharani and Megawati.

In politics, people have different styles and viewpoints. So that in increasing his electability, he will choose strategies and methods that suit his character and are tailored to the needs of what kind of leader he is. Men have a style and language that is firm, straightforward, to the point of being a hard figure to be feared. While women have a style and language that is softer, more sensitive, and more capable in terms of listening. These are the stereotypes created in society. The feminism movement that continues to be voiced little by little can erode these stereotypes and women begin to build their image that they can also be assertive, straightforward, and charismatic in terms of leadership (Zainuddin & Darman, 2020). However, the style and manner of leadership still refers to how the person is forward-thinking, open-minded, has a qualified background, and is in an environment that builds in that direction (Zainuddin & Darman, 2020). On the one hand, men in expressing statements in public can be more assertive in making decisions, this can be influenced by parental upbringing, character education, experiences, and a sense of masculinity that arises from a sense of environmental encouragement that men must be superior. On the other hand, women who are in fact still confined by their patriarchal understanding, who are actually capable of doing the same thing as men, especially in making solutive policies, are also still strongly influenced by upbringing and environment that limits women's role in the public. Women are still considered to lack experience in political issues, lack access to leadership, are not placed as the main role, and are still affected by gender issues (Santi, 2020). And these limitations are caused by the perception of society which still compartmentalizes that the roles of men and women in the public sphere are different, women are more in the domestic area.

From several female politicians taken as samples, such as Iti Octavia Jayabaya (Regent of Lebak-Banten), Airin Rachmi Diany (Banten Governor Candidate), Susi Pudjiastuti (Former Minister), Puan Maharani (Speaker of the House of Representatives), Tri Rismaharini (Minister of Social Affairs), Khofifah Indar Parawansa (Governor of East Java) and Megawati Soekarno Putri, it can be seen that female political figures have various characters like other leaders. In fact, they have their own characteristics that can steal the attention of the public.

In communicating in terms of women's perceptions, Iti Jayabaya has a tough and brave character. Iti Jayabaya approaches her citizens with bold policies. Proven by her success in 2019 has brought Lebak Regency out of the title of underdeveloped city. Iti also successfully served as regent of Lebak Regency for 2 periods. While in Airin's leadership, she has made policies that prove partiality to the community in the form of feminism "Human Rights" in terms of education and health.

Another example is the phenomenal figure of Susi Pudjiastuti, who served as Minister of Sovereignty and Fisheries for the 2014-2019 period. She is also known as a successful entrepreneur. In her performance, Susi dared to take a political stance that succeeded in bringing Indonesia's name to be feared in the waters. With her jargon "tenggelamkan" Susi has succeeded in sinking illegal ships that enter Indonesian waters. This proves that Susi, as a woman, can make policies that are acceptable to the public. And now, Susi still exists in her media social, Twitter. She still dares to speak out and criticize the government.

Puan Maharani, on the other hand, is a female politician who still belongs to the oligarchy of the previous rulers, who are still descendants of President Soekarno. Puan and her mother, Megawati, use this dynastic power to the fullest. Becoming female politicians who have a strong grip on making strategic policies in the government. As evidenced by the positions they have held, Megawati has served as the first female president in Indonesia. Meanwhile, her daughter, Puan Maharani, is currently the chairperson of the House of Representatives. The characters of this mother and daughter are almost similar, both are brave, firm, straightforward, a little controversial

and widely respected by their members. They gained the trust of the public to participate in politics with the hope that Indonesian society can be better, which in fact the Indonesian population is still dominated by women. This means that the hope for women's welfare will be more widely felt and supported by the people. And opportunities for gender equality can gradually be realized (Zahra, 2020).

Tri Rismaharini, who currently serves as Minister of Social Affairs, has been featured in the media as a bold woman leader. Under her leadership, she succeeded in bringing Surabaya City to win the Adipura trophy 7 times. Risma's success and assertiveness in various policies have led to a brilliant career, which she is currently achieving as social minister. Khofifah Indar Parawansah, who currently serves as the governor of East Java, is known by her people as a charismatic and virtuous woman. Her figure has brought women today to be able to open up insights in career boundaries in the political arena. Many successes were also carried out by Khofifah, such as strengthening the national economy through the rural economy, then receiving an award as a leader of change Khofifah from KemenPAN-RB.

However, in line with that, since affirmative policies have continued to develop, many women have emerged in the country's politics. In Banten alone, there are currently many female faces emerging for next year's grand event (2024). Previous female politicians have inspired current women to be able to advance into politics, competing with men to be able to give confidence to the community regarding the policies that will be implemented when in office. From some of the women who appear, it can be seen that these faces are a breath of fresh air for voters who are starting to be skeptical or apathetic. Women from their maternal side can provide a gentle approach that has the trust of the community that with the advancement of women can provide hope not to cheat (corruption) as has been done by many male politicians. The community is more accepting because they are bored with the promises of male politicians who firmly provide policies that many do not match the promises at the beginning. While the gentle nature of women is considered to be able to better realize the trust built by the community (Rosdiani & Putri, 2021).

4. CONCLUSION

Although feminism has been growing, the perception of women's participation in politics is still not in line with the society itself. Women in Indonesia are still ingrained by the colonial culture that has been passed down until now, namely patriarchal culture. So that women themselves limit themselves and position themselves that women are mothers who have a role at home, will be more complicated and unable to have more roles, especially in the public space. The focus on increasing women to push towards development is more focused on aspects of increasing productivity without looking at reproduction inherent in them, this needs to be done as an initial step to break free from the patriarchal system that has so far marginalized them, such a view is a collective awareness to prove oneself because there is male dominance in the social system, besides that, the concentration that needs to be considered is educational facilities for women, as a means to increase women's participation in society.

In the past, women were considered to lack knowledge about politics. Women were still considered not capable of playing a political role, leading the people and prospering the people with fair political decisions. Today, women who are present to color the face of Indonesian politics have qualified capacities, are highly educated, build an image and authority like a leader. However, it is still not separated from the inherent maternal side, because in Indonesia itself, women who advance in the public sphere have a dual role, domestic roles and other roles as politicians (Nurussa'adah, 2020). When women speak and act in public, they can empathize in their sensitivity well. Her conscience is still at play. However, when making political policies, both men and women will equally act politically, meaning that they will make strategic policies based on profit and loss that have been comprehensively analyzed.

In studying the role of women related to the political space, there are not many dominating examples that can be used as models to prove that the patriarchal culture in Indonesia does not prevent women from advancing to the public space. This is a limitation of researchers in deepening the study of politics and women. The number of women who come forward still has its own previllage so that they can appear on public surface. There are still few names that really stand out

by proving their own abilities without the privileges of the closest people. Another limitation is that the mass media issues raised to the surface are not merely about the achievements of these women, but more about conflicts, and other things that can increase the electability of votes.

This research is expected to have a positive impact on increasing women's motivation to advance of politicians. However, Indonesia's deep-rooted patriarchal culture, which is still a barrier to women's participation, will diminish. This is the causal effect of choice. In addition, this research can encourage more women to enter politics, to make policies related to women's welfare.

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