

Faces of Female Parliament Candidates in 2014 General Election

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Introduction

In the last three General Election after reformation era, the policy of affirmative action by applying a quota of minimum 30% for female representatives had been employed. In the 2004 Election, the affirmative action was done through combining quota system and sequence number rule in Election. This resulted in 61 women (11.09%) successfully made it into the representative house from the total of 550 members from the Indonesia People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/DPR RI*). While in the 2009 Election, the quota system and zipper system was employed, which resulted in 101 women (18.04%) became the member of DPR RI from the total of 560 members. In 2014 Election, the same rule is still employed, quota and zipper system. Table 1 showed in detail of the affirmative action policy in Law of General Election.

Table 1.**Affirmative Action Policy in Law of General Election**

Law No.12/2003	Law No. 10/2008	Law No.8/2012
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The female representative in legislative house should be minimum 30%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is minimum 30% of female representative in the management of Central Executive political party. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is minimum 30% of female representative in the management of Central Executive political party.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The candidate list should have minimum 30% of female representative. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The candidate list should have minimum 30% of female representative.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the candidate list, every three persons will need to have at least one female. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the candidate list, every three persons will need to have at least one female.

Source: Taken from Law No.12 of 2003, Law No.10 of 2008, and Law No.8 of 2012

The existence of this law product was able to boost the number of female legislative members, even the number in 2009-2014 was the highest out of all Election ever done. Even though, actually the number was still below the 30% critical mass. On the other hand, the absence of punishment for this law was the obstacle of employing affirmative action policy. Therefore, the decision of Constitutional Court on March 12, 2014 agreed on the petition of law test for Law No. 8 of 2012 on General Election that was stated in the Explanation of Article 56 Section (2) and in Article 215 Sub-Section b as a warrant or ethical legal umbrella for the female representation.

As decided by Constitutional Court, on the phrase '*atau*' (or) in the Explanation of Article 56 Section (2) of Law No. 8 of 2012, it should be cumulatively and alternatively interpreted into '*and/or*', which meant in every three names of legislative candidates, there should be one or two, or even three female candidate names. On the other hand, in phrase '*mempertimbangkan*' (considering) in Article 215 Sub-Section b of Law on Legislative Election, the Court thought it should be interpreted into '*prioritize*' female candidates if the spread of voting for male legislative candidate and female legislative candidate in one Election Area (*Daerah*

Pemilihan/Dapil) reached the same number. Unfortunately, the process of law test consumed more time; it had been more than a year since the petition was submitted on January 30, 2013. As the result, the deciding process of election participants and of legislative candidates had passed.

The decision would be applied in the future and would not affect the legislative candidates list of election run in April 9, 2014. However, the Constitutional Court decision would be able to bind many parties, especially political parties. The Executive Director of Women Empowerment Center in Politics who was also the keynote speakers in Equality and Democracy Advocating Team and as the one who suggested the petition, Titi Sumbung¹ stated that political parties had to have clear, transparent, and objective criteria of recruiting their legislative candidates. Therefore, in the future, the legislative candidate recruitment process was not number-oriented; instead, it would focus on the number and quality. Furthermore, the government would also have the responsibility to facilitate the training and education on civics, politics, leadership, and so on.

A member of General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*), Ida Budhiati² explained that in the rule book of General Election Commission, there were already prevailing rules supporting female legislative candidacy. As the petition was granted, it would strengthen the rule made by KPU concerning on the disputes on election result. Before the law test, KPU was reported to the Election Supervisory Board (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu*) when they prioritized female legislative candidates. Concerning on 'prioritizing' female candidates, it was exemplified by when female and male candidates reached the same vote number for People's Representative Council, it was then seen the spread in Regency area. If both reached the same number in five Regencies, it would then be seen the spread in Sub-District area, the position was prioritized to female legislative candidate as the selected member. However, if both positions were dominated by male candidates, it had to be seen through the voting number spread in Regency, Sub-District, and Village. This was seen as different forms of treatment done for gender equality and the need to control political actions.

How was Political Parties' Reaction towards Female Legislative Candidates?

Political parties had huge role of female candidacy regarding to the internal policy of each political parties in candidates selection process, for example how the political party placed women in potential election areas or, on the opposite, in election areas that were free from certain political party influence. Titi Sumbung, a female activist, who were actively involved in balcony fraction to finalize the 30% quota, had her own experience regarding political parties' influence in election. She stated that in 2004 Election, she was placed in an unfamiliar election area, and the society did not even know her. However, when she was there, she got more votes compared to the previous candidate who was number two. However, as in the election area her political party only received two seats, while 2004 Election employed Running Number system, she lost all of her votes and the number two candidate was the one who became the legislative member. In 2009 Election, she was placed in far bigger election area, which later made her had to rethink of re-electing.

“In 2009, the second time I joined the election because people pushed me to do so. Okay. People told me to change my political party. No, I wanted to test them, how far my party understand women representation, and whatnot. But in the end, where did they push me to? I was thrown to greater area. And after the Law stated that one of the three candidates must be a woman, the third person was the daughter of a governor, and I was put as the fifth person.... At that time I finally gave up before the election. I thought it was a waste, I failed when I was thrown to Jember that consisted only some election area, what would happen if I was in West Kalimantan, which consisted of 10 election area. Moreover, the political would not give even a cent money, we have to pay everything by ourselves”³.

Titi Sumbung's experience could also be experienced by other legislative candidates. Ida Budhiati said that in the Adjunct Candidate List (*Daftar Calon Tetap/DCT*) of People's Representative Council submitted by the political parties for 2014 Election, there was an

increase in female legislative candidates, if it was compared to 2009 Election. In 2009 Election, the number of female legislative candidate reached 30%, while in 2014 the number rose to 37%. Even though there was a raise in the number, it was not a warranty that there would be increasing number of women as the legislative member. Some policies had been ratified to encourage political parties to give more opportunities towards the female cadres to do more. As done by KPU through PKPU No. 7 of 2013, which was the response towards Law for Election. For example, Article 24 of PKPU concerned on the obligation of the 30% quota for female candidates in each Election Area. As well as some policies regarding the Running Number system, which allow female candidates to not stay in the last running number in the list.

The rule also contained some penalties, if it was not employed by the political party, then this party would not be applicable for the requirements of legislative member candidacy. Concerning on the rule implementation, KPU's strictness heed some appreciations. As reported by *kompas.com*⁴ on mid-June, KPU announced four political parties which did not have female candidates in their list. As the result, all of the legislative candidates in election area which did not fulfill the requirement were announced unqualified and could not participate in the Election. The four political parties were Gerindra, which was not qualified in Election Area West Java IX, Partai Pesatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in Election Area West Java II and Central Java III, Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) in Election Area West Sumatra I, and Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI), which lacked of the quota for female legislative candidates in Election Area West Java V and VI and Nusa Tenggara Timur I. This penalty was important to ensure that each political party would have to fulfill the appointed quota for female candidate, or they would have to suffer the penalty. If the reprimand went well, then the female candidate quota would be fulfilled.

The effort to boost the number of female candidacy in parliament through some rules like Law of Election and PKPU brought some results. If it was seen through the Adjunct Candidate List (*Daftar Calon Tetap/DCT*) of the candidates in 2014 Election, every political party was able to fill the minimum number of female candidacy, as seen through Table 2.

Table 2.**Political Parties' DCT of 2014 Election based on Gender**

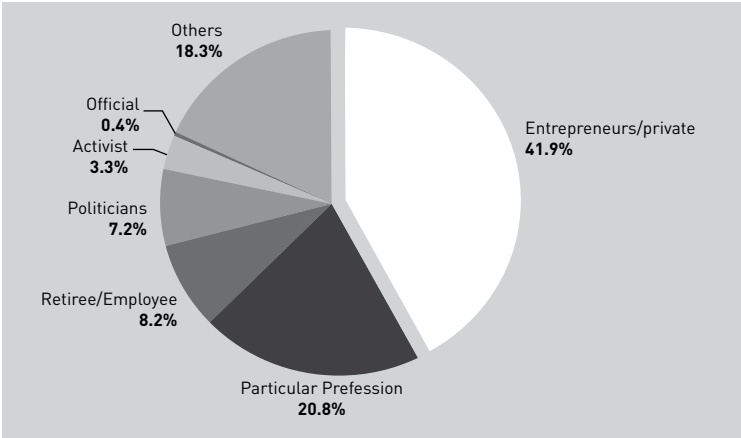
Party	Male	Female	Percent
Nasdem	333	226	40,4%
PKB	348	210	37,6%
PKS	301	191	38,8%
PDIP	360	200	35,7%
Golkar	358	202	36,1%
Gerindra	354	203	36,4%
Demokrat	355	205	36,6%
PAN	353	208	37,1%
PPP	335	214	39%
Hanura	335	203	36,4%
PBB	351	205	36,9%
PKPI	339	200	37,1%

Source: KPI

How was the Background of Female Legislative Candidates in 2014 General Election?

How was the composition of female legislative candidates? Based on their occupational background, most of them were entrepreneurs/private (1171 persons), followed by special profession group (581 persons), which included doctor, advocate, religionist, academician, and celebrity. The complete description could be seen through the following figure.

Figure 1.
Legislative Candidates Composition Based on Occupation



Source: Formappi

The Director of Megawati Institute, Musdah Mulia⁵, stated that referring to the 2009 Election result, which 42% of female parliament members were from political dynasty, it meant political parties did not give proper political education. They randomly recruited wife, daughter, niece or siblings. If we saw the composition of legislative candidates in 2014, she had not seen significant change over this.

“Based on my observation, the current legislative candidates are the same, nothing changed. Maybe if it was mapped, the pattern was no different to the composition in the previous parliamentary board, most of them are political dynasty, it is better to have my own family, as long as they are women”.

Political dynasty became a problem, since based on familial relationship, the candidate’s ability and capacity, in this context voicing gender-related interests, did not become a priority. Furthermore, practically, power abuse would be likely to happen. Generally, the practice of political dynasty did not bring positive impact for constituents or societies.

Different opinion was given by Politics Expert from Northwestern

University, Jeffrey Winters⁶ who observed political dynasty from a more optimistic point of view. He perceived the patriarchal point of view shared in this world, and one of the way women could enter strategic positions was via men. He thought this was not a problem and saw this as a universal pattern. For example Megawati Soekarnoputri, Benazir Bhutto, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Corozon Aquino, Indira Gandhi, Hillary Clinton, and so on, who entered political world through men. Thus, the first step would be from men, and the next should be perfected. He thought this was important for experience, for the young generation to see that women were able to stand in that position.

Besides political dynasty, most of female legislative candidates were public figure, including celebrity. The 2009-2014 parliament members from public figure reached 25%. In 2014 Election, these figures remained. Musdah evaluated the existence of celebrities who became legislative candidates was a shortcut chosen by the political parties, considering the fact that they had popularity and money. This indicated immaturity level of the political parties. Regarding this, Atnike Nova Sigiuro from Partai Serikat Rakyat Independent (SRI) thought that our political parties had not become a modern political party, meaning we did not have a good political education for the cadres. On the other hand, our democracy system in legislative election, regional representative election, and presidential election still depended on marketing product rather than promoting the programs and vision.

“It was usual case if a political party will choose Desi Ratnasari (an actress, ed.) rather than Gadis Arivia (the founder of *Jurnal Perempuan*, ed.) to become legislative candidate. Even though Gadis must have better vision on women in Indonesia compared to Desi Ratnasari. Thus, Indonesian democracy, especially electoral democracy, is no different to Indonesian Idol”⁷.

The existence of female legislative candidate with political dynasty background and from celebrity world tended to fulfill the political party agenda, which was only to fill the formal quota of 30% female legislative candidate and to raise the vote numbers, rather than truly considering female-related interest.

How was People's Reaction to Female Legislative Candidates?

On the other hand, people were inclined to use dual standard to appraise woman and man. Even though in fact there were some male legislative candidates who did not have proper capacity and bad historical background, the insults and criticisms were often and easily directed to female legislative candidates who were less capable compared to male candidates. As stated by Atnike, the evaluation towards female candidates sometimes were not directed to their political vision or program, rather it was directed to her sexuality.

“It was easier for public to insult female legislative candidate who was considered as incompetent, if compared to incompetent male candidate. I was not fond of the idea that Desi Ratnasari can become a candidate or for example another woman from PPP, Angel Lelga. But I think there was some kind of machoism or something like that.... Between the men who had more modern idea, had better insight on women and more civilized men and democracy, it was easier for them to insult women. For example, a picture posted in Facebook, there was a picture of Rhoma Irama and Angel Lelga, under Angel Lelga's picture written a quote ‘*coblos saya*’, and Rhoma Irama wrote, ‘*saya sudah pernah*’.... I dislike Angel Lelga, I think she is incompetent of being a legislative candidate, but the picture also showed that public are judgmental towards women rather than men”.

The same manner was not only done by the society, the media also showed similar tendency. The media tended to dichotomize women, as a genius in one side and as a fool in another side. Furthermore, the media would look for eye-catching issue in their point of view and inclined to ignore female-interest issue, as stated by the Secretary of International Department of Partai Demokrat, Imelda Sari.

“... there were some celebrity friends who were new in politics, they did not have any background and never studied about it or on the empowerment as a legislative candidate and so on. Whenever they spoke up, they talked in their own style, and from what we saw, they were bullied in public space and

in twitter, and almost everywhere.... If it came to politics, media would only take the side of women if they thought it was eye-catching for public. But whenever we spoke about loan for women, they decided that it was uninteresting. Actually, for women in villages, in rural areas, for example in Bogor... these issues are very important”⁸.

It could be said that the dual standard was applied to all women in every aspects and levels, not only when they were fighting for their position in the parliament (when they became legislative candidates), but also when they had their position as either legislative member, part of executive structure, and so on. As explained by Mari Elka Pangestu, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, that in every area, women had to prove that they were able to do more than men. There was a prevailing standard, which differed man and woman. In this situation, women had to be able to adapt. Therefore, Mari thought that it was important for women to have their self-confidence. And based on her experience, becoming role model and result-oriented self was the most applicable way of them to be accepted by the society.

“So, based on my experience in various capacity, sometimes as the only woman there, we have to prove that we can do better than men do. It was a fact, and we could not fight against it. We have to be able to adapt on such condition. And if we are in this situation, we have to be the role model. So, when I was elected as a Ministry in *Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu I* (KBI I), I was scared because I could not fail, I had to succeed in proving to people that I could. And I was a minority. It could be a challenge, but also a pressure. That means we have to adapt to decision making... finally I became outcome-oriented. I want to be involved in decision changing, if I was persistent in meeting, as I observed, I always failed. They said, ‘this woman is too stubborn, talk too much, persistent,’ they listened to me, but I failed. In the end, I changed my way, for example pursuit normally the other male cabinet members to see the value of the decision changing. So I think, in the end, we presented the main point of the decision... And finally I win my argument, if I could present the benefits to them”⁹.

How was the Money Politics in General Election?

Another problem which could be the main spotlight was money politics. Musdah saw the problem concerning the absence of political parties in political education for the society. Therefore, we often found news on problematic election for Regional Representative Council (*Pilkada*) and the problem always ended on money. Chusnul Mar'iyah¹⁰, the President Director of Center for Election and Political Party University Link (CEPP Uni Link) shared her experience how hard it was to change people's perception on money politics. After four hours of giving political education to female legislative candidates in Riau Province, sharing related materials on how legislative candidates could stand up and win and when the participants looked optimistic, in the end of the discussion, a participant voiced her refusal to believe that legislative candidate could win without money politics, early attack, and so on. On the other hand, Erika¹¹ from Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) thought that the political parties' culture and the societies' pragmatic manner encouraged the practice of money politics. She saw that political parties were still dominated by males who had lack interest in women's interest and thought that money was the biggest source of power. In Regional Legislative Representative Election DKI Jakarta, she saw with her own eyes how people frankly asked rice in exchange for money, as it was their main need.

The next question would be: how pragmatic the societies were? If seen through the result of 9 April Election, unfortunately, the answer might be yes. The Commission III DPR member from PDIP Fraction, Eva Kusuma Sundari as quoted by viva.co.id¹² admitted that her chance of reclaiming her seat as legislative member might be slim, even though she had started campaigning in her Election Area (East Java VI) six months before the election and met the prospective voters directly to promote her programs and listen to their aspiration. While making her round, Eva admitted that some people asked for transportation money, but she negotiated to make the money as social donation for local people's needs. She presumed her losing chance of her seat in the legislative council was the earlier attack done by her rival. However, she thought system was the one that made the voters act the way they were. The 2014 Election focused on two main criteria; popular and have

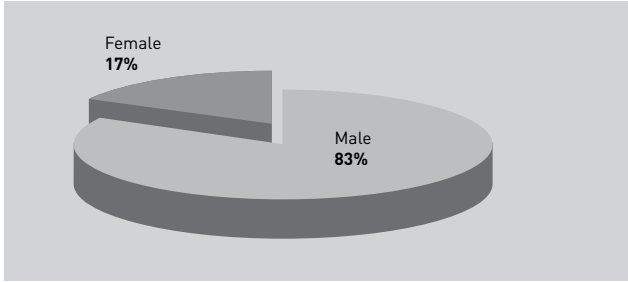
money, just like in the 2009 Election.

Regarding the popularity of certain legislative candidates, was the popularity a guarantee for political parties' vote numbers? It was not actually the case, as it was stated by PPP which had most of celebrity legislative candidates in 9 April Legislative Election; the vote numbers of this political party on the quick count only reached seven percent. The Vice General Chairman (Wakil Ketua Umum /Waketum) of PPP, Emron Pangkapi, as reported by www.kabar3.com¹³, he stated that Angel Lelga who was placed in Election Area Central Java V was not able to boost PPP's votes. Even, the legislative candidate number two got more votes. The same thing also happened to Nasrullah, or who was commonly known as Mat Solar in Election Area DKI Jakarta III which covered West Java and Kepulauan Seribu. Out of the celebrities, Okky Asokawati received most of the votes, and expected to run to the parliament. Okky was a legislative member of PPP 2009-2014. According to Emron, this could be a good experience for his party to prepare better, more competent, and people-interest-oriented legislative candidates in 2019.

How was Female Legislative Candidate Vote Acquisition?

The 2014 Election result, which was announced by KPU on May 9, showed that the legal vote reached 124,972,491 and there were 10 political parties, which were successfully reached the national vote beyond the parliamentary threshold of 3.5% for People's Representative Council. Political parties that got the highest number were PDIP (22,681,471 or 18.95%), followed by Golkar (14.75%), Gerindra (11.81%), Demokrat (10.91%), PKB (9.04%), PAN (7.57%), PKS (6.79%), Nasdem (6.72%), PPP (6.63%), and Hanura (5.26%). The selected female legislative candidates in 2014 Election were 97 persons (17%), lessening from the 2009 Election (103 persons or 18%).

Figure 2.
**The Selected Female Legislative Candidates Percentage
in 2014 Election**



Source: taken from General Election Commission

Although the decline was only one percent, it still needed to be noted. Moreover if we tried to compare it to the female legislative candidates, as shown through the following table:

Table 3.
**The Comparison of DPR Legislative Candidates in 2009 and 2014
Election**

Information	2009 Election	2014 Election
Number of DPR Male Legislative Candidate	7305	4152
Number of DPR Female Legislative Candidate	3910	2467
Percentage of DPR Female Legislative Candidate	34,86%	37,27%
Number of Elected Male Legislative Candidate	459	463
Number of Elected Female Legislative Candidate	101	97
Percentage of Elected Female Legislative Candidate	18,03%	17,32%

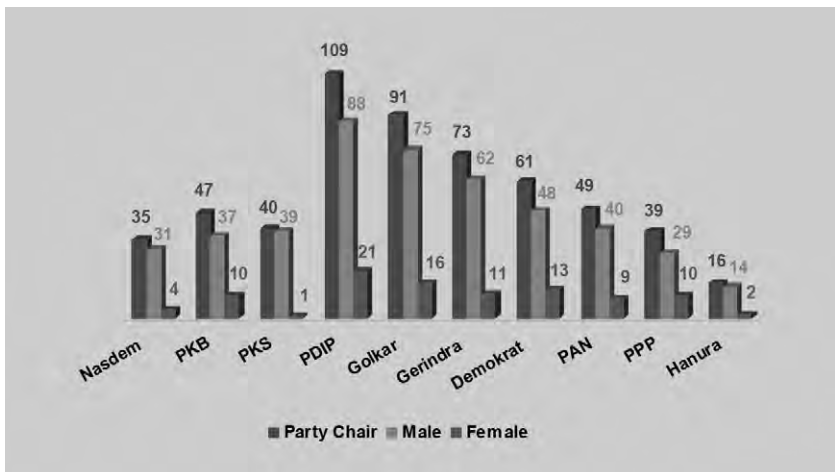
Notes: The current number of female legislative member in People’s Representative Council 2009-2014 was 103 people (18.3%), due to changes overtime (*Pergantian Antar Waktu/PAW*)

In 2009 Election, the number of female legislative number was 34.68% with the selected members on 18.03%. In 2014 Election, the female candidacy raised to 37.27% with the selected female member underwent a decrease to 17.32%. As explained previously, the existence

of KPU Rule (*Peraturan KPU/PKPU*), which required political parties to place at least 30% of female candidates in *Daftar Calon Tetap* in every Election Area succeeded on raising the percentage of female candidacy (see Table 2). However, this did not automatically ensure their selection as legislative member. It was interesting to further study on the vote acquired by each political party:

Figure 3.

Vote Acquisition by Each Political Party and Classification Based on Gender in 2014 Election



Source: taken from General Election Commission

PDIP had the most number of ‘giving’ female legislative number, which was 21 persons (22%) of the total number of female legislative members in People’s Representative Council. The smallest contribution was PKS that only ‘gave’ one legislative member (1%) from the total number. However, if it was seen through the percentage of female chair compared to that of political party, then PPP had the highest percentage (25.64%). Even though PDIP had the most chair numbers, the percentage was only 19.27%, the fourth after PPP, Demokrat, and PKB. The complete data could be seen in Table 4.

Table 4.

Vote Acquisition of Political Party and Female Legislative Candidates in People’s Representative Council in 2014 and 2009 Election

Political Party	2014 Election			2009 Election		
	Party Chair	Female	Percentage	Party Chair	Female	Percentage
Nasdem	35	4	11,43%	--	--	--
PKB	47	10	21,28%	28	7	25%
PKS	40	1	2,5%	57	3	5,26%
PDIP	109	21	19,27%	94	17	18,08%
Golkar	91	16	17,58%	106	18	16,98%
Gerindra	73	11	15,07%	26	5	19,23%
Demokrat	61	13	21,31%	148	35	23,65%
PAN	49	9	18,37%	46	7	15,22%
PPP	39	10	25,64%	38	6	15,79%
Hanura	16	2	12,5%	17	3	17,65%

Source: taken from General Election Commission.

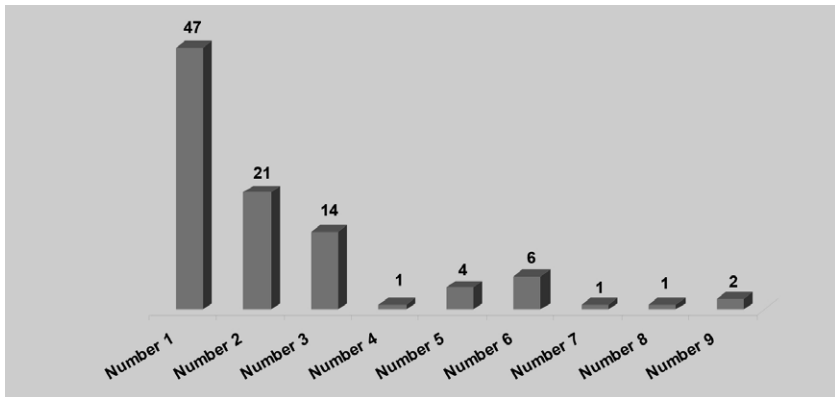
In 2009 Election, Demokrat was recorded as political party with the most number of female legislative candidates, in 2014 Election, the number decreased significantly, from 35 seats to 13. Although the total chair number of Demokrat decreased, the collective number of female candidates remained stable (from 23.65% to 21.31%). On the other hand, Gerindra in 2014 Election showed a significant raise in the number of female candidates (from 5 to 11), however the percentage lessened (from 19.23% to 15.07%).

On the contrary, based on the legislative candidate running numbers, the election result showed that most of the selected female candidates were the ones who were in the first orders of the list. The following figure showed the majority of the selected female legislative members were from number one (47 persons or 48%), followed by significant gap with the number two (21 persons or 22%), and number three (14 persons or 14%). Thus, 84% of the female legislative members were on the first order in the list (1, 2, and 3). A small portion of them (16%) were in number four to nine. The data showed that although the candidates were determined by most voted ones—as seen since

2009 Election which was assumed that the order was not relevant factor—it remained a determining factor for the candidate selection. Consequently, special treatment like placing female candidates in first orders and the position of one or two even three female candidates every three candidate names was deemed effective to raise the number of female legislative members.

Figure 4.

Running Numbers of Female Legislative Members in 2014-2019 Indonesian People's Representative Council



Source: taken from General Election Commission

In the 2014 Election, out of 33 provinces, it was decided to be 77 Election Areas with chair dimension of three to ten seats. And out of 77 Election Areas, there were only 18 election areas with 30% or more electability of female candidates. The highest number was in Java, some were in Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Maluku. Table 5 showed the complete data.

Table 5.

Election Area and Female Candidate Electability in People’s Representative Council > 30%

Election Area	Seat Allocation	Female Candidate Elected	Percentage
South Sumatra II	9	3	33,33
Bengkulu	4	3	75
Lampung II	9	3	33,33
Riau Islands	3	1	33,33
Jakarta I	6	2	33,33
West Java IV	6	4	66,67
West Java VI	6	2	33,33
West Java VII	10	3	30
Central Java IV	7	4	57,14
Central java VIII	8	3	37,5
Banten I	6	3	50
West Kalimantan	10	3	30
East Kalimantan	8	3	37,5
North Sulawesi	6	2	33,33
South Sulawesi I	8	3	37,5
West Sulawesi	3	2	66,67
Moluccas	4	2	50
North Moluccas	3	1	33,33

Source: taken from General Election Commission

Meanwhile, there were 21 Election Area with unselected female legislative candidates. It had various spread area, including Aceh, Bangka Belitung, Bali, Nusa Tenggara Timur, South Kalimantan, Gorontalo, and West Papua.

Conclusion

The decreasing number of votes for female legislative candidates for DPR RI in 2014 General Election aroused an urgent question related to the commitment of political parties to encourage female

representatives in the parliament. The 2014 Election result showed that, so far, political parties only adopted the affirmative policy in the level of legal-formal. Practically, even though they had implemented the minimum quota of female representation in the candidacy, this policy was not followed up by the internal policy in the political party to earnestly support the quota for female representation. Therefore, the internal political party transformation was needed and was urgent to be done, both for its structural and cultural level. On the other hand, the decreasing number of votes for female legislative candidates for DPR RI could be an important agenda for women's movement. Out of 97 2014-2019 DPR RI members, it was noted that 33 persons (34%) were incumbents and the rest (64 persons/66%) were new candidates with highly diverse background and was dominated by familial networking link with political elitists. This challenged the effort to fight for and realize the non-biased-gender policies and in the future it could pose a threat. Therefore, precautions had been taken to direct the chosen legislative members and it would need comprehensive strategy.

Endnotes

- 1 Press Conference of Tim Advokasi Kesetaraan dan Demokrasi, Hotel Akmani Jakarta, 18 March 2014
- 2 Press Conference of Tim Advokasi Kesetaraan dan Demokrasi, Hotel Akmani Jakarta, 18 March 2014
- 3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD), YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 4 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/06/10/1726595/Tak.Penuhi.Keterwakilan.Perempuan..4.Parpol.Gugur> accessed 1 April 2014
- 5 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 6 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 7 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 8 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 9 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 10 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 11 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 12 <http://us.m.news.viva.co.id/news/read/497491-habis-rp1-5-miliar--eva-sundari-gagal-kembali-ke-senayan> accessed 17 April 2014
- 13 <http://www.kabar3.com/news/2014/04/ppp-akui-caleg-artis-gagal-dongkrak-suara-partai> diakses 17 April 2014