



## Women and Politics: A Case Study on Women's Political Choice in Makassar City, Maros and Gowa Districts

Gustiana Kambo

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Hasanuddin  
[gustianakambo@yahoo.com](mailto:gustianakambo@yahoo.com)

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to understand the complexity of the dynamics of women's behavior in choosing in determining their participation in female legislative candidates. Women's participation in politics is a reflection of the existence of justice in democracy which is now being tried to be realized in the transition period. The aspect of women's participation in democracy is not something that comes suddenly but requires awareness and care of all our society, especially for women themselves. The results of the study indicate that women's behavior shown in their political choices in the General Election reflects a rather weak participation, presented by women themselves. In this case, women's political choices are not only based on their desire to choose women themselves, but also based on other factors, such as pressure from the family, friends and even the electoral party. Although it is not generally applicable to all elements of women in this way, it shows that at least women's participation in voting is still influenced by some factor that.*

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### INTRODUCTION

This paper was directed to understand woman's political behavior that focused in political choice in voting. In this case, political choice is a representation of woman's participation to influenced decisions that related in guaranteeing woman's political rights.

Participation in form of involvement is a process that involvement all civilization in man and woman include to any social groups. In these social groups

contained norms, values and ideas that applied and socialized through a long process. It will influenced to preference and political behavior.

Political behavior reflected in the 2009 legislative elections has a unique situation, namely the political space for every citizen, both women and men, to compete to be very open. This is based on the decision of the Constitutional Court to support the determination of the winner of seats in the DPR (House of Representative) and DPRD (Regional's based on the majority votes, not the party's list. This decision also encouraged the fierce battle between candidates. Given that the party candidate who receives the most votes will win the party's seat, then by eliminating the list of candidates each candidate stands together to win the vote.

In reality, there are not many legislative candidates (candidates) or parties that pay attention to the female voter segment. Meanwhile if we compare it quantitatively, female voters are bigger than male voters, in South Sulawesi there are 73.28% female voters and 67.23% for male voters KPU Sulawesi Selatan (2018). It should be when the fighting room becomes open, then how to attract attention and get voter votes becomes something significant, especially women's voices, therefore knowing the behavior and constructs of socio-cultural voters is something that should be considered by candidates and parties.

In Indonesia, in the framework of equality of representation, in law no. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, it has been determined that, the representation of women in the legislative stock exchange of each party must meet a 30% quota. This means that 1 in 3 legislative candidates from the party are female legislative candidates. However, in the previous elections, although there were regulations on women's quota of 30%, the regulation did not have a significant impact with the validity of the serial number in determining the elected legislative candidates.

However, in the 2009 Election, despite having used the most votes, the choice of female legislative candidates to represent women in the legislature is still low if we are on the assumptions about the arguments for representation above, especially if it is also associated with the large number of women, especially at the location where

this research will be conducted. This means that the assumptions about the serial number to be the reason for the law are not valid.

This phenomenon brings us to a substantive question, why equality of women's representation is important. The answer is certainly not just to the extent of the electability of female candidates (elites/politicians) in the eyes of voters, especially women voters themselves, but at the center of the question there are problems regarding whether women need women to represent them.

Basically women in Indonesia, especially those who fought in the legislative candidacy both at the regional and central levels in the 2009 elections, were at least in the middle of the two main currents of thinking about women's representation. On the one hand, changes in social patterns, especially the marginalization of women in decisions and policies in relation to various matters, especially regarding women themselves, are not sufficiently felt only by women's representation by men in the legislative council, it can be understood that the assumption that only women who understands women. But it also becomes a question whether women voters understand what women candidates want for them. Or are female candidates not able to convince female voters about women's interests. Of course, to see how women are chosen, we must see them within the framework of togetherness and equality in the political opportunities provided by democratic mechanisms in our country.

Based of the consideration, we formulate two research questions, there are:

1. How is woman's political choice in Makassar city, Gowa District and Maros District?
2. What is underlying the political choice? Do women vote for the women legislative candidate?

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **The Rationale of Political Choice**

Society is a collection of individuals, living and settling in the same area and interacting with each other. Every human being in the community has a character, desire and purpose. With this in mind, there are patterns of interaction and forms of

organizing relationships between community members. Starting from how to achieve goals, agreements and also solve existing problems. Interactions that are interwoven with various patterns that depend on places will aim and also goals that will give birth to various patterns of behavior based on the context and context of society. General patterns that can be used for economic behavior, cultural behavior, struggle and political behavior.

Women in a society will interact and be in an environmental context that includes their orientations. The orientation is based on knowledge and experience (cognitive), feelings and desires (affective), and its evaluation of what will be chosen, in the character of this political culture which then forms political choices that will be patterned for a long time, or temporary can apply depending on the extent to which a person or political institution is able to translate accept and translate their interests.

In general, it can be said that politics is a variety of activities in a political (or state) system that involves the process of determining the objectives of the system and implementing those goals. Of the various activities in the political system, there are goals to be achieved, there are various desires, ways and choices that are faced in a political system. So that it can be said that, political choice is the factors that determine alternative decisions relating to the process of making and implementing policies, both by the government and society. (Budiarjo, 2008)

A person's political choices can be motivated by many things, each person has the consideration and reason to impose a political choice on the political objects they face. Starting from the possible elements of interest that can be accommodated, the sociopolitical influences that exist around include events and mass media, as well as primordialism orientation and so on. On the basis of these attitudes, orientation and participation, political culture will be formed, starting with a person and accumulating into the political culture of society. Several things that influenced woman's political choice can be reviewed in several approach, sociological approach and phsycological approach.

1. Sociological Approach

This approach is also commonly referred to as Columbia School. Its origin comes from Europe, this model was later developed by US sociologists who have a European background, especially at Columbia University, according to this school the sociological approach basically explains that social characteristics and social groupings - age, sex, religion, occupation, family background, activities in formal and informal groups and others - have a significant influence on the formation of political choices. Interactions that occur within social groups such as age, gender, religion, occupation and so on will become the structure of knowledge building which will influence political preferences and one's voting behavior so that it will influence the forms of political choice. Everyone will identify himself as a member of the social group he is in. This will make someone drop his choice based on orientation based on the context of his social group.

The sociological approach sees that in social groups there are certain social cognitions which ultimately lead to certain behaviors and choices. In social groups, a socialization process takes place. The social environment provides forms of socialization and internalization of values and norms in society, as well as providing life experiences. This process lasts for a long time.

## 2. Psychological Approach

This approach is also commonly referred to as the Michigan school and the main pioneer of this school is August Campbell. The emergence of this approach is a reaction to dissatisfaction with the sociological approach (Asfar, 2006; 91). The sociological approach is considered difficult to measure, the unclear indicator of social class education, religion and so on is a difficult thing to measure. In addition, materially, it was revealed that sociological variables such as primary and secondary groups, influence the voting behavior and political choices. Can not the variables be linked to voting behavior and political choices if there is a socialization process. Therefore, in this approach, the socialization that determines the voting behavior and orientation of one's political choices is not a sociological characteristic.

In this approach, attitude is the most decisive and it starts from information received by someone. According to Asfar, attitude does not occur just like that, but through a long process, which starts from childhood when a person first gets political influence from a parent or close relative.

As previously expressed by Nursal (2004) and Asfar (2006), the long process of socialization will make a person form a strong bond with social groups or social organizations. So that this will become something that greatly influences his political choices later. Female voters who are in a particular social group will accept the process of internalization based on the values in the group, their behavior will generally be related to values and habits that psychologically greatly affect women. Likewise with his political choices which are psychologically related to the political preferences of his group members.

### **Rational Choice Theory in assessing Political Voter Behavior and Choice**

Various previous approaches have explained various things related to voter behavior, in this case women's political choices will be a major part of this research and also various explanations about things that can influence women's political choices.

Rational choice theory is a fundamental explanation in seeing women's political behavior which includes political choices and various things that influence them. The Sociology of Behavior focuses on the relationship between the influence of an actor's behavior on the environment and the environmental impact on the behavior of actors. (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003: 356).

In the explanation of Ritzer & Goodman (2003), between actor's behavior is individu and the environment, there will be processes that influence each other. Some voters change their political choices from one election to another and certain political events can change one's political preference. From Ritzer and Goodman's explanation of the relationship between individual behavior related to the environment, it is clear from Nursal's explanation of women's political choices that tend to change at each general election. Certain political events described by Nursal are environments that

surround actors that influence individual political choices. In the most basic study, rational choice theory focuses more on its progress on activities carried out by actors. In this case, the actor is seen as a human being who has a specific purpose and purpose. So that the actor's actions are intended to achieve these goals.

The rational choice theory ignores what is the choice or what is the source of the actor's choice, the important thing is the fact that the action taken to achieve the goal is in accordance with the actor's chosen action. Explanation of rational choices as expressed by Ritzer and Goodman (2003), is an explanation of the location of rationality in making choices that basically depend on the objectives to be achieved. Not focused on the source of choice but based on the objectives to be achieved.

Woman as actor and individu had purpose, and the action aimed to reach the purpose. In the context of general elections in this case the legislative general election of women as citizens and as individuals in society certainly has goals and intentions in the political moment of legislative elections. The actions of women as individuals are an effort to achieve things that are intended rationally in the process of implementing elections.

Women as individuals in the electoral process of legislative members have rational choices based on efforts to achieve the desired goals and not focus on selected sources. Further revealed by James S. Coleman (2008), in rational choice theory with the basic idea that individual action leads to a goal and that goal (and also action) is determined by value or choice. Coleman (2008) also focuses on individual actions that also lead to a specific goal that links values in this case is choice and also reference. The choice based on preferences will involve various information in a social environment.

Friedmen and Hechter put forward two other ideas that form the basis of rational choice theory; first, is a collection of mechanisms or processes that combine the actions of separate individual actors to produce social consequences, the second is the increasing understanding of the importance of information in making rational choices. The information held by the individual will be related to the quality and quantity of the information and this will later influence his rational choices.

The rational choice of women is also based on the information he receives and is used as a preference as expressed by Coleman (2008) before. In the legislative elections, women are as individuals who have choices based on rationality in choosing. Rationality in making choices is based on the aims and objectives of the female voters and is related to the information and preferences they have.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study uses a qualitative method. Research areas are Makassar, Gowa and Maros. Makassar is a capital of the South Sulawesi Province meanwhile Gowa and Maros is the closest district to the Makassar. The data collected from this study came from the results of interviews with informants, various literatures and articles, newspapers and also writings related to the theme under study and were very helpful in this study.

In this research process, there were 12 (twelve) female informants who all resided in the research location. The polarization of the informants is intended to make the information or data obtained more richer and more varied. Of the seven respondents they met, each came from different circles and professions. The informants they met included those from the DPRD Government, NGOs, community elements (housewives) and academics.

According to Bodgan and Taylor (1993: 31) that qualitative research methods allow researchers to create and compile essential concepts, which are not found in other methods. In addition, qualitative research is very suitable with types of information, namely to understand the meaning underlying participant behavior, background descriptions and complex interactions, understanding the limited number of conditions, with a deep and detailed focus, describing phenomena to give birth to theories that want to be focused on the interactions and processes they use.

As with other qualitative studies, this research is also designed flexibly. Lincoln and Denzin (2002) call it emergent design, so that the design can be developed in accordance with field conditions. The method used in this study prioritizes phenomenologists who have equal subjective assumptions about the nature of real



experience of the social and political order as stated by Edmund Husserl (2001: 336) which states that a knowledge is always based on the experiential (experiential) nature of the accompanying phenomena and human consciousness actively contain the objects of experience. By using this approach, it can be observed the dynamics of the role played by women in the legislative institution based on the experience that has been carried out from the phenomenon of existence as a representative of the people.

By looking at some of these things, it will be very helpful to interpret the symptoms that occur in the implementation of affirmative action. The interpretation of the symptoms that arise in the implementation of the policy in the form of women's political representation in the legislature is very important in this study. Thus, the implementation of this research will be highly emphasized on *Verstehen* which is to provide interpretive meaning to the understanding of informants directly related to their duties as representatives of the people.

## **DISSCUSSION**

Basically, political choice does not only include the building of cognition, political stimulus and interpretation. But it also includes aspects that are affective in the form of emotional and psychological aspects. The scope of all these things can be expressed as readiness to react to political objects. Information is very important in this process, every information will be managed to then receive further information. Differences in access to information and differences in socialization in a society make each action or reaction different. Its scope ranges from political choices, in addition there are attitudes and actions that also form participation in legislative elections.

To find out the involvement of women in politics it is also necessary to understand the things that women themselves can face when they will vote, these conditions are not the same for every woman, because every woman has their own context. Various social factors are also very influential. Access to different information and also the process of socialization in their respective environments also becomes a variable that greatly influences political choices.

In this section, an overview of women's political choices and the things that underlie these choices is presented. There are social factors that cause this political choice to be diverse. Social factors also become very influential and from this they can be identified by voter orientation and the things that underlie women's political choices.

### **General Election of Women's Political Voting**

In general elections, the number of party votes and individual votes from legislative candidates will determine how many seats are won by a party or candidates who will occupy the seats. To determine a person / party occupying one seat in the DPRD, at least it requires votes to reach the threshold of the BPP number, the threshold for DPRD members to be able to sit at least must have active voters ranging from 4000 to get voter votes around 1500 to 2000 votes.

In the political aspect, strengthening the aspirations of women's aspirations to achieve gender justice and equality in the reformation period continues to be pursued and fought for, because in this case women still lack a significant place. So that it is expected that women can do more by participating in making and determining the direction of policy products that are still perceived as gender biased. Some women representatives have voiced their aspirations in the competition sitting in parliament. However, due to the lack of women in the legislature, it is weak for women to be more active in the voting mechanism in parliament.

This non-representative representation of women sometimes makes the mechanism and process of politics patriarchal and results in policies that are gender biased, through a 30% quota in the management of political parties and the nomination of women in the legislative institution as a step to empower the women's community and as a discourse in democratic practice in political life in Indonesia, although the results of the 2009 General Election are still not optimal. Equality of opportunity in decision making will realize the role and position equality between men and women in the power of decision making so that women's interests can stand for.

Women's participation when choosing in certain regions and being able to influence public policy where women are then considered to have a good role and participation is stated by one member of the community, he mentioned that women must have a role indicated by their ability to dare to choose and make their choices without there must be other people or other groups who press it, women must have independence in their own voice first to be considered that they are equal to men. This means that women should not only be subjected to objects but they must be their own subjects in making decisions to vote in elections.

Information about the general election process, and other political processes, is usually understood as an effort to create a better order in society, so that it can accommodate various interests. The information received will be processed with various knowledge about the existing political reality. In addition to accessing information about the political process that must be owned by a voter before deciding on their choice, and being appointed as their representative, information is also needed about who exactly will be chosen. This means that the choice is based on the candidate/individual behavior that will be chosen as well as the ability of the candidate academically and the ability of the candidate to be able to offer the possibility of what he can do when later sitting as a female representative in the legislature. In this case, which is seen by the ability of human resources in a professional manner and broadly they have a response and responsiveness to the fate of their people.

In this study, some informants have concerns about the course of the democratic process. So that it raises a reaction to the existing reality. This reaction is in the form of disagreement with a mechanism that is considered inappropriate. According to Coleman (2008) as an individual who is seen as a human being who has a purpose or purpose, it means that the individual or actor has goals and actions aimed at achieving that goal (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 357) Based on knowledge and building cognition and adequate information received by women, determine their political choices and are based on reality and an assessment of the observed political process.

## **Women and Their Political Choice**

Women as elements of citizens have the same rights as men to play an active role in the political process and can be done in general elections. Its involvement determines women's political choices based on their desires and judgments. The involvement of women as a separate community with distinctive stratification can be measured in the election process. Women's involvement is always juxtaposed with the aspect of quantity and ultimately feels the process and results of democracy from the general election. Women and their political choices will not be present at once, but are very much determined by many things. The existence of women in the political arena is a unique and unique femonema that needs to be fought for because it involves aspects of women's behavior with social and political factors that influence it.

In making a choice, women can involve their political orientation. This process is a separate political culture that involves three things, namely, cognitive orientation; affection orientation. These two things are related to emotional things. In addition, another thing is an evaluative orientation which is the basis for women's political preferences in their subsequent attitude. In this study, found several reasons that influence women's political choices in legislative member elections, including:

a) **Socialization as a Social and Psychologic Process**

The process of socialization is the process of transmitting values in a particular society from generation to generation that lasts all the time. Studies conducted in the research location show that the environment has a very large influence on a person in forming certain knowledge. The social environment such as family, playmates, school and work as well as the mass media play a huge role in shaping the structure of knowledge and one's preference to drop political choices.

In this study, to obtain data about the influence of knowledge (cognitive) on political choices, some informants stated that the knowledge they have about politics they get from the social environment such as family, friends, school, work, and people around the neighborhood they. Besides that, the informant also said that he obtained information and knowledge about politics from reading newspapers, magazines,

listening to the radio and watching television. When the informant was asked about the influence of knowledge about political issues with his political choices, the informant replied that they lacked knowledge about the procedures for choosing and especially about the profile of candidates and their parties. Especially parties that are unpopular, although there is a role for the mass media such as television, but the tendency of women to lack attention to political issues, except women in certain circles who have a relatively high level of education and have activities in the public area. Directives for political choices will tend to be more likely to be obtained from their families, gossiping groups (friends like friends) and even from village elites (village heads, hamlets, RT / RW) who indirectly give affirmation to a candidate or party. certain party.

The social categorization of the roles and responsibilities of women outside urban areas tends to place them as their own family environment commodities as well as commodity money politics. In this study clearly shows that the social environment, family and media contribute greatly to women's knowledge so that in many ways women become unable to make their choices independently.

This study also shows a strong correlation between various environments in influencing women's knowledge of political phenomena. The relationship between the social environment such as the neighborhood, the educational environment and the work environment in influencing his knowledge, especially about the legislative candidates. Information about legislative candidates is derived from personal talks and face to face between women in their respective environments, including the influence of their husbands and relatives. Meanwhile, on the other hand mass media and television also have a role in shaping women's knowledge, even though television shows are only within a certain period of time, such as the presentation of party debates and prospective debates. Likewise in the Media Daily regularly provides a review of the profile of each party.

For this reason, it can be stated that the process of socialization both formally and informally shows that there is a strong social process and psychological process that is accepted by women. Interactions that occur in their environment indicate the

existence of social group interactions that are categorized in terms of gender function and sorting. The reality of this situation greatly influences women's political preferences in understanding legislative candidates who will compete in general elections.

b) Objective Information

In the study several informants mentioned that information about the General Election, Political Parties and Legislative Candidates was inadequate because the information was not very important and considered the information was not too related to him, did not have a significant influence on the possibility of changes in his personal life and his family.

The information obtained on the basis of it is a different process received by women. In building women's knowledge, the social environmental factors that cannot be ignored in obtaining adequate information on candidates, parties and other access. There are two positions that must be faced by women, namely an environment that makes it easy to get information and an environment that does not make it easy to obtain information. Both depend on how important the information is personally giving advantage to women. A social environment that provides information as a need, at least easily accepted by women. For women who have minimal information, sometimes it is influenced by the meaning that the political process and its information is not something that can give them good, especially changes in their daily lives. Some women are passive in information, and at the same time are reluctant to be in public space because of limitations in accessing sufficient information about general elections.

The lack of information held by informants is partly referring to the choices of the old choices that have been chosen. This process is referred to as the habituation process, where it is rare for a political party in Indonesia to be able to achieve this level of socialization. What is meant is that it may be a Golkar party. Golkar's dominance during the New Order has indeed provided its own advantages. In addition to the established structure, the community, especially in voters who are old and passive, such as informants, have experienced long-standing socialization and habituation. For this context, voters do absorb information but do not actively seek and process

information (Nursal, 2004: 68). This has an effect on his choice to participate in elections that are easy to direct. When he has difficulty identifying what is being directed, he will then return to the old preferences that were his choice in the past.

c) Activity in Interest Group

In the political process, a person's political choices can be influenced by the participation of the community in a social group called the interest group. The involvement of women in interest groups can take place within a short period of time or in a long period of time, all depends on how much access to information and socialization has been received by the woman. The socialization that lasted a long time, usually made the female voters identify themselves into the interest groups that they followed. The categorization of the group can be in the form of equality of sex, origin, ethnicity, and religion, whereas in reality small groups such as families also provide learning in understanding female voters.

In many cases, when the smallest social group is intense in terms of interaction and the process of receiving information and ideas, female voters usually follow the political choices of those close to them. In this group, involves the values that are understood by the members of the group. Attitudes and behavior as actions from understanding have different backgrounds and contexts with other group members. It also involves historical processes and events that are linked to values in the social group. Basically, the process of socialization in social groups involves the process of transmitting values that are understood by the group towards its members. So women's political choices will usually be greatly affected by the process of socialization and knowledge acquisition from their groups, and that is closely related to the psychological dimension of female voters.

d) Woman's Interest

Women's political choices are an important factor in determining women's policies as well. In this thinking, actions in racial choice are interpreted as the ability to determine and sort out actors or human resources that are clear to fight for the interests of women. This reinforces the idea of the Ministry that basically the actions of a person (read: women) leads to the purpose and goal (and also the action) is

determined by the values and choices including their preferences. So that the choice of women based on their preferences will always involve various information in a social environment.

In bringing women's interests closer to the economy as if stereotyping women. Generally women if active in the economy can benefit men. This assumption can be a commodification of men's interests against women. If only this situation could be understood by those who competed in the general election, for female legislative candidates, then if the female candidates were observant about this factor of interest, then female voters would choose women. But if, this situation becomes a major commodity for men, then legislative candidates will not only get support from male voters but will also get a lot of support from women.

On this matter, that women's interests can become the initial commodity in attracting female voters. Women's basic interests are a reference for feminist thinkers to fight for women's interests to be accepted both in the political process and actualized in government policy. At present, basic needs for public facilities and infrastructure sometimes relate to the basic interests of women, from several sectors, such as: labor, education, health and others. One example in the field of employment, women are workers with many human resources who are lacking trained, and uneducated. Finally, they are trapped in work spaces where they become very cheap labor. In agriculture, almost in all processes, ranging from planting, harvesting, storing up to the utilization of production almost lived by women. However, the commodification of the market for agricultural commodities is very vulnerable to market price fluctuations. So that women as workers get low income from all these processes.

Reference to women's political choices is strongly influenced by their interests. Fundamental problems are centered on economic problems and some improvements in the standard of living of women and children. Economic interests, justice to women voters considering their political choices and directed their votes for anyone who can fight for women's interests. An informant revealed that his choice of one candidate was based on his promise to fight for the improvement of road facilities and fight for the establishment of schools in his area. According to him that good road facilities will



mobilize agricultural commodities in this region, and the existence of schools will be a space where school-age children from the beginning have been given an adequate school of work skills, especially in this area are agricultural and plantation areas, hopefully to ahead of this vocational school is a support of the agricultural aspect in this region. My main interest is that there is a good road, of course it is an increase in the economic level with the smoothness of goods going in and out of this region will spur growth, besides that it will brighten investment, both locally, domestically and outside the region so that the loan / banking credit that it handles becomes progressive and smooth.

Finally, in looking at the interests of the 2009 legislative candidates from three locations, Maros district, Makassar city and Gowa district, on the interests that lead to inclusive matters. In the sense that these interests do not lead to their own interests, but are based more on the interests of the wider community. For this category, this study shows that voters in determining their choices, besides being influenced by social and rational things, are also strongly influenced by psychological conditions which tend to place voters in the wrong choices.

## **CONCLUSION**

Political choices are part of a political process that is present in society. The situation of political choice can occur due to several things, which are interpreted as upheaval that is present in political life. Based on this, it can be concluded that, first, women's political choices based on information obtained and received intersect with the environment and the residence of voters. Secondly, female voters tend to be reluctant to vote because of the influence of knowledge possessed by female voters. Third, women's political choices are voiced in many other respects, system related to sociological and psychological aspects; adequate information, activities in groups of interests and interests of women in making their choices.

the three factors that influence the choice of women above are the findings of research obtained from three regions, namely Makassar, Gowa and Maros. women's political choices have dynamics that are influenced by environmental factors,

knowledge about elections and sociological and psychological aspects that can come from the family or community of the woman.

so that in the process of women's decision-making to choose whether or not a female legislative candidate is strongly influenced by these three factors and this makes this determination process dynamic and needs to be reviewed from the environmental, knowledge and psychological and sociological aspects.

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