

# Rethinking: Women's Political Rights, Digital Safety, And Election

Lian Agustina Setiyaningsih<sup>1</sup>, Muhammad Hanif Fahmi<sup>2</sup>, Sekar Arum Nuswantari<sup>1\*</sup>,  
Sri Widayati<sup>1</sup>, Priyo Dari Molyo<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science,  
University of Merdeka Malang, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Department of Information System, Universitas Islam Raden Rahmat Malang, Indonesia

Correspondence\*:

Address: Jl. Terusan Raya Dieng 62-64, Malang, East Java, Indonesia

e-mail: [sekar.nuswantari@unmer.ac.id](mailto:sekar.nuswantari@unmer.ac.id)

## Abstract

Today, the representation of women in the political sphere at the beginning of the struggle was unacceptable to male politicians and the public. The position of equality in political rights is extensive homework for this nation. And it is still being studied seriously in various countries. The research review aims to rethink the relationship between women's political rights, digital safety skills, and general elections. This literature review wants to analyze the relevant article that talks about women's political rights, digital safety skills, and general elections which have been collected from Google Scholar, including the keywords. All three notions have a common thread for measuring the existence of women in the political realm. This condition can be seen from the role of women as political actors who run for office, as well as women as owners of voting rights in general elections. Both can be viewed as subjects and objects in general elections to restore the spirit of democracy in Indonesia. The answer to the above problems is establishing digital safety as a digital literacy ecology. The need for this condition refers to women's political struggle to get crucial political affirmation.

**Keywords:** Digital safety, Election, Women's political rights



This is an open-access  
article under the  
CC-BY-SA license

Received: 21-12-2022 | Revised: 29-12-2022 | Accepted: 03-01-2023 | Published: 20-01-2023

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26905/jtragos.v1i1.9205>

© 2023 Journal of Transformative Governance and Social Justice

Published by the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Merdeka Malang, Indonesia.

## Introduction

In general, women become a separate dimension in the discussion in the political context. The representation of women in the political sphere at the beginning of the struggle was unacceptable to male politicians and the public. The movement for women's struggle to gain an equal position with men is a very complicated challenge. Change cannot happen by itself, and the process starts when the industrial revolution rolls around (Plante, 2009; World Economic Forum, 2017). Access to public space in the fields of economy and trade is taken away by replacing female workers with machines.

Likewise, the opportunity and position in the eyes of the law and politics. At that time in England, there was not a single member of parliament represented by the government. The general public made a hard line to limit the role of women in the public sphere until finally, the women's liberation movement came, which was called the current of the feminist movement. This movement breaks the order of values and traditions that marginalize and marginalize women (Kivijärvi & Sintonen, 2022; Wang, 2017; Wreyford & Cobb, 2017). The feminist movement that emerged simultaneously around the world at that time brought fresh air to all women in the world. The main rights demanded are equality of position and recognition in the realm of law and politics.

The position of equality in political rights is still being studied seriously and is full of pros and cons, such as in America (Morgan-Collins, 2021), Europe (Ramirez et al., 1997; Vojvodić, 2021), Africa (Biondi, 2006; Jasor, 2021) and Asia (Jain & DasGupta, 2021). Even though a struggle carried out decades ago, the ultimate goal of having equal positions in the political sphere has not been fully realized. About women's political rights, which are still consistently fought for by various parties, Indonesia has also become a locus in this value movement.

Different political affirmations have been established so women can have the same access, opportunity and position as men. For example, it is granting a 30% quota for women's self-actualization rights in political parties (Kadir & Safriani, 2021; Riskawati & Silalahi, 2021). The electability of women through elections tends to increase. From its achievements, the number of women is still far from equal, and there are few opportunities to hold strategic positions in the policy. Affirmation of women through provisions in the election law needs to be added. Still, it has the challenge of proving improved governance and explaining the principles of supremacy and equality of law again.

In the Komisi Nasional Perempuan Report & Komisi Nasional Perempuan Annual Notes (2020), since the implementation of women's affirmation starting from the 2009 elections, the number of women in the DPR has increased to 18.21%. Previously, in the 1999 and 2004 elections, women in the DPR only amounted to 10% and 11.24%. Having fallen to 17% in the 2009 election, the number of women increased again to 20.54% in the 2019 election. Affirmative policies do exist, but progress is plodding. Changes in numbers and quantitative data lead to unexpected changes. So if there are no policy changes, then to achieve gender equality in parliament, it will still take 44 years if counted from 2020.

The purpose of this class struggle is to make women actors in the political field. The women involved as politicians, then the rest of the women must also be politically literate and aware of their position as owners of intelligent voting rights. The two parts of women in a political perspective intersect with digital safety because today, women live amid much information in the media (Ohme, 2019). The abilities that women must have are not only related to abilities and skills related to politics but also to security in using information and the media. It is because digital safety is related to the rapid circulation of information about politics in digital media. The analogy of women is like an onion with many layers, layer is like a shield that can protect it. For example, the first layer of women has knowledge related to political discourse. It doesn't stop there; the next layer should have digital literacy and information associated with the same field; up to the core of an onion, women should have logical and critical thinking that can ultimately make autonomous decisions.

Concern over the emergence of the fourth industrial revolution from a broader historical perspective is expressed by Howcroft & Rubery (2018). They argue, first, that the level of fear and anxiety about the ramifications of automation for jobs today is comparable to that of the 1970s and 1980s or even the 1930s and 1940s. However, this condition was demonstrated by this anxiety being higher in earlier periods and currently appears to be more of a concern in the US than in Europe. In some countries, people are either unaware of or underestimate the potential consequences of the digital age. In contrast, in others, media reports indicate that people are anxious about digitalization and the internet. Negative opinions about digital communication via the internet are also associated with a more populist and protectionist attitude, as evidenced by the results of the Brexit referendum.

The combined ability that women must have in the political field cannot be measured partially only from the ability to win elections or exercise their right to vote. However, women and the environment must synergize in realizing a democratic ecology that supports equality. This democratic ecology becomes an intelligent political demand in general elections. Moreover, the digital era has dragged most of the elements of life into cyberspace and created a new world and its systems. A review of the literature on women's rights in politics, elections, and digital safety is an alarm that describes how these three have developed in cyberspace.

## Methods

This literature review wants to analyze the relevant article which talks about women's political rights, digital safety skills, and general elections. Then, this paper tries to rethink the relationship between these three notions. Because they have a common notion for calibrating

women's existence in politics. The articles used in this literature review were collected from Google Scholar, including keywords such as "women's political rights" "digital safety skills" and "general elections". The articles analyzed are articles from the last 5 years.

## Results and Discussions

### a) Election and Democracy

The idea of democracy has become so close to elections that we are in danger of forgetting that the modern history of representative elections is both a story of authoritarian manipulation and a triumph of democracy. Schedler, (2002) argues that historically, in other words, elections have become an instrument of authoritarian control and a means of democratic government. This closeness adds a biased meaning to spatially define democracy and general elections. Democracy and elections are like a coin with two sides but are in one place and concept. One of the meanings will lead to contextual errors in understanding the function between democracy and elections (Bjørnskov & Rode, 2020; Hansen & Lim, 2019; Schedler, 2002).

Since the early days of the "third wave" of global democratization, it has become clear that the transition from authoritarian rule can go anywhere. During the last quarter of a century, much has led to establishing some form of democracy. But many others haven't. They have spawned new forms of authoritarianism that do not fit into our classic categories of one-party, military, or personal dictatorships (Chen et al., 2022). These conditions have produced a regime that organizes elections and tolerates some pluralism and interparty competition. Simultaneously, violates minimal democratic norms so severely and systematically that it makes no sense to classify it as a democracy, regardless of its quality. This electoral regime does not represent a limited, flawed, distorted form of democracy. They are examples of authoritarian governments (Garcia-Montoya et al., 2022). The time has come to abandon its misleading label and take its undemocratic nature seriously.

Roberts (2019) argues that most current regimes are neither clearly democratic nor completely authoritarian. They inhabit the broad and foggy zone between liberal democracy and closed authoritarianism. Several authors have worked with broad intermediary categories such as "democratizing regimes" or "semi-democracies. The resulting quadruple typology captures significant variation in vast areas between the poles without abandoning the notion of a meaningful distinction. It can be drawn between democratic and authoritarian regimes.

The difference between liberal and electoral democracy stems from the general notion that elections are a necessary but not sufficient condition for modern democracy. Such a regime cannot exist without elections, but elections alone are not enough. While liberal democracy goes beyond the electoral minimum, electoral democracy does not. They succeeded in "getting elections right" but failed to institutionalize other essential dimensions of democratic constitutionalism, such as the rule of law, political accountability, bureaucratic integrity, and public deliberation (Grindheim, 2019).

**Table 1.** The Chain of Democratic Choice in Election

	<b>DIMENSIONS OF CHOICE</b>	<b>NORMATIVE PREMISES OF DEMOCRATIC CHOICE</b>	<b>STRATEGIES OF NORM VIOLATION</b>
1	The object of choice	<i>Empowerment</i> : Democratic elections involve the delegation of decision-making authority.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Reserved positions</i>: limiting the scope of elective offices</li> <li>• <i>Reserved domains</i>: limiting the jurisdiction of elective offices</li> </ul>
2	The range of choice	<i>Freedom of supply</i> : Citizens must be free to form, join, and support conflicting parties, candidates, and policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Exclusion of opposition forces</i>: restricting access to the electoral arena</li> <li>• <i>Fragmentation of opposition forces</i>: disorganizing electoral dissidence</li> </ul>
3	The formation of preferences	<i>Freedom of demand</i> : Citizens must be able to learn about available alternatives through access to alternative sources of information.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Repression</i>: restricting political and civil liberties</li> <li>• <i>Unfairness</i>: restricting access to media and money</li> </ul>
4	The agents of choice	<i>Inclusion</i> : Democracy assigns equal rights of participation to all full members of the political community.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Formal disenfranchisement</i>: legal suffrage restrictions</li> <li>• <i>Informal disenfranchisement</i>: practical suffrage restrictions</li> </ul>
5	The expression of preferences	<i>Insulation</i> : Citizens must be free to express their electoral preferences.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Coercion</i>: voter intimidation</li> <li>• <i>Corruption</i>: vote buying</li> </ul>
6	The aggregation of preferences	<i>Integrity</i> : One person, one vote. The democratic ideal of equality demands weighting votes equally.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Electoral fraud</i>: “redistributive” election management</li> <li>• <i>Institutional bias</i>: “redistributive” electoral rules</li> </ul>
7	The consequences of choice	<i>Irreversibility</i> : Elections without consequences do not qualify as democratic.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tutelage</i>: preventing elected officers from exercising their constitutional powers</li> <li>• <i>Reversal</i>: preventing victors from taking office, or elected officers from concluding their constitutional terms</li> </ul>

Source: (Pournaras, 2020; Powell, 2004)

The distinction between electoral democracy and electoral authoritarianism is built on the general assertion that democracy requires elections, not just elections. The idea of a self-democratic government is incompatible with election law. In a common phrase by Ludwig (2020), elections must be "free and fair" to be considered democratic. Under an electoral democracy, contests adhere to minimal democratic norms; under electoral authoritarianism, they do not (Bettiza & Lewis, 2020).

This situation makes politics scary for women, like entering a space whose contents and conditions are unknown. It is because, so far, women have not received proper political education. Even get affirming rights in the political field is still considered procedural and yet to be substantial. Democracy and elections for most women in Indonesia are the most avoided topics of conversation. The environment also considers this topic of discussion not to be the realm of women's conferences. It is like a myth that is forbidden to be discussed.

This condition comes as a reality, not only from the environment outside of women but for women themselves. In the end, they limit and choose to avoid politics. The formation of images and values that politics is not for women is the government's homework. Holistic

political education for women is one of the entry points to breaking the status quo. Environmental stability that allows women to have equal rights in interpreting democracy and politics is the primary indicator of good democratic stability in Indonesia.

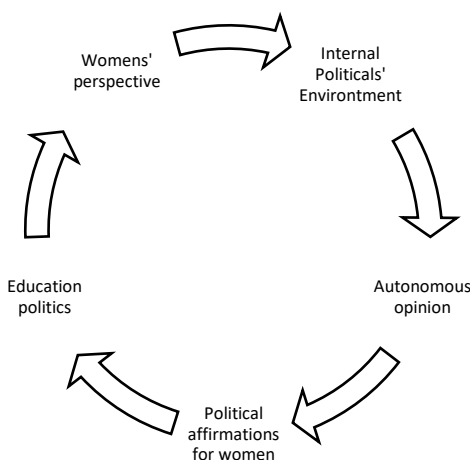
**b) Women’s Political Rights and Political Affirmations**

Women politicians who were connected to the women's movement have made efforts to change the provisions to a more affirmative one. Unfortunately, these efforts still produce affirmative requirements that are relatively the same in the election laws in 2009, 2014 and 2019. In Aklima (2022), in the election law, there is a stipulation that women's leadership and candidacy are at least 30%. This situation could be a bargaining position for women. If there are no women, political parties cannot participate in elections.

Furthermore, Arawi (2022) explains the revision of election and campaign laws. If gender equality in parliament is to be achieved from the results of the 2024 election, affirmative provisions must be added to the regulations; for example, women must be number 1 in 30 percent of the electoral districts. Candidate women must also improve their skills in public communication directly or through the media, especially social media.

There are challenges regarding affirming women's representation in the rule of law and democracy. The law is still strong and is considered the state's attitude, which must look at all citizens equally. In a democratic procedure, every citizen is similarly valued as one vote. Thus, women have the challenge of improving quality. Quality refers to a strong desire to provide access to justice for citizens who have difficulty exercising their political rights. Not only targeting women who become political actors but also channeling their voices in elections. This voting right is the privilege of women, who be protected through the provision of political education. It is not only women but children, disabilities, and also others. Because all of these are classified as marginal groups that need to be fought for, logically, if women have reached 40 percent but don't have this desire, then this is procedural. The goal is considered unfulfilled and not the attainment of political rights.

Achievements of women got in the results of the 2019 election council. As the number of women in the DPR increases, more and more women are entrusted with joining various commissions. Women are not only in commissions on education and health but also on energy, infrastructure, foreign affairs, and defense (Women & Annual, 2020). The challenge is to think deeply and universally in responding to women's affirmations. The party's emphasis on fighting for women needs to be changed. Women are fighting for the party. In terms of participation, campaigning, getting votes, passing the threshold, and entering parliament, all women have a significant role.



Source: (Berry & Lake, 2021; Bull et al., 2021; Jasal, 2020)

**Figure 1. Stages of Achieving Political Rights for Women**



Political education must be strengthened with a women's perspective. First, internal political parties must remain responsible for the educational function. Second, political education in general, through mass education organized by the state and education initiatives by civil society. This women's perspective of political education is not only formal or institutional but also cultural. It is common to find discriminatory attitudes, harassment, and even violence in everyday life. The perspective of fighting and educating both, directly and indirectly, will have a broad impact. Kantola & Rolandsen Agustín (2019), the desire to engage in politics is also an indicator of achieving goals.

In addition, in the continuity of women's affirmation, women's groups and their alliances need to continue conveying to the public information and data about discrimination and violence against women. For example, the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS), will maintain affirmative efforts from time to time and link women politicians, women's movements, and women constituents.

### **c) Digital Safety as Ecology Digital Literacy**

Social media strongly correlates with various forms of social and political problems. The process that leads to social change in internet-based mass media is the mobilization of effects on content. Activities mobilize the effects of using social media during election campaigns based on activities that voters perform on these platforms, such as publishing, sharing, or discussion content (Holt et al., 2013; Kahne et al., 2013). This activity requires media users, especially women, to have digital literacy skills. This condition is because, in digital media, dominant women are used as objects. Women do not have the authority to filter social media content (Shor et al., 2019) and tend to have thin logic in interpreting media content (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019).

In contrast, news focuses on exposure to campaign news on social media. Therefore, special attention is paid to the different political content that citizens can find on social media. Women are more sensitive to news related to the conflict. Meanwhile, news related to politics primarily deals with conflict and disputes. The possibility of micro-targeting politics and the increasing presence of political actors on social media have dominated discussions about recent election campaigns (Baldwin-Philippi, 2017; Kreiss & McGregor, 2018). However, women community knows little about the problem. The problem contains how prominent this type of direct political communication is in the news diet of young citizens' campaigns compared to content from older news media or information from friends or followers. In addition, how exposure to these various sources of information, in the end, mobilizes citizens is still being studied (Aldrich et al., 2016).

This literature study combines digital safety conditions that women must have with forming a digital literacy ecology. The aim is to create an excellent ecological-like environment so that This literature study combines digital safety conditions that women must have with the formation of a digital literacy ecology. The aim is to create an excellent ecological-like environment so that women own letter digital safety. The problems experienced by women in the case of political news consumption and decision-making are due to media exposure leading them to information habits (Harris & Woodlock, 2019). The problem lies in determining the relative low or high activity. The importance of offline and online news in the media diet of a fledgling voter campaign, exposure is limited to old news sources on social media, and few examples of exposure to content from friends and followers. We relate the indications to the content dominant position of political actors, social media platforms are creating a polarized image for first-time voters during election campaigns. The most important reason why content from political actors is so prominent in their news diet is that they choose to receive this content.

The election may be due to a particular understanding of citizenship, namely the obligation to stay informed – using election-related content on social media. While their

intentions may be good, it is unlikely that first-time voters will 'like' or follow a broad spectrum of parties or candidates, leading to polarized exposure. However, flux in the digital media environment creates a somewhat situational engagement with political content, compared to more stable and usual media exposure. So if there is an easy way to filter the bubble for young voters, there may also be an easy way out. The problems experienced by women in the case of political news consumption and decision-making are due to media exposure leading them to information habits (Harris & Woodlock, 2019). The problem lies not in determining the relative low or high activity. The importance of offline and online news in the media diet of a fledgling voter campaign, exposure is limited to old news sources on social media, and few examples of exposure to content from friends and followers. Suppose we relate the indications to the dominant content position of political actors, it appears that social media platforms are creating a polarized image for first-time voters during election campaigns. The most important reason why content from political actors is so prominent in their news diet is that they choose to receive this content.

This election may be due to a particular understanding of citizenship, namely the obligation to stay informed – using election-related content on social media. While their intentions may be good, it is unlikely that first-time voters will 'like' or follow a broad spectrum of parties or candidates, leading to polarized exposure. However, flux in the digital media environment creates a somewhat situational engagement with political content compared to the more stable and usual exposure. So if there's an easy way to filter the bubble for young voters, there may also be an easy way out.



Source: Literature treat by researcher, 2022

**Figure 2.** Ecology Digital Literacy and Digital Safety

The digital literacy ecology is formed with an understanding of women’s political rights and obligations. Second, women must have confidence in mastering the ongoing political discourse. This action helps women to make decisions more quickly and protect their rights. Third, the ability to filter information makes it easier for women to understand situations. Moreover, lastly, for women to have a bargaining position to step up in exercising their political rights.

## Conclusion

The position of women in the world of politics is far from the agenda of equal rights in the political field. Political discourse for women is a scary area and is never recognized. Especially today, women are subjects and objects in digital media, so digital literacy is the key to the existence of women in both natural and virtual worlds. The digital safety aspect is the key to getting an equal position for women in the political realm. It is not only as an actor directly involved in politics but also as the owner of political rights who is free to express their opinion. To restore the spirit of women's struggle to achieve political rights in the digital era, the women's community must establish a conducive and women-friendly environment. The digital literacy ecology that emphasizes digital safety is the answer to women's struggle for political rights. This condition is herded to get affirmation and achieve the same position in the political field. It should be remembered that conveying political rights has been claimed as a human right.

## References

- Aklima, A. (2022). Menyoal Kualitas Caleg Perempuan Menjelang Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024 Di Aceh. *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik*, 7(4).
- Aldrich, J. H., Gibson, R. K., Cantijoch, M., & Konitzer, T. (2016). Getting out the vote in the social media era. *Party Politics*, 22(2), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068815605304>
- Arawi, F. A. (2022). Perbandingan Representasi Perempuan di Parlemen Indonesia dan Filipina. *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 14(2), 74-85.
- Baldwin-Philippi, J. (2017). The Myths of Data-Driven Campaigning. *Political Communication*, 34(4), 627–633. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1372999>
- Berry, M. E., & Lake, M. (2021). Women's Rights After War: On Gender Interventions and Enduring Hierarchies. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 17(1), 459–481. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-113020-085456>
- Bettiza, G., & Lewis, D. (2020). Authoritarian powers and norm contestation in the liberal international order: Theorizing the power politics of ideas and identity. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 5(4), 559-577.
- Biondi, M. (2006). *To Stand and Fight*. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674020955>
- Bjørnskov, C., & Rode, M. (2020). Regime types and regime change: A new dataset on democracy, coups, and political institutions. *The Review of International Organizations*, 15(2), 531-551.
- Bull, M., Watson, D., Amin, S. N., & Carrington, K. (2021). Women and policing in the South Pacific: a pathway towards gender-inclusive organizational reform. *Police Practice and Research*, 22(1), 389–408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2020.1821680>
- Chen, E., Deb, A., & Ferrara, E. (2022). # Election2020: The first public Twitter dataset on the 2020 US Presidential election. *Journal of Computational Social Science*, 5(1), 1-18.
- Garcia-Montoya, L., Arjona, A., & Lacombe, M. (2022). Violence and voting in the United States: How school shootings affect elections. *American Political Science Review*, 116(3), 807-826.
- Grindheim, J. E. (2019). Why right-leaning populism has grown in the most advanced liberal democracies of Europe. *The Political Quarterly*, 90(4), 757-771.
- Hansen, I., & Lim, D. J. (2019). Doxing democracy: influencing elections via cyber voter interference. *Contemporary Politics*, 25(2), 150–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2018.1493629>



- Haraldsson, A., & Wängnerud, L. (2019). The effect of media sexism on women's political ambition: evidence from a worldwide study. *Feminist Media Studies*, 19(4), 525–541. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1468797>
- Holt, K., Shehata, A., Strömbäck, J., & Ljungberg, E. (2013). Age and the effects of news media attention and social media use on political interest and participation: Do social media function as leveller? *European Journal of Communication*, 28(1), 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323112465369>
- Howcroft, D. , & Rubery, J. (2018). Gender equality prospects and the fourth industrial revolution. . *Praise for Work in the Digital Age* 63.
- Jain, D. , & DasGupta, D. (2021). Law, gender identity, and the uses of human rights: The paradox of recognition in South Asia. . *Journal of Human Rights*, 20(1), 110-126.
- Jasor, O. (2021). Global Women's Rights and African Realities: Examining Discourses of Gender Justice in South Africa. *Agenda*, 35(2), 136–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2021.1920335>
- JASSAL, N. (2020). Gender, Law Enforcement, and Access to Justice: Evidence from All-Women Police Stations in India. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1035–1054. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000684>
- Kadir, A., & Safriani, A. (2021). Implementasi Keterwakilan Perempuan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Di Kabupaten Takalar. . *Alauddin Law Development Journal*, 3(1), 28-35.
- Kahne, J., Lee, N.-J., & Feezell, J. T. (2013). The Civic and Political Significance of Online Participatory Cultures among Youth Transitioning to Adulthood. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 10(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2012.701109>
- Kantola, J., & Rolandsen Agustín, L. (2019). Gendering the Representative Work of the European Parliament: A Political Analysis of Women MEP's Perceptions of Gender Equality in Party Groups. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(4), 768–786. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12885>
- Kivijärvi, M., & Sintonen, T. (2022). The stigma of feminism: disclosures and silences regarding female disadvantage in the video game industry in US and Finnish media stories. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(5), 1083–1101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1878546>
- Kreiss, D., & MCGREGOR, S. C. (2018). Technology Firms Shape Political Communication: The Work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google With Campaigns During the 2016 U.S. Presidential Cycle. *Political Communication*, 35(2), 155–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814>
- Ludwig, G. (2020). The aporia of promises of liberal democracy and the rise of authoritarian politics. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 21(2), 162–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2019.1669688>
- Morgan-Collins, M. (2021). The electoral impact of newly enfranchised groups: The case of women's suffrage in the United States. . *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1), 150-165.
- Ohme, J. (2019). When digital natives enter the electorate: Political social media use among first-time voters and its effects on campaign participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 16(2), 119–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2019.1613279>
- Perempuan, K., & Tahunan, C. (2020). Komnas Perempuan. dan Partisipasi Politik Perempuan .
- Plante, L. A. (2009). Mommy, what did you do in the industrial revolution? Meditations on the rising cesarean rate. *IJFAB: International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics*, 2(1), 140–147. <https://doi.org/10.3138/ijfab.2.1.140>

- Pournaras, E. (2020). Proof of witness presence: Blockchain consensus for augmented democracy in smart cities. *Journal of Parallel and Distributed Computing*, 145, 160–175. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpdc.2020.06.015>
- Powell, G. B. (2004). The Chain of Responsiveness. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(4), 91–105. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2004.0070>
- Ramirez, F. O., Soysal, Y., & Shanahan, S. (1997). The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990. *American Sociological Review*, 62(5), 735. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657357>
- Riskawati, D. , & Silalahi, O. (2021). Implementasi Kebijakan Kuota Perempuan Di Parlemen. . *Jurnal Enesia Publika: Energi, Sosial, Dan Administrasi Publik*, 4(2), 261-268.
- Roberts, K. M. (2019). Crises of representation and populist challenges to liberal democracy. . *Chinese Political Science Review*, 4(2), 188-199.
- Schedler, A. (2002). The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 36–50. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2002.0031>
- Shor, E., van de Rijt, A., & Fotouhi, B. (2019). A Large-Scale Test of Gender Bias in the Media. *Sociological Science*, 6, 526–550. <https://doi.org/10.15195/v6.a20>
- Vojvodić, A. (2021). Persistent efforts and opportune moments: women's groups and gender quota adoption in Central and Eastern Europe. *East European Politics*, 37(4), 659–680. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2021.1902316>
- Wang, Z. (2017). *Finding Women in the State: A Socialist Feminist Revolution in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1964*. . University of California Press.
- World Economic Forum. (2017). Realizing human potential in the Fourth Industrial Revolution: An agenda for leaders to shape the future of education, gender and work. In <http://hdl.voced.edu.au/10707/420100>. World Economic Forum.
- Wreyford, N., & Cobb, S. (2017). Data and Responsibility. *Feminist Media Histories*, 3(3), 107–132. <https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2017.3.3.107>